

**A Critical Analysis of News Media Coverage of
Hurricane Events and Caribbean Tourism**

by

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Author's Declaration

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Abstract

There is mounting evidence that the media is able to shape public risk perceptions of extreme weather events, which includes influencing tourists' willingness to travel to destinations impacted (directly or indirectly) by hurricanes. In the aftermath of the 2017 hurricane season, the Caribbean region saw a sharp downturn in tourist arrivals, even on island destinations that did not experience a hurricane strike. The Caribbean Tourism Organization [CTO] and Caribbean governments have expressed concerns that media representation of the Caribbean region as largely devastated by hurricane events, may have negatively affected both the image of the entire region, as well as individual island nations. As one of the most tourism intensive regions in the world, how hurricanes are framed within the media is particularly important for the Caribbean and the millions of people who rely on the sector for their livelihood. Through a mixed methods content analysis of 635 newspaper articles and transcripts published over the last 40 years (1979 - 2019), this thesis explores global news media attribute agenda setting and framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. This study found that, in the last four decades, the global news media has overwhelmingly emphasized negative outcomes for tourism infrastructure, tourists' safety and tourists' holiday experiences during reported hurricane events within the Caribbean region. The media framed tourists and their vacation experiences as casualties of reported hurricanes, provided limited information regarding the characteristics of hurricanes (e.g., wind speed, category) as well as their geographic proximity to specific island nations and trajectory within the region, and instead tended to portray the entire Caribbean region as vulnerable to hurricane strikes and other effects. The analysis also revealed that the news media consistently utilized four

frames when reporting hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, the victim frame, the apocalyptic frame, the disruption frame, and the business-as-usual frame. The thesis concludes with recommendations and marketing responses that Caribbean destination managers can employ to help mitigate media misrepresentation of hurricane events in order to reduce negative impacts on tourist arrivals to the region and the need for hazard pricing during the Atlantic hurricane season.

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Dedication

To my wonderful husband Yann, you have been my source of inspiration since day one. I strive to make you proud each and every single day. My love and gratitude for you exceeds anything that I can write here. I truly could not have done this without you. We did it!!!

Table of Contents

Author’s Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Dedication	vi
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables.....	x
List of Acronyms.....	xi
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Need and Justification for Research.....	1
1.2 Research Goals and Objectives	4
1.3 Structure of Thesis.....	5
2.0 Introduction: Review of Literature	7
2.1 Social Construct of Risk Perception.....	7
2.1.1 The Social Amplification of Risk.....	8
2.2 Agenda Setting and Framing Theory	11
2.2.1 Framing Theory.....	12
2.2.1.1 The Elements of Frames	14
2.3 Media Amplification of Risk.....	15
2.4 Tourism and Media Coverage	18
2.5 Caribbean Tourism	21
2.5.1 Caribbean Climate	23
2.5.2 Caribbean Tourism and Hurricane Risks.....	24
2.6 Chapter Summary.....	26
3.0 Methods	27
3.1 Study Area.....	27
3.1.1 News Media Articles	28
3.1.2 Exploration and Coding of Attributes and Frames.....	29
3.3 Chapter Summary.....	38
4.0 Results and Analysis	39
4.1 Publication Information.....	39
4.2 Frequently Mentioned Attributes Within the Media	43

4.3 News Media Framing of Hurricane Events and Caribbean Tourism	47
4.3.1 The “Victim” Frame	47
4.3.2 The “Apocalyptic” Frame.....	55
4.3.3 The “Disruption” Frame	60
4.3.4 The “Business-as-usual” Frame	63
4.4 Chapter Summary	67
5.0 Discussion	68
5.1 Recommendations	75
5.2 Conclusions	82
5.3 Limitations.....	87
5.4 Future Research Opportunities	88
Bibliography	92
APPENDICES.....	104
APPENDIX A: Media Reporting of Hurricane Category and Wind Speed.....	105
APPENDIX B: Stakeholder Groups Quoted Within the News Media.....	106
APPENDIX C: List of News Media Documents Analyzed	107

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Simplified Representation of the Social Amplification of Risk Concept.....12

Figure 2 - Map of the Caribbean.....30

Figure 3 - Eliminating Duplicate Articles (Snapshot of Excel Worksheet)39

Figure 4 - Frequency of News Articles per Year and the Accumulated Cyclone Energy

Index...43

List of Tables

Table 1 - Coding Criteria for Attributes33

Table 2 - Coding Criteria for Frames37

Table 3 - Publication Type40

Table 4 - Location of Publisher41

Table 5 - Publication by Decade.....42

Table 6 - Frequency of Attributes Within News Documents44

List of Acronyms

ACE	The Accumulated Cyclone Energy
CHTA	Caribbean Hotel and Tourism Association
Covid-19	SARS-CoV-2 pandemic
CTO	The Caribbean Tourism Organizations
dLOC	Digital Library of the Caribbean
DMO	Destination Marketing Organization
GIS	Geographic Information System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFDRR	Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
NOAA	The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
RTOs	Regional Tourism Organizations
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SST	Sea Surface Temperatures
UN data	United Nations Statistics Division
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council

1.0 Introduction

The introductory chapter of this thesis gives a brief background on the relationship between news media framing of hurricanes and Caribbean tourism, identifying current research gaps in the literature. Specifically, this chapter provides a description of the research goals and objectives of the present study, along with an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Need and Justification for Research

Before the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic (commonly referred to as Covid-19) brought the activities of the global economy to a screeching halt in 2020, tourism was one of the leading and fastest growing economic sectors in the world (United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], 2020). In 2018, the global tourism sector experienced 9-years of continued growth, with international tourist arrivals increasing by 5% to reach 1.4 billion, a milestone achieved two years earlier than projected by the UNWTO (2019). That same year, the tourism sector generated US\$1.7 trillion in international tourism receipts and sustained 10% of jobs worldwide, highlighting tourism as an economic powerhouse (UNWTO, 2019).

Over the last few decades, tourism has been viewed as an opportunity for many least developed countries (LDCs) to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly as other primary economic sectors have declined (e.g., fishing, agriculture) (UN, 2015; UNWTO, 2013; World Bank, 2013). However, tourism differs from other sectors due to the nature of its product, which is largely based on outdoor leisure and recreational experiences, a commodity that is highly perishable (Khatibi et al., 2020). As such, tourism faces a plethora of unique challenges and risks, including being highly sensitive to environmental factors such as climate, day-to-day weather, and extreme weather events,

which has the ability to drastically disrupt its activities and its economic contributions (Dogru, Marchio, Bulut, & Suess, 2019; Hall, Scott, & Gössling, 2013; Scott, Hall, & Gössling, 2019). Further, tourists are said to be highly sensitive to a destination's environmental conditions which can pose a risk to tourists' wellbeing, trip satisfaction, and thereby hinder tourism arrivals and future demand (Forster et al., 2012; Hübner & Gössling, 2012; Kapuściński & Richards, 2016; Rosello et al. 2020; Wilson & Becken, 2011). Many tourism destinations, particularly those in tropical regions, rely heavily upon favourable climatic and weather conditions to attract tourists (Rutty et al, 2020; Matthews et al, 2020). The climate of a given location corresponds to the expected long-term averages of daily weather, which on the other hand is more unpredictable and can vary by the minute, while extreme weather events are rare short-lived phenomena (Scott et al, 2016). Regrettably, there is mounting evidence that climate change will increase the frequency and intensity of geophysical hazards such as hurricanes and tropical storms (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2014), which will have further implications and risks for the tourism sector (Granvorka & Strobl, 2013; Rosselló, Becken & Santana-Gallego, 2020). Given the voluntary nature of tourism, tourists will therefore avoid engaging in tourism activities or traveling to destinations that they perceive to have poor environmental conditions, particularly high-risk environmental hazards such as hurricanes (Brown, 2015; Hübner & Gössling, 2012; Mahon, 2006; Matyas et al., 2011; Granvorka & Strobl 2013; Rutty & Scott, 2015). Consequently, weather and climatic events can have far reaching economic consequences for those destinations that rely on tourism as an important contributor to GDP and to sustain livelihoods.

The Caribbean is considered to be the most tourism intensive region in the world (World Travel & Tourism Council [WTTC], 2018), with the tourism sector often serving as the dominant foreign exchange earner and the main source of livelihood for many households (Mackay & Spencer, 2017). For example, over half of the region's nations have economies whereby 25% or more of their GDP is directly generated through tourism (WTTC, 2018). Studies have shown that between 2010 and 2016, tourism's contribution to the regional GDP grew by 4.5% annually but contracted significantly following the intense hurricane season in 2017, with arrivals decreasing by 2.5% (a loss of 826,100 visitors) (The Caribbean Tourism Organization [CTO], 2018; Scott, Moreno-Cruz, Ruddy & Mistry, 2020; WTTC, 2018). Much of the decline in the 2017 tourism arrivals to the region has been attributed to the direct and indirect impacts of several powerful hurricanes, including Hurricanes Irma, Maria, and Harvey (Kuhr, 2018; Seraphin, 2019; CTO, 2018). However, very little is known in terms of how the media portrays tourism in the region before, during and after hurricanes, and how this may contribute to the observed decline in tourism demand.

The news media, cited as one of the key sources of weather data utilized by tourists (Hübner & Gössling, 2012; Ruddy & Andrey 2014; Pew Research Center, 2018; Scott & Lemieux 2010), acts as an intermediary to communicate climatic information to the public (Matyas et al., 2011; Sherman-Morris, Poe, Nunley & Morris, 2020). Importantly, the media has been found to amplify weather risks, as well as to report incorrect or misleading news articles (Barnes et al., 2008; Renn, Burns, Kasperson & Slovic, 1992; Wählberg & Sjöberg, 2000) which can influence the risk perception of tourists (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016; Schweinsberg, Darcy, Cheng, 2017) and negatively impact the ability of destinations to

attract tourists (Fitchett, Fortune, & Hoogendoorn, 2020; Becken, Wilson & Reisinger, 2010). Indeed, tourists are sensitive to risk amplifying information, with the literature demonstrating that tourists will cancel vacations or alter their travel destination(s) if their vacation destination is reported to pose a risk to their wellbeing or their travel experiences (Brown, 2015; Scott & Lemieux, 2010; Pizam & Mansfeld, 1996; Ruddy & Scott, 2009; Wilson & Becken, 2011). Despite considerable evidence that weather reports can and do influence travel-related decision-making (Brown, 2015; Ford & King, 2015; Ruddy & Scott, 2009; Wilson & Becken, 2011; Zhao, Rosoff, & John, 2019), there has been little to no regional studies that have examined the impacts of weather-related media coverage on Caribbean tourism. Moreover, there is limited research on the impacts of hurricane events on Caribbean tourism arrivals even though the tourism-dependent region is highly sensitive to weather and climatic conditions (Granvorka & Strobl, 2013).

1.2 Research Goals and Objectives

The primary goal of this study is to examine what aspect of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism are highlighted within the media (i.e., attribute agenda setting) and to determine the frames the media uses to construct and communicate news information regarding hurricane events and Caribbean tourism (i.e., framing). In doing so, the research will allow better understanding of how Caribbean tourism as well as the Caribbean region as whole are portrayed during hurricane events (before, during and after). The thesis presented is novel, representing the first study to undertake a regional analysis of news media attribute

agenda setting and framing of hurricane risks in the Caribbean. To guide the research, three key objectives were sought:

1. To undertake a literature review on the topics of risk, media agenda setting and framing, tourism, and hurricanes;
2. To conduct a content analysis of news media articles and transcripts from around the world which covered hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, in order to determine the most salient (i.e., frequently mentioned) attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism within the news media and also to determine how the story of hurricane events within the context of Caribbean tourism is framed;
3. To provide recommendations to Caribbean destination managers on ways to help reduce or potentially eliminate adverse misinformation from media coverage of hurricane events within the Caribbean region.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

The presented thesis is divided into five chapters, with the first chapter outlining the research context, including the study goals and objectives. Chapter 2 is a literature review, which synthesizes peer-reviewed articles on risk identification and interpretation, risk amplification, agenda setting and framing theory, how media framing can influence tourists risk perception and travel behaviour, Caribbean tourism, and hurricane risks. Chapter 3 describes the methods utilized in this study, and Chapter 4 provides the research findings, including a detailed analysis of the results. In the final fifth chapter, a detailed discussion of the overall findings is provided, and recommendations are identified to help destination stakeholders address some ways in which the news media frames hurricane events and Caribbean tourism.

2.0 Introduction: Review of Literature

The literature review is divided into five sections. A summary of the different perspectives regarding how risks are constructed is provided in the first section, with a focus on the various institutions (including the media) that play a role in the identification and construction of risks. The second section discusses two common practices, agenda setting and framing, utilized by the news media when reporting issues and events. The third section outlines how these media practices can work to either attenuate or amplify risks. The fourth section focuses on how the media's framing of weather and hazardous environmental events influences tourism, including tourists' decision to travel, as well as tourists' key sources of climate and weather information. The final section provides an overview of the importance of tourism in the Caribbean, including the reported impacts of hurricane events on tourism arrivals in the region.

2.1 Social Construct of Risk Perception

A cultural approach to understanding risk identification and interpretation was first developed by Douglas and Wildavsky (1982). A cultural approach to risk contends that risk is not determined innately, but rather what is believed to be a threat to an individual's well-being is largely shaped by the institutions within a person's culture. Moreover, it has been argued that risks are socially constructed through an aggregate of cultural beliefs, values, and attitudes, in addition to historical cultural events and individual experiences (Joffe, 2003). In the process of what is called the identification and social construction of risk, what is (or is not) perceived as risky is therefore shaped and influenced by an individual's cultural identity,

the social groups to which they belong, and the institutions within which they function. Accordingly, risks are subjective, with a risky situation or a threat perceived differently across different cultures.

The cultural approach to risk helps to explain why members of the same cultural group respond differently to the same hazards. For example, during the global SARS-CoV-2 pandemic (commonly referred to as Covid-19), some people take protective actions (e.g., wearing a mask, physical distancing), while others do not (Bir & Widmar, 2020). The differing protective action is the result of members of the same culture also being members of different institutions and social groups whose values and beliefs influence and shape individuals' risk identification (Renn et al., 1992). According to the cultural approach, risk identification requires the creation of meaning and context which results when an event interacts with historical knowledge, cultural beliefs, values, and social factors. Objects, events, and situations are not inherently risky, meaning what is considered risky is based on perceived risk (i.e., not real risk). That is, risks are not a complete reflection of reality, but rather risk is socially constructed, and how people respond to and manage risks is dependent on their specific cultural, social, and historical context (Crespi & Taibi, 2020).

2.1.1 The Social Amplification of Risk

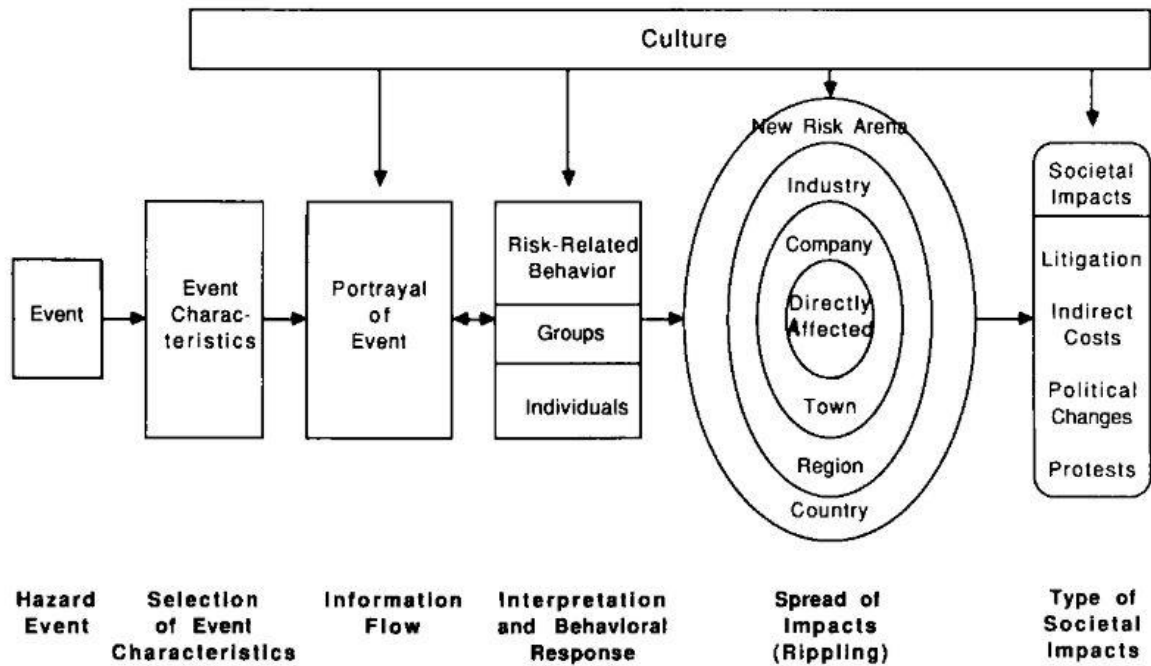
Since risk identification and interpretation is co-constructed by forces external to individuals, risk identification is subject to external influence and manipulation. Importantly, risk can be shaped and influenced by the information people receive and how it is communicated to them. The foundational research by Renn et al. (1992) outlines how

various processes not only identify risks, but can also amplify people's perceptions of real or perceived risks:

Events pertaining to hazards interact with psychological, social, institutional, and cultural processes in ways that can heighten or attenuate individual and social perceptions of risk and shape risk behavior (p. 137).

Perceptions can be influenced through the curation of messages which are communicated and disseminated through amplification stations, which can be individuals, organizations, or institutions (Renn et al. 1992). More specifically, the social amplification of risk involves a five-step process, whereby when an event occurs or begins to unfold, (1) various actors will interpret the events based on their specific worldview, (2) these actors select specific attributes of the event on which to focus, (3) a message is constructed then communicated to individuals or groups, (4) the individuals or groups receive this message and, (5) the receivers then interpret this message based on their own world view, and can further amplify the message. Events that are relayed between amplification stations are not a true reflection of reality. Instead, the reported event is a representation of an individual or organization's interpretation of the events. Risks are therefore curated, and risk perceptions can be shaped and influenced through messaging.

Figure 1 - Simplified Representation of the Social Amplification of Risk Concept



(Source: Renn et al., 1992, pg. 141)

Not only is the media an integral part of a culture’s social institutions, but they act as amplification agents. Individuals receive information from various forms of media (e.g., newspaper, tv news, magazines, radio, online), increasing their awareness of issues and events, which in turn shape the public’s understanding and perceptions of these events (Ford & King, 2015; Van Gorp, 2007). In this respect, the media represent one of the many institutions that shape and define risk, with the media capable of altering and distorting people’s perception of risks (Brown, 2015; Crespi & Taibi, 2020; Renn et al., 1992; Tierney et al., 2006; Wählberg & Sjöberg, 2000; Wilson & Becken, 2011). The media selects certain characteristics of an event and then interprets the event based on their social and cultural perspectives, which are then formed into messages and broadcasted to individuals and groups

(Renn et al., 1992). According to Sarlos and Szondi (2014), the media does not report reality, but rather actively creates meaning and establish context by giving a version of reality which is then disseminated to the public. The media is especially important during times of uncertainty, as people engage in intensified information seeking to cope with potentially hazardous events, including hurricanes, earthquakes, and tornados (Crespi & Taibi, 2020; Tierney et al., 2006). Often with few alternatives to gather information as an event unfolds, the media is therefore key to providing people access to information.

2.2 Agenda Setting and Framing Theory

Understanding how the media influences people's perceptions of events requires an examination of media reporting practices. Introduced by McCombs and Shaw (1972), the theory of agenda-setting states that the media has the power to determine what issues (or events) become most important to audiences by the amount of time or space the media dedicates to reporting on or discussing an issue. According to Yioutas and Segvic (2003) "agenda setting explores the transfer of salience from the media to the public" (p. 569). For the media to set an agenda, three variables are required: objects, attributes, and framing (McCombs, 2005). Objects represent a given issue and the salience of an object within the media helps audiences determine its importance within the public discourse, meaning that agenda setting serves as a form of civic social learning (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). However, issues are not one dimensional, instead, there are a variety of properties or what researchers call, attributes. Attributes can be characterized as reasons for supporting or opposing a given issue or the various outcomes of an unfolding event (Kim et al., 2012).

When the media reports an issue or event, they can report all of the attributes, however, some attributes are mentioned often while other attributes are not mentioned at all. The theory of Attribute Agenda Setting, also called second-level agenda setting, refers to the transfer of the salience of attributes (i.e., aspects of an issue) from the media to the public. When the media consistently select and highlight certain attributes, it results in attribute salience, thus allowing attributes that frequently occur in the media to serve as the key elements when people think about or make judgments about a given issue (Lee & Min, 2020; McCombs & Ghanem, 2003). While issue salience determines what issues audiences think about, the salience of issue attributes determines how the audiences think about the issue. As suggested by Kim et al. (2012), both traditional agenda setting and second-level agenda setting has a priming effect, whereby consistent exposure to the salience of issues and issue attributes, serves to influence people's attitudes regarding an issue. This means that if the media consistently reports on the negative attributes of an issue, when audiences think about that issue, they will instinctively consider these elements, and this could work to amplify risk perception.

2.2.1 Framing Theory

There is some ambiguity around framing theory (Kim et al., 2012; Yioutas & Segvic, 2003), with some researchers calling for the convergence of the terms "agenda setting" and "framing," contending that framing is an extension of agenda setting (Entman, 1993; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) while others maintain that framing describes a completely separate concept (Kim, Scheufele & Shanahan, 2002; Van Gorp, 2007). Even though agenda setting

and framing both refer to how the media communicates information and how it influences people's understanding of issues and events, framing differs in that the media simplifies complex issues into readily digestible interpretive narratives or "frames" for their audiences (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). On the other hand, agenda setting is based on the salience of either objects (traditional agenda setting) or attributes (second-level agenda setting) within the media and thus their influence is based on the number of times they are mentioned within the media.

Introduced by Goffman (1974), there still remains vagueness around the conceptualization of framing theory due to there being several meanings for the words: "frame" and "framing". Van Gorp (2007) distinguishes the two this way: "the frame as a 'framework' and framing in the sense of 'shaping'" (p. 60). A frame is a linguistic structure which contains elements of information which specifies how people should assess and interpret messages regarding an issue (Neuman et al., 1992). Broadly speaking, frames not only provide context for an issue but also guides readers on how the issue should be interpreted. Frames are not only a media phenomenon, instead, researchers (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974; Van Gorp, 2007) contend that much like risk identification and interpretation, frames are largely created external to individuals and are connected to one's culture. As stated by Goffman (1974) "Frames are a central part of a culture and are institutionalized in various ways" (p.63). Van Gorp (2007) contends that there is a "cultural stock" of frames, as such, they are everywhere, so the use of frames often goes unnoticed. Therefore, the power of frames lies in their ubiquity and insidiousness.

The media uses a variety of frames which the receivers of this message (i.e., the public) relies on when they are constructing reality, and this allows the media to influence the way people perceive an issue or an event (Entman, 1993). Therefore, framing is the process of embedding frames within messages and since frames can be written within texts, researchers can apply framing analysis to detect the frames the media uses. Finding frames within media messages allows researchers to better understand how reality is constructed by the media. Framing analysis is an important research tool which helps researchers to decipher what journalists and news editors wanted readers to know and understand about an issue through the analysis of the media's textual decisions and its judgements regarding the issue.

2.2.1.1 The Elements of Frames

Understanding how frames are embedded within a message (i.e., framing) and how they work, requires the understanding of the elements of frames and thus, how a framing analysis can be used to detect and decode frames (Van Gorp, 2007). The elements that play a role in framing including the “schemata” and the “frame package”. The schemata refer to the cognitive framework, a cluster of ideas, experiences, and feelings, which guides how an individual retrieves, processes, and stores new information. The frame package on the other hand is considered an identity key for the frame and is made up of framing devices and reasoning devices (Van Gorp, 2007). Framing devices are the textual decisions journalists make in order to convey their news messages, so the word choices, who is interviewed and quoted, how a certain issue or event is described, the comparisons and arguments made and even the images displayed. Reasoning devices on the other hand are related to the functions

of frames and are overt or implied statements that serves to either describe the issue, identify the cause, place blame, provide justification for, or recommend remedies for an issue (Van Gorp, 2007). As stated by Entman (1993):

“Frames are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements” (p. 52).

Journalists rely on the frame package to not only convey information regarding an issue but also how the public should interpret and therefore perceive these issues. The elements of frames work together through a cognitive process whereby the schemata interact with frames to help individuals make sense of information about a given issue. Van Gorp (2007) contends that a frame is an invitation for readers to interpret a message in a certain way. Individuals and institutions apply frames to suggest how readers should interpret the message, however, whether their message is interpreted in the manner they intended, depends on the reader’s schemata (Goffman, 1974; Van Gorp, 2007). Some readers will perceive an issue or an event in the way the author intended while others will not.

2.3 Media Amplification of Risk

It can be argued that through the use of framing, the media can construct and report multiple versions of reality from a singular event. This means that a benign hazard could be framed as catastrophic based on the words and images that are used (Daye, 2014; Hove et al., 2014; Kapuściński and Richards, 2016; Schweinsberg et al., 2017; Tierney et al., 2006), the people who are interviewed and invited to give an analysis of the event (Barnes et al., 2008;

Brown, 2015; Sarlos & Szondi, 2014; Wählberg & Sjöberg, 2000), and even through the comments sections of online news publications (Schweinsberg et al., 2017). Knowingly (or unknowingly) creating a version of reality can work to either amplify or attenuate people's perception of risks (Barnes et al., 2008; Daye, 2014; Kapuściński & Richards, 2016; Renn et al., 1992; Sarlos & Szondi, 2014; Schweinsberg et al., 2017).

According to Zhao et al. (2019), people's risk perception and their actions to protect themselves are triggered by exposure to messages that warn a threat is imminent, with emotional affect, risk perception, and risk response behaviour escalating with increased exposure to hazardous messages. Kapuściński and Richards (2016) found that people who read risk amplifying articles perceived more risk than those who read risk attenuating articles, with other variables (e.g., psychographics, personality, demographics of the reader, i.e., the schemata) found to influence risk perception. Zhang, Prater and Lindell (2004) found that the media can amplify people's perception of risk by giving vague information about the characteristics of a hazard and that such ambiguity influences risk perception and thus risk protective behavior. In other words, people being told they are at risk of a hazard but given limited information about the hazard (e.g., physical proximity to the hazard) or how the hazard can affect their well-being, will amplify people's perception of risk.

Since the media has such a strong impact on the public's understanding and perception of reality, scholars have provided different perspectives on the factors that influence media reporting of risk. Crespi and Taibi (2020) found that culture played a role in how German and English media reported risk following an earthquake in Marche, a popular tourist region in Italy. The researchers noted that "*Media coverage gives a different potential*

perception of the same event considering the style, the wording, the use of images and the aim of the narrative discourse” (Crespi & Taibi, 2020, p. 218).

On the other hand, Renn et al. (1992) found that the amount of press coverage was proportional to the magnitude of physical impacts, especially if many people are exposed to the potential hazard (i.e., as more people become exposed to the physical impacts of hazards, the amount of media coverage increases). Relatedly, as physical damage and death toll increases, media coverage of that event increases (Wåhlberg and Sjöberg 2000). Increased media attention can thereby inadvertently lead to the media overstating risks given that increased exposure to hazardous information amplifies risk perception. In this regard, the media is not quite as sensationalist and biased as is often thought, but rather exaggerated risk reporting by the media is predicated on the potential of high death tolls and property damage (Renn et al. 1992, Wåhlberg and Sjöberg 2000).

While it may be argued that media amplification of risk is an unfortunate outcome of increased attention and not a conscious effort to heighten people’s perception of risk, the media’s agenda setting and framing practices nevertheless influence the public’s understanding and perceptions of issues, which then shapes how they think the issue is to be addressed and managed (Brown, 2015; Schweinsberg et al., 2017). Tierney et al. (2006) demonstrated that the media can greatly exaggerate the activities of disaster victims by framing them as lawless, such as during and after Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in August 2005. Following Katrina, the media relied heavily upon the use of disaster myths including the “civil unrest” and “looting” frames, often comparing the city of New Orleans to war-torn regions such as Iraq and Afghanistan. The images and messages in the media

influenced public perception of risk, as well as provided justification for the government's militarized response to disaster management. This demonstrates that the media does not only influences people's perception of risk, but also plays a role in government's disaster response which can dictate the fate of disaster victims. Finally, the research by Tierney et al. (2006) demonstrated that the media influences the ways in which people perceive events, destinations, and even groups of individuals.

2.4 Tourism and Media Coverage

Prior to a purchase decision, especially high price purchases like vacations, consumers engage in an information search which is when the media is the most important in shaping travel decisions (Daye, 2014). Given the discretionary nature of tourism, tourists are generally unwilling to spend their time and money engaging in recreational activities in destinations where there may be a perceived or real risk to their safety or experience (Pizam & Mansfeld 1996). Research on risk perception in the context of tourism, although limited, collectively underscores that risk perception directly influences tourist behaviour (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016; Matyas et al., 2011; Tierney et al., 2006). Importantly, the vitality of a destination's tourism industry is inextricably linked to tourists' perception of safety and security because perceptions influence tourism demand (i.e., the decision of whether or not to travel to a destination) (Brown 2015; Garg 2015; Mahon, 2006; Matyas et al. 2011). The foundational research into travel-specific risks conducted by Simpson and Sigauw (2008) identified ten travel-risks that tourists can perceive in any number of combinations: (1) travel and destination environment, (2) health and well-being, (3) criminal

harm, (4) transportation performance, (5) travel service performance, (6) generalized fears, (7) monetary concerns, (8) property crime, (9) concern for children, and (10) concern about others. With such a wide array of potential and actual travel-risks that influence tourists' decision-making, the media plays an important role in framing a destination's image.

Reporting negative news about a destination that can influence tourists' decisions to travel has the potential for long-term devastating impacts on destination attractiveness and tourism arrivals (Crespi & Taibi, 2020; Fitchett et al., 2020; Garg, 2015; Tierney et al., 2006).

Importantly, tourists are very sensitive to weather and climate information because weather is a critical factor in people's decision to engage in leisure and recreational activities (Nalau et al. 2017; Ruddy & Andrey, 2014; Wilkins et al. 2018; Hübner & Gössling, 2012; Scott & Lemieux 2010). Weather can impede engagement in a host of outdoor activities as it may cause physical harm (e.g., maiming or death), undue stress (e.g., inability to engage in experiences due to poor conditions), or lead to financial loss for tourists (e.g., vacations cut short due to poor weather) (Fitchett et al., 2020; Wilson & Becken, 2011). Reporting of poor weather conditions, whether accurate or inaccurate, can therefore negatively affect destination image and attractiveness and thereby impact tourism demand and associated revenue (Wilkins et al. 2018; Daye, 2014; Garg, 2015; Wilson & Becken, 2011). Due to the potential impacts that unfavourable weather can pose, tourists often seek out weather information while planning their trips. For example, 86% of surveyed tourists from Northern Europe planning a holiday to the Mediterranean sought information on their destination's climate, with 81% doing so before making any travel reservations (Ruddy & Scott 2010). In a winter sports survey in Ontario (Canada), 97% of skiers, snowboarders and snowmobilers

used weather forecasts when planning an outing (Rutty & Andrey, 2014). Jacobsen et al. (2011) found that 55% of tourists who traveled to two northern Scandinavia destinations (i.e., Vesterålen and Svalbard) sought out weather and climate information before their organizing their trip.

Studies have also found that when planning a trip, tourists source their climate and weather information from a range of outlets, including government agencies, private meteorological companies, universities, Regional Tourism Organizations (RTOs), and mass media (Becken et al., 2010; Hall et al., 2019; Rutty & Andrey, 2014; Scott & Lemieux, 2010; Wilson & Becken, 2011). According to Hübner and Gössling (2012, p. 48), “The media is an important external source of information on climate, weather and climate change.” In a recent study American study with over 35,000 participants, it was found that weather information was the most consumed news produced in the media, with 70% of them expressing it was important to their daily lives (Pew Research Center, 2019). Hall et al. (2019) surveyed 304 tourists from over 40 countries who traveled to Bali (Indonesia) and found that 60% of tourists gained their pre-trip tsunami information from mass media. The findings of Becken and Wilson (2010) also found that mass media was the main source of weather information for the majority of tourists visiting New Zealand, with 63% of tourists stating they retrieved their pre-trip information on the internet via news media. Rutty and Andrey (2014) similarly found that the vast majority (95%) of ski tourists surveyed in Ontario (Canada) sourced their weather and climate information through use of mobile devices in advance of planning their trip.

2.5 Caribbean Tourism

The Caribbean region is divided into the Greater Antilles and the Lesser Antilles and consists of the Caribbean archipelago, a collection of over 7000 islands, 13 of which are sovereign island nations (Siegel et al, 2013). The largest earner of foreign exchange in most Caribbean nations is attributed to the tourism sector, which has developed over the past 60-years. Prior to the 1950s, the regional economy was based largely on agriculture, a remnant of the region's colonial past. European colonial expansion, which began in the 1500s, established a core-periphery structure, where the Caribbean (periphery) served to supply the European region (core) with agricultural commodities, supplied by slave labour (Amin, 1976). Agriculture continued to be the dominant economic activity even after slavery was abolished until the decades following World War II when the activities of agriculture began to decline (Weaver, 1988). At the same time, the tourism sector was experiencing rapid growth globally due to a series of factors including technological changes making travel faster, more reliable, and more affordable, as well as the expansion of the middle-class and their increased access to leisure time and discretionary spending (Baldacchino, 2016; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Mains, 2018; Sheller, 2015; Timms, 2008). International tourism was booming, with arrivals increasing from 25 million in 1950 to 340 million in 1987 (World Tourism Organization [WTO] 1987, p. 164). Among the booming destinations was the Caribbean region, with key environmental resources that attract international visitors to the region such as tropical climates, long stretches of sandy coastlines, and clear blue waters.

Coined 3S (sun, sand, sea) tourism by Weaver (1993), the Caribbean upholds ideal conditions for tourists to engage in high-demand recreation and leisure activities, particularly during the cooler seasons in regions of the global north (Hübner & Gössling, 2012). Tourism proved to be a viable alternative to agriculture, eventually becoming the leading economic sector across much of the Caribbean region (Weaver, 1993). The Caribbean, along with other Small Island Developing States (SIDS), soon became the world's "pleasure periphery" (Turner & Ash, 1975), a leisure playground for those living in the global north or the core regions of the world.

3S resorts and cruise ship tourism are the most dominant forms of tourism in the Caribbean (Apollo & Rettinger, 2019), with masses of tourists annually arriving at a rate that surpasses resident populations. In 2016, the population of the Caribbean was 42.8 million people (United Nations Statistics Division [UN data], 2020) and in that same year, the region welcomed 46.7 million international visitors (WTTC, 2018) (i.e., 4+ million more tourists than residents). Tourism spending contributes US\$31.4 billion to the regional economy, which represents 15% (US\$56.4 billion) of the regional GDP and supports 14% (2.4 million) of the regional employment (WTTC, 2018). Prior to the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic, tourism's contribution to Caribbean GDP has steadily grown (e.g., 12.6% in 2010 to 14.9% in 2016) (+4.6%) (WTTC, 2018), underscoring the region's reliance on 3S tourism to gain access to foreign exchange earnings. Indeed, there are differences between the islands and their level of dependency, but nevertheless more than half of the islands rely on tourism for greater than 25% of their GDP, with some as high as 95% (e.g., British Virgin Islands) (Conway & Timms, 2010; WTTC, 2018).

2.5.1 Caribbean Climate

Island states in the Caribbean have spent the past several decades marketing and attracting visitors to engage in the 3S tourism, with weather and climate directly shaping the regional destination image (Scott, Simpson, & Sim, 2012; Wilson & Becken, 2011). The Caribbean is therefore heavily dependent upon favourable climatic conditions in the coastal zone to attract tourists, hinging their economic viabilities in part, on visitors' preference for and perceptions of favourable weather (Rutty & Scott 2014). Studies have shown that Caribbean beach tourists are heavily deterred by rain, strong winds, and cloud cover, while sun and high temperatures serve as a key attraction (Matthews et al. 2020; Rutty & Scott 2015; Rutty et al. 2020). Forster et al. (2012) found that approximately 70% of respondents stated they travelled to the Caribbean during March and April due to favourable weather conditions. Moreover, Uyarra et al., (2005) found that not only is weather important to attracting tourists to visit the Caribbean for the first time, but it is also critical to tourists' decision to return to the region.

According to the Koppen climate classification scheme, the Caribbean is characterized by high temperatures, with an average annual temperature of 18°C or higher, with a pronounced bimodal rainfall season (i.e., dry and wet season) (Peel et al. 2007). The touristic high season for the Caribbean (i.e., peak tourism demand) occurs during the dry season (December to May) (Matthews et al. 2020), with demand dropping during hurricane season (June to November). Hurricanes in the region often originate near the African

continent, following the prevailing winds in the Atlantic Ocean towards the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico (Blake, 2011; Editions, 2006; Malmstadt, 2010). Based on maximum sustained winds, hurricanes are classified into categories from 1 to 5 on the Saffir-Simpson Hurricane Wind Scale, which provides an estimate of the hurricane's potential for property damage. Major hurricanes are deemed those that range from a category 3 to 5 (Blake, 2011; Editions, 2006; Malmstadt, 2010). The strong winds and heavy rainfall of hurricanes can have far-reaching effects both offshore and inland, posing a real hazard to flora, fauna, and properties, including loss of human and animal lives (Wachnicka, 2020). The Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery (GFDRR), (2015) estimated that hurricanes cause approximately US \$835 million in damages in the Caribbean each year. For island nations that are economically vulnerable, these sustained losses can impede their development. Hurricanes are also known to lower sea surface temperatures (SST), meaning they absorb and use thermal energy from warm tropical waters as a fuel (Price, 1981) which has stark implications because as oceanic temperatures increase due to climate change, hurricanes are expected to increase in intensity in the future (IPCC, 2014).

2.5.2 Caribbean Tourism and Hurricane Risks

Hurricanes can have both direct and indirect impact on tourism, which was particularly evident following the record setting 2017 hurricane season. Hit by four category 4-5 hurricanes (Harvey, Irma, Jose, and Maria), the region experienced severe physical damages to their tourism assets, particularly on the islands of St. Barthélemy, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominica, the British and US Virgin Islands, Barbuda, Anguilla, and the twin countries

of Sint Maarten and Saint Martin (WTTC, 2018). Damage due to direct impacts included infrastructure damage (e.g., damage to airports; resorts, and ports) and environmental impacts (e.g., beach loss and damage to local flora and fauna).

While it might be assumed that only those islands that directly sustained damage during the hurricane season of 2017 may have experienced a drop in tourist arrivals, even those islands that were physically unaffected also suffered tourism losses. As noted by the WTTC (2018, pg. 3), more than two thirds of Caribbean destinations were physically unaffected, yet “A public misconception that the entire Caribbean was struck by the storms has been damaging to the region.” Consequently, international tourism arrivals decreased by 826,100, which is equivalent to approximately US\$741 million in visitor spending that would have generated US\$292.5 million in GDP and funded 11,005 jobs (WTTC, 2018).

Hurricanes therefore have significant and severe indirect impacts that influence tourists’ destination choice (Daye, 2014; Hübner & Gössling, 2012; Forster et al., 2012). Using a difference-in-difference economic modeling technique, Scott et al. (2020) found that hurricanes from 2004 to 2018 reduced arrivals by 40% in the month of the storm and 34% in the month following. On the other hand, Granvorka and Strobl (2013) found that even if there was no hurricane strike in the Caribbean, the perceived risk of a hurricane strike was enough to reduce tourists’ willingness to travel to the destination. Moreover, Forster et al. (2012) found that 40% of participants factored hurricane season into their decision-making process when booking a holiday to the Caribbean, with an additional 20% indicating their decision to travel during specific dates was influenced by low risk of hurricane. Tourists cancelling their holidays or changing their itinerary due to their perception of extreme

weather can therefore have far reaching economic and social impacts, including reduced revenues, loss of livelihoods (e.g., employment), and can impede post-disaster recovery (Daye, 2014; Granvorka & Strobl, 2013; Hübner & Gössling, 2012; Matzarakis, 2006; Becken et al., 2010).

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed how risks are socially constructed by institutions within cultures and how these risks can be manipulated and amplified in a multitude of ways. Importantly, the chapter outlines the various practices the media uses to report events and that this is often not a true representation of reality that can work to amplify the risk perception of readers. It also highlights the role of the media as a prominent source of weather and climate information for tourists, including the media's influence on tourists' risk perception and decision to travel. The chapter also highlighted hurricane impacts within the Caribbean, both direct and indirect. The following chapters seek to understand how the media has framed hurricane impacts on tourism in the Caribbean in the past 40 years and the role the media plays in the indirect impacts of hurricanes on tourism in the Caribbean region.

3.0 Methods

Through an exploratory analysis of news articles and transcripts published in the last 40-years, this thesis investigates news media attribute agenda setting and framing of hurricane events in the context of Caribbean tourism. Specifically, this study aims to determine the most frequently mentioned attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism within the media as well as the frames the media uses to communicate news information regarding hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. Examining the most salient attributes of an issue present within the news media is important because attribute agenda setting influences what aspect of an issue (or event) audiences will consider when they think about or make judgements about that issue. Understanding the frames the news media uses and thus how a story is framed is also important because news media framing influences audience's perception of and attitude regarding an issue. This section outlines the methods undertaken by the researcher to determine the attributes and framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism.

3.1 Study Area

The Caribbean basin, located south-east of the Florida peninsula, north of South America, and north-east of Central America, covers an area of approximately 2,754,000 km², has over 7000 islands, and is home to over 42.8 million people (Siegel et al., 2013) (Figure 2). The Caribbean was selected for this study because it is not only one of the most tourism dependent regions in the world (e.g., represents 15% of regional GDP and 14% of jobs) (WTTC, 2018), but it is highly dependent on favourable climatic conditions in the coastal

zone (i.e., high temperatures, sunshine) (Rutty et al. 2020; Matthews et al. 2020). However, due to the region’s tropical climate, geographical location, and proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, the islands within the Caribbean region are highly vulnerable to a variety of geophysical hazards, including hurricanes, which directly and indirectly impact tourism.

Figure 2 - Map of the Caribbean



(Source: The Atlas of Canada, 2020)

3.1.1 News Media Articles

Media articles related to hurricane and tourism in the Caribbean were collected using an advanced news search in the LexisNexis database in November 2019. Under the “Headline and Lead Sections,” the search string: ‘hurricane* w/5 touris*’ was entered. Here,

‘hurricane*’ and ‘touris*’ (or any other variants) represents the keywords used and “w/5” is known as a connector denoted by “w/n.” The w/n connector is used to find articles containing the keywords within ‘n’ words of each other. The smaller the ‘n’, the more closely connected the words are as part of a sentence or describing parts of a general idea. Several variants of ‘w/n’ were attempted, however upon reviewing a sample of the resulting articles, it was found they were less likely to be related to the present research (i.e., unrelated to tourism). The search resulted in 3,414 news articles, however, many articles were related to Florida and North Carolina, so the geography filter was applied to specify ‘Caribbean Islands,’ yielding 1,059 news articles. After turning on the “remove duplicates” filter, the sample was reduced to 882 news articles, which was further reduced as more duplicate articles were found in the sample (see section 3.1). This resulted in a final count of 635 news articles.

3.1.2 Exploration and Coding of Attributes and Frames

Hurricane events and their implications for tourism within the Caribbean region can be approached from many perspectives (i.e., attributes) and frequently occurring attributes (i.e., those that are consistently mentioned within the media) will become prominent in people’s minds (McCombs, 1997). Additionally, how the journalists construct news messages to describe an issue or an event (i.e., framing), influences people’s perceptions and attitudes toward the issue or event at hand (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Kim et al., 2002). As a first step, the researcher employed an exploratory approach to determine the attributes and frames within the news media by conducting a content analysis of a random subsample

of 50 news documents. To determine which 50 articles to analyze for attributes and frame exploration, Random.org was used (Stock, 2007). The program randomly generates a number from the initial sample of 882 articles (i.e., selects a value between the numbers 1 and 882). The first number generated was 581. The researcher then used the formula $K = N/n$ to generate a skip number, so as not to analyze news articles in succession. In the formula, N equals the total number of articles (882) and n is equal to the sample size (50) resulting in K being equal to 17.64 which was rounded up resulting in a skip number of 18. This means that the first article which was analyzed was article 581 and using the skip number of 18, the researcher skipped every 18 newspaper articles before analyzing another article, therefore the second article which was analyzed was article 599.

First, the descriptive details of each article were identified, including the title of the article, date of publication, name of publication, and publication type (if available). Next, to determine the most salient attributes within the media over the last 40-years, the researcher first needed to know the attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, in order to note when they were mentioned within a news document, then to sum the total of each attribute. As such, emerging attributes were determined following a systematic review of the 50 randomly selected subsample news documents. The researcher read each article to determine the various attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism mentioned within the news documents. When a new attribute is identified, it was defined and assigned a name, then assigned a binary code of either '0' or '1', with the former denoting the absence of the attribute within the news document and the latter indicating the attribute as present within the

news document. Thirteen attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism were identified within the 50 subsample of news documents (see Table 1).

Table 1. Coding Criteria for Attributes

Attribute	Attribute Coding Criteria
Hurricane event impact tourism infrastructure	Noted when the news document mentioned damages to individual tourism-related infrastructure (e.g., Resorts/Hotels/Restaurants) due to hurricane event.
Tourists unsafe during hurricane events	Noted when the news document mentioned tourists felt unsafe or stated that tourists were unsafe due to hurricane event.
Hurricane event impact Caribbean vacation experiences	Noted when the news document mentioned tourists' vacations were affected by hurricane event.
Hurricane event Caribbean-wide	Noted when news document mentioned that hurricane events in the Caribbean occurred at a regional scale
Hurricane event impairs aesthetic of landscape	Noted when news document mentioned damages to the natural environment (e.g., Beach erosion/ Loss of trees)
Hurricane event disrupts flights	Noted when the news document mentioned that due to hurricane event, flights were cancelled or delayed, or airports were closed.
Impaired tourism sector(s) now functional	Noted when the news document mentioned that tourism sectors that were once impaired by hurricane event, were now equipped to welcome and service tourists.
Hurricane event impairs tourism sector(s)	Noted when the news document mentioned that due to hurricane event, the Caribbean region or island destinations were ill equipped to welcome and service tourists.
Despite hurricane, tourism sector uninterrupted	Noted when the news document mentioned that despite reports of hurricane event, the Caribbean region or island destinations were unaffected and equipped to welcome and service tourists.
Hurricane event impacts local economy	Noted when the news document mentioned that hurricane events negatively affected the economies of specific islands or the regional economy.
Hurricane impact on arrivals	Noted when the news document mentioned that due to hurricane event, tourist arrivals to the Caribbean declined.
Hurricane events disrupts cruise ships	Noted when the news document mentioned that due to hurricane event, cruise ships were diverted, or ports were closed.
Hurricane events impact tourism-dependent workers	Noted when the news document mentioned that hurricane events impacted the livelihood of tourism-dependent workers

When journalists construct news messages, frames are embedded within the text through the frame package (i.e., framing devices and reasoning devices). As noted by Van Gorp (2007) “The frame manifests itself in media content through various framing devices, such as word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images” (p. 64). Entman (1993) expands on Van Gorp (2007) definition, stating that who the media chooses to interview and quote (i.e., sources of news information) represents another way in which the frame manifests. On the other hand, reasoning devices are statements that are either covert or clearly expressed, and serves to characterize the problem, render moral judgments, outline potential consequences, or recommend remedies or potential solutions. As such, following the methodology employed by Van Gorp (2007) (i.e., the Constructionist Approach to Framing), an in-depth framing analysis of the 50 subsample of news documents was conducted. A framing analysis is a research methodology which allows the verification of the elements of frames through the reflexive and highly interactive nature of the investigator with the data (Altheide 1987). Through conducting a framing analysis, the frame package can be reconstructed, leading to the identification of the frames embedded and also allows researchers to investigate why these specific frames were selected (Van Gorp, 2007).

When people are assessing their level of risk, they rely on the language (i.e., word choice, descriptions etc.) used to convey information regarding potential hazards. The language used gives readers a sense of the likelihood of impact and the potential for damage, injury, or death. According to Kapuściński and Richards (2016), the qualitative risk features of language can work to either attenuate or amplify risk perception. Qualitative aspects of language that can work to attenuate perceived risk include language characterized by “the

familiar, the controllable, limited effects, clear benefits, positive affect, consequences not fatal” (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016. p, 235). Meanwhile qualitative aspects of language that can work to amplify perceived risk include language characterized by “the uncontrollable, catastrophic effects, no clear benefits, negative affect, and consequences fatal” (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016. p, 235).

The elements of a frame are scattered throughout the news document, however, together, they point to a core idea, which is the frame and thus the framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. In this thesis, the researcher reconstructed the frame packages of the emerging frames by reading each news document to determine the framing devices and reasoning the devices of the frames. The researcher analyzed and noted the important textual decisions made by the media, meaning the terminologies and words chosen to describe reality were examined (word choice, descriptions, exemplars) as well as sources of information and the presence or absence of certain words or information. Evaluation of the language of the frame within this thesis was adapted from Kapuściński and Richards (2016). The reasoning devices (i.e., latent variables which are the covert or overt statements concerned with cause, justification, casting judgement, and remedies) were also determined. When a new framing or reasoning device was identified, the coding criteria were clearly defined, it was assigned an appropriate name, then it was grouped with other devices that pointed to the frame. The frames and their devices (i.e., framing devices or reasoning devices) were then added to the spreadsheet which also included the attributes. Framing and reasoning devices were noted as present in the news documents by assigning a binary code of ‘1’ which denotes the presence of the device or ‘0’, which denoted the absence of the device

from the news document. As a result of this analysis, a frame matrix for the frame package was developed (as seen in Table 2). The above methodologies to identify attributes and frames within the news documents was then applied to the full sample of 635 news articles.

It should be noted that even though the media can frame the issue in terms of an attribute, mentioning an attribute within a news document does not automatically mean that the issue was framed within that attribute. In fact, the content analysis revealed that multiple attributes and frames could be found in a single news document.

Table 2. Coding Criteria for Frames

	Frames			
	Victim	Disruption	Business as usual	Apocalyptic
Reasoning Devices				
What is the defined problem?	Tourists' needs/expectations not met; level of safety compromised.	Tourism-related infrastructure impaired, tourism operations disrupted.	Tourists may have a perception they will be at risk due to hurricane event.	Entire Caribbean region is vulnerable to hurricane effects (including strike, heavy rain, strong winds)
What created the problem?	Hurricane event.	Hurricane event leading to disaster.	Spread of misinformation regarding hurricane events.	Colossal hurricane sweeping through entire region.
What are the consequences?	Tourists' vacations ruined; tourists unsafe.	Tourism activities temporarily disrupted	Tourists may cancel vacations.	Entire Caribbean region unsafe.
What are the treatment recommendations?	Tourists must be evacuated or "flee" to safety.	Destinations have/will quickly rebuild; reassure tourists of safety and limited inconvenience.	Reassure tourists island destinations/Caribbean region is safe for travel and they should not cancel vacation.	Tourists avoid region or be evacuated to safety.
Framing Devices				
What is the language of the frame?	Language characterized by the uncontrollable, no clear benefits, negative affect, fear, harm, vulnerability, frustration, panic, alarm, disappointment, regret.	Language characterized by limited effects, hope, efficiency, security, the controllable.	Language characterized by safety, security, clear benefits, positive affect.	Language characterized by the uncontrollable, catastrophic effects, no clear benefits, negative affect, and consequences fatal.
Who are the main sources?	Tourists.	Caribbean government, Tourism managers, Travel company.	Caribbean government, Tourism managers, Travel company.	Tourists.

Since the researcher is the sole coder, an intra-coder reliability test was conducted to ensure the validity of the coding. According to Lewis-Beck et al. (2003) “Intracoder (intrarater or intraobserver) reliability provides an estimate of the relative consistency of judgments within a coder over time” (p. 2). The traditional method for calculating the reliability of intracoders involves a Test-Retest Reliability, whereby a coder makes a judgment regarding an observation at two separate occasions, separated by a certain period of time (Lewis-Beck et al., 2003). Using the coding criteria above (i.e., Tables 1 and 2), the researcher conducted a second analysis on the same subsample of 50 news documents. As such, each of the news document was read, and attributes and frames that were present within a news document were coded ‘1’, whereas attributes and frames that were not present were coded ‘0’. Once the second analysis was complete, reliability was tested by comparing the two spreadsheets to determine whether the researcher was able to correctly identify and code the same attributes and frames. The reliability test matched 100%. The methodology above was used to guide the analysis of the full sample set of documents (n = 635).

While conducting the attribute and framing exploration, it was discovered that there remained duplicate articles within the sample. To remove duplicates, the researcher concatenated row values under the four columns “Title,” “Source of Publication,” “Year of Publication,” and “Month of Publication” into an empty column (see figure 3). Next, a “COUNTIFS” formula was entered into another column which work by comparing the concatenated column for exact row matches. As shown in Figure 3, if more than one row contains the exact string of information, the formula returns a value of “TRUE” and highlights

duplicates cells in red. The process allowed the researcher to identify duplicate articles once the title, source, year, and month of publication were entered for each media article. Once all duplicates were identified and eliminated, the sample size was reduced to 645. The sample was later filtered to remove articles from trade publications as these articles were not considered representative of traditional news media articles accessed by the public. A final sample consisted of 635 articles in 283 publications worldwide. A complete list of the news media articles analyzed in this research can be found in Appendix C.

Figure 3 – Eliminating Duplicate Articles

=COUNTIFS(\$H\$3:\$SH105,\$SH105,\$SH105)>1

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Count	Page	PDF	Title	Source	Year Pub	Month Pub	Combined		Main Island/ Country	Hurricane Name	Notes 1
											Head("hurricane" /5 tourists")
103	7	LN 101-200	Mexico airlifts tourists after Hurricane Odile	Associated Press State & Local	2014	September	Mexico airlifts tourists after Hurricane OdileAssociated Press State & Local2014September	FALSE	Mexico	Odile	
104	10	LN 101-200	100,000 FLEE HURRICANE: Tourists ordered to leave Florida holiday islands; Tourists ordered to leave the Florida Keys to escape Hurricane Georges	Daily Record	1998	September	100,000 FLEE HURRICANE: Tourists ordered to leave Florida holiday islands; Tourists ordered to leave the Florida Keys to escape Hurricane GeorgesDaily Record1998September	TRUE	Multiple	Georges	Duplicate of LN 101-200 #47
105	12	LN 101-200	Puerto Rico Tourism Company Says the Island Is Open to Tourists After Hurricane Irene; Beaches, Hotels, Casinos and Airports Are Fully Functional	PR Newswire	2011	August	Puerto Rico Tourism Company Says the Island Is Open for Tourists After Hurricane Irene; Beaches, Hotels, Casinos and Airports Are Fully FunctionalPR Newswire2011August	TRUE	puerto rico	Irene	Duplicate of LN 1-100 #67
106	14	LN 101-200	Puerto Rico Tourism: Island open for tourists after Hurricane Irene	Etarbo News	2011	August	Puerto Rico Tourism: Island open for tourists after Hurricane IreneEtarbo News2011August	TRUE	puerto rico	Irene	Duplicate of LN 1-100 #67
107	16	LN 101-200	AM TRAVEL-Log, Bgt., Budget; See CP Photo CPT 151 (Vertical, shows destroyed yacht), 152 (Horizontal, crushed hotel) After Hurricane Luis; Tourist areas scramble to rebuild for peak season	The Canadian Press (CP)	1995	September	AM TRAVEL-Log, Bgt., Budget; See CP Photo CPT 151 (Vertical, shows destroyed yacht), 152 (Horizontal, crushed hotel) After Hurricane Luis; Tourist areas scramble to rebuild for peak seasonThe Canadian Press (CP)1995September	TRUE	Multiple	Luis	Duplicate of LN 1-100 #78

3.3 Chapter Summary

Chapter three outlined the methodology used to determine the most salient attributes within the media between 1979 and 2019. This chapter also outlines the media framing analysis the researcher used in order to reconstruct the framing package to determine the frames thus the framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. Finally, the chapter outlined challenges encountered by the researcher (e.g., having to manually remove duplicates from the spreadsheet) and how this was addressed. Results from the content analysis, a detailed analysis, discussion, and conclusion can be found in the following chapters.

4.0 Results and Analysis

There were two main objectives of this study: first, the researcher wanted to understand what attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism were most frequently mentioned within the media in the last 40 years. The researcher also wanted to understand how hurricane events within the context of Caribbean has been framed within the media. These objectives were achieved through undertaking a mixed-methods content analysis (including a framing analysis) of 635 news articles and transcripts, published between 1979 and 2019. This chapter presents the findings of the research and is divided into three sections: The first section provides information on the 635 news media documents analyzed in this thesis (e.g., publication type, geographic origins of news articles). The second section outlines the most frequently mentioned attributes, while the third section details the four frames the media used when reporting hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, how these frames manifested within the text and as such, media framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism.

4.1 Publication Information

Of the 635 news media articles, 67% were newspaper articles, 17% were newswires (i.e., press releases), 13% online news publications (i.e., those published online and not in print), and 3% transcripts from television broadcasts (Table 3).

Table 3 - Publication Type

Publication Type	Frequency (<i>n</i>)	Percent (%)
Newspaper	424	67
Newswire	105	17
Online News Publication	85	13
Television Transcript	21	3

Total	635	100
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Articles on hurricanes and Caribbean tourism were disseminated by a total of 283 media outlets from 23 countries and 3 world regions (Table 4). The majority of the articles were published by media outlets in the United States (45%), followed by the United Kingdom (27%), Canada (14%), and Australia (4%). It is noted that the top three countries are the three largest tourist markets for the Caribbean region.

Table 4 – Location of publisher

Country/Region without Duplicates	Frequency (<i>n</i>)	Percent (%)
The United States	127	44.9
The United Kingdom	77	27.2
Canada	39	13.8
Australia	11	3.9
India	3	1.1
Caribbean	2	0.7
China	2	0.7
France	2	0.7
Middle East and North Africa	2	0.7
South Africa	2	0.7
Chile	1	0.4
Austria	1	0.4
Barbados	1	0.4
Germany	1	0.4
Honduras	1	0.4
Italy	1	0.4
Jamaica	1	0.4
Latin America	1	0.4
Pakistan	1	0.4
Russia	1	0.4
Russia	1	0.4
Singapore	1	0.4
Spain	1	0.4
Thailand	1	0.4
The Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania)	1	0.4
The Netherlands	1	0.4
Total	283	100

The majority of media articles (79%) were published between 2000 and 2019 (Table 5). In terms of decade, 2000-2009 had the most news articles published (43%), while the period between 1979 and 1989 had the least number of news articles. This may be attributed to a number of reasons. First, the sample analyzed for the period 1979-1989 had news articles for 1979, 1980, 1988, and 1989, meaning that news articles for the years 1981 to 1987 inclusive, were missing from the sample. Perhaps there were limited articles on the topic during those years or these years were simply not available within the LexisNexis database. Another factor may be due to less intense hurricanes during this period (i.e., lower category hurricanes), as demonstrated by Figure 4, which shows that with the exception of 1986, the Accumulated Cyclone Energy (ACE) index¹ was comparatively low in the 1980s and 1990s versus after the 2000s.

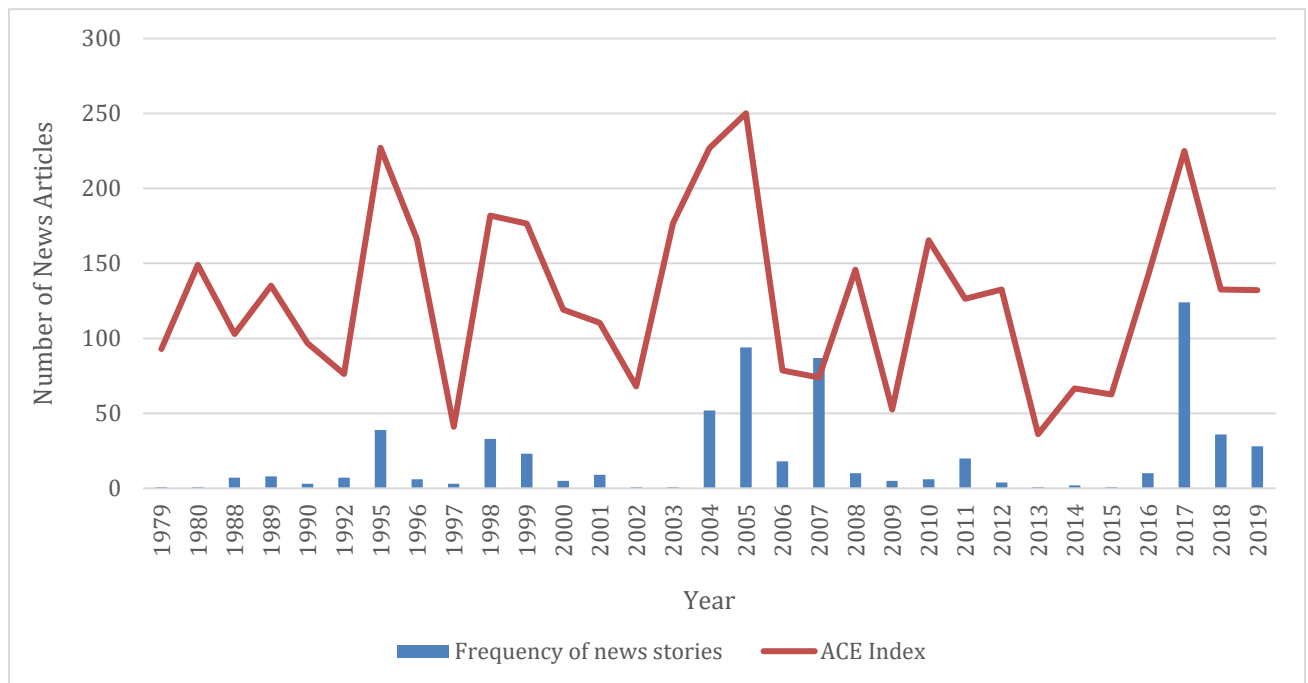
Table 5 - Publication by decade

Year	Frequency (<i>n</i>)	Percent (%)
2000 to 2009	276	43
2010 to 2019	229	36
1990 to 1999	113	18
1979 to 1989	17	3
Total	635	100

The Accumulated Cyclone Energy (ACE) index is a key metric used by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) to measure the total seasonal hurricane activity. The ACE index is the wind energy index which is the sum of the squares of the highest sustained surface wind speed (knots) measured every six hours for all named storms of at least tropical storm strength (NOAA, 2019)

Given that 2017 was a historic hurricane season, it is perhaps unsurprising that 2017 had the most news articles published (19%), followed by 2005 (15%), 2007 (14%), and 2004 (8%). As shown in Figure 4, it is clear there is a positive relationship between the frequency of news articles and the ACE index, suggesting that as hurricanes intensify, media publication of news articles on the topic also increases. Relatedly, the same uptick in news articles occurs during the Atlantic hurricane season, with the majority of articles being published in September (34%), October (25%), August (17%), and November (6%). These results align with studies by Wählberg and Sjöberg (2000) and Renn et al., (1992), who both found that the amount of media attention was proportional to the severity of physical impacts of potential hazards, noting that as the risk increases for property loss, human injury or death, media attention also increases.

Figure 4 - Frequency of News Articles per Year and The ACE Index



Source: (Scott et al. 2020)

4.2 Frequently Mentioned Attributes Within the Media

The analysis revealed that in the last 40-years, the news media based their reporting on 13 attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, the majority, focusing on the negative outcomes or potentially negative outcomes for the Caribbean tourism sector or tourism stakeholders due to hurricane events. As shown in Table 6, hurricane events causing physical damage to tourism-related infrastructure was the most salient attribute, being mentioned within 46% of the news documents. Here, news documents reported impacts to resorts, hotels, restaurants, and other tourism-related infrastructures and attractions. Tourists being unsafe within Caribbean destinations during a hurricane event was the second most mentioned attribute (45%), while hurricane impact on tourists' vacation experiences was the third most frequently occurring attribute (39%). The fourth most frequently mentioned attribute is that hurricane events occurred at a regional scale (35%), meaning that the entire Caribbean region is exposed to the effects of a reported hurricane event. As well, 35% of the news documents highlighted hurricane impacts on the natural environment, focusing on the state of beaches, reefs, lawns, and trees (e.g., level of damage or accessibility). Another frequently occurring attribute was hurricane impacts on air transportation, with 30% of the news articles reporting flight cancellations and airport closures. Mentioned within 29% of the documents was that tourism sectors that were once impaired, were now functional and capable of welcoming and servicing

the needs of tourists. This was followed by tourism sectors being impaired and unable to accommodate tourists (27%).

Table 6 –Frequency of Attributes Within News Documents

Attribute	Excerpt Examples from News Articles	Frequency (n)	Percent (%)
Hurricane event impact tourism infrastructure	<i>As one of the most powerful Atlantic storms in a century, Irma has killed 21 people, leaving hotels, airports and other buildings damaged. (Global English, September 10, 2017)</i>	291	46
Tourists unsafe during hurricane events	<i>“I don't care how I get out, I just want out,” said Gloria Romaine, a tourist from Orlando, Fla. Her vacation ended abruptly Saturday night as she huddled under a mattress while her hotel room exploded around her. “I want a bath and a cold drink. I don't think that's too much to ask of a vacation.” (The Houston Chronicle, September 19, 1995)</i>	286	45
Hurricane event impact vacation experiences	<i>Ciesla arrived Thursday with visions of an island wedding. She finally got her island wedding Monday, with the damaged international airport, complete with soggy floors and crumpled ceilings, as a backdrop. (The Houston Chronicle, September 19, 1995)</i>	247	39
Hurricane event Caribbean-wide	<i>Hurricane Cristobal has killed at least five people after it hurled heavy rains across the Atlantic and Caribbean islands. (Independent.co.uk, August 26, 2014)</i>	225	35
Hurricane event impairs aesthetic of landscape	<i>Palms were stripped of their fronds. Beaches were washed away. Yet at the same time, there was hope--that stricken islanders would be able to restore their ports and towns quickly enough to save their tourist season. (Chicago Tribune, November 12, 1995)</i>	223	35
Hurricane event disrupts flights	<i>The unprecedented devastation caused by Hurricane Dorian to the northern islands of the Bahamas and the disruption in travel itineraries to many airports during this period, will negatively impact the economy in the short term. (EFE Newswire, September 07, 2019)</i>	189	30
Impaired tourism sector(s), now functional	<i>Last autumn this idyllic bolthole - and much else in the Caribbean - was swept away by Hurricane Ivan. Four months later, it's back and so are the tourists. (The Guardian (London), January 29, 2005)</i>	184	29

Hurricane event impairs tourism sector(s)	<i>The Cayman Islands has restarted PR activity in a bid to bounce back from Hurricane Ivan, which tore a pounds 250m hole in its tourism industry last September. (PR Week, February 11, 2005)</i>	172	27
Despite hurricane, tourism sector uninterrupted	<i>THE Caribbean is open for business in the peak winter tourist season despite some hotel closures, beach destruction and flood damage in the wake of Hurricane Lenny. (The Voice, December 13, 1999)</i>	161	25
Hurricane event impacts local economy	<i>When hurricanes named Luis and Marilyn roared through the Caribbean last September, lives were lost, homes and hotels were damaged or destroyed, and the economic viability of an entire region seemed threatened. (Chicago Tribune, November 12, 1995)</i>	154	24
Hurricane Impact on Arrivals	<i>After increasing for 5 consecutive years, tourism arrivals decreased 24.1 percent; arrivals fell significantly in the months following Hurricanes Irma and Maria. (States News Service, December 17, 2018)</i>	102	16
Hurricane events disrupts Cruise Ships	<i>Royal Caribbean and Carnival were among major international cruise lines that rearranged itineraries for more than a dozen ships in the area. (The Gazette, August 25, 2011)</i>	95	15
Hurricane Impact on tourism-dependent workers	<i>But that daily tourist foot traffic masks the slog facing residents enduring a triple whammy of setbacks — lack of insurance, federal aid limits and job loss as most major hotels remain closed. (Washington Post, February 7, 2018)</i>	78	12

Mentioned within 25% of news documents was that tourism sectors within destinations or the Caribbean region as a whole, were open for business despite reports of a hurricane event.

Almost a quarter (24%) of the news documents noted the economic impact hurricane events can have on island destinations or the Caribbean region as a whole (e.g., reduction in tourism revenues). Hurricane impact on tourists' arrival to Caribbean destinations was among the bottom three attributes mentioned in the news documents, with 16% reporting that arrivals were negatively affected due to an active hurricane or a past hurricane event. Hurricane impacts on cruise ships were mentioned in 15% of the news articles, which was predominantly due to port closures and ships being diverted. The least mentioned attribute was the impact of hurricanes on

tourism-dependent workers, with only 12% noting how hurricanes can disrupt the livelihoods of Caribbean people who are reliant upon the travel and tourism sector for income and employment.

Attribute salience within the media can be transferred to audiences and influence what they will consider when they think about or make judgments about a given issue or event. The findings of Kim et al. (2012), revealed that attribute salience in the media is transferred to audiences and greatly influences the issue-attributes they consider when thinking about the issue. Given that the most salient attributes within the media over the last 40-years (i.e., the top six attributes) are related to disastrous outcomes for both tourists and Caribbean tourism sectors, this suggests that these attributes will be top of mind when audiences think about hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. This is an especially critical finding if a segment of audiences is considering engaging in a Caribbean vacation, since the three most salient attributes within the media are related to damages to tourism-related infrastructure and that hurricanes negatively impacting tourists' level of safety and vacation experiences within the Caribbean region. This means that not only can this salience be transferred to audiences but importantly, these attributes are positioned as critical elements to consider when they think about hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. McCombs and Shaw (1972) states that agenda setting acts as a form of civic learning, meaning if the media places such prominence on a given issue or issue-attribute, then audiences will learn to believe it to be an important source of concern. As well, the news media's consistent reports that hurricane events and disasters occur at a regional scale, can influence audience's perception of the Caribbean region's hurricane vulnerability. Even though the Caribbean region measures over 2,754,000 km² and some islands are separated by

thousands of kilometers, amplification of hurricane risks toward the entire Caribbean region was salient within the media. Since this salience can be transferred to audiences, it can be stated that when audiences think about hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, they may not consider the vastness of the region and instead perceive that all island destinations within the Caribbean region are vulnerable to the effects of hurricanes. Combined, the salience of these attributes can work to influence people's risk perception and their actions to protect themselves. One way that audiences (i.e., those who maybe considering a Caribbean vacation) can protect themselves is to avoid the Caribbean region all together.

4.3 News Media Framing of Hurricane Events and Caribbean Tourism

The other objective of this thesis was to examine how the news media framed hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. Four frames emerged: the "victim" frame highlights the effects and risks of hurricane events on tourists, emphasizing tourists' safety and holiday experiences as victims of hurricane events. Through the use of the "Apocalyptic" frame, the risks and outcomes of reported hurricanes are amplified toward the entire Caribbean region. Through the "disruption" frame, hurricane events are portrayed as temporarily interrupting tourism operations with limited inconvenience for tourists. Finally, through use of the "business-as-usual" frame hurricane events are framed as isolated, with other areas being completely unaffected by hurricane risks, emphasizing that tourists face no risks or inconvenience, and that tourism is fully operational.

4.3.1 The "Victim" Frame

In the last 40 years, eight (1%) news documents reported tourists as missing following a hurricane event in the Caribbean region, while an additional ten (2%) news documents reported tourists deaths resulting from a hurricane. Collectively, these 18 articles are based on six incidents, including Hurricanes Luis (1995), Mitch (1998), Lenny (1999), Keith (2000), Iris (2001), and Sandy (2012). Therefore, multiple publications covered the same incident, and reports of tourists' deaths received higher coverage. Despite the low-risk hurricane events pose to tourists, the victim frame was consistently employed within the media.

The victim frame is grounded by constructing tourists' safety and holiday experiences as casualties of hurricane events while on vacation within the Caribbean region. The media consistently emphasized tourists' safety an issue of concern thereby portraying tourists as particularly vulnerable to hurricane events. This frame is manifested by tourists described as being 'trapped,' 'stranded,' and 'abandoned' within 'unsafe' Caribbean destinations and are unable to leave due to a variety of reasons including lack of flights, oversight on the part of local tourism officials, tour companies, and even governments from the tourists' home countries. The qualitative features of the language used in excerpts and headlines such as: 'TOURISTS TRAPPED ON HURRICANE-HIT ISLANDS' (*sic*) (*Press Association*, October 29, 1998); 'Hurricane traps sun isle Britons; JAMAICA: Tourists huddle in shelters as 150mph storm strikes' (*sic*) (*Birmingham Evening Mail*, August 20, 2007); and 'Islands battered as Floyd comes ashore; HURRICANE DRAMA: British tourists trapped in storm zone' (*sic*) (*Bath Chronicle*, September 15, 1999) convey a sense trepidation, the uncontrollable, and negative effects of being ensnared in a dangerous situation with little redress. According to Kapuscinski and Richards (2016), words with these qualitative features

can work to amplify perceived risk. This frame is also manifested by the media's use of words such as "terrified," "scared," and "alarmed" to describe the emotional arousal of tourists. The headline and lead sentence of one news article reads:

'HURRICANE WILMA TRAPS TOURISTS FROM LITHUANIA

Sweeping through the Atlantic, Hurricane Wilma has alarmed Lithuanian tourists in Cuba -- the element has displayed its power only 50 kilometers away from the hotel Lithuanian tourists are staying at.' (sic) (Baltic News Service, October 24, 2005).

Rothman and Kiviniemi (1999) asserts that knowledge about how people feel during a crisis event is an effective framing device which allows readers to imagine themselves in such a situation, thus influencing public perception of risk. The excerpts above demonstrated the media's tendency to use capitalized words in the headlines and lead sentences. It could be stated that a headline or a phrase written in all capitals serves to place emphasis on a word or sentence to attract readers' attention to important information. However, it may also be stated that writing in all capitals is a framing device used to convey a sense of alarm in readers. The research by Forbes and Buchanan (2018) showed that globally, capital letters elicit strong feelings, generally making people feel uncomfortable.

When tourists were finally able to leave their island vacation destinations, this was characterized as an exodus of terrified tourists, so desperate to leave the Caribbean island destinations that they ended their vacations early in order to retreat to safety. Example headlines and sentences include, 'TOURISTS ESCAPE HURRICANE' (sic) (Belfast Newsletter (Northern Ireland), October 30, 1998); 'Alarmed tourists jammed Caribbean airports for flights

out of Hurricane Dean's path Saturday as the monster storm began sweeping past the Dominican Republic and Haiti and threatened to engulf Jamaica and the Cayman Islands' (*The Daily Courier*, August 19, 2007); and 'Tourists Flee Killer Hurricane' (*The Journal*, August 21, 2007). The media describes tourists needing desperately to escape a particularly frightening or dangerous situation which works to convey a sense of catastrophic effects and potentially fatal consequences. In addition to emphasizing tourists as unsafe, this frame works to construct the Caribbean and island destinations within the Caribbean region as unsafe and hazard-prone, given frequent use of words 'flee' and tourists' intensified need to leave. The headline and opening sentence of one article reads:

'Tourists want off battered St. Thomas; Hurricane Marilyn blows away vacations Dragging suitcases, shielding themselves from the sun, their vacations shattered by Hurricane Marilyn but their lives no longer in peril, hundreds of tourists trudged to the airport Monday in a forlorn attempt to flee paradise' (The Houston Chronicle, September 19, 1995)

In some articles, tourists were even portrayed as targets of hurricane events with a number of the news articles using language that clearly stated or implied that a hurricane's trajectory will specifically hit tourist enclaves. Excerpts include, 'MICHELLE HEADS FOR TOURIST RESORT - Powerful Hurricane Michelle slammed into Cuba's coast yesterday packing winds up to 135 mph and headed toward the country's premier tourist resort.' (*sic*) (*Lexington Herald Leader*, November 5, 2001); and 'Caribbean hurricane heading for tourist hotspots - BRITONS travelling to the Caribbean have been warned that a powerful tropical storm is gathering strength as it heads towards popular tourist destinations.' (*sic*) (*Mail on Sunday (London)*, August 19, 2007). Such phrasing not only minimizes the broader impacts that hurricanes can

have on the wider community (e.g., overlooks impact on local residents), but it emphasizes the risks tourists may experience. When reporting on the hurricane trajectory within the context of tourists' enclaves, the media's use of terminologies such as, "chases"; "on track"; and "heading for", can work to amplify the risk perceptions of tourists as they imply that tourists face more threat than any other stakeholders within the Caribbean region. This may also work to portray island destinations and the Caribbean region as a whole, as particularly unsafe, or risky for tourists.

Tourists' holiday experiences were framed as another casualty of hurricane events. Here, hurricanes were reported to affect tourists' ability to enjoy their vacations due to several disruptions, such as sheltering in place at their hotels, being evacuated to shelters within the destination, lack of water and electricity, or having restricted access to tourism services (e.g., restaurants, entertainment). The use of framing devices such as high impact language and harrowing description of shelter conditions, can work to portray Caribbean vacations as particularly unpleasant during a reported hurricane event. Detailed description of the poor conditions while sheltering, even if tourists remain at their hotels or resorts, is used to contrast tourists' expected vacation experiences with their actual vacation experiences. Excerpts include: 'Tourists who had come for a carefree vacation found themselves spending the day in crowded, rain-soaked shelters or in hotels without lights or air conditioning' (*The Houston Chronicle*, July 19, 2005) and 'Almost three days without electricity, running water, room service and telephone service had been hard to take - especially for the honeymooners' (*The Associated Press*, October 13, 1995), convey tourists' discontent with their vacation experiences during a hurricane event. Such news articles may work to amplify the risk perception of tourists who

would be interested in vacation experiences within the Caribbean region but may avoid island destinations or the region as a whole, in fear that a hurricane event could result in loss of services or them being crammed into shelters. Relatedly, the news media had a propensity to report on the loss of services within tourist zones and is particularly effective in conveying tourists' frustrations due to their inability to access amenities which are vital to the level of comfort of visitors expect during their holidays. One transcript even stated: 'Tourism cannot fully recover until electricity and phone service are completely restored.' (NPR, September 23, 1995), indicating how critical access to services are to vacation experiences and that hurricanes pose a risk to the disruption of these services which could result in feelings of frustration, despair, and regret. Consistent portrayals of ruined vacations during the hurricane season could serve to portray Caribbean holidays as unpleasant and may work to amplify the risk perception of tourists who may fear loss of vacation time and even money if they book vacations during that time.

Media frames can also be grounded by whom the media chooses to interview, thus giving a platform to sources, allowing them to engage in their own framing or to entrench the media's framing of a particular issue (Sarlos & Szondi, 2014; Van Gorp, 2007; Entman, 1993). An important component to the victim frame is the use of emotional first-hand accounts from tourists. Articles which used this frame tended to interview tourists who shared their harrowing experiences or their disappointment with their vacations, many vowing never to return to the Caribbean. In fact, the analysis revealed that tourists were the second most quoted source, appearing in 34% of the news articles analyzed (see Appendix B). According to Sarlos and Szondi (2014), availability of firsthand account of experiences during crises events contributes

to the readers' construction of reality. Readers of this kind of material are able to imagine the events happening to them (Rothman & Kiviniemi, 1999) which can amplify their perception of risk (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016). One excerpt which is particularly effective in conveying this is reads:

'But all the good humor in the world wasn't enough to hide the disappointment of newlywed Julie Shadd Kennedy of Chicago, who saw her dreams of a perfect honeymoon blown away by hurricane-force winds; "I don't think I'll ever go to the Caribbean in October again," she said' (The Associated Press, October 13, 1995).

Excerpts such as the one above indicates to the reader that travel to the Caribbean during the month of October would likely lead to similar negative experiences. According to Hove et al. (2014), emotional first-hand accounts play an important role in framing as it involves conveying feelings of dread, fear, and distress which plays an important role in public perception of risk.

Another excerpt read:

'Terrified honeymooner Louise Baines, 30, wept from her hotel in Jamaica: "I'm so, so scared. Nobody has an evacuation plan for us. We're stuck here on our own with nine square metres of space. The waves are crashing outside but there's no other sound. It feels completely deserted..."' (The Mirror, August 21, 2007).

It can also be stated that the victim frame can work to portray Caribbean government and tourism officials as incapable or having limited capacity to manage hurricane risks or disaster outcomes, since the only recourse that is presented is for tourists is to leave Caribbean destinations and shelter conditions are consistently portrayed as unpleasant, despite ensuring the safety of tourists. There are many ways in which the media can frame the outcomes (and

potential outcomes) of hurricane events within the context of Caribbean tourism. However, the media's consistent use of the victim frame in the last 40 years suggests that the media wanted audiences to perceive tourists' safety is a source of concern while on vacation within the Caribbean region. Here, Caribbean destinations are portrayed as hazard-prone tourists' trap and local authorities place them in unclean and unsafe shelters, thus, the only recourse is for tourists to leave the Caribbean region for safety and comfort.

Risks are primarily constructed by cultural and social dimensions and people's perception of risk can be shaped by the information they receive and how it is conveyed to them. Renn et al., (1992) outlines how various institutions including the media, are able to identify risks and can also amplify people's perceptions of real or perceived risks through use of framing. Through agenda setting, the media can direct public attention to particular attribute of an event and through framing, the media can influence the public's perception and understanding of said event. It could be stated that the media are justified in placing emphasis on the safety and vacation experiences of tourists since their consumption of tourism experiences is critical to the economies of island nations within the Caribbean region. Indeed, in 2016 tourists' spending represented 15% of regional GDP and help to sustain the livelihoods of tourism-dependent workers within the Caribbean region. Therefore, tourists are an important and valuable component to the sustainability of tourism in the Caribbean region and their safety and wellbeing is undoubtedly important to both manage and prevent. However, of concern is the consistent use of the victim frame which works to portray hurricane events as particularly risky to tourists' safety and holiday experiences which can influence how audiences perceive Caribbean tourism.

4.3.2 The “Apocalyptic” Frame

The apocalyptic frame tells the story that the entire Caribbean region is vulnerable to a colossal hurricane event. Articles which used this frame provided limited information regarding the geographic proximity and trajectory of hurricanes, instead amplifying hurricane risks and outcomes toward the entire region by stating or insinuating the Caribbean as whole will or have experienced a hurricane event. This frame is grounded by constructing hurricanes as immense in size and strength while simultaneously constructing the Caribbean region as a singular entity by deemphasizing the region’s vastness as well as distances between island nations. Next, the media portrays this singular entity as wholly exposed to reported hurricane events, thereby revealing the function of the apocalyptic frame: to communicate a sense of unfair impact distribution which has the effect of magnifying the size of the hurricane, while simultaneously minimizing the vast geographic scale of the Caribbean region (i.e., covers an area of approximately 2,754,000 km²). Example headlines and sentences include: ‘Ivan has already killed at least 15 people as it tears through the Caribbean, the most powerful hurricane to hit there in a decade.’ (*Deseret Morning News*, September 8, 2004); ‘THE full might of Hurricane Georges battered the Florida Keys last night after killing more than 300 people on a five-day rampage across the Caribbean.’ (*sic*) (*The Herald*, September 26, 1998); ‘Three catastrophic hurricanes – Frances, Ivan and Jeanne – tore through the Caribbean with a collective ferocity

not seen in years, causing hundreds of deaths and billions of dollars in damage.’ (*Monterey County Herald*, July 8, 2005) and ‘Hurricane Irma is barreling through the Caribbean, carving a deadly and destructive path along the way’ (*Express Online*, September 7, 2017). The excerpts above serve to convey information to audiences regarding the effects, momentum, and potential outcomes of hurricane events within the Caribbean region. Audiences rely on this information to assess their level of risk including the likelihood of a potential strike on a particular island destination as well as the potential damage in the event of a strike. It can be stated that the qualitative features of the language used by the media convey a sense of catastrophic effects, negative outcomes, and fatal consequences for the entire Caribbean region.

Indeed, some articles which used this frame often identified specific island nations within the report, however, this served only to communicate that the named islands were especially vulnerable within an already vulnerable geographic region. The analysis revealed that regardless of whether the articles eventually specified individual islands, this frame is rendered extremely effective especially since some framing devices are often prominently featured, being placed at the headline and lead sentences (i.e., opening sentence). As an example, the headline and lead sentence of one article reads:

‘Hurricane Dean hits the Caribbean - Alarmed tourists jammed Caribbean airports for flights out of Hurricane Dean’s path tonight as the monster storm began sweeping past the Dominican Republic and Haiti and threatened to engulf Jamaica and the Cayman Islands.’ (The News-Press, August 19, 2007)

The apocalyptic frame is also manifested by the language used to describe the hurricane’s supposed “assault” on the region, which has a pernicious effect. For example, one article

opened with: ‘The stream of hurricanes that hit the Caribbean this summer will knock the wind out of several tourism dependent economies, and it will be months - even years - before they fully recover, analysts say.’ (*Herald News*, October 3, 2004). By stating a hurricane “hit” or “slammed into” the Caribbean region, the media conveys a sense of widespread disaster outcomes while also diminishing the region’s vastness and exaggerating the scale of the hurricane. Additionally, the qualitative aspects of the words to describe the motion and propulsion of hurricanes within the Caribbean region, including stating hurricanes “drove through,” “roared toward,” and “barreled through” the Caribbean, can impart a perception of region-wide exposure to catastrophic effects, for example:

‘When hurricanes named Luis and Marilyn roared through the Caribbean last September, lives were lost, homes and hotels were damaged or destroyed, and the economic viability of an entire region seemed threatened. Palms were stripped of their fronds. Beaches were washed away.’ (*Chicago Tribune*, November 12, 1995).

Excerpts like the one above was ubiquitous within news documents which utilized this frame, which portrays complete devastation across the entire Caribbean region. As well, consistent use of words such as ‘destruction’, ‘disaster’ and “ruin” may be accurate descriptions of the aftermath of a hurricane strike, however, it can be asserted that by associating these high impact words with ‘the Caribbean’, can also create a sense of all-encompassing devastation and disaster for the entire region and could serve to amplify the risk perception of readers.

According to Brown (2015), the media can alter risks by either minimizing, magnifying, or skewing risks. Through use of the apocalyptic frame, the news media works to magnify risks.

This is because the message the media conveys is that the Caribbean region (and thus individual

island destinations within it) is hazard-prone, risky, and is therefore unsafe for travel during a hurricane event. Granvorka and Strobl (2013) stated that if tourists have an imperfect perceived probability of a hurricane strike on an island, they may be less likely to go to the destination. This means that if an island is lumped into an area at risk of a hurricane strike, this will have a detrimental effect on arrival to that destination, even if there is no strike. Moreover, people cannot always identify where they are or will be located relative to an objective risk area, however, as people's familiarity with the geography of an area increases, the more likely they are to accurately identify risk areas in relation to an identified hazard (Arlikatti et al., 2006; Sherman-Morris et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2004). The research by Arlikatti et al., (2006) found that only 36% of residents were able to correctly locate their residence in relation to hazard risk areas and the research by Zhang et al. (2004) had similar findings. If residents who are more familiar with their geographic areas were found to be largely unable to locate their own homes in relation to objective risk areas, then tourists may have a harder time locating their hotels and resorts in objective risk areas or in relation to a known hazard. Through use of this device, it can be stated that the media can prime readers to have a heightened sensitivity toward hurricane risks while travelling to the Caribbean. This framing by the media can also work to tarnish the destination of image of Caribbean destinations and as well as the regional image. As such, audiences who read this frame within the media (e.g., potential visitors) unfamiliar with the geography and vastness of the Caribbean region may assume that the entire region is at risk for hurricanes and could thereby avoid various island nations that are not in the path of the hurricane.

By making broad statements and providing limited nuanced information regarding the geographic proximity and trajectory of hurricanes within the Caribbean region, it appears that the aim of the apocalyptic frame is to simplify the topic for audiences. However, in doing so, this frame serves only to amplify hurricane risks toward the entire region, resulting in the Caribbean being portrayed as unsafe. Simplification for the audience's easy consumption was also evident, when the findings of this research revealed the media's tendency to provide limited information regarding the characteristics of hurricanes. In fact, the analysis found that information concerning the characteristics of hurricanes, including category and wind speed, was often limited. For example, of the 635 news articles analyzed, the majority did not include the hurricane category (63%) nor the wind speed (60%), instead reporting only the name of the hurricane. The results suggest that the news media often referenced the word 'hurricane' to convey a serious threat, without further details for individuals to ascertain their risk level. When news articles did report more detailed information on the hurricane category, it was often in the case of very strong hurricanes. For example, of the 232 news articles that included information on hurricane category, 84% were for hurricanes categorized as a 4 or 5 on the Saffir-Simpson scale and 67% when hurricanes had wind speeds greater than 209 km/h (which corresponds to a category 4 or 5 hurricane) (see Appendix A). It could be argued that the media is more likely to amplify hurricane risks for the entire region of the Caribbean due to greater potential for collateral destruction for category 4 and 5 hurricanes (i.e., higher windspeed and more rain could lead to a greater potential for damage). However, it can also be asserted that use of the apocalyptic frame is a tactic for sensationalized reporting because there is no evidence the entire Caribbean region was ever collectively exposed to hurricane risks in the last 40 years.

According to Zhang et al., (2004), divulging limited or vague information regarding potential hazards serves only to amplify risk perception as people require clear and specific information regarding the characteristics of hurricane hazards, including its track and intensity, the specific location of the potential impact, and the vulnerability of infrastructure. Having more detailed information about an extreme event allows people to determine their level of vulnerability and influences whether they take protective action. These findings are significant because when reporting hurricane events within the context of Caribbean tourism, the media largely failed to divulge critical information needed for risk assessment which could result in a lack of understanding of the potential threat, how it may affect individuals, and thereby work to amplify risk perception.

4.3.3 The “Disruption” Frame

The disruption frame communicates how individual island nations (or tourism infrastructure and attractions within those nations) or the entire region, sustained some damages due to a hurricane strike, disrupting tourism operations. One of the ways this frame manifests is through published quotes from local tourism managers and government officials who either confirm there had been a disruption and presented plans to rapidly rebuild or assured that all damages have been restored following a disruption and that tourism was again fully functional. As such, the aim of this frame appears to be to reassure tourists that even though there were hurricane-induced damages, restoration will be or was swift. Consistent use of “minimal”, “limited” and “relatively unscathed” to describe the level of hurricane-induced damage, is characterized by language with limited qualitative risk features. An example include: “Right

now, a lot of damage to the hotels, resorts and lodges is more cosmetic than physical. We are working to ensure that when visitors come, they can have access to the beaches, that they can have power, water and that the roads are clear” (Marketwired, October 2016). It could be stated that the disruption frame can work to attenuate risk perception as it tells the story of limited hurricane disaster outcomes that are manageable and controllable with minimal inconvenience to current and future travelers, rather than an apocalyptic disaster and overwhelmed or ill-prepared Destination Managers. Since Caribbean government and tourism officials are the main source for this frame, this suggests that they were successful in getting the media to publish their desired frame regarding hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. For example, one article quoted Vance Amory, Premier of Nevis as saying:

“The island of Nevis suffered limited damage from Hurricane Luis, but contrary to early, unconfirmed reports, this has not impacted heavily on the tourism sector. I am very pleased to report that water service has been restored and electrical power, which has been restored in some areas, will be fully repaired within a short time. Telecommunication linkages were never affected...The tourism sector, including historical sites, is currently making the necessary minor repairs, and visitors to the island should not be inconvenienced for any length of time.” (PR Newswire, September 18, 1995).

Excerpts such as the one above could work to attenuate the risk perception of audiences and can also serve to combat the impression that local authorities are overwhelmed and ill equipped to manage hurricane risks, instead demonstrating the disaster management capabilities of Caribbean nations. The disruption frame demonstrate that tourists do not have to leave

Caribbean destinations in the event of hurricane-induced disasters, as local government and tourism authorities have contingency plans in place in order to manage imminent and unfolding hurricane disasters.

Destinations or sectors that experienced some disruption but were restored and were now equipped to welcome and service tourists, conveyed the ability to build back better than before, perhaps improving tourists' experience following a hurricane. For example, Nicole Moultrie, a marketing officer with the Grenada tourism board was quoted as saying: ““We know that a lot of places desperately needed a facelift anyway...Now they're improving as they're rebuilding”” (*The Calgary Herald*, November 12, 2005). The disruption frame manifests in-text based on the use of words, descriptions, and arguments used to provide reassurance of security for tourists as well as local officials providing immediate and short-term remedies for the issue. For individual islands directly impacted by a hurricane, the framing may also work to convey a sense of triumph that the island nation, along with various tourism assets, managed to weather the storm and be fully operational in a matter of days or weeks. For example, in the aftermath of Hurricane Ivan striking Jamaica, a tourism official was quoted saying: “If you had seen this place two weeks ago...Somehow, we have managed to get ourselves out of the rubble and we are back in business” (*Caribbean Today*, October 31, 2004). Excerpts such as this may serve to gain the confidence of potential visitors as it assures them, they would be unable detect signs a hurricane disaster recently occurred, which can work to attenuate risk perception.

It should be noted that some news articles and transcripts which used the disruption frame, tended to portray the Caribbean region as a monolith, also making sweeping statements and generalizations regarding the operating status of the regional tourism sector. Example

headlines and excerpts include: “Most of the Caribbean was back in business last week after weathering deadly hurricane Dean” (*The Miami Herald*, August 26, 2007) and “although some areas have been damaged, the majority of the region has bounced back - in fact, 70% of Caribbean destinations were not impacted including popular hotspots St Lucia, Barbados, Antigua and Jamaica” (*mirror.co.uk*, December 14, 2017). Collectively, such examples imply that the entire region was at risk for hurricane effects when in fact, this was not the case. Interestingly, these excerpts referred to Hurricanes Dean, Mitch, Georges, Irma, Maria and Jose, yet according to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) records, there is no evidence that any of these hurricanes posed a risk to the entire Caribbean region. It can be said that these broad statements may have been employed to assure visitors the entire Caribbean region is now safe and may work to attenuate the hurricane risk perception of some individual. However, it is harmful for the media to engage in this discourse in the first place, as making these broad statements can work to amplify people’s perception regarding the region’s initial exposure to hurricane risks.

4.3.4 The “Business-as-usual” Frame

The business-as-usual frame communicated that despite reports of a hurricane event leading to disasters in some island destinations (or parts of islands), other island destinations and areas were completely unscathed. Similar to the disruption frame, one of the ways in which this frame is manifested is through published quotes from Caribbean government and tourism officials, however, they emphasized that specified areas remained unaffected by hurricane strikes and other effects (e.g., heavy rainfall, strong winds). The main concern here is that

tourists may have a perception that unaffected areas might be at risk for hurricane strikes and other effects. This frame appears to be aimed at providing more accurate information, to outline the potential consequences of this misperception, and to reassure visitors that in specified areas, tourism continues to operate without any disruption, as such, neither tourists' safety nor their vacation experiences would be jeopardized. An example that seeks to attenuate hurricane risk perception at a specific destination include:

'Officials with the Bahamas Ministry of Tourism and Aviation are trying to reinforce a different message: Most of the country's islands are open to visitors, and those tourists are badly needed. "When people say the Bahamas has been devastated, it gives the wrong impression," says Ellison (Tommy) Thompson, deputy director general of the tourism ministry... "One of the things we want to get across is the fact that the Bahamas is not one island," Thompson says. "They're having to teach geography at this point to people," says Rich Harrill, director of the International Tourism Research Institute at the University of South Carolina' (London Free Press, September 21, 2019).

Several news articles which used this frame revealed the concerns of government and tourism officials regarding hurricane risk being applied to the entire Caribbean region and visitor's understanding of Caribbean geography. One article read:

'Caribbean tourism officials are worried this year's record-breaking Atlantic hurricane season could scare away visitors who may falsely believe the entire region has been affected by the flurry of storms. How to deal with the negative publicity surrounding hurricanes was one of several issues officials planned to tackle at the four-day Caribbean Tourism Conference that kicked off Sunday in the U.S. Virgin Islands... "People's sense of geography isn't as sharp as we would wish it to be, so the perception

is that when one country is affected (by hurricanes), all are,' said Hugh Riley, marketing director for the 32-member Caribbean Tourism Organization.' (AP Worldstream, October 23, 2005).

This demonstrate that the entire Caribbean region is often perceived as a single entity whereby nuances regarding hurricane risks are obscured. The perception of the Caribbean region as a single entity not only poses a challenge for destination managers to overcome negative hurricane news articles, but it can also be detrimental for destination image and devastating to the economies of island nations. Relatedly, government and tourism officials underscored concerns regarding the media's role in spreading misinformation concerning hurricane risks within the region, with such excerpts as:

'False reports hit region's tourist trade: With £7.5 billion annual tourism income at stake, publicists are desperate to scotch exaggerated stories of hurricane damage. THE Barbados-based Caribbean Tourism Organization (CTO) has gone on the offensive against negative reports that project the region as a "devastated tourist area'. That was the clear message last Friday from CTO's secretary general, Jean Holder, who told reporters that "with comparatively few exceptions, the Caribbean tourism industry is very much open for business". Blaming the press and television networks, particularly in the US, for contributing to "the false image of widespread destruction by hurricanes Luis and Marilyn", Holder disclosed he was leaving on Sunday for the States to begin the "challenging process of setting the records straight"'
(*The Weekly Journal*, September 28, 1995).

Caribbean officials were not the only ones concerned with news media reports portrayal of hurricane events:

"With both the Caribbean and Florida, the way the news has reported it, it seems like, 'Stay away from the entire Caribbean and the entire state of Florida,'" said Francesca

Bonavita, an American Express vice president [...] “Our tourism is the industry that was most damaged, and not because of structural damage but because of perceptual damage,” said Nicki Grossman, president of the Greater Fort Lauderdale Convention & Visitors Bureau. “No hotels are closed. No businesses were lost. We are absolutely unblemished. The beach had minimal erosion.”’ (Orlando Sentinel, October 31, 2004)

The above excerpts underscore the challenges Caribbean tourism officials (and others) face, including the need for officials to engage in the arduous task of undoing damages to the image of individual nations or the region as a whole, as being risky or unsafe during the Atlantic hurricane season. Another excerpt reads: ‘Package prices often drop following a hurricane as destinations try to lure back vacationers scared off by media reports of the damage...’ (*The Canadian Press*, September 15, 1995) which demonstrate that this damage can indeed be a result of how the media frames hurricane risks and impacts within the Caribbean and can be interpreted as the media acknowledging, in some part, their role in shaping the risk perception of visitors as a result of making sweeping statements regarding hurricane risks within the entire Caribbean region. The Caribbean region is a vast geographical area with many island nations. When a hurricane develops within the Atlantic Ocean and makes its way toward the Caribbean Sea, it does not mean that all islands within the Caribbean will be at risk of a hurricane strike. Further, even if some islands may be at risk of a hurricane strike, it is vital for the media to report geographic details, as each island will be impacted to different degrees pending on distance from the eye of the storm.

Although Caribbean government and tourism officials often criticized the news media for making sweeping statements regarding hurricane risks and impacts within the Caribbean region, the findings of this research revealed they too often referred to the Caribbean region as a

single entity. Unlike the news media making sweeping statements with regards to hurricane risks and impacts within the Caribbean, Caribbean government and tourism officials, in an effort to combat this narrative created and sustained by the media, often utilized the very same language. The frequent use of “the Caribbean” or “the region” when attempting to reassure potential visitors that hurricane risks are low, reaffirms the Caribbean region as a single entity and not as a vast territory with many island nations with diverse cultures, separated by hundreds of kilometers of water. Quotes such as: ““When you know that so many of the economies in the Caribbean are very dependent on tourism, one of the best ways we can support this is getting that message out there. The Caribbean is fully open for business...” (The Independent, December 14, 2017), serve only to affirm the Caribbean region’s current portrayal as a single entity which has the same needs, and which faces the same challenges. Even the director of the National Hurricane Center in Miami was quoted as saying: ““At least for the next couple of days here, we think we're going to have a very powerful hurricane here in the Caribbean,” said Max Mayfield, director of the National Hurricane Center in Miami’ (The Vancouver Sun, October 21, 2005). By omitting specific geographic context, audiences may interpret the information as the entire region being at risk, particularly when authorities or people who are considered experts in climate and weather information engage in this kind of discourse. Importantly, this portrayal of the Caribbean as a monolith is ubiquitous in the media and the analysis demonstrate that the media is not the only source of this narrative.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the content analysis undertaken in this research. First, the results revealed the most salient attributes, which allows for better understanding of what audiences will consider when they think about hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. This chapter also revealed the four frames utilized by the news media in its reporting of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism including the victim frame which constructs tourists' safety and Caribbean vacation experiences as casualties of reported hurricane events. Another frame which is utilized by the media is the apocalyptic frame which portrays the Caribbean region as largely vulnerable to reported hurricane events and may serve to amplify the risk perception of audiences. The disruption and the business-as-usual frames demonstrate that those who are interviewed can have their frames published within the media, as both frames serve to attenuate the risk perception of audiences and are clearly the frames of Caribbean authorities. The following section provides a discussion on the findings and what they mean for Caribbean Destination Manager.

5.0 Discussion

The aim of this thesis was to examine the most salient attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism and to also understand how the news media constructed and communicated hurricane events in relation to Caribbean tourism in the last 40-years. Specifically, this thesis wanted to explore what attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism are emphasized by the global news media. As well, the researcher wanted to understand how the news media framed hurricane events within the context of Caribbean tourism. This chapter will concentrate on evaluating the overall findings and what they may mean for tourism destinations within the Caribbean region.

Newswires are a highly integrated news information distribution system provided by news service organizations that collect and then distribute news reports to various mass media outlets, including radio, print, and internet media outlets (Verma et al, 2019). As such, attribute agenda setting and framing approaches within the news media may be explained by the fact that reports regarding unfolding events are largely collected by a few news service organizations which then create a singular narrative that is sold to multiple mass media outlets before being distributed to the public. Readers are therefore exposed to a specific version of reality based on the world views of those who control the news (i.e., news service organizations). This aligns with Renn et al., (1992) who discussed how instead of reporting reality as it unfolds, institutions such as the media act as amplification stations by zoning in on certain aspect of an issue or event, interpret it based on their specific worldview, which is then formed into messages and disseminated to multiple media agencies. Utilizing various practices including agenda setting, attribute agenda setting, and framing, these organizations sell their version of reality to mass media outlets which is further amplified and distributed to the readers around the world. Consequently, readers may not receive an accurate picture of the local realities, which can influence their understanding and perception of hurricane events within the Caribbean region. Framing in the media can warp reality, influence, and shape public perception (Barnes et al., 2008) and as demonstrated by Sherman-Morris et al. (2020), they can even influence the way people respond to real or perceived risks.

This thesis revealed that several discourses regarding hurricane events and Caribbean tourism have sustained over the last four decades. First, the analysis reveals the presence of a discourse that compels audiences that the Caribbean region is a limited geographic area that is

largely exposed to hurricanes that rivals the region in size and that tourists and holiday experiences are casualties of these hurricanes. This discourse is established by the intersection of two frames, the apocalyptic frame and the victim frame. Through the process of highlighting certain attributes, minimizing the size of the Caribbean region, amplifying hurricane size and risks, and constructing tourists as victims, these two frames work to transform the Caribbean region as hazardous during reported hurricane events.

The apocalyptic frame is central to the construction of the Caribbean region as hazardous and thus unsafe for tourists. The frame withholds nuances regarding the size and complexity of the Caribbean region by consistently representing the region as a monolith with little to no reference to the individual island nations. The Caribbean's construction as a monolith serves to diminish the region's vastness and importantly, consistent reference to the region as a singular entity can be transferred from the media to audiences, thereby normalizing the lack of nuance regarding hurricane risks and outcomes within the Caribbean region. The media also constructs hurricane events as gargantuan in comparison to the Caribbean region and the apocalyptic frame then invites audiences to view hurricane strikes and other outcomes as a region wide phenomenon. The apocalyptic frame can work in tandem with the victim frame, which transforms tourists as well as their holiday experiences, as casualties of these apocalyptic hurricane events. Further, through use of emotional firsthand accounts from tourists, the media invites audiences not only to sympathize with the plight of tourists but also to imagine themselves in these crisis events. Tourists are thus transformed into disaster victims whose only recourse is to flee the disaster-prone Caribbean region in which they are trapped and go back to the safety of their home countries. These frames work independently and collectively to

entrench the Caribbean region as a hazard prone area that is unsafe for tourists during reported hurricane events. Relatedly, local government and tourism authorities are depicted as incapable of responding to and managing impending or unfolding hazards (i.e., unable to protect tourists) as they are portrayed as overwhelmed by an inescapable disaster.

In the last 40-years, the global news media's use of the victim and apocalyptic frames specifies how audiences should evaluate and understand messages regarding hurricane events and tourism within the Caribbean. Through use of the apocalyptic frame, the news media invites audiences to believe that hurricanes which rivals the Caribbean region in size, will or has swept through the region. The victim frame invites audiences to believe that if tourists engage in a holiday experience within the Caribbean before, during, or after a hurricane event, that their wellbeing and vacations will be casualties of the storm and they will have no recourse but to end their vacations early and go home. Zhao et al. (2019) stated that after consistent exposure to media reports of deteriorating weather conditions, people's perception of risk will increase, with people subsequently opting to take protective actions such as seeking shelter, evacuating, or avoiding the risky destination altogether. Similarly, research by Pearlman and Melnik (2008) demonstrated that media sensationalism during and after Hurricane Katrina created a negative perception of New Orleans to tourists, which in turn devastated the local travel and tourism industry. Media use of the apocalyptic and victim frames work to portray Hurricane events within the Caribbean region as widescale inevitable disasters that are especially dangerous for tourists and perilous to their holiday experiences. The apocalyptic and the victim frames can work in tandem to amplify the risk perception of tourists, meaning that news media framing of hurricane events within the Caribbean region over the last four decades, may be spreading panic

amongst tourists travelling (or planning to travel) to the Caribbean region. Tourists having a perception that the entire region is vulnerable to a hurricane strike could explain why tourist arrivals to the Caribbean region tends to decline after a hurricane event is reported.

Additionally, 3S tourism is the leading form of tourism for most Caribbean destinations and several studies have demonstrated that weather and climate are critical for destination attractiveness, visitation, and tourists' level of satisfaction (Fitchett et al., 2020; Ruddy & Andrey, 2014; Scott & Lemieux, 2010; Uyarra et al., 2005; Wilson & Becken, 2011) and tourists are avid consumers of weather and climate information, especially in the days leading up to their vacations (Hall et al., 2019; Matzarakis, 2006). The analysis found that through use of the apocalyptic frame, the news media consistently portrays the Caribbean region as being wholly exposed to inevitable hurricane strikes and other risks (i.e., heavy rain, strong winds). The research by Scott et al. (2020) found that when hurricane strikes affect a Caribbean island or group of islands, there was a spillover effect, meaning there are negative consequences for all Caribbean islands, even ones that were unaffected by hurricane strike. Relatedly, the research by Crespi and Taibi (2020) states that if a destination is portrayed to pose a risk to tourist's safety or vacation experience, this can influence tourists' level of perception of risk in relation to that particular destination and can lead to avoidance of the destination. This means that even if a hurricane strike did not affect some island nations, tourists could have the perception of poor weather conditions within individual island destinations, and this can work to negatively affect the 3S image of the island destination or the Caribbean region as a whole. The news media's consistent use of the apocalyptic frame and the victim frame can work to

amplify tourists' risk perception and thus lead to avoidance of island destinations that are unaffected by hurricanes.

The other discourse which emerged from this study is intended to persuade audiences that the Caribbean region is a large geographical area, that hurricane disasters are either isolated or nonexistent in some areas, and that visitors would face minimal inconvenience or none at all. This discourse is established by the disruption frame and the business-as-usual frame. Through highlighting the vastness of the Caribbean region, highlighting that the region is made up of a plethora of island nations, many of which are separated by hundreds of kilometers, this discourse serves to deconstruct the media's portrayal of the Caribbean region as a monolith. The vastness of the Caribbean region is central to the disruption and the business-as-usual frames, as they are then able to outline that reported hurricane events occur but due to the region's vastness, disasters are isolated to specific areas while other areas remain completely unaffected. The frames invite audiences to have a different perception of the region's exposure to hurricane risks, disaster outcomes, and importantly, disaster response. Caribbean government and tourism officials outlined disaster management plans which work to combat the idea that they were incapable of responding to disasters. This showed that tourists had other alternatives rather than to leave Caribbean destinations. The frames work to reassure tourists that the Caribbean, despite a reported hurricane event, is safe for travel and in doing so, the frames work to attenuate audiences' risk perception. It could be stated that the disruption and business-as-usual frames originate from Caribbean government and tourism officials as they serve as the main interviewed sources and the frames work to combat the apocalyptic and victim frames within the media.

Despite the presence of the disruption and business-as-usual frames which could work to attenuate risk perception, the victim frame and the apocalyptic frame could have a greater impact on audiences. This is because the analysis found that the most salient attributes in the media for hurricane events and Caribbean tourism align with the victim frame and the apocalyptic frame (see Table 6) and the frequency and availability of negative reports work to influence people's perception of risk (Wählberg & Sjöberg, 2000). Additionally, disaster-related news tends to be disseminated faster and have a greater impact than other forms of news because people who have an interest in or are in some way related to the risk areas (including visitors), require timely updates on the hazards to ascertain their level of risk (Walters et al., 2016). Previous research indicates that tourists' arrivals to the Caribbean region tends to experience a downturn after a reported hurricane event (Benson & Clay, 2001; CTO, 2018; Gharney, 2013; Granvorka & Strobl, 2013; Scott et al., 2020; WTTC, 2018). The findings of this analysis are significant because they suggest that news media framing of hurricane events within the Caribbean, could in part, explain the reduction in tourist arrivals. The hurricane season lasts an estimated six months and being a tourist intensive region, this is a significant amount of time for Caribbean island destinations to be portrayed and perceived as having unsuitable weather and being exposed to hurricane risks, thus making the region appear to be unsafe for travel.

Finally, an example of excellent communication by the media was reported by Eturbo News in November 2019 following Hurricane Dorian. The news story is titled "Bahamas Tourism: Yacht Charter on the Islands of the Bahamas after Hurricane Dorian" and starts out by outlining the economic importance of tourism, quoting the Bahamian Prime Minister Hubert

Minnis, who stated “Around 70 percent of the Bahamas’ GDP comes from tourism.” The article then outlines that there has been misinformation regarding the effects and outcomes of the hurricane, calling them “rumors” which stated that the Bahamas has been completely devastated. The article reminds audiences that the Bahamas is a collection of over 700 islands and even though Hurricane Dorian caused damage to two of the major islands, there were another 14 major Bahamian islands that were perfectly unscathed and open for business. The article quoted Carla Stuart, Senior Director of Cruise and Maritime Development for the Bahamas Ministry of Tourism who stated ““There’s still plenty for everyone to come and see, especially as reconstruction has been ongoing and The Abacos and Grand Bahama Island should be rebuilt soon.”” The article then went on to list each of the major islands that were unaffected and detailed some of the activities visitors can experience on each. This news story works at the intersection of the Business-as-usual and the Disruption frames and represents excellent communications by the news media, as it specifies that disaster outcomes are localized and identify areas that are safe for travel, thereby avoiding the amplification of hurricane risks.

5.1 Recommendations

The research by Mair et al. (2016) examined 64 peer-review articles between 2000 and 2012 on a number of natural disasters including hurricanes to determine recurring attributes. Some of the key attributes that emerged included media sensationalism, damage to destination image and reputation, the changes in tourist behaviour following crises and disasters, and the importance of selecting the most effective marketing messages. A destination’s image is a vital

element in the decision-making processes of future travelers (Benson & Clay, 2001; Forster et al., 2012; Mahon, 2006; Uyarra et al., 2005) and since tourists will avoid destinations perceived to pose any form of travel-related risks (Brown, 2015; Kapuściński & Richards, 2016; Pizam & Mansfeld, 1996), it is essential for Caribbean destination managers to be aware of how Caribbean tourism, as well as island destinations and the Caribbean region as a whole, are portrayed in the media before, during, and after a hurricane event. This research provides important insights into news media coverage of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism including that in the last 40-years, the Caribbean region has been framed as an unsafe tourism destination and that hurricane risks are framed as particularly hazardous to tourists and their vacation experiences. To help mitigate the impacts of negative media coverage during a reported hurricane event, the researcher has outlined the following recommendations for Caribbean destination managers:

- There is an opportunity for the Caribbean region to develop an online platform to help minimize the spread of disaster myths within the news media by delivering reliable information in a timely manner. The goal of this proposed platform is to reflect the local and regional conditions before, during, and after a hurricane event. This proposed platform would be useful to both the media and visitors alike, allowing them to easily access up-to-date information regarding the day-to-day weather conditions as well as the post-hurricane status of various island nations (as well as areas within islands) in the Caribbean region during reported hurricane events. This proposed platform can be utilized in each of the four phases of the Lifecycle of Disaster Recovery Management, pre-disaster; disaster (emergency); short term (post-disaster temporary); and long term (recovery) (Muskat,

Nakanishi & Blackman, 2014). The proposed platform can have a Geographic Information System (GIS) map which will provide critical information at various scales, the regional scale (e.g., hurricane track, islands affected/unaffected by hurricane), the national scale (e.g., average weather, status areas within islands), and at the local scale (i.e., hyper-local weather forecast, status of tourism infrastructure). In the pre-disaster phase, the proposed platform can serve as a hub for local weather conditions and when a hurricane develops within the Caribbean basin, the platform could provide such information as the name, windspeed, and hurricane category as well as estimated size and track of hurricane. It can also provide real-time information on the geographic proximity (i.e., distance of eye of storm from island nation), estimated likelihood of a strike, and level of potential damage in the event of a strike. This kind of information is detailed and allows tourists to assess their level of risk based on facts. Relatedly, this will provide end users a more nuanced perspective on the local conditions allowing potential visitors to make an informed decision on whether to travel to the Caribbean region. In the disaster phase (i.e., in the event of a hurricane strike), the proposed platform could report accurate and real-time post-hurricane status of individual islands. This GIS map can be colour coded based on level of damage, with heavily affected areas highlighted red, minimally affected areas highlighted yellow, while unaffected areas are highlighted green. Another strategy that could be operationalized by the CHTA entails recording the recovery progress through photographs that are geotagged and posted on various social media sites (or on the proposed platform), this technology was used in the Philippines following the Bohol earthquake and Haiyan super typhoon in 2013 (Yan et al.,2017), the 2007 Zaca wildfire in Southern California

(Goodchild & Glennon, 2010), and the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami in Japan (Peary et al., 2012). Anyone interested in seeing the rebuilding process (i.e., of communities or tourism-related infrastructure) through photographs can access these photos. Importantly, disaster recovery communication may be carried out using this proposed platform (in addition to various social media platforms) as well as to continue marketing and promotional efforts. In both the short-term and long-term phases, the status of individual tourism assets (i.e., hotels, resorts, restaurants, attractions) can be updated and assessed in real time. It is critical that the weather information as well as local reports of post-hurricane conditions for each island destination be in one place to reduce the need to track down information, to reduce redundancy, and to reduce the potential for the creation of myths. As a result, such a platform requires a concerted and coordinated cross-national approach with active involvement from every level of the Caribbean tourism sector stakeholder, including the CTO, the Caribbean Hotel and Tourism Association (CHTA), local tourism ministries, and local tourism operators. There will be a need to collect and publish real-time meteorological information for each island (i.e., national and local levels), as such, it is recommended that the CTO and CHTA work together to develop, manage, and champion this proposed platform. The CTO can work closely with various meteorological services to have local, hyper-local weather forecast, and hurricane tracking updated on the platform. The CHTA can collect information regarding the status of community infrastructure (i.e., roads, electricity, communication, water supply) which are critical for tourism operations and provide real-time updated on the platform. As well, CHTA can work closely with owners and operators to provide update on the level of damage and recovery status of

tourism infrastructure (i.e., hotels, resorts, airports etc.). Visitors will be able to search, examine, and compare the state of each island as well the status of the various resorts and attractions. It is recommended that a marketing campaign is launched to promote the platform, encouraging travel agents and tourists to access this site over others. As well, when invited to be interviewed, Caribbean government and tourism officials should consistently reference this platform in order to increase awareness for both the news media and potential visitors. It is recommended that destination managers regularly pursue interviews with leading global news media sources (e.g., BBC, New York Times, The Globe and Mail etc.) as well as travel writers and bloggers and provide them with the information outlined above, ensuring to highlight availability of a GIS map (and geotagged photos) that provide real-time updates detailing particular locations of hurricane strikes and to what degree, ensuring to highlight unaffected areas.

- Successful post-disaster communication requires careful and strategic planning because without this, some messages can be successful while other messages may not be well-received and can work against the intended purpose (i.e., attract visitors to the Caribbean region) (Mair, Ritchie, & Walters, 2016). As such, it is important that post-disaster messaging come from one source, preferably the Destination marketing organization (DMO), in the case of the Caribbean region, the Caribbean Tourism Organization (CTO) should be the voice for the region, in order to reduce the potential for miscommunication, error, and confusion. Instead of multiples voices and uncoordinated communications, the CTO will have the expertise and resources to obtain accurate information, to design

appropriate and effective messages, and to respond swiftly. Responses can be posted to the proposed platform, social media, and traditional media outlets.

- Tourists who visited New Orleans prior to Hurricane Katrina had a more positive perception and image of the city versus those who had never visited the destination before (Chacko & Hawkins Marcell, 2007). Therefore, a cost-effective strategy destination manager should consider is targeting advertising efforts to attract repeat visitors (Mair et al., 2016; Pearlman & Melnik, 2008) as they may be more familiar with the destination and already have a positive perception.
- Even though the research by Pearlman and Melnik (2008) demonstrate that the influence of misleading destination tourism images decreases over time, it is not an efficient strategy to expect tourists to simply forget about the reported destruction, even though it may be untrue or misleading. According to Fall and Massey (2005), Crisis Response Strategies (CRS) have been demonstrated to mitigate the negative effects of a crisis, which is essential to help undo the harm that media sensationalism can cause to destination image (Chacko & Hawkins Marcell, 2007; Pearlman and Melnik, 2008). A potential opportunity to help dispel media myths, repair destination image and to regain consumer trust in both the short and long-terms, is for destination managers to invite journalists and travel writers (i.e., from reputable media outlets with reach to international audiences) to visit and tour various island destinations and report their experiences. Allowing journalists to see, experience, and report life on the ground after a hurricane event can work to maximize recovery efforts since the media acts a key source of weather information for tourists. As such, these reports will act as a form of counter response to reports that spread misinformation regarding hurricane

events and Caribbean tourism. Destination managers can also use this as an opportunity to discuss and demonstrate to journalists the negative economic impacts media sensationalism has on the Caribbean tourism sector.

- Since the news media are the ones largely responsible for spreading misinformation regarding hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, perhaps Caribbean officials should limit their reliance on the news media to correct this narrative, since sensationalized news is more marketable and profitable for media outlets. As such, an important strategy destination manager can utilize is social media in order to gain direct and instant access to audiences from around the world to address the spreading of news media misinformation more effectively regarding hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. Hurricanes are said to reduce arrivals by 40% during the first month after a strike and 34% in the following month and this can spillover to islands unaffected by hurricanes (Scott et al, 2020), amounting to millions of dollars in lost tourism revenue and lost contributions the GDP of islands. Investment in paid advertising through social media sites such a Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook would be a useful and affordable strategy in the recovery marketing efforts in order to create awareness that unaffected islands are safe for travel (i.e., to attenuate the risk perception of potential visitors) and to attract visitors to the Caribbean region. As mentioned, social media allows destination managers direct and immediate access to audiences from around the world, as such, there is a need to craft reliable and persuasive messages in multiple languages, to publicize that the Caribbean is indeed open for business.

5.2 Conclusions

This thesis examined global news media attribute agenda setting and framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. Despite ample evidence that weather affects tourists' travel decisions, and that the media is a key source of weather information for travellers, there have been few studies that have studied the impact of weather-related media reports on Caribbean tourism. This thesis moves the literature forward with several novel contributions including identifying the attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism within the news media. Importantly, this thesis identified the level of salience for each attribute revealing the media's tendency to focus on negative outcomes for Caribbean tourism infrastructure and consequences for tourists' safety and their vacation experiences. Attribute agenda setting research within the context of Caribbean tourism was not previously examined, as such, this thesis filled an important gap within the academic literature. This is significant because identifying the attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism allows for understanding of what audiences (specifically, potential visitors to the Caribbean region) will consider when they think about or make judgements about Caribbean tourism during the hurricane season.

Further, the literature on media framing of hurricane risks and Caribbean tourism is sparse, with only one research by Daye (2014), which examined selected UK media coverage of Hurricane Ivan in 2004 in order to evaluate the framing of tourist risk and the media's key sources (i.e., who is interviewed and quoted). The research by Daye (2014) revealed the media's tendency to frame hurricane risks toward tourists, which is supported by the findings of this thesis. However, this thesis went further by identifying the frames the global news media uses when they tell the story of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, which was also not

previously addressed in the literature. This is a novel contribution because the elements of the media frames were deconstructed and examined, revealing how the news media constructs its narrative, how they want audiences to interpret information about hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, and more importantly, why this narrative can work to influence risk perception. There are no other studies within the academic literature which identifies the frames the media uses when reporting hurricane events and Caribbean tourism.

Many media frames have been detected and named within the academic literature on media framing, including the “Victim frame” (Bing & Lombardo, 1997), the “Apocalyptic frame” (Salek & Cole, 2019), and the “Disruption frame” (Boykoff, 2006; Kubler, 2020), however, none of these frames have been identified within the tourism literature. Another important contribution of this thesis is identifying and naming the “Business-as-usual frame”, which has not previously existed within the academic literature. The researcher was unable to find existing frames within the literature which corresponds with the Business-as-usual frame, resulting in the naming of this frame.

There were four objectives of this thesis: first, in order to become well versed on the topics and to identify the gaps within the literature, the researcher wanted to undertake a literature review on the subject matters of risk, media agenda setting and framing, tourism, and hurricanes. Next, the researcher wanted to undertake a mixed methods content analysis of media news stories and transcripts from around the world which reported news information at the intersection of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. This was done to determine the most salient attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, as well as to determine how the present topic was framed. Finally, the researcher wanted to provide recommendations to

Caribbean destination managers on ways to help reduce or potentially eliminate myths and misinformation during news media coverage of reported hurricane events.

In order to address the two main objectives of this research, a content analysis of news media articles and transcripts was conducted. The news documents (i.e., news articles and transcripts) analyzed in this thesis were retrieved from the LexisNexis database in November 2019 and coding was done within an excel spreadsheet. To determine the most salient attributes within the media over the last 40-years, the researcher first needed to know the attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism and then to note when they were mentioned within a news document. As such, as a first step, emerging attributes were determined following a systematic review of 50 randomly selected news documents. A binary code of ‘0’ denoted the absence of an attribute within the news document and ‘1’ indicated the attribute as present within the news document. Twelve attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism were identified (as seen in Table 6).

In order to determine news media framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism, the researcher also conducted a framing analysis of the same 50 subsample of news documents. The framing analysis allowed the researcher to identify the framing devices and reasoning devices, allowing for the reconstruction of the frame package, which led to the identification of the frames embedded within the text. Recreation of the frame package required analysis of the media’s word choice, descriptions of events, figures of speech, rationalizations, justifications, and sources of information. Four frames emerged during the analysis: the victim frame, the apocalyptic frame, the disruption frame, and the business-as-usual frame. Once the frames were determined, they were added to the spreadsheet which also had the attributes. A reliability test

was conducted as such. The above methodology was then applied to the full sample (i.e., 635 news documents). As such, during analysis of the full sample, each document was read and attributes and frames that were present within a news document were coded '1' while attributes and frames that were absent were coded '0'. The sum for each attribute was totaled allowing the determination of the most salient attributes within the global news media.

The study found that in the past 40 years, the news media has consistently highlighted 13 major attributes of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism. If this salience were to be transferred from the news media to audiences, this means that when audiences think of hurricane events and tourism experiences within the Caribbean, they will consider the salient attributes. The findings of this research revealed that the top 3 most frequently mentioned attributes were that hurricane events damaged tourism-related infrastructure, hurricane events were detrimental to tourists' holiday experience, and that tourists were unsafe due to hurricane events. Results also indicated that in the last four decades, the news media regularly mentioned that hurricane events affected the entire Caribbean region as this was the fourth most salient attribute. These attributes may work to amplify the risk perception of audiences.

The results also found that the news media used the victim frame to portray tourists as particularly vulnerable, with their level of safety and holiday experiences being the primary casualties of hurricane events while on vacation with the Caribbean region. This frame was entrenched by published quotes from interviews with tourists sharing harrowing hurricane-related experiences. As well, the media utilized the apocalyptic frame to construct the Caribbean region as a monolith, amplifying the size of hurricanes while minimizing the size of the region, thereby rendering the Caribbean region as wholly vulnerable to hurricane risks and

other impacts during reported hurricane events. The victim and apocalyptic frames work together to portray the Caribbean region as largely unsafe for tourists during reported hurricanes as such, tourists may believe that the region and the islands within it, might not be the best place for a sunny vacation experience.

The CTO and various Caribbean government officials were largely concerned about the media representation of the Caribbean region as hurricane-ravaged and vulnerable to hurricane strikes and these findings suggests that their concerns may be valid. Importantly, the findings of this present research are novel, revealing that the media's use of the victim and apocalyptic frames is ubiquitous in media publications around the world. Previous research demonstrates the media's ability to influence and shape public perception which could work to amplify the risk perception of readers. As such, these findings may indicate the media's role in tarnishing the destination image of island destinations and the Caribbean region as a whole, during active hurricane events.

Conversely, two other frames emerged which can be stated to help attenuate risk perception. The disruption frame was used to communicate that hurricane disasters occurred however, they were manageable and pose little to no inconvenience to tourists, as restoration was either complete or were already underway. Meanwhile, the business-as-usual frame was used to tell the story that the Caribbean is a vast geographic region and even though some island destinations may have been affected, others were perfectly safe for tourists. The disruption and business-as-usual frames work together to tell the story of manageable disaster outcomes or no hurricane disasters at all in some areas.

Given the emergence of the contradictory frames, the overarching recommendation is that steps must be taken to reduce or eliminate misinformation and the spreading of myths. As such, a proactive approach (i.e., to stop it before it occurs) would be for Caribbean government and tourism officials to work closely with the global news media during reported hurricane events in order to disseminate information that more accurately represent the local realities. Based on the key sources of information for the disruption and business-as-usual frames, it appears that Caribbean government and tourism officials managed to get their framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism published within the media. This is a reactionary approach that can be stated to work to attenuate risk perception. As such, it is recommended that they continue to respond with information to correct the harmful narrative.

5.3 Limitations

This research was only able to analyze news media articles and transcripts regarding the present topic from a total of 283 media outlets located in 23 countries and three world regions (see Table 4). Only 2% of the media outlets were found to be from the Caribbean region, meaning that regarding this present topic, LexisNexis only collect and store a limited number of news articles and transcripts published by Caribbean sources. This resulted in limiting the sample analyzed and possibly biasing the results. Since this research is focused on events within the Caribbean, it was anticipated that more Caribbean news publications would have been captured in the sample publications, however, this was not the case. If more Caribbean news media were included, the findings may not have been different given that the four frames which emerged were directed toward audiences who would likely travel to the Caribbean from other

regions of the world. Two of the frames used within the news media (i.e., apocalyptic and victim frames) serves to caution visitors from travelling to the Caribbean region while the other two frames (i.e., the disruption and business-as-usual frames) serve to reassure visitors that the Caribbean region is safe for travel and to persuade them to visit. The vast majority of international tourists to the Caribbean region come from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada (WTTC, 2018) and it was not surprising that these countries represent the top 3 source regions for the news documents analyzed in this thesis. The media tends to replace the values of persons or areas on which it reports with the values of its readers (Santos 2004), with framing constructed to meet the needs of the cultural lens or shared values of the readers (Crespi & Taibi, 2020). Consequently, the sample analyzed could account for why so much emphasis is placed on tourists' safety and vacation experiences and also why the media were not more specific with regards to the location of hurricane risk factors. The intended audience (i.e., tourists living outside of the Caribbean), are therefore more likely to be concerned with issues related to their holiday rather than issues impacting the locals who live in the Caribbean, which is how the researcher believes Caribbean media outlets would frame the present topic. To test this hypothesis, a future study could use an alternative database (i.e., Digital Library of the Caribbean [dLOC]) to collect news articles and transcripts and explore whether differences would be observed between the frames of Caribbean news publications and non-Caribbean publications regarding hurricane events and Caribbean tourism.

5.4 Future Research Opportunities

The present research provides a broad overview of news media attribute agenda setting and framing in the context of Caribbean tourism and should be considered the groundwork for future research into this topic. There are several interesting questions that could be explored to give a better understanding of the role the news media plays in tourists perception of hurricane risks within the Caribbean region.

A future research could examine differences in attributes and framing approaches across source countries to explore whether cultural differences exist. For example, do news articles from the UK frame hurricane and Caribbean tourism differently than Canadian or American publications? Another study could explore framing differences between the various types of newspaper publications to assess whether attributes and news frames are different, such as between tabloid publications and broadsheet or more “intellectual” publications. The research by Daye (2014) explored UK media framing of hurricane risks for UK publications and found that reporting style was consistent across the various levels of publications, with news stories regarding hurricane risks being sensationalized. Would this exist for other countries and regions of the world? Another interesting question would be to examine differences in attributes and framing approaches over time. Did the global news media utilize the various frames more often in the 1980s or in the 2000s?

Given the importance and ubiquity of social media as an important news source (Yadamsuren & Erdelez, 2017), it would be interesting to understand attribute agenda setting and framing of the present topic on social media sites including Twitter and Facebook. A study such as this could be conducted through a hashtag search on the platform, downloading the metadata and conducting a content analysis such as the one performed in the research by Shahi

et al. (2021). Even though social media consists of a collection of diverse opinions including laypersons, academics, scientists, and even journalists, it is believed that framing and salient attributes may be consistent with the findings of this thesis. This is because the media sets the agenda and influences the public discourse (i.e., what topics audiences discuss as well as audience's attitude and perceptions regarding the topic) so the people discussing this topic on social media may be influenced by the media's perceived reality. On the other hand, findings may differ since some individuals may be within Caribbean islands during a reported hurricane event and are likely to post their thoughts and opinions based on their perception of reality which may deviate from the media's reality.

Since only 3% of news documents within this present research were television transcripts (as seen in Table 3), it would be interesting to know whether a sample consisting mainly (or only) of television news stories would have similar findings. A future study could compare attribute agenda setting and framing of hurricane events and Caribbean tourism between various news media formats including radio and television news.

Lastly, a future study could survey people from the source regions to explore whether their risk perception would be amplified by reading news articles such as the ones analyzed in this research. Would consuming news information containing the frames which emerged in this thesis (i.e., victim, apocalyptic, disruption, and business-as-usual) influence their intention to visit a Caribbean island destination or the region as a whole? The researcher hypothesizes that reading articles containing the victim and apocalyptic frames could work to amplify risk perception and negatively influence their intention to visit, while the disruption and business-as-usual frames could work to attenuate tourists' risk perception and positively influenced their

intention to visit. The only way to know the definitive answers to the questions above is to conduct further research which will help advance understanding of media attribute agenda setting and framing and the influence it has on audiences and thus, arrivals to the Caribbean region.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Media Reporting of Hurricane Category and Wind Speed

Stated Hurricane Category in-text

Stated Category	Frequency (<i>n</i>)	Percent (%)
4	108	47
5	86	37
3	19	8
1	10	4
2	9	4
Total	232	100

Stated Hurricane Wind Speed in-text

Wind Speed (km/h)	Saffir–Simpson scale Category	Frequency (<i>n</i>)	Percent (%)
85-150	1	22	9
155-177	3	35	14
185-201	2	28	11
209-250	4	110	44
> 255	5	57	23
Total		252	100

APPENDIX B: Stakeholder Groups Quoted Within the News Media

Stakeholder groups

Stakeholders	Frequency (<i>n</i>)	Percent (%)
Local Government Official	281	44
Tourists	217	34
Tourism-related workers	142	22
Local Resident	98	15
Travel Company	88	14
Meteorological Service	85	13
Police/ Army	20	3
Relief/ Reconstruction Worker	19	3

APPENDIX C: List of News Media Documents Analyzed

Title	Source	Year	Month
Bahamas Tourism: Yacht Charter on the Islands of the Bahamas after Hurricane Dorian	Eturbo News	2019	November
BAHAMAS-HURRICANE-Global Tourism Resilience Centre hands provides relief for The Bahamas	CANA News	2019	November
BAHAMAS-TOURISM-Grand Bahamas welcomes first set of visitors since Hurricane Dorian	CANA News	2019	November
The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism and Aviation hosts top-tier media and influencers post-Hurricane Dorian	Eturbo News	2019	November
Caribbean islands hang the 'open for business' sign; Despite active hurricane season, tourist beacon ready to welcome travellers	Edmonton Journal (Alberta)	2008	October
Mexico tourists flee hurricane	BreakingNews.ie	2011	October
St. Kitts: Final Hurricane tourism update	Eturbo News	2017	September
A TALE OF 2 Bahamas One still in ruins, the other welcoming tourists Hurricane Dorian The Aftermath	Sun-Sentinel (Fort Lauderdale)	2019	September
Cayman Islands to review post Hurricane Ivan tourism at conference	BBC Summary of World Broadcasts	2004	November
Clarification: Hurricane Maria-Tourism story	Canadian Press	2017	October

Havana quickly cleans up for tourists after hurricane. But other areas have a problem; Cuba The aftermath of Hurricane Irma	The Miami Herald	2017	October
Hurricane recovery: Tourism Cares and the Caribbean Hotel and Tourism Association partner	Eturbo News	2017	September
Hurricane Irma LIVE: Latest travel updates and evacuation news for British tourists	Express Online	2017	September
UB40 lead new campaign to encourage tourists back to the Caribbean after Hurricane Irma; Tourism to the region has dropped dramatically since September's hurricanes	The Independent (United Kingdom)	2017	December
WATCH: Come back, Brits! UB40 shoot video to boost Caribbean tourism after Hurricane Irma	Express Online	2017	December
CARIBBEAN-TOURISM-Hurricane damage significantly impact Caribbean tourism	CANA News	2017	November
Caribbean offering tourists hurricane guarantees	Times Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)	2018	June
Hurricane Irma: Tourists left stranded as Hotel Marriott ship rescues only guests, leaves with 200 empty seats	International Business Times India	2017	September
COME BACK TO THE CARIBBEAN, DARLING; Fewer tourists after Hurricane Irma didn't put Carolyn Boyd off discovering that Antigua still has plenty to offer - just ask UB40 who have launched a campaign to boost numbers	The Independent (United Kingdom)	2017	December

As tourism returns, hurricane recovery in the Virgin Islands is leaving some residents behind	Washington Post Blogs	2018	February
Grand Bahama Tourism Industry begins rebuilding after Hurricane Matthew; Tourism stakeholders optimistic as work on hotels, resorts and tours underway	GlobeNewswire	2016	October
CARIBBEAN-TOURISM-Hurricane battered countries still optimistic about the future	CANA News	2017	October
Caribbean: Tourism Cares, CHTA set up Caribbean Hurricane Tourism Recovery Fund	M-Brain Caribbean News	2017	September
New warning for Britons caught up in the path of Hurricane Irma; Tourist and expats are being told the situation could 'deteriorate significantly'	walesonline.co.uk	2017	September
Bahamas updates on business tourism after braving Hurricane Dorian	Impact Financial News	2019	October
CARIBBEAN-TOURISM-SOTIC opens against the backdrop of devastation caused by hurricanes	CANA News	2017	October
Cruise Caribbean now? Yes.; After 2 hurricanes, tourism can help with recovery	Chicago Tribune	2018	January
Hurricane Matthew: Tourism Emergency Operations Centre Activated	Eturbo News	2016	October
TOURISM: Puerto Rico is rebounding after Hurricane Maria	ClimateWire	2019	April
Cayman Islands Department of Tourism: Official Hurricane update	Eturbo News	2017	September
Racial storm: France accused of prioritizing white tourists in hurricane evacuation of St. Martin	Postmedia Breaking News	2017	September

Holidays in the Caribbean; After a brutal hurricane season, tourism is key to the region's recovery	i-Independent Print Ltd	2017	December
Dominica Tourism: After Hurricane Maria	Eturbo News	2018	September
Cuba's tourism industry to recover after hurricane Irma	Global English (Middle East and North Africa Financial Network)	2017	September
UB40 releases new video for hit Come Back Darling as band leads efforts to help Caribbean tourism after Hurricane Irma; They've teamed up with Virgin Holidays for the campaign	mirror.co.uk	2017	December
Caribbean Hurricanes Shifting Tourism to Other Tropical Destinations	M2 PressWIRE	2017	November
TOPSHOTS Military planes evacuate hurricane-hit tourists to Europe	Agence France Presse -- English	2017	September
How 2 Creatives Are Trying to Boost Puerto Rico's Tourism After Hurricane Maria	adweek.com	2018	July
100,000 FLEE HURRICANE; Tourists ordered to leave Florida holiday islands; Tourists ordered to leave the Florida Keys to escape Hurricane Georges	Daily Record	1998	September
Bahamas Ministry Of Tourism Visits Montreal To Provide Tourism Updates And Urge Canadian Travel After Hurricane Dorian	Market News Publishing	2019	September
Bahamas Tourism Announcement: Hurricane Warnings discontinued for the entire Bahamas	Eturbo News	2017	September
Caribbean islands may soon welcome back tourists after hurricanes	CBS - 3 WREG (Memphis, Tennessee)	2017	October

AFTER HURRICANES, TOURIST HOT SPOTS SAY, 'WISH YOU WERE HERE' MANY DESTINATIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN AND FLORIDA ARE OPEN BUT FIGHTING PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS.	Orlando Sentinel (Florida)	2004	October
Bracing for a monster hurricane Tourists, islanders flee Caribbean as Dean bears down	The Star-Ledger (Newark, New Jersey)	2007	August
Hurricane Georges tests authorities and tourist officials	The Advocate (Baton Rouge, Louisiana)	1998	October
Montserrat Tourism after Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
In the winds' wake How hurricanes affected tourist sites	Chicago Tribune	1992	September
Bahamas still open for business; Despite fears after hurricane Dorian, country ready for your tourism dollars	Winnipeg Free Press (Canada)	2019	October
An island paradise interrupted: Grenada struggles to win back tourists after hurricanes	The Gazette (Montreal)	2005	December
CARIBBEAN TOURISM FEELS HURRICANE HUGO IMPACT	Los Angeles Times	1989	September
Puerto Rico Tourism Company Says the Island Is Open for Tourists After Hurricane Irene; Beaches, Hotels, Casinos and Airports Are Fully Functional	PR Newswire	2011	August
Thousands ordered off isolated NC island ahead of Hurricane Irene's approach to East Coast; Tourists ordered off tiny NC island ahead of Irene	Canadian Press	2011	August
Bahamas seeks aid for its tourism after battering by Hurricane Dorian; BAHAMAS HURRICANE	EFE Newswire - Americas in Focus	2019	September
Tourist arrivals jump in Caribbean in 2004 despite severe hurricane season	Associated Press International	2005	February

Grenada tourism industry recovering from hurricane damage - tourism head	BBC Monitoring Latin America - Political	2005	May
Official Statement by Haiti Minister of Tourism on Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
After Chasing Tourists Away, Hurricane Mitch Churns Along Caribbean Coast	CNN TODAY	1998	October
AM-TRAVEL-Log, Bgt ; Budget; See CP Photo CPT 151 (Vertical, shows destroyed yacht), 152 (Horizontal, crushed hotel); After Hurricane Luis, tourist areas scramble to rebuild for peak season	The Canadian Press (CP)	1995	September
Stay or go? Officials ponder sending tourists away; Hurricane to hit this weekend	The Tribune-Star (Terre Haute, Indiana)	2011	August
HURRICANES AND TOURISTS AND CHANGE	Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)	1995	September
Tourists flee Hurricane Dean; Airports are packed in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands, where the storm is expected to hit today and Monday	Los Angeles Times	2007	August
Residents, tourists flee Hurricane Dean	Record Searchlight (Redding, California)	2007	August
Ulster tourists flee hurricane; Florida braced for devastation	Belfast Telegraph	1998	September
British tourists in the Caribbean were today among thousands of people fleeing Hurricane Mitch which has battered Honduras' northern coast.	Express & Echo (Exeter)	1998	October
Yucatan tourists flee hurricane	The Toronto Star	1995	October
Jamaica to launch advertisement campaign to woo tourists after passage of hurricanes	AP Worldstream	2005	August

Bahamas getting the message out; Tourists asked to 'sustain reconstruction' by returning after Hurricane Dorian	London Free Press	2019	September
Florida fears Frances: Weakened storm might pick up again. Hurricane batters tourist hub of Bahamas; anxiety high in U.S. over its tardy arrival	The Gazette (Montreal)	2004	September
CARIBBEAN ISLANDS REBUILD TOURISM AFTER HURRICANE HUGO TRAVEL ROUNDUP	The Sunday Oregonian (Portland, Oregon)	1989	October
British tourists flee hurricane	The Herald (Glasgow)	1995	September
Cancun Tourists Flee Hurricane	Chattanooga Free Press (Tennessee)	1995	October
Hurricane Hobbles Tourist Industry at Famous Resorts	The Associated Press	1988	September
Cayman Islands impose curfew, evacuate tourists as Hurricane Dean nears	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	2007	August
Thousands of tourists stranded in Mexico after Hurricane Wilma	NBC News Transcripts NBC Nightly News 6:30 PM EST NBC	2005	October
Eden Rock, a St. Barts Favorite, Reopens Its Doors; UPDATE	The New York Times	2019	October
Mexico airlifts tourists after Hurricane Odile	Associated Press State & Local	2014	September
Hurricane Beatriz lashes Mexico's tourist west coast	Business Recorder	2011	June
Tourist arrivals jump in Caribbean in 2004 despite severe hurricane season	The Associated Press	2005	February
Tourists evacuated from hurricane path	Irish News	2005	July
Bahamas: Premier outlines recovery efforts for tourism after Hurricane Frances	BBC Monitoring Latin America - Political	2004	September

Bahamas: Premier outlines recovery efforts for tourism after Hurricane Frances	BBC Summary of World Broadcasts	2004	September
Tourists flee hurricane twice; They leave Cancun for Yucatan, only to evacuate again	Saint Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	2005	October
A better Cancun may rise from wreckage of Hurricane Wilma TOURISM: The storm dealt a devastating blow to Mexico's flagship centre for a sector that is vital to the economy. But the resort stands to reap benefits from the repairs, says Benedict Mander	Financial Times (London, England)	2005	December
Travel and Tourism - Grenada	M2 PressWIRE	2013	January
TOURISTS FLEE HURRICANE EMILY	Daily Post (North Wales)	2005	July
Mexico's tourists fleeing hurricane - CATEGORY FOUR	Sydney MX (Australia)	2005	October
Vacations Washed Out by Hurricane, Tourists Flee Mexico	The Washington Post	1995	October
Tourist alert as Hurricane Georges threatens Florida	Evening Herald (Plymouth)	1998	September
Hurricane zone still open to tourism	Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City)	2004	October
Tourists take refuge as hurricane Dean approaches Jamaica	Aberdeen Press and Journal	2007	August
500,000 told to evacuate homes as tourists flee Hurricane Ivan	The Herald (Glasgow)	2004	September
Tropical storm nears hurricane speed: Tourists flee as Caribbean islands prepare for worst	The Ottawa Citizen	2000	August
Hurricanes wash tourist traffic to other beaches	Calgary Herald (Alberta, Canada)	1995	October

Caribbean tourists flee Hurricane Luis 'power saw'	The Times	1995	September
Hurricane Debby: Nassau Relaxed	CNN CNN EARLY EDITION 07:00	2000	August
HURRICANE DEAN Tourists jam Caribbean airports; Jamaica braces for fury of the storm	The Advertiser (Australia)	2007	August
DIVI HOTELS ATTRIBUTES SECOND QUARTER LOSS TO SEASONALITY OF CARIBBEAN TOURISM, HURRICANE HUGO, PROP	PR Newswire	1989	December
BRITISH TOURISTS FLEE HURRICANE LUIS	Press Association	1995	September
Monster hurricane hits coast - Tourists flee resorts	The Daily Telegraph (Australia)	2007	August
Hurricane kills tourist	The Advertiser	1995	September
Hurricane set to hit Mexico's Caribbean resorts; Tourists crowd into airport to escape	Kamloops Daily News (British Columbia)	2011	October
BAHAMAS IS RULED NO-GO FOR TOURISTS; HURRICANE	The Mirror	2011	August
ECONOMY-CUBA: HURRICANE DAMAGE WILL PROLONG CRISIS	IPS-Inter Press Service	2001	November
MEXICO BUNKERS DOWN FOR HURRICANE DEAN	Daily Record	2007	August
Extremely dangerous: Bahamas Ministry of Tourism & Aviation issues Hurricane Dorian update	Eturbo News	2019	August
Fall hurricanes damage tourism in Caribbean	USA TODAY	1995	November
Fierce storm hits tourist sites; Hurricane Wilma	Wilkes Barre Times Leader	2005	October

TINY NEVIS SUFFERS ONLY LIMITED DAMAGE FROM HURRICANE LUIS; NEVIS PREMIER REPORTS BUSINESS AS USUAL FOR THE TOURISM SECTOR	PR Newswire	1995	September
Jamaicans head for the hills as force-five hurricane hits	The Independent (London)	2007	August
HURRICANE FORCES TOURISTS HOME; HOLIDAYMAKERS FLOWN HOME FROM CARIBBEAN BECAUSE OF HURRICANE TOLD THEY CAN RETURN	The Mirror	1998	September
Bahamas Ministry of Tourism Update on Hurricane Dorian and the Islands of the Bahamas	Eturbo News	2019	August
Cancun empties out after Wilma; new tourists to reach area within days	The Associated Press	2005	October
No Headline In Original	Global Broadcast Database - English CHANNEL 6 NEWS 12:00 PM CBS	2005	October
Tourists flee hurricane	Western Daily Press	1998	October
Caribbean hurricane heading for tourist hotspots; CARIBBEAN	Mail on Sunday (London)	2007	August
Brits survive Dean's fury	The Sun (England)	2007	August
Mexico's islands take a walloping; Hurricane Wilma; Tourist areas featuring reefs and white sand beaches are demolished by the storm.	Wilkes Barre Times Leader	2005	October
TOURISTS ESCAPE HURRICANE	Belfast News Letter (Northern Ireland)	1998	October

Kenya : Weathering the storm after Hurricane Dorian	TendersInfo	2019	September
WEATHERING THE STORM AFTER HURRICANE DORIAN	States News Service	2019	September
Weekly business briefs from the Caribbean	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	2000	March
Tempest becomes adventure for some tourists; HURRICANE FLOYD: THE STORM APPROACHES	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	1999	September
Consolidated Water Co. Ltd. Reports Record 2006 Earnings; Company Declares First Quarter Cash Dividend	PR Newswire US	2007	March
Dangerous' Hurricane Irene becomes 'big threat' to US as evacuations begin; The sprawling, deadly storm is set to become a Category 4 system after roaring over the Bahamas overnight. The entire US East Coast is on alert.	telegraph.co.uk	2011	August
CTO State of the Tourism Industry: The Latest Post-Hurricane Caribbean Updates	Travel Agent Central	2018	October
Hurricane Ivan-Tourists	Broadcast News (BN)	2004	September
Caribbean Tourism Organization statement on Hurricane Dorian	Eturbo News	2019	September
British Virgin Islands Tourist Board: Minimal damage from Hurricane Dorian	Eturbo News	2019	August
Jamaicans get ready to take brunt of hurricane	Irish News	2007	August

BRITS FEAR HURRICANE	Sunday Mirror	2005	July
Hurricane Rina aimed at Mexico resorts	The Bismarck Tribune	2011	October
No Headline In Original	Global Broadcast Database - English Local News 5:00 AM NBC	2005	October
Bahamas : Campbell: Bahamas open for tourism business despite Dorian	TendersInfo	2019	October
Campbell: Bahamas Open for Tourism Business Despite Dorian	Targeted News Service	2019	October
Storm-torn Antigua turns to Grapevine	PR Week	1995	October
Bahamas tourism sector activates Hurricane Dorian emergency plans	CE Noticias Financieras English	2019	August
Puerto Rico Tourism Company Confirms Major Tourism Infrastructure and Attractions Are Operational After Hurricane Irma	Business Wire	2017	September
puerto rico better than before; Once more a hot tourist destination after its recovery from Hurricane Maria	The Star (South Africa)	2018	December
United States: U.S. Virgin Islands GDP Decreases in 2017 - Tourism spending declines following Hurricanes Irma and Maria	Thai News Service	2018	December
U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS GDP DECREASES IN 2017 TOURISM SPENDING DECLINES FOLLOWING HURRICANES IRMA AND MARIA	States News Service	2019	December
Caribbean travel update: What to expect one year after Maria and Irma; New tourism products and services are being restored daily in the destinations impacted by last year s hurricanes	Breaking News from globeandmail.com	2018	October

Trinidad and Tobago's tourism sector benefits from influx of cruise passengers, owing to damage to other ports during Hurricane Maria	Oxford Business Group: Articles	2018	October
A year later, Puerto Rico beckons; The hurricane-tossed U.S. territory is ready for tourists again - and there are deals galore to lure visitors	Newsday (New York)	2018	September
British Virgin Islands Tourism: One year after Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2018	September
Puerto Rico puts out the welcome mat for tourists; PUERTO RICO HURRICANES (Report)	EFE Newswire - Americas in Focus	2018	August
Puerto Rico Tourism Industry Calls For News Coverage Of The Island's Positive Milestones As The One Year Anniversary Of Hurricane Maria Approaches	Global English (Middle East and North Africa Financial Network)	2018	August
Puerto Rico Tourism Industry Calls For News Coverage Of The Island's Positive Milestones As The One Year Anniversary Of Hurricane Maria Approaches	Plus Company Updates(PCU)	2018	August
Puerto Rico Tourism Industry Calls For News Coverage Of The Island's Positive Milestones As The One Year Anniversary Of Hurricane Maria Approaches; Locals across the Island invite travelers to be part of the comeback story	PR Newswire	2018	August
Roundup: Cuba tourism suffers following U.S. travel restrictions, hurricanes	Xinhua General News Service	2018	August
Calm after the storm; Anguilla tourism gets back to normal after hurricane hit	Edmonton Sun	2018	March
Cuba charms foreign tourism companies, despite hurricanes and Trump	CE Noticias Financieras English	2018	May
Despite Hurricanes and Trump, Cuba Retains Charm for Foreign Tourism	ASEAN Tribune	2018	May

Despite Hurricanes and Trump, Cuba Retains Charm for Foreign Tourism	Federal NewsFeed	2018	May
Hurricane hit Caribbean lost almost \$700million in tourism revenue after islands were lashed by deadly storms	MailOnline	2018	May
Hurricanes and Zika virus will impact tourism in the Caribbean	CE Noticias Financieras English	2018	May
Hurricanes cost Caribbean tourism more than \$700 mn: report	Agence France Presse -- English	2018	May
Hurricanes cost Caribbean tourism more than \$700 mn: report	Digital Journal	2018	May
Puerto Rico ready for tourism to jump-start economy after Hurricane Maria	NBC News NBC NIGHTLY NEWS 7:00 PM EST	2018	April
Puerto Rico ready for tourism to jump-start economy after Hurricane Maria	NBCNEWS.com	2018	April
Six Months Later, Tourists Haven't Returned to Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico is attracting barely half as many visitors since Hurricane Maria	The Village Voice (Online)	2018	March
Tourism in the Caribbean lost US \$ 741 million for the hurricanes of 2017	CE Noticias Financieras English	2018	May
Calm after the storm; Anguilla tourism gets back to normal after hurricane hit	Toronto Sun	2018	January
Calm after the storm; Anguilla tourism gets back to normal after hurricane hit	Calgary Sun	2018	February
Calm after the storm; Anguilla tourism gets back to normal after hurricane hit	Winnipeg Sun	2018	January
Cuba tourism slides in wake of Hurricane Irma, Trump	Channel NewsAsia	2018	January
Cuba Tourism Slides in Wake of Hurricane Irma, Trump	Federal NewsFeed Voice of America	2018	January

Cuba/United States: Cuba Tourism Slides in Wake of Hurricane Irma, Trump	Thai News Service	2018	January
Belarus : MOTA Executes Communications Plan To Protect Critical Tourism Industry After Hurricanes Irma And Maria	TendersInfo	2017	September
Caribbean 'needs tourists' to return after Irma; Rebuilding the hurricane-hit islands will take time but visitors should not be deterred, says Hugh Morris	The Daily Telegraph (London)	2017	September
Caribbean's Tourism Return Shows It Is Open and Has Something for Everyone; Multifaceted, million-dollar advertising campaign shows successful results of drawing visitors to the Caribbean post-hurricanes, and transitions to continue focusing on the more than one million square miles and range of attractions, activities and cultures offering a "Caribbean for Everyone."	PR Newswire	2017	December
Caribbean's vital tourism industry is in tatters Employees are out of work as long cleanup, repairs begin Hurricanes' aftermath	Plain Dealer (Cleveland, OH)	2017	September
CARIBBEAN-TOURISM-Caribbean bracing for decline in visitor arrivals due to hurricane damage	CANA News	2017	October
Caribbean Tourism Organization issues Hurricane Maria update	Eturbo News	2017	September
Caribbean Tourism Organization issues post-hurricanes Caribbean update	Eturbo News	2017	November
Caribbean Tourism Takes a Hit After Hurricane Irma	The New York Times	2017	September

Come back, darlings, you're needed; This year's hurricane season caused serious damage to the Caribbean - and its tourist industry. Carolyn Boyd visited Antigua, which is waiting for travellers to return - with some help from UB40	i-Independent Print Ltd	2017	December
Cuba: Hurricane Irma devastates Cuba's tourism infrastructure	Thai News Service	2017	September
Cuba's top tourism resort braves Hurricane Irma	Xinhua General News Service	2017	September
Dominican Republic's tourism infrastructure has not suffered material damages due to Hurricane Maria	Eturbo News	2017	September
DOMINICA-TOURISM-Dominica cruise ship sector benefitting from Hurricane Irma	CANA News	2017	September
Former Swindon woman hopes for tourists to return to her hurricane-hit home	Swindon Advertiser	2017	September
Hurricane Irma devastates Cuba's tourism infrastructure	ITAR-TASS	2017	September
More than 100 'high risk' prisoners escaped on British Virgin Isles after hurricane Irma as islanders now fight over the last scraps of food and evacuated tourists weep with relief that their hell is over	MailOnline	2017	September
Official statement from Jamaica Tourist Board on hurricane	Eturbo News	2017	September
Puerto Rico Declares It Is Officially Open For Tourism; Just in time for the holidays, December 20 marks three months post-Hurricane Maria and a major moment in Puerto Rico's comeback	PR Newswire	2017	December
Puerto Rico diverting travelers booked to Hurricane effected Caribbean tourist destinations	Eturbo News	2017	September
Puerto Rico tourism craters in wake of Hurricane Maria	Associated Press International	2017	October

Puerto Rico tourism craters in wake of Hurricane Maria	The Associated Press	2017	October
Puerto Rico tourism craters in wake of Hurricane Maria	The Philadelphia Tribune (Pennsylvania)	2017	October
Puerto Rico tourism craters in wake of Hurricane Maria	Associated Press Financial Wire	2017	October
Puerto Rico tourism craters in wake of Hurricane Maria	The Durango Herald (Colorado)	2017	October
Puerto Rico tourism nearly nonexistent more than a month after Hurricane Maria	The Bradenton Herald (Florida)	2017	October
Puerto Rico Tourism: What is open, what is closed after Hurricane Irma?	Eturbo News	2017	September
Puerto Rico Welcomes Vacationers Post-Hurricane Irma and Becomes Transient Hub for Tourists from Nearby Caribbean Islands	Financial Buzz	2017	September
Puerto Rico Welcomes Vacationers Post-Hurricane Irma and Becomes Transient Hub for Tourists from Nearby Caribbean Islands	Business Wire	2017	September
Roundup: Cuba tries to recover tourism industry hit by hurricane Irma	Xinhua General News Service	2017	September
ST. VINCENT-TOURISM-St. Vincent cruise sector to benefit from hurricane damage to other Caribbean countries.	CANA News	2017	October
THE BAHAMAS TOURISM CENTERS ARE FULLY FUNCTIONAL AFTER HURRICANE IRMA AND MARIA	Financial Buzz	2017	October
The Cayman Islands Open for Business and Ready to Welcome Guests; The Cayman Islands Department of Tourism Provides Destination Update Amid Active Hurricane Season	PR Newswire	2017	September

This is not a millionaire's playground. The majority here need tourism cash to survive; SCOTS AID WORKER ON CRIPPLING DAMAGE OF HURRICANE IRMA ; Kenny tells us of the urgent need for help on Anguilla after this month's storm	Daily Record and Sunday Mail	2017	September
Tourism craters in wake of Hurricane Maria; Puerto Rico just treading water as high season looms.; PUERTO RICO	Dayton Daily News (Ohio)	2017	October
Tourism is the key to full recovery from hurricanes Irma and Maria in Caribbean; GUEST COMMENTARY	The Kansas City Star	2017	December
Tourists Claim Marriott Rescue Ship Denied Them Boarding After Hurricane Irma	Consumerist	2017	September
Tourist tells of hurricane hotel terror	Daily Mirror	2017	September
Travel insider; Tourists can help Florida and the Caribbean's post-hurricane recovery	Irish Independent	2017	October
UB40 BACK CAMPAIGN TO BRING TOURISTS BACK TO CARIBBEAN AFTER HURRICANE STRIFE	WENN Entertainment News Wire Service	2017	December
UB40 fly out to Caribbean in bid to lure tourists back; we joined brum reggae legends in antigua as hurricane-hit region spreads message that it is open for business again...	Birmingham Evening Mail	2017	December
UK tourists are evacuated as US begins hurricane relief efforts	Scotsman	2017	September
We'll be back'; The mighty winds of Hurricane Irma ransacked many beloved island resorts. Some will close for months; some for good. And the tourism economy the islands rely on is down for the count.	The Boston Globe	2017	September

Advice for Irish tourists caught up in 'catastrophic' Hurricane Irma; Both Puerto Rico and Florida have declared states of emergency	irishmirror.ie	2017	September
Andros Island, Bahamas open for business post Hurricane Matthew; Island prepping for first 160 Tourists for lavish wedding this week	Marketwired	2016	October
Anguilla Tourist Board issues advisory on Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Anguilla Tourist Board issues update after Hurricane Irma passes through	Eturbo News	2017	September
Brit holidaymakers 'abandoned by Thomson and Thomas Cook' in Caribbean' left to survive on 'handful of sandwiches'; Tourists say they have been left on the hurricane hit islands by both travel agent companies - with a lack of information being given to them by staff	mirror.co.uk	2017	September
British response to Hurricane Irma slammed over 'lack of vision' by Labour MP; Tourists stranded in affected regions have also complained about a lack of information and assistance from holiday companies	birminghammail.co.uk	2017	September
British tourists flown home as hurricane tears towards islands	The Daily Telegraph (London)	2017	September
Britons evacuated after Hurricane Irma devastates Caribbean; Expats and tourists have spoken of their terror at the most powerful storm ever in the Atlantic Ocean.	Belfast Telegraph Online	2017	September
Brit tourists evacuated as most powerful hurricane EVER to batter Florida and Caribbean	Daily Star Online	2017	September
Canadian tourists trapped in Hurricane Irma's path scramble to get out or hunker down	CBC News	2017	September
Caribbean Hotel and Tourism Association issues statement on Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September

CARIBBEAN-TOURISM- CHTA to work with partners following passage of Hurricane Irma	CANA News	2017	September
Caribbean Tourism issues first official update on Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Caribbean Tourism: Official update #2 on Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Caribbean Tourism Official Update #6: Hurricane warnings lifted for Bahamas	Eturbo News	2017	September
Caribbean Tourism Organization issues statement on Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Cuba evacuates tourists to Varadero what is now under surprise attack by Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Director of Tourism for the British Virgin Islands issues statement on Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Exclusive: Watch as British tourists are 'abandoned' on hurricane island as US airlifts its citizens to safety	telegraph.co.uk	2017	September
Frantic British tourist tells of 'sonic boom noises' as he cowers in concrete stairwell of luxury St Maarten hotel to avoid 'apocalyptic' 185mph winds as strongest EVER hurricane hits Caribbean	MailOnline	2017	September
Hurricane, earthquake strands Perth tourists	WA Today	2017	September
Hurricane, earthquake strands Perth tourists	Canberra Times Online	2017	September
Hurricane, earthquake strands Perth tourists	The Age (Melbourne, Australia) - Online	2017	September
Hurricane Irma: Air Transat airlifts all tourists from the Dominican Republic to Canada	Eturbo News	2017	September

Hurricane Irma: As holidaymakers complain, spare a thought for the locals; British tourists may have to fly home from a ruined holiday, but for many Cuban locals, there's no escape	The Independent (United Kingdom)	2017	September
Hurricane Irma: French rescue planes 'refuse to take Brit tourists' stranded in Caribbean	Express Online	2017	September
Hurricane Irma: Get ready to flee, British tourists told as storm is set to 'devastate' Florida	standard.co.uk	2017	September
Hurricane Irma latest: British tourist airlifted to Puerto Rico by US rescuers	Express Online	2017	September
Hurricane Irma: the travel implications for tourists as storm heads towards Caribbean; Airlines and holiday companies' responses varydramatically	The Independent (United Kingdom)	2017	September
Hurricane Irma: the travel implications for tourists as storm heads towards Caribbean; Britain's biggest holiday companies have different responses to the crisis	The Independent (United Kingdom)	2017	September
Hurricane Irma to affect tourism industry in Caribbean	Global English (Middle East and North Africa Financial Network)	2017	September
It's official: Montserrat Tourism untouched from Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Official British Virgin Island Announcement on Tourism Situation after Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Pray as this island is decimated': US tourists - including Jerry Falwell's brother Jonathan - find themselves stranded in the path of Hurricane Irma after planes from Caribbean are canceled	MailOnline	2017	September

PRAY FOR US; Brit tourist's frantic plea amid Hurricane Irma Buildings are obliterated by 185mph winds	Daily Mirror	2017	September
PRAY FOR US; Brit tourist's frantic plea amid Hurricane Irma Three dead as 185mph winds batter islands	Daily Mirror	2017	September
Puerto Rico Tourism Infrastructure Operational After Hurricane Irma	Airline Industry Information	2017	September
Rebuilding after 'apocalyptic' hurricane hit to Haiti's struggling tourism market	The Miami Herald	2016	November
Russian Tourists Evacuated as Hurricane Irma Batters Cuba – Embassy	Sputnik News Service	2017	September
Russian tourists evacuated from Cuban resorts because of Hurricane Irma	ITAR-TASS	2017	September
Stranded by Irma: British tourists are desperate to get home after being 'abandoned' by travel firms in the wake of deadly hurricane	MailOnline	2017	September
THOUSANDS of Brits evacuated from Cuba by Thomas Cook after Hurricane Irma; A number of UK tourists have complained about a lack of information and access to resort reps	birminghammail.co.uk	2017	September
Tourism, agriculture businesses brace for hurricane	Long Beach Press-Telegram (Long Beach, CA)	2017	September
Tourism, agriculture businesses brace for Hurricane Irma's impact	Torrance Daily Breeze (California)	2017	September
Tourists evacuate as Category 5 Hurricane Irma nears Caribbean	Agence France Presse -- English	2017	September
Tourists evacuate as Hurricane Irma nears Caribbean island	Siasat Daily (India)	2017	September
Tourists evacuated ahead of hurricane	The Gazette (Montreal)	2017	September

Tourists left 'stranded' in Hurricane Irma after Marriott boat refuses to rescue anyone but guests; As 185mph winds unleashed devastation across the tropical islands, holiday makers were astonished when staff onboard said they could not accommodate those who had not booked a stay	mirror.co.uk	2017	September
Tourists return to Montreal on emergency flights ahead of Hurricane Irma	Postmedia Breaking News	2017	September
TOURIST TRAP; British travellers flying home early from tropical getaways may complain about ruined holidays, but for Cuban locals, there's no escaping Hurricane Irma, says Simon Calder	The Independent - Daily Edition	2017	September
Turks and Caicos Tourism urges visitors to leave ahead of Hurricane Irma	Eturbo News	2017	September
Welsh tourist's close encounter with hurricane	South Wales Echo	2017	September
Welsh tourists shelter in hotel theatre to escape Hurricane Irma; A photographer has described how the Category Five storm hit his Dominican Republic holiday resort	walesonline.co.uk	2017	September
What did Hurricane Irma do to Grenada Tourism?	Eturbo News	2017	September
World famous Princess Juliana St Maarten Airport where planes fly just above tourists' heads devastated by Hurricane Irma; The 185mph storm ripped through the airport today, destroying safety fences and battering nearby Maho beach	irishmirror.ie	2017	September
World famous Princess Juliana St Maarten Airport where planes fly just above tourists' heads devastated by Hurricane Irma; The 185mph storm ripped through the airport today, destroying safety fences and battering nearby Maho beach	mirror.co.uk	2017	September

You're on your OWN' Brit tourists caught up in Hurricane Irma given stark warning	Daily Star Online	2017	September
Hurricane Cristobal kills five people in the Caribbean as it moves towards Bermuda; The torrential rain has affected tourism on the popular islands	Independent.co.uk	2014	August
BAHAMAS BRACING FOR HURRICANE MATTHEW; THOUSANDS OF TOURISTS & RESIDENTS EVACUATING	ABC News Transcript GOOD MORNING AMERICA 7:02 AM EST	2016	October
Bahamas Ministry Of Tourism Fully Activates For Hurricane Matthew	GlobeNewswire	2016	October
Bahamas Ministry Of Tourism Fully Activates For Hurricane Matthew	Financial Buzz	2016	October
Hurricane Patricia on track to ravage one of Mexico's top tourism destinations	Mashable.com	2015	October
Nassau Paradise Island Promotion Board and Paradise Island Tourism Development Association Donate \$10K to Bahamas Red Cross Hurricane Relief Fund	Entertainment Close-Up	2016	October
North tourists trapped by Cuba hurricane; IN BRIEF	Evening Chronicle	2016	October
Hurricane Ike tosses Caribbean tourism for a loop; Hurricane Ike is lashing out at the Caribbean's tourism infrastructure and has forced cruise lines and airlines to redraw their plans.	The Miami Herald	2008	September
Fed-up tourists fight to get out of tony resorts; Five days after Hurricane Wilma struck Mexico's tourism hot spots, stranded tourists fought for seats on airplanes and buses out of the resorts.; MEXICO	The Miami Herald	2005	October

Escape: After the hurricane: Cancun gets back in its feet after Wilma: Last October a devastating hurricane wiped out much of Mexico's east coast. Nine months on, after a massive clean-up operation, the tourists have started trickling back. Gaby Wood reports on the recovery of the 'Riviera Maya'	The Observer (London)	2006	June
HURRICANE HAVOC: Following the devastation of Hurricane Luis, Caribbean islands are struggling to rebuild their shattered tourist industries. Everything may be back to normal by Christmas -- but more storms are brewing	The Financial Post (Toronto, Canada)	1995	September
Tourists leave, island residents evacuate as Hurricane Rina closes in on Mexico resorts; Cancun area resorts empty as hurricane approaches	Canadian Press	2011	October
False reports hit region's tourist trade: With £7.5 billion annual tourism income at stake, publicists are desperate to scotch exaggerated stories of hurricane damage	The Weekly Journal	1995	September
Jamaica's tourism industry looks to the future as eye of Hurricane Ivan skirts the island; Majority of tourist areas suffer little damage	Canada NewsWire	2004	September
Jamaica's tourism industry looks to the future as eye of Hurricane Ivan skirts the island; Majority of tourist areas suffer little damage	PR Newswire	2004	September
2ND ROUNDUP: Hurricane Wilma slams jewel of Mexico's tourism	Deutsche Presse-Agentur	2005	october
13,000 TOURISTS FLEE AS HURRICANE HITS CARIBBEAN	Sunday Mail	2007	August
30,000 tourists flee as Mexico hurricane threatens to hit	Western Morning News (Plymouth)	2005	July
160MPH TERROR; THOUSANDS OF BRITISH TOURISTS FLEE AS HURRICANE IVAN LOOMS	The Mirror	2004	September

160MPH TERROR; Thousands of British tourists flee as hurricane Ivan looms; News	The Mirror (London, England)	2004	September
560,000 FLEE AS HURRICANE HITS CUBA; MICHELLE HEADS FOR TOURIST RESORT FLORIDA KEYS EVACUATED	Lexington Herald Leader (Kentucky)	2001	November
1000 Britons flee as hurricane roars in; Tourists evacuated as 150mph killer winds head for Jamaica and Cuba	Evening Times (Glasgow)	2004	September
A blow to your holiday plans? Forecasts suggest a 'busier-than normal' hurricane season in the Caribbean. Philip Eden considers what that might mean for tourists	The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)	2006	June
A CHANGING MEXICO; THE RECOVERY; Cancun, rebuilt and showing off; Last year's hurricane swallowed beaches and scared off visitors. But Yucatan resorts are back, upgraded and awaiting tourists.	Los Angeles Times	2006	November
Ad and Conferences: Rum days over for Jamaica - After the vast destruction caused by Hurricane Gilbert, Jamaica is rebuilding its tourist trade and its image as a suitable business venue	Marketing	1990	June
After Hurricane Dean: Jamaica open for business; Tourism Minister assures visitors	The Weekly Gleaner	2007	August
After Hurricane Dean: Jamaica open for business; Tourism Minister assures visitors	New York Beacon	2007	August
Alarm as mighty Hurricane Dean heads for Mexico's tourist, oil sites	Associated Press International	2007	August
American tourists stranded in Cancun after hurricane	NBC News Transcripts Today 7:00 AM EST NBC	2005	October
AM-Hurricane-Mitch, ; UPDATES with info on Canadian tourists, storm weakening, location	The Canadian Press (CP)	1998	October

Anguilla's tourism market recovers to pre-hurricane levels	Associated Press International	1997	April
Anguilla's tourism market recovers to pre-hurricane levels *REPLACE*	Associated Press International	1997	April
ANTIGUA, I TELL YOU!: The island is well over last year's hurricane damage, and the word on the street is that tourists are now welcome back	The Financial Post (Toronto, Canada)	1997	January
Areas hit by hurricanes aren't closed to tourists	Ventura County Star (California)	2004	November
As Floyd blasts Bahamas, tourists take cover; Hurricane's winds down trees and power lines, rip roofs off homes	THE BALTIMORE SUN	1999	September
Back to Life: Islands rush to repair hurricane damage in time for tourist influx	The Voice	1999	December
BAHAMIANS BRACE FOR HURRICANE'S FURY; ISLANDS LIE IN PATH OF GIANT STORM; MOST TOURISTS DECIDE TO LEAVE	Sun-Sentinel (Fort Lauderdale, FL)	2004	September
BELIZE HURRICANE KILLS 19 TOURISTS ON DIVING HOLIDAY	The Independent (London)	2001	October
Bermudan businessman counting losses; tourism hit after hurricane	BBC Summary of World Broadcasts	2003	September
BERTHA MOVING IN ON CARIBBEAN ISLANDS FIRST HURRICANE SENDS RESIDENTS, TOURISTS SCRAMBLING	San Jose Mercury News (California)	1996	July
BONNIE SCARES TOURISTS HOME; BAHAMIANS TAKE PRECAUTIONS BEFORE HURRICANE BRUSHES PAST	Sun-Sentinel (Fort Lauderdale, FL)	1998	August
BRACING FOR STORM OF TOURISTS; CARIBBEAN ISLES NEARLY RECOVERED FROM HURRICANES	Lexington Herald Leader (Kentucky)	2004	December

Brakes put on getaways; For tourists fleeing Cancun ahead of Hurricane Wilma, their shelter at one of the most luxurious places on the Maya Riviera came to an abrupt halt.; MEXICO	The Miami Herald	2005	October
Bring on tourists, says rebuilt Cancún; HURRICANE DAMAGE LARGELY REPAIRED	San Jose Mercury News (California)	2006	December
British tourists flee as hurricane hits Jamaica	Aberdeen Evening Express	2007	August
BRITISH TOURISTS FLEE FROM HURRICANE	Daily Post (North Wales)	2004	September
British tourists flee from hurricane; News	Daily Post (Liverpool, England)	2004	September
BRITISH TOURISTS IN PATH OF HURRICANE	Birmingham Post	2005	July
BRITISH TOURISTS RETURNING HOME AFTER MEXICO HURRICANE	Press Association	2005	October
BRITISH TOURISTS SET TO FACE HURRICANE IVAN	Press Association	2004	September
BRITISH TOURISTS STAY TO FACE HURRICANE	Daily Post (North Wales)	2004	September
British tourists stay to face hurricane; News	Daily Post (Liverpool, England)	2004	September
British tourists take refuge as hurricane slams into Jamaica	Aberdeen Press and Journal	2007	August
BRIT TOURISTS STUCK IN HURRICANE HELL; THOUSANDS FLEE AS STORM SWEEPS IN	Daily Record	2005	October
BRIT TOURISTS STUCK IN HURRICANE HELL; Thousands flee as storm sweeps in; News	Daily Record (Glasgow, Scotland)	2005	October
Cancun bounces back with bigger beaches A year after Hurricane Wilma wrecked this tourist town, tons of white sand have been pumped in, doubling the size of the coastline.	St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)	2006	October

Cancun Escapes the Brunt of Hurricane Emily; Up and Running and Ready to Receive National and International Tourists	Canadian Corporate Newswire	2005	July
Cancun Escapes the Brunt of Hurricane Emily; Up and Running and Ready to Receive National and International Tourists	Business Wire	2005	July
Cancun hotels, tourists get ready as Ida strengthens into hurricane over Caribbean	The Canadian Press(CP)	2009	November
Cancun in ruins; looters strike; Hurricane Wilma clobbers Cancun, Mexico, leaving the tourism industry in ruins and forcing police to take to the streets.; MEXICO	The Miami Herald	2005	October
Cancún still a mess from hurricane; RECOVERY DRAGGING; EXTENT OF DAMAGE DETERRING TOURISTS	San Jose Mercury News (California)	2005	December
Cancún struggles to heal from storm; Tourists are in short supply as Cancún struggles to bounce back after Hurricane Wilma. A Dec. 15 goal by the president will not be met.	The Miami Herald	2005	December
Caribbean beckons tourists: Not all vacation spots struck by hurricanes	Windsor Star (Ontario)	2004	November
Caribbean islands recovering from storm Some tourists were stuck in their rooms, but hurricane's damage was scattered	Milwaukee Journal Sentinel (Wisconsin)	1999	December
CARIBBEAN ISLANDS WORK TO RECOVER FROM HURRICANES, PREPARE FOR TOURISTS	Philadelphia Inquirer (PA)	1995	October
CARIBBEAN ISLES, FLA. TELL TOURISTS TO COME BACK: AFTER HURRICANE, MEDIA AD BLITZES WOO TRAVELERS WARY OF CHAOS	Advertising Age	1998	October
Caribbean officials fear increase in hurricanes could scare off tourists	AP Worldstream	2005	October

Caribbean tourism mostly unscathed this hurricane season	The Calgary Herald (Alberta)	2008	October
Caribbean tourism officials meet in Aruba to discuss recovery from busy hurricane season among other issues	Associated Press International	2004	October
Caribbean tourist spot devastated after Hurricane Luis strikes region	THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS	1995	September
Cayman Set For Rebound; With All Hurricane Damage Reports Assessed, Cayman's Tourism Partners Work Together for Revitalization	PR Newswire US	2004	October
CHANTAL SWIRLS IN AT NEAR-HURRICANE FORCE MEXICANS PREPARE SHELTERS FOR RESIDENTS, THOUSANDS OF TOURISTS	Charlotte Observer (North Carolina)	2004	August
Confusion, frustration among tourists as Dean menaces Yucatan; MEXICOHURRICANE (Feature)	EFE Newswire - Americas in Focus	2007	August
CRUISE LINES, OFFICIALS, TOURISTS MAKE PLANS AS HURRICANE WATCH IS ISSUED FROMCANCUN TO BELIZE	The Augusta Chronicle (Georgia)	2001	August
Cuba: Little damage reported to tourism industry after Hurricane Ivan	BBC Summary of World Broadcasts	2004	September
Cuban tourism industry moves fast to recover from hurricanes' wrath	Winnipeg Free Press (Canada)	2008	November
Deadly Wilma lashes Mexican resort area: Residents, tourists wait in shelters for hurricane to pass	The Calgary Herald (Alberta)	2005	October
Dean begins assault on Mexico; Tourists flee as hurricane grows to Category 5	Chicago Tribune	2007	August
DEAN GETS MEAN; TOURIST TERROR AS HURRICANE BATTERS JAMAICA`	The Mirror	2007	August
DEAN GETS MEAN; TOURIST TERROR AS HURRICANE BATTERS JAMAICA`	The Mirror (London, England)	2007	August

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Dominican Republic: Tourists scramble out of path of Hurricane Dean	Tulsa World (Oklahoma)	2007	August
Emily ready to pound Cancun: Tourists stream out of luxury beachside resorts and head inland as hurricane's outer winds lash Yucatan peninsula	The Vancouver Sun (British Columbia)	2005	July
Expedia, Inc. Promotes Mexican Caribbean Recovery Post Hurricane Wilma by Launching \$500,000 Marketing Program and Participating in Local Area Economic Development Projects; Expedia Revitalizing Tourism to Cancun, Cozumel, and Riviera Maya and Introducing World Heritage Alliance to the Area to Promote Responsible Travel to the World Heritage Sites in the Area and Throughout Mexico	PR Newswire	2006	March
EXTRA: Tourists prepare to leave as Hurricane Ike draws closer	Deutsche Presse-Agentur	2008	September
Fast recovery for Cancun; NEW TOURISTS BEING FLOWN IN THIS WEEKEND TO RESORTS LESS DAMAGED BY HURRICANE	San Jose Mercury News (California)	2005	October
Ferocious Wilma whips through Cozumel, Cancun Category 4 hurricane bashes Mexico Thousands of tourists, residents stranded in 140 mph winds	THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS	2005	October
Grenada tourism faces one-two punch from hurricane, economy	Edmonton Journal (Alberta)	2009	April
Grenada: Tourism minister says post-hurricane reconstruction work going well	BBC Summary of World Broadcasts	2004	September
Hawaii Tourist Industry Gets Unexpected Boost from Hurricane Gilbert	The Associated Press	1988	September
Honduras tourism bounces back from Hurricane Mitch	The Star-Ledger (Newark, New Jersey)	1999	January

HOW HURRICANE HAS AFFECTED TOURIST SPOTS	Orlando Sentinel (Florida)	1998	September
How Will Tourism Be Affected After Hurricane Andrew?	CNN NEWS	1992	August
Hundreds of Scots tourists trapped in eye of hurricane; Wilma wreaks havoc as its 150mph winds batter Mexico	The Herald (Glasgow)	2005	October
Hurricane an adventure for some tourists in Nassau	The Associated Press	1999	September
Hurricane an adventure for some tourists in Nassau	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	1999	September
Hurricane an adventure for some tourists in Nassau	The Associated Press Online	1999	September
Hurricane batters islands, killing at least seven people , Storm could hurt tourist season in the region	Charleston Daily Mail (West Virginia)	1999	November
Hurricane batters main tourist hub in Bahamas; Nassau escapes major damage, while Freeport is expected to take a direct hit	Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)	2004	September
Hurricane Beatriz lashes Mexico's tourist west coast	Agence France Presse -- English	2011	June
Hurricane Bertha blows big discounts to Caribbean tourists	USA TODAY	1996	July
HURRICANE BLOWS INTO THE CARIBBEAN; SCHOOLS CLOSED; AIRPORTS CROWDED AS TOURISTS FLEE BY MARVIN HOKSTAMTHE ASSOCIATED PRESS	SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER	2000	August
Hurricane continues to pound Caribbean; Tourists, residents trapped in buildings	Monterey County Herald	2005	October
Hurricane Dean approaches; Residents hunker down while tourists flood airports	The Vancouver Province (British Columbia)	2007	August

Hurricane Dean hits Caribbean; Tourists in Jamaica, Caymen Islands jam airports to try escaping monster storm	The News-Press (Fort Myers, Florida)	2007	August
Hurricane Dean picks up steam, tourists panic everal Caribbean islands are bracing for the Category 4 storm, which is expected to hit Sunday.	St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)	2007	August
Hurricane Dean spares almost all tourist spots	Plain Dealer (Cleveland)	2007	August
Hurricane Dean threatens islands; Tourists line up to flee Jamaica, Cayman isles as system strengthens	The Times Union (Albany, New York)	2007	August
Hurricane Dennis kills 4 in Haiti; Florida Keys evacuate tourists	Monterey County Herald	2005	July
HURRICANE DENNIS NEARS BAHAMAS, MAY HIT TODAY; RESIDENTS, TOURISTS PREPARE FOR STORM	Saint Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	1999	August
Hurricane did little damage to tourism sites	Orange County Register (California)	1992	September
HURRICANE EMILY LANDS IN MEXICAN VACATION SPOTS; FOREIGN TOURISTS CHECK INTO SHELTERS	Lexington Herald Leader (Kentucky)	2005	July
HURRICANE EMILY; Resorts in Yucatan hold up under major storm's fury; But it was no holiday for tourists tapped in shelters	The Houston Chronicle	2005	July
Hurricane Emily speeds toward Yucatan peninsula; Thousands of offshore oil workers, residents and tourists are evacuated	Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)	2005	July
HURRICANE ERIN PASSES THE ISLANDS OF THE BAHAMAS; NO MAJOR DAMAGE SUSTAINED; ALL TOURISM FACILITIES FULLY OPERATIONAL	PR Newswire	1995	August

Hurricane Erin spares Bermuda serious damage; brings heavy rain, strands tourists	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	2001	September
Hurricane Floyd: 'The Winds Are Just Unbelievable,' Says Bahamas Tourist	CNN CNN MORNING NEWS 09:00 am ET	1999	September
Hurricane-hit Grand Cayman reopens to tourists	THE DAILY TELEGRAPH(LONDON)	2004	November
HURRICANE HITS ISLAND OF COZUMEL; THOUSANDS OF TOURISTS FLEE YUCATAN PENINSULA	Saint Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	1995	October
Hurricane hits paradise island Tourists battle to protect hotel during storm	Gloucestershire Echo	1999	November
Hurricane Hurts Island's Tourism	Associated Press International	1999	December
Hurricane Ike heads for Cuba after leaving dozens dead in Haiti; Tourists at Cuban resorts moved to safety inland as Florida Keys evacuated	Times Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)	2008	September
Hurricane Ike tosses tourism industry	The Miami Herald	2008	September
Hurricane Impact on Florida and Caribbean Tourism May Extend into 2005 According to New Survey	Business Wire	2004	October
HURRICANE IRENE CHASES TOURISTS; MANY SCRAMBLE TO LEAVE THE BAHAMAS AS STORM HEADS FOR ISLAND CHAIN	Sun-Sentinel (Fort Lauderdale, Florida)	2011	August
Hurricane Iris hits the coast of Belize; Residents and tourists sought safety. Dozens of homes were damaged by the Category 4 storm.	The Philadelphia Inquirer	2001	October
Hurricane kills 32 in Honduras; Tourists in Cancun flee stalling Mitch; Material from the Associated Press was used in this report.	The Boston Globe	1998	October

Hurricane lashes Bahamas' tourist hub; Nassau skyscrapers' windows shattered; 1 killed	The Record (Bergen County, NJ)	2004	September
Hurricane lashes coast; Six killed in Belize as tourist boat sinks	Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia)	2001	October
Hurricane leaves trail of devastation; Tourists exit storm shelters after Wilma leaves Cancun	The Herald (Glasgow)	2005	October
Hurricane Lenny destroys 10 boats and leaves tourists stranded in Venezuela	Associated Press International	1999	November
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Hurricane Luis bearing down on Caribbean Tourist drowns while trying to photograph churning seas	THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS	1995	September
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Mexican Tourist Centres on Alert for Hurricane Ivan	IHS Global Insight	2004	September
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Most Caribbean resorts bounce back after killer hurricanes The restoration of tourist facilities has been fast and furious. Even tour packages from Canada to Nicaragua will go ahead as planned	The Globe and Mail (Canada)	1998	November
Most tourist areas hit by hurricanes are back in business	The Toronto Star	1992	September
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NARROW ESCAPE FROM HURRICANE; Relief as tourists avoid 105mph storm in Florida.	Birmingham Evening Mail (England)	1998	September
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North tourists stranded by hurricane	THE JOURNAL (Newcastle, UK)	1998	September
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Storm Rina lashes Mexican coast; The tropical storm prompted thousands of tourists to leave the resort-studded area, but it failed to become the major hurricane some feared it would	Breaking News from globeandmail.com	2011	October
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Stranded tourists scramble to get on flights from hurricane zone	The Evening Standard (London)	2005	October
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Sun-spot tourist areas largely unaffected by hurricanes	Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)	1992	September
THE HURRICANE HAS BLOWN AWAY ACAPULCO INVITES TOURISTS BACK TO MEXICAN BEACH	Detroit Free Press	1988	April
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Thousands of tourists flee from Hurricane Mitch, but losses low	The Associated Press	1998	October
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Tourism industry setting sights on areas not hurt by hurricanes	Chicago Tribune	1992	September

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Tourist resorts brace for hurricane's direct hit	Weekend Australian	2005	October
Tourists abandon Bermuda as Hurricane Igor storms in; 2 die in Puerto Rico - Tropical storm Karl dissipates, but not before at least 7 die	The Seattle Times	2010	September
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Tourists are fleeing as hurricane nears	The Daily Courier (Forest City, North Carolina)	2007	August
Tourists batten down as hurricane hits Antigua	Western Morning News (Plymouth)	1999	October

Tourists battle to get out of hurricane-stricken Cancun	AP Worldstream	2005	October
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Tourists evacuated as Emily approaches; Hurricane strands 200 on flight to Toronto	The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario)	2005	July
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Tourists' fears as Hurricane Paula is heading for Cuba; BEFORE YOU GO Info and advice to get you ready for takeoff	Daily Post (North Wales)	2010	October
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Tourists flee as Category 5 Hurricane Felix nears Central America.	Associated Press International	2007	September
Tourists flee as Emily bears down on Mexico: Hurricane is largest ever for this time of year	The Calgary Herald (Alberta)	2005	July
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Tourists flee as hurricane arrives; Features	Daily Post (Liverpool, England)	2008	August
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Tourists flee as Hurricane Felix heads for Honduras	BreakingNews.ie	2007	September
Tourists flee as hurricane Felix nears Central America	BreakingNews.ie	2007	September
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Tourists flee as island of Jamaica prepares for direct hit from powerful Hurricane Dean	The Associated Press	2007	August
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Tourists flee as Jamaica prepares for direct hit from Hurricane Dean	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	2007	August
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Tourists fly out as Jamaica prepares for a direct hit by Hurricane Dean	The Sunday Telegraph (LONDON)	2007	August
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Tourists have mixed reaction to hurricane	Copley News Service	1998	October

Tourists in Cancun, Cozumel prepare for Hurricane Ida; but direct hit unlikely	Guelph Mercury (Ontario, Canada)	2009	November
Tourists in Cancun, Cozumel prepare for Hurricane Ida; but direct hit unlikely	Waterloo Chronicle	2009	December
Tourists in Cancun, Cozumel prepare for Hurricane Ida; but direct hit unlikely	Carleton Place	2009	January
Tourists in Caribbean jam airports as Hurricane Dean approaches	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	2007	August
Tourists in Caribbean jam airports to escape Hurricane Dean	Associated Press International	2007	August
Tourists in Caribbean jam airports to try escaping monster Hurricane Dean	The Associated Press	2007	August
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Tourists in Jamaica, Cayman Islands jam airports to try escaping monster Hurricane Dean	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	2007	August
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Tourists jam Caribbean airports; Hurricane Dean sets sights on Jamaica, Cayman Islands	High Point Enterprise (North Carolina)	2007	August
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Tourists preparing for the worst as Hurricane Dean heads for Mexico	The Express	2007	August

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Tourists race to flee Hurricane Dean 145mph winds as 'perfect storm' hits Jamaica	The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)	2007	August
Tourists, residents told to leave Florida Keys as Hurricane Ivan approaches	Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City)	2004	September
Tourists, residents told to leave Florida Keys as Hurricane Ivan approaches	The Associated Press	2004	September
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Tourists, residents told to leave Florida Keys as Hurricane Ivan approaches	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	2004	September
Tourists rush to escape monster Caribbean hurricane bearing down on Jamaica, Cayman Islands	Associated Press International	2007	August
Tourists safe after fleeing hurricane	South Wales Evening Post	2004	September
Tourists scramble to avoid hurricane; Category 4 Dean threatens Jamaica	The Record (Bergen County, NJ)	2007	August
Tourists scramble to escape hurricane; Airports jammed - Dean expected to hit Jamaica today, Caymans on Monday	The Seattle Times	2007	August
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Tourists stream out of hurricane-stricken Cancun, but many still stranded	The Associated Press	2005	October
Tourists struggle to flee Cancun after hurricane	St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)	2005	October
Tourists struggle to flee Cancun after hurricane Thousands rush to planes and busses; some are turned back	St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)	2005	October

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Tourists tell horror stories Canadians return from Caribbean after devastating Hurricane Luis	The Toronto Star	1995	September
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Tourist strip lashed by Hurricane Wilma	The Sunday Mail (Queensland, Australia)	2005	October
Tourists try to escape monster Caribbean hurricane	Associated Press International	2007	October
Tourists try to flee Mexico coast; Americans search for flights after waiting through hurricane; aid moves toward resorts	Austin American-Statesman (Texas)	2005	October
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Trying to calm winds of fear; Resorts aim to undo damage to tourist trade by hurricanes	The Gazette (Montreal)	2007	September
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UK tourists flee fury of hurricane Dean	Aberdeen Evening Express	2007	August

UK TOURISTS STRANDED BY FLORIDA HURRICANE	Daily Post (North Wales)	2004	September
UK TOURISTS STRANDED BY FLORIDA HURRICANE	Daily Post (Liverpool, England)	2004	September
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VIRGIN ISLANDS STILL RECOVERING FROM HURRICANE MARILYN; DISASTERS: TOURISM IS RETURNING, BUT THOUSANDS OF RESIDENTS REMAIN HOMELESS OR UNEMPLOYED OR BOTH.	Los Angeles Times	1995	December
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Bahamas tourist industry hopes for quick comeback from 'Category Hell' hurricane	CBSNewYork (WebNews - English)	2019	September
Jamaica's Tourism Minister calls for global support for hurricane-impacted Bahamas	CBSNewYork (WebNews - English)	2019	September
Bahamas asks world tourism industry to help avoid economic crisis post Hurricane Dorian	CBSNewYork (WebNews - English)	2019	September
Bahamas officials fear Hurricane Dorian destruction will spread to vital tourism industry	CBSNewYork (WebNews - English)	2019	September
Hurricane Dorian devastates Bahamas tourism	CBSNewYork (WebNews - English)	2019	September