

Cultural and Communicative Aspects of Global Processes

## The Correlation Between Frames in Society

A Case Study of CNN and Fox News' Coverage of President Trump's Impeachment Trial

> MA in Culture, Communication and Globalization Cand.Mag.

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## Preface

#### Title

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### Abstract

This research analyses how CNN and Fox News each frame President Donald J. Trump's impeachment and the correlation between media frames, political frames and public frames in regard to the impeachment. It is evident that this impeachment has created great controversy which is reflected in the different frames that can be found among different parts of society. According to Entman (2018) and Scheufele (1999) information does not just flow in one direction, namely from mass media and politicians to the public, instead information flows both ways, meaning that the public is influencing politics and media equally. This suggests that from the three sectors; media, politicians and public, there should be a correlation between what is being highlighted and how it is being highlighted but also that each should have individual framing that builds and extends one of the others highlighted issues. Therefore, we have investigated to what extent there is a correlation between the frames presented in the media, among the politicians and among the public.

To answer this question, we have conducted a thematic analysis followed by a comparative analysis and discussion on data reflecting three different parts of society, namely media, political and public. All data was analysed on equal terms. Before initiating our analysis, we created a timeline of the impeachment consisting of seven different highlights. The criteria for a highlight was a new development in the impeachment. The first part of the analysis consists of a thematic analysis of 14 articles from CNN and Fox News, seven from each of the news outlets on the date of a highlight, followed by a comparative analysis of the found themes. After determining all themes, and thereby the frames, we began the second part of the analysis consisting of tweets made by selected politicians with relevance to the impeachment from both the Democratic and Republican party. As with the articles, the tweets were collected on the date of our chosen highlights. A thematic and comparative analysis was then conducted of all tweets collected. When the themes, and thereby frames, among the tweets were determined, we conducted a thematic and comparative analysis on selected comment threads from YouTube, collected on the last date of the highlights, in order to find frames reflected by the public. Lastly, the results from each part of the analysis was evaluated and discussed.

Our results show that there is a correlation between media frames, political frames and public frames. CNN frames the impeachment as a legitimate proceeding as Trump's actions were clearly criminal in nature while presenting the Democrats as the only party still having America's interest at heart. Fox News frames the impeachment as a sham, only instigated because the Democrats are vindictive and jealous of Trump, and the Republicans are the only party still having America's interests at heart. The correlation between the three sectors can be found in the overall "us" and "them" frame that all sectors present where there is no room for opposing opinions.

However, this research does suffer from certain limitations. Because of the scope of the research, it suffers from a lack of data to thoroughly reflect on overall implications and framing done by the three sectors outside of the impeachment. Moreover, as the data available to analyse the public frames in this research was completely reliant on online sources and limited in amount, it is impossible to say that this data is sufficient to properly reflect on the general public's opinion of the impeachment.

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## **1. Research Identification**

On 18 December 2019, the President of the United States of America, Donald John Trump, is officially impeached for Abuse of Power and Obstruction of Congress (United States House of Representatives 2020) based on a prior phone call, among other allegations, Trump initiated with the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky. Trump is believed to have pressured a foreign government to interfere in a United States election for his personal and political gain (United States House of Representatives 2020, 1). Trump's impeachment, and what has happened prior to it, has been covered by the US media including the two major news outlets in the US, CNN and Fox News (Statista 2018), as the public has the right to political transparency. However, it is evident that there is a major difference in how the coverage of the impeachment is framed from both news outlets and political sources (Liptak & Cohen 2019; O'Reilly 2019; Zengerle et al. 2020). This can potentially pose an issue as many US adults return to the same sources for information (Mitchell et al. 2016) resulting in major parts of the public only consuming political information that is heavily influenced by one political party. Furthermore, this is a recent event and is happening right before an election making it an important topic of study to help further the knowledge base and how different sectors in society understands the impeachment.

However, according to Entman (2018) and Scheufele (1999) information does not just flow in one direction, namely from mass media and politicians to the public, instead information flows both ways making the public influenced by the media and the politicians but also the other way around. This suggests that from the three sectors media, political and public, there should be a correlation between what is being highlighted and how it is being highlighted, but also that each should have individual framing that builds and extends one of the others highlighted issues (Entman 2018, 303; Scheufele 1999, 115). This correlation between the three sectors of framebuilders is what we want to investigate in this research by first establishing how CNN and Fox News frame President Trump's impeachment and using this as our frame of reference in analysing how chosen politicians frame the impeachment on Twitter and a section of how the public frame the impeachment on YouTube. This leads us to the following research question:

## 2. Research Question

How do CNN and Fox News each frame President Donald J. Trump's impeachment and is there a correlation between media frames, political frames and public frames?

## 3. Literature Review

In the following section, we will be exploring different theories and literature revolving around framing and information flow. We do this to establish an understanding of what framing is and how it has evolved over time in order to shape our analytical concept of framing that will guide our analysis.

Every day, we are exposed to the media whether this be through newspapers and magazines, social media, television newscasts or simply through friends and family, but how we process and understand the information given is vastly different depending on choice of news outlet and us as individuals.

Goffman (1974) describes framing as a process happening in the human mind every time a new experience takes place. It is this process that forms the purpose of these experiences hence making everyone experience situations differently (Goffman 1974). Framing is the process that allows humans to organize experiences and impressions (Goffman 1974). How this takes place is different to everyone as it depends on the individual's habitus (Goffman 1974). Bourdieu (1998) claims that habitus is the reason why everyone might experience exposure to the same situations and reality differently (Bourdieu 1998). This stems from Bourdieu's idea that habitus, and thus how we experience and understand the world, is affected by our social space, social class and economic situation which he argues can be seen throughout history (Bourdieu 1998, 1-13). Bourdieu (1998) demonstrates his arguments using sports or hobby references comparing cultures such as Japan and the US but, in essence, he argues that our habitus is a 'feeling' we have in certain situations that we often mistake as natural but, in reality, is based on our background, experiences and upbringing (Bourdieu 1998, 1-13). This is the reason why we often feel more comfortable with people like ourselves in terms of economy, social class and culture (Bourdieu 1998, 1-13 & 92-122).

Building on framing theory, Scheufele (1999) puts it all more into perspective in terms of media framing (Scheufele 1999, 103-122). Scheufele (1999) argues that *"The entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that the media have significant effects"* (Scheufele 1999, 104) and believes that history of research on media effects can be divided into four stages (Scheufele 1999, 105). The first stage was dominated by strategic propaganda during World War I, the second stage, ending in the 1960s, was heavily influenced by people which resulted in a major effect on existing attitudes and the third stage was dominated by the search for new strong media effects where the focus of research shifted to a more cognitive effects of mass media (Scheufele 1999, 105), however,

we will be focusing on the fourth stage only. Scheufele (1999) argues that the fourth stage can be characterized by social constructivism as media has a strong impact on constructing social reality, however, he also argues that media effects are limited by an interaction between media and its recipients (Scheufele 1999, 105), thus arguing that there exist two concepts of framing: Media frames and individual frames (Scheufele 1999, 106). Media frames refer to the way media gather information, organize and interpret storylines "*to package it for efficient relay to their audiences*" (Scheufele 1999, 106-107). Additionally, individual frames refer to how we, as individuals, interpret and understand information depending on personal characteristics, economic background, upbringing etc. (Scheufele 1999, 107). Scheufele argues that mass media actively sets the frame of the story and it is then up to the audience to interpret and discuss the given story, Scheufele states "*They give the story a 'spin*,' . . . *taking into account their organizational and modality constraints, professional judgments, and certain judgments about the audience*" (Scheufele 1999, 105).

Shown in Figure 1 below, Scheufele (1999) has developed a model to explain framing as a theory of media effects that he believes is necessary to fully understand the theory as it "conceptualizes framing as a continuous process where outcomes of certain processes serve as inputs for subsequent processes" (Scheufele 1999, 114-115).

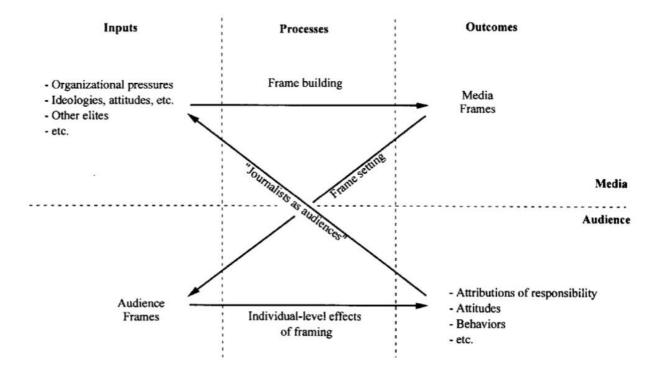


Figure 1. A process model of framing research (Scheufele 1999, 115)

In 1991, Entman conducted research to explore how US media portrayed a somewhat similar event, comparing the KAL and Iran *Air* incidents using *Time* and *Newsweek* along with the *CBS Evening News* (Entman 1991). Entman (1991) found that there was a great difference to how the media portrayed the news stories depending on how the situation had happened and the political situation in the US regarding the country in question (Entman 199, 11-25). It can be argued whether two cases from the 1990's are enough to conclude that the US media frame news stories to conform to US politics, however, this could pose as an issue to the political freedom in the US if, as Scheufele (1999) argues, media has a strong impact on constructing social reality (Scheufele 1999, 105).

Additionally, Gamson & Modigliani (1989) examine discourse and public opinion as parallel systems to explore the interaction between media discourse and opinion formation using the topic on nuclear power (Gamson & Modigliani 1989, 1-2). Gamson & Modigliani (1989) discuss the nature of public opinion and how the public are mostly presented with the issues and horrors involving nuclear power which will, to some extent, have an impact on the public opinion on nuclear power despite contradictory news stories and scientific research (Gamson & Modigliani 1989). These findings may have been more applicable if, as Gamson & Modigliani (1989) mentioned themselves (Gamson & Modigliani 1989, 2), there had been analysis of both systems over several issues rather than only nuclear power. However, Gamson & Modigliani (1989) do provide a picture of how the representation of an issue in the media has an impact on the public opinion about the issue (Gamson & Modigliani 1989). Correspondingly, Iyengar (1987) has conducted somewhat similar research to Gamson & Modigliani (1989), where he explores how media framing is used to affect public opinions on political matters. In this research Iyengar (1987) used; poverty, unemployment and terrorism (Iyengar 1987). These findings were significant as "Evidence is presented that individuals' explanations of political issues are significantly influenced by the manner in which television news presentations "frame" these issue" (Iyengar 1987, 1; 818-828).

When comparing Entman's (1991), Gamson & Modigliani's (1989) and Iyengar's (1987) research, it illustrates that there is a correlation between how news stories are framed and public reaction about the matter. However, to what extent this is true can be difficult to answer, especially when we take Scheufele's (1999) theory about media frames and individual frames into account (Scheufele 1999, 106-107), as well as Goffman's (1974) theory on framing and how we all experience and process situations differently (Goffman 1974), and Bourdieu's (1998) habitus theory, as the public will have their own interpretation of the framed news.

We utilise Entman's (1993) overview and collection of what he perceives at the time as a 'fractured paradigm' to give us a definition of what framing is. We do this as Entman (1993) provides a useful overall definition, namely "*Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described*" (Entman 1993, 52). As such, framing entails highlighting certain aspects of a situation, or in the case of news, an event and by extension omitting other aspects or views.

Important for framing is that it is not only the communicator who needs to be considered, as the receiver is also part of the process and the receiver's view of the world affects how the framing is done and received, as such, framing is a way to affect a person's view of the world. For this point, we do not agree with the ideas of Entman (1993), as he views frames as the same as a schemata (Entman 1993, 52). A schemata being defined by Scheufele (2004), as one person's way or schema to make sense of the world. With that in mind, we see frames as measures utilised to affect a person's schemata and, as such, their view of the world. However, Entman (1993) does include the idea of culture being a significant factor for a person's schemata and, as such, also frames, suggesting that frames and parts of a person's schema is built on upbringing, country of origin, environment and history depending on how you define culture.

In his discussion on framing theory, Scheufele (2004) also outlines three distinct different approaches for media framing analysis, namely the *communicator approach, the public discourse and social movement approach*, and *the media effects approach*. These categories represent different levels of analysing frames spanning from analysing and tracing the structure of coverage on a topic in the communicator approach to studying how such frames affect a person's schemata, emotions and decisions in the media effects approach (Scheufele 2004, 402-403).

Another way of looking at the different levels of analysis that Scheufele (2004) presents, is to view framing analysis from the two perspectives presented by D'Angelo (2009), namely the 'What' view and the 'How' view (D'Angelo 2009, 19-21).

The 'What' view pertains to the frame centric view. In this type of analysis one is concerned with the actual frame building at hand and the dissection of the content within the frames. This entails mapping

out the network of concepts, unique narratives and myths that make up the frame (D'Angelo 2009, 19).

The 'How' view pertains to a more *effect oriented view* of the framing. Here, the frames are viewed in a competitive world where they have a predetermined outcome that they wish to fulfill (D'Angelo 2009, 20).

Bacchi's (2009) theory on framing analysis seems to agree with the ideas from D'Angelo (2009) of having two perspectives that need to be explored, namely analysing the frame itself and how it came to be, while also directing focus on the possible effects of the framing. Furthermore, Bacchi (2009) also provides a framework of questions to ask when performing framing analysis.

Bacchi's (2009) use of framing is not focused on news analysis. Instead her work focuses on the analysis of government policies. One of the main factors that she contributes this focus to, is that policy making has an "Undeniable cultural dimension" suggesting that policies are made within a specific historical and national perspective, reflecting Entman's (1993) idea of frames and schematas. As such, policies are not objective but instead built upon certain ideas that are ingrained within a countries culture, and the perceived problems they try to address are framed from this perspective.

Bacchi's (2009) framing analysis is built on the idea of finding the hidden values that lie behind the framing of a policy and not just the framing itself (Bacchi, 1-19). This is done by first establishing what the policy names as the source of the problem, or what needs fixing, and afterwards reflecting on what the underlying assumptions or presuppositions that underlie the established source of the problem (Bacchi 2009, 2-9). Using her example, if training courses are offered for women in order to increase their representation in higher paid positions, the problem is represented to be women's lack of training.

Having established the problem and reflected on the assumptions this problem is produced upon, Bacchi's model starts its dive into the hidden aspects of the policy. Next step of the analysis is to establish how this representation came about. If it is a policy pertaining to a certain race, for instance Australian aboriginals, one should look at the history of the interactions between the race and the government in charge of the policies (Bacchi 2009, 10-12).

Next is reflecting on what is not presented as a problem in the policy. This is followed by a reflection on the effects that this representation of the problem produces (Bacchi 2009, 12-18).

Finally, the analysis requires one to establish where this representation of the problem has been produced, where it has been spread and where it is defended. Along with a reflection on how it could be questioned, altered and replaced (Bacchi 2009, 19-20).

Frames are chosen to make certain perspectives more salient, as such, where the frames come from is important. As mentioned in Bacchi (2009), one needs to establish where the representation, or framing, originates from. In line with this, Entman (2004) created a cascade model to show the flow of information in America. This model has three stages going from top to bottom with the top being the 'Elite' (President, politicians, government staff etc.), middle being the institutionalised mainstream media and the bottom being the members of the public. In this model and his research, it was suggested that the flow of ideas and information was mostly from top to bottom (Entman 2018, 299).

However, with the advent and widespread use of social technology, this top down flow of information and frames is no longer completely valid. Entman (2018) suggests five new considerations that must be made in the analysing of information flow and, as such, framing. These are *platforms, digital analytics, algorithms, ideological media* and *rogue actors* (Entman 2018, 301-303).

Platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Google disrupt the flow of information by letting politicians bypass normal media and speak directly to the public and vice versa. As such, all framing done by the media is bypassed allowing the politician to directly highlight their point of view. At the same time, these platforms are built to make profits and, as such, they host and show the media that they think their users will enjoy using data (Entman 2018, 301).

This leads into the next two considerations of digital analytics and algorithms. Almost all platforms and organisations are using these two advents to create content that is shaped directly to resonate with specific people, and algorithms shape a user's experience so they get content that resonates with what they have shown interest in previously (Entman 2018, 301-302). This entails that many members of

the public are only getting shown content that resonates with what they believe in, meaning they only see a very specific side of things.

In the past, institutional mainstream media and journalists followed an idea of objective reporting based only on facts and evidence. This idea has been abolished with the popularity of very ideologically driven media that cover stories based on a political agenda, such as Breitbart (Entman 2018, 302).

Finally, Entman (2018, 302-303) suggests that the influence of rogue actors cannot be left out of the considerations. In recent years, the rise of hackers and bots have been a large factor in many stories from scandals to leaks. An example used by Entman (2018) of such could be the deliberate spread of fake news by Russian bots about Bernie Sanders being sexist.

#### **3.1. Discussion of Theories**

Based on research from Entman (1991), Gamson & Modigliani (1989) and Iyengar (1987), it is evident that there is a correlation between media framing and the public opinion about political matters. However, it can be argued how much of an impact these media frames have on the public as, according to Goffman (1974), Bourdieu (1998) and Scheufele (1999), people have individual frames, meaning how they each process and understand information based on elements such as their culture, upbringing and economic background. Additionally, Scheufele (1999) and Entman (2018) suggest that information flows and frame creation does not only flow in one direction, namely from media and politicians to the public, suggesting that there should be a correlation and distinct differences between the frames created from the three sectors.

Bertram's (2004) and Entman's (1993) view on framing theory suggests that people have their own schemata, or understanding of the world, which framing tries to affect by making certain aspects of events more salient than others. Additionally, D'Angelo (2009) argues that there are two perspectives to framing that must be considered when analysing them, namely the 'what' and the 'how'. This view on framing seems consistent with the analytical framework put forth by Bacchi (2009), who created six steps that can be used to understand a particular frame, its origin and its effect.

Based on our literature review, our understanding of framing is a process of making certain aspects in an event more salient than others and that the frames are subjective in nature, meaning they will have an underlying motive or objective behind them that will need to be reflected on. To guide our search for frames and give us a foundation for comparative analysis between the different sectors of frames we are analysing, namely media, political and public, we use Bacchi's (2009) idea on what the problem is represented to be. This entails that in our analysis of the frames created, we will not just be searching for what is being highlighted and made salient from the different communicators but searching for what they perceive and represent to be the problem in the event of Trump's impeachment.

We use the ideas of Bacchi (2009) to guide our analysis, however, it is important to note that we do not directly and literally use the sets of questions formulated by Bacchi (2009) but rather the ideas behind the framework to guide our understanding of frames as a whole. Additionally, we focus on the "what" view in our analysis as our data limitations make it impossible to accurately reflect on effects of the frames while only speculating on the immediate effects of how the problem is being presented.

## 4. Research Design

In this section, we will begin by presenting and discussing our methodological approach. Thereafter, we will be presenting our methodological framework, describing how we have collected our chosen empirical data, how we will analyse it and the limitations it has.

#### **4.1.** Position in Relation to Science

As we want to explore the correlation between frames created by CNN and Fox News, Democratic and Republican politicians and the public, which are defined social interactions between actors, our research falls under the humanistic sciences and our position as researchers should therefore align with this (Collin and Køppe 2014, 11-14). Collin and Køppe (2014) state that the humanistic sciences define human beings as a subject that thinks, feels, acts and communicates (Collin and Køppe 2014, 11), which therefore aligns with our research topic and question.

Ontology is concerned with how we make sense of the objective world and thus is focused on *what* we study (Bryman 2016, 28-29). Social constructivism argues that reality is created through social interactions between actors which is a continual process (Saunders, Thornhill, & Lewis 2016, 130). Additionally, Collin & Køppe (2014) argue that knowledge is created in cooperation between actors

and any findings are therefore shaped by, and dependent on, the origin, meaning that no results of research will ever be final as actors and agendas will change with time and research will therefore have to be reviewed accordingly (Collin & Køppe 2014, 420-421). The social constructivist approach believes that situations that are considered normal are in reality shaped by human interests (Collin & Køppe 2014, 419), hence the behaviours and interactions made within the field of media and politics (Saunders, Thornhill, & Lewis 2016, 130).

Our research is done through the lense of social constructivism. Frames and framing is undoubtedly a social construct, as defined by D'Angelo (2009); "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (D'Angelo 2009, 17). As such, frames are created and communicated in social settings in order to shape the social world and the understanding of the receivers of the communication. We seek to deconstruct and analyse these frames in order to understand their creation and their purpose, and discuss effects and correlations between them. As such, our research is within the scope of social constructivism as we seek to deconstruct a social construct.

Furthermore, epistemology deals with, and questions, what should be regarded as acceptable knowledge and focuses on *how* we study. Epistemology focuses on the importance of reflecting on research choices by being transparent, clarifying and justifying every step taken to reach a conclusion (Bryman 2016, 24- 26). Within the scope of social constructivism, knowledge is constantly evolving. This entails that all research done within this scope can never be said to be done. Rather, research and theory are representations of the content within, meaning that they only represent the world as it is seen through their lense. This necessitates thorough reflection and description of the choices made within one's research as these reflections are essential to understand the world view of one's research.

Our research will explore frames constructed surrounding Trump's impeachment. We will do this by utilising relevant qualitative methods and, based on the findings of the analysis, make conclusions through our interpretations of these findings, placing our research within the paradigm interpretivism and the branch of social constructivism. We acknowledge that our conclusions can never be final as our view of the world, scope and theory will affect these. However, with the argumentation provided in consideration of theory, choice of method and analysis, we believe that our understanding and view of the world is properly reflected upon and allows for acceptable reflections on the matter at hand.

#### 4.2. Data Collection

To set the scene for the impeachment and the collection of data from it, we have chosen to limit the timeframe of the impeachment, and therefore our data collection, to begin from 25 September 2019, which is the date that the conversation between President Trump and President Zelensky is leaked which prompts the first mentioning of impeachment, to 06 February 2020, which is the day after the acquittal giving President Trump a chance to respond to the judgement of the trail. Our empirical data for section 6.1. consists of articles from CNN and Fox News on the dates of the chosen highlights, all links to the articles can be found in the section 10. References, titles for the articles can be found in Figure 2. below and full references can be found for each article in the analysis. Our empirical data for section 6.2. consists of tweets from our selected politicians from the Democratic and Republican party, also found on the days of our chosen highlights (see appendices 5 and 6). Our empirical data for section 6.3. consist of comments from two YouTube videos, one from CNN's main channel (CNN 2020) and one from Fox News' main channel (Fox News 2020), found on the last day of the highlight (see appendices 3 and 4). The timeline with highlights can be seen below in Figure 2.

Timeline of Impeachment	Highlights	CNN	Fox News
25 September 2019	Conversation between Trump and Zelensky is leaked	Whistleblower says White House tried to cover up Trump's abuse of power	Republicans want whistleblower's sources, as inconsistencies in complaint emerge
13 November 2019	First open hearing	New revelations from first public hearings paint damning portrait of Trump	Trump impeachment witnesses' weaknesses exposed in first day of public hearings
19 November 2019	Lt Vindman testimony	Alexander Vindman: White House's top Ukraine expert testifying in impeachment probe is decorated Iraq War veteran	Vindman accuses Trump of making improper Ukraine 'demand,' says he alerted intel official
18 December 2019	Articles of impeachment passed	An impeached Trump tries looking ahead, but uncertainty threatens Senate vindication	House votes to impeach Trump over Ukraine dealings, as Pelosi floats holding up Senate trial
16 January 2020	First day of trial	Senate impeachment trial of Donald Trump officially begins	Reporter's Notebook: Scenes from inside the opening of Trump's impeachment trial
05 February 2020	Acquittal	Trump acquitted at end of months long impeachment process, found not guilty of two articles	Senate acquits Trump on abuse of power, obstruction of Congress charges
06 February 2020	Day after acquittal	Trump launches vindictive impeachment victory lap	Trump condemns 'evil' impeachment after Senate acquittal: 'It was a disgrace'

Figure 2. Timeline consisting of highlights during the impeachment process

The dates for the highlights have been chosen from the criteria that a new development has happened in the impeachment. As our empirical data is collected from websites and from online forums, we look to Kozenets' (2002) thoughts on netnography in order to be aware of how to handle online data, argue our choices of forums and provide trustworthy interpretations (Kozenets 2002, 63-64). We have chosen articles from CNN and Fox News as our reference point for the analysis for two reasons; 1) they are both widely accepted and used among the American adult population (Statista 2018), and 2) they are both proven to lean heavily towards one political party, allowing us to get framing from both a mass media perspective while also giving us a clear separation to categorise data in the later parts of the analysis.

In the first part of the analysis (6.1.), we have chosen to limit our data collection to only CNN and Fox News due to their large audience and their previously established difference in political opinion. The decision to establish highlights within the timeframe was made as each of these news outlets have each covered the impeachment extensively making it difficult to include it all. These criteria were chosen, as it made sense to focus on new developments as these are believed to have the biggest response from CNN and Fox News, as well as everything and everyone surrounding the impeachment, which lays a good foundation for a comparative analysis. For each highlight, we have chosen one article from each outlet which totals 14 articles.

The articles that have been chosen as our empirical data were found by using either Google's search engine or the built-in search engine on the respective websites for the news outlets. Search criteria for all searches were the same with the exception of the search for the very first article. For the first article, we limited the dates to 25-26 September 2019 and used the keywords 'Whistleblower' and 'Conversation leaked' as the impeachment investigation had not yet begun.

For the rest of the highlights, using Google's search engine, we limited the dates to the day of the highlight plus one day ahead with the keywords 'Impeachment' and 'Trump Impeachment' as well as the name of the news outlet we were looking at.

For CNN and Fox News' websites, we used the same search method excluding the name of the outlet. We did this in order to ensure that the outlets had time to write an article about the highlight and that only articles relevant to the highlight would show.

The articles for our empirical data were chosen by two criteria; 1) it must be a written article with substantial text, meaning it is not a collection of social media posts or a half page summary, however, references to social media posts are allowed, and 2) the article must be relevant to our highlight.

We have limited our empirical data to only written articles because all social media posts from both CNN and Fox News links to their respective articles using headlines from the articles. Our reason to

exclude videos from our empirical data is that not all the articles covering the impeachment have a video attached, making it impossible to analyse the coverage on equal terms.

In the second part of the analysis (6.2.), we have chosen to use tweets, collected from Twitter, from selected politicians that are involved in the impeachment process and trial in order to analyse the themes, and possibly frames, made in tweets from respectively Democratic and Republican politicians. We have used Twitter as a source as this social media platform allows an open forum with direct communication of thoughts and opinions directly from the person tweeting to everyone who might be interested. Here, it is important to note that we have chosen to only use their political Twitter accounts to make this analysis, not their private Twitter accounts, in order to eliminate personal tweets and thereby keep this analysis within the political realm. However, in regard to President Trump, we have used his personal Twitter account, as his Presidential account only consists of retweets from The White House's Twitter account and his own personal account, making it more relevant to use his personal account.

From the Democratic party, we have chosen Senator Joe Manchin, Representative Adam Schiff, Senator Chuck Schumer, Speaker of House Nancy Pelosi, Senator Kyrsten Sinema and Representative Jerry Nadler. Pelosi, Schiff and Nadler were all proponents for Trump's impeachment. The remaining politicians were mentioned as swing-voters and we therefore believed that it would be interesting to see what they were communicating on their Twitter accounts as their position as swingvoters might have an effect on how they frame the impeachment compared to the rest of the Democratic party.

From the Republican party, we have chosen President Donald J. Trump, Senator Mitt Romney, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, Senator Ted Cruz, Senator Lamar Alexander, Senator Susan Collins and Senator Lisa Murkowski. President Trump is the one being impeached and therefore his perspective is interesting to include. Additionally, after Romney voted guilty on one of the articles, he has gained a lot of media attention making him an important person to include too. McConnell is the Republican Senate Majority Leader and frequently quoted in the articles. Cruz is the Senate Republican with the largest following on Twitter, 1.5 million followers, hence why he is included. Like the Democrats, the remaining politicians were mentioned as swing-voters and we therefore believed that it would be interesting to see what they were communicating on their Twitter account.

When collecting the tweets, we have chosen to use the tweets from the same day as our highlights (see section 4.2. Figure 2) and the day after the highlight. We have chosen the extra day in order to give the politicians more time to respond or react to our highlight, if they chose to do so. In order to sort out all other tweets, we used Twitter's advanced search engine that allows users to search for a specific account and specific dates. By doing this, Twitter's search engine showed tweets that were only made on the specific dates and from the chosen account. All tweets collected can be found in appendices 5 and 6.

In the third part of the analysis (6.3.), in order to analyse whether the frames produced are reflected in the themes of the discussions surrounding the impeachment, we have chosen to collect comments from two YouTube videos.

In the third part of the analysis (6.3.), in order to analyse whether the frames produced are reflected in the themes of the discussions surrounding the impeachment, we have chosen to collect comments from two YouTube videos. Our search criteria for the videos were that they must be from 6 February 2020 as this was the last day in our time frame. This date was chosen as it allows us to have a full view of the frames constructed by CNN and Fox News while also giving people time to be exposed to these frames. Moreover, we chose to use news broadcasts and not just clips as this gave us the possibility to compare the frames from the articles to the video, ensuring that the framing done in both overlapped, giving us a forum where the same frames were present from the outlets. We chose videos that covered the impeachment as this would ensure that the comments below would be relevant to this.

The criteria for choosing YouTube as a forum is because it allows easy access for debates through their comment system. In choosing YouTube comment threads as our data to analyse possible reflections of the frames in public debates, we recognise that this choice of forum has certain limitations. YouTube's algorithm shows content that it believes the user will want to watch. As such, if you watch Fox News and more right wing oriented news channels, you are not likely to have suggested videos or finding videos from left wing oriented news channels. This means that the people who engage in debates on a YouTube video will most likely have sought out a video with opposing views to themselves. Additionally, this also entails that the group of people that primarily engage in debates on YouTube can be said to actively seek out discussions and political content. While this limit the group of people our analysis can cover, it does provide the foundation for exploring if the

frames are present in the debates, as these people will most likely be interested in defending their stances which will potentially lead to a more substantial debate.

Our comment threads were chosen by the following criteria: It needed to have at least ten replies to ensure that an actual debate could be done and we wanted to have about the same number of replies for both videos. As there are no specific dates on the comments, we made sure that the comments and replies dated back two months to ensure it matched with the date the videos were posted, thereby ensuring that only frames from our timeline should be present. The comment threads were found with the comment section being sorted for "Best".

On CNN's video, we have chosen to include two comment threads totalling in 88 replies. The first comment thread has 72 replies and the second has 16.

For Fox News, we have chosen to include three comment threads totalling in 99 replies. The first comment thread has 34 replies, the second comment thread has 38 replies and the third has 27 replies.

As we have chosen comment threads from two YouTube videos, we found it necessary to ensure that the themes and frames in the videos match the ones found in the articles. As such, the videos have been transcribed.

When transcribing, it is important to be as true to the original interview, video, audiofile etc, as possible, as spoken language, and everything that it involves such as pauses, tone of voice etc, is converted to written text. However, it is impossible to capture the total essence of what is being said and the meanings behind it when converting spoken language to written text (Kvale 1994). Depending on the purpose of the transcription, there are two ways to transcribe; 1) including every noise, pause, change in tone and so forth, really focusing on capturing every detail, and 2) writing a flowing text with the dialog leaving out noises, pauses and so forth (Kvale 1994).

When transcribing the videos from CNN and Fox News, our goal is to understand the frames and themes that can be found in the two videos, meaning that everything besides the dialog itself is irrelevant to our research. Because our research only requires the information being said, and not the tone of voice, specific rhetoric or choices of word, we will not include *'uumh', 'arh..', 'well'* and other sounds that may appear, to make the transcription as readable and understandable as possible, therefore, our transcription will focus on only the dialog. Times will be stated in the transcript whenever a new person speaks as well as the name of said person. There will be a link to the videos

in the list of references and the transcription for both videos will be included in appendices 5 and 6, and the analysis of the videos can be found in appendix 7.

#### 4.3. Methodological Framework and Analysis

"Qualitative research is often associated with an interpretive philosophy. It is interpretive because researchers need to make sense of the subjective and socially constructed meanings expressed about the phenomenon being studied" (Saunders, Thornhill, & Lewis 2016, 168). Aligned with this quote and our position as researchers, our research is qualitative in nature. Our research aims to explore and investigate an event, Trump's impeachment, by analysing qualitative data consisting of articles gathered from CNN and Fox News, tweets from Twitter and comment threads from YouTube (see section 4.2.) and interpreting our findings. Being a qualitative study affects our choice of analytical methods, data collection and overall findings.

First, we will be conducting a thematic analysis. A thematic analysis is thought of as one of the most generic approaches to qualitative analysis. It is flexible and allows researchers to analyse large and small amounts of data with the same in-depth descriptions, explanations and interpretations (Saunders, Thornhill, & Lewis 2016, 579). Using a thematic analysis entails familiarising oneself with the data before coding the data by categorising it into themes. During the coding process, it is important to compare themes in order to find similarities and disparities which will allow the researcher to specify and combine themes (Saunders, Thornhill, & Lewis 2016, 580-582). We will use a thematic analysis to establish the frames created in all three sectors. Second, we will conduct a comparative analysis. This comparative analysis will use the results from the thematic analysis to establish an overall frame in each of the three sectors that can be used to discuss similarities and differences in the final parts of the analysis. When conducting a comparative analysis, it is important to make sure that the data has been analysed using more or less the same methods (Bryman 2016, 64-65).

Our research qualifies as a case study, as we will be investigating a specific timeframe, ranging from 25 September 2019 to 06 February 2020, as such, this study only focuses on the specific event of President Trump's impeachment, qualifying our study as a cross-sectional study (Saunders, Thornhill, & Lewis 2016, 200). Case studies are defined as an in-depth study of a specific phenomenon or real-life setting such as a business or an event, where the aim is to understand the

dynamics of the topic and the interactions between the case and its context (Saunders, Thornhill, & Lewis 2016, 184). This results in a study that will give us a snapshot of how framing from CNN and Fox News, from the politicians themselves and the public is done, within the scope of our timeframe, which will allow for further study and comparison on how these frames have evolved compared to past studies and how they evolve in the future.

#### 4.3.1. Method of Analysis

In this section, we will outline the structure of each individual part of our analysis.

#### 4.3.1.1. Part One of the Analysis (Section 6.1.)

For the analysis, we will begin by establishing the frames in each article that we have chosen in our timeline with highlights from the impeachment process (see section 4.2, Figure 2). We do this by doing a thematic analysis on each of the articles individually. To establish themes within the texts, we start by doing a full read-through in which we establish preliminary specific themes from the different paragraphs in the articles. Afterwards, we begin grouping the themes into larger overarching themes, in which the more specific themes can be presented in more detail, while still allowing for a more abstract representation of the problem that can be applied to an overarching frame of the impeachment in our comparative analysis. The analysis is carried out by first outlining which overarching themes was found in the article, then one by one going through each theme using the different paragraphs that were connected with each theme.

Having established the themes in each article, we perform a comparative analysis in section 6.1.3. to establish which overarching themes were present from CNN and Fox News, while also establishing how the two differ. We do this by going through how the outlets present the impeachment and what the problem is, then turning our focus on how the whistleblower is handled, which leads into how they present the two political parties giving us a foundation for how they represent the problem. Afterwards, we compare how they present some of the outliers in the event, such as Mitt Romney and Lt. Col. Vindman, as these tie into how the impeachment is presented but are connected to the problem and not representations of the problem.

#### 4.3.1.2. Part Two of the Analysis (Section 6.2.)

Part two of the analysis focuses on how chosen politicians from both the Democratic party and the Republican party frame the impeachment and the process surrounding it. The empirical data consists of tweets taken from each politician's professional Twitter account on the day of our chosen highlights

and one day after (see section 4.2. Figure 2). Beginning with the Democrats, and thereafter the Republicans, we went through each individual tweet for each politician in order to conduct a thematic analysis of the tweets. First, we separated the tweets into different themes that could be found. We did this by adding a new theme whenever a politician mentioned something different or new that could not be categorised into one of the existing themes. The tweets are sorted into themes this way in order to not miss anything that is mentioned, however, if there are only very few tweets about a certain subject, it will not be categorised as its own theme. Second, after having collected and categorised all tweets, we separate them into overarching themes that allows us to see which frames they produce.

Having established the frames throughout the tweets, we conduct a comparative analysis in order to see which frames are present among the Democrats and among the Republicans, and the differences and similarities in the frames.

#### 4.3.1.3. Part Three of the Analysis (Section 6.3.)

Part three of the analysis is focused on how the public are framing the impeachment and the processes surrounding it. The empirical data consists of YouTube comment threads which are analysed using a thematic analysis. First, each comment thread has its comments sorted into CNN supporters and Fox News supporters. They are sorted into these two categories because we use the frames found in the first analysis as our reference point to separate the comments into opposing categories, not necessarily because they are supporters of the outlets. Having separated the comments into two sides, we start by dividing them into very specific themes depending on the context of the comments. We then establish overarching themes for each thread that allow us to present the specific themes in detail, while giving us an overarching view of how the problem is represented.

Because of the size of our data set and the objective of the analysis, which is finding frames from the public, we have found it important to include all comments in the themes, as such, some themes consist of a single comment that will be tied into the greater overarching frame.

Having established the different themes in the comment threads, we conduct a comparative analysis in section 6.3.3. where we connect the overarching themes into a comprehensive frame from the public that we use to discuss similarities and differences from the media and political frames. We start by analysing how the sides of the comments each reflect how the problem of the impeachment is presented, then shifting to how arguments are presented between the users and finishing by reflecting on the topic of abortion and marriage presented by the Fox News supporter comments.

#### 4.4. Reflection on Techniques and Procedures

In this section, we will start by discussing the choices we have made for this research and how these shape our research. Afterwards, we will be reflecting on how this research could have been done differently.

First and foremost, for our research there is one choice that needs to be addressed. As mentioned, research within the humanistic sciences is mainly based on interpretations. As such, we are, as researchers, very aware that this research will be heavily affected by our background and understanding of the world, however, we try to remain objective and transparent by describing and outlining our steps and procedures.

As mentioned, we have chosen to use the ideas from Bacchi's (2009) framework which consists of six steps to help analyse and understand policies. As we have chosen a framework that does not necessarily fit our scope perfectly, but instead use an interpretation adjusted to our scope, we are aware that some downfalls may occur which we will have to adjust to, and discuss, accordingly. However, while Bacchi's (2009) framework and view of framing was not originally intended for the scope of our research, it still presents a good foundation for interpreting frames in the case of Donald Trump's impeachment, as the different sides in the story will have different interpretations of what the real problem is, allowing us to utilise this understanding of framing to establish how the three sectors frame the proceedings of the impeachment.

For our empirical data, we made the choice of only choosing highlights and having a set timeframe. This entails that our research is going to be limited in the scope in which we can analyse the framing done. As such, it is important to note that the results of this research are also going to be affected by this. If we had a more expansive timeline and larger selection of empirical data, it is possible that our findings would be different from the findings of this research.

Furthermore, we have chosen to limit our empirical data from CNN and Fox News to written articles from two specific websites only. As such, we have excluded other platforms that these two news outlets have content on. This results in the possibility of a less expansive analysis of the framing. However, as mentioned in section 4.2. and 4.3, we have chosen to limit the empirical data in order to conduct a comparative analysis on equal terms.

The data we use to establish a view of the political and public frames is all found online through secondary sources. As such, we are limited to the data we can find. A downside to this is that we

cannot be completely sure on where or who these statements are from as we have not directly interviewed the people represented in the data ourselves.

For this research, we are not interested in where the frames might originate from. However, a different approach to this research might have been to focus solely on one outlet, expanding the scope to Trump's presidency up until the impeachment including a larger selection of articles but only from one source. This approach would allow us to establish a much more comprehensive understanding of an outlet's frame, while also letting us reflect on, and investigate, where certain frames originate from and how they might have evolved during the Trump presidency, thereby allowing us to put the frames into a larger perspective.

Another perspective on framing that could have been done in this research is focusing on the effects of framing. Using inspiration from studies within this field (Iyengar 1987; Matthes & Schemer 2012), this would require a shift in data collection, analytical structure and data handling. These studies require the use of participants that we have information on and are willing to participate, to ensure that the results from the study is not polluted by unknown variables, which could for example emerge if the study is done through an online forum. It also requires a new method for collecting the data either using interviews with the participants or questionnaires. Interviews could possibly allow for a more nuanced take on the effects, however, questionnaires could allow for more neutral answers from the subjects, as they are not affected by the interviewer, and would allow for a larger data size. As for analytical structure, it requires the need for well-established frames that the participants are exposed to in order to properly analyse the effects that these could have. Looking at the two studies mentioned above, it is also important to reflect on timing of the exposure depending on what the study pertains to. In Iyengar's (1987) research, the different groups were exposed to news coverage on a specific topic from the last six months in one sitting, with one group getting a manipulated video, which was followed up by lengthy questionnaires in separate rooms, designed to understand their view on the issues at hand, to measure whether the frames had an effect. Matthes & Schermer's (2012) participants were split into two groups that were exposed to separate frames, with one being told to closely read the article and form a strong opinion being told that they were going to be asked about this, while the other was told to just evaluate the journalistic style and presentation. After 10 days, the groups would be exposed to the opposing frame in order to test how frames affect high and low certainty individuals over time, more closely reflecting an event such as a presidential campaign.

For our hypothetical study, with the impeachment as our event, using the knowledge from Iyengar (1987) and Matthes & Schermer (2012), our research would require a participation group from the US to ensure that our results better reflect the US population. The participants would be questioned on their political ideology and preferred news sources, afterwards the participants would be split into groups that would each be presented with a selection of articles, without knowledge of where these articles come from, all reflecting a certain frame surrounding the impeachment, in this case using articles over broadcasts to ensure news personalities were not recognised. This would be followed up with a questionnaire on their thoughts on the impeachment, all participants would get the same, to see if the participants to any extent have been affected by the frames they were exposed to. If we were interested in seeing how this evolved over time or how differing frames might affect them over time, the same participant groups would be called back after a certain amount of time and exposed to opposing frames based on their previous answers where we conduct the same experiment

# 5. Understanding the US Legal System and Former Impeachment Trials

As our analysis pertains to an impeachment and the legal system in the US, a country that we do not live in, we must have somewhat of an understanding about the US legal system and Impeachment.

#### 5.1. Legal System

After the American Revolution, thirteen different states came together to form what we today know as the United States of America, and in 1781 the states worked out and signed the Articles of Confederation, which gave only limited power to the central government while the individual states obtained an independent government with its own legislature, courts and local laws (Nye 2013, 71). *"Everything the government does is bounded by the Constitution. Constitutional laws define the relations between the president and Congress and between the federal government and the states* (Feinman 2014, 9). The Constitution was drafted in 1787 and is divided into seven short paragraphs referred to as articles (Feinman 2014, 9-10). This was also the year the basic form of the federal government (Nye 2013, 80). Thereafter, in 1791, the Bill of Rights was added and only 17 more amendments have been added since (Feinman 2014, 9-10).

The Constitution is separated into three different branches of government; the legislative branch (the Congress), the executive branch (the presidency) and the judicial branch led by the Supreme Court (Nye 2013, 80) (See Figure 3. below).

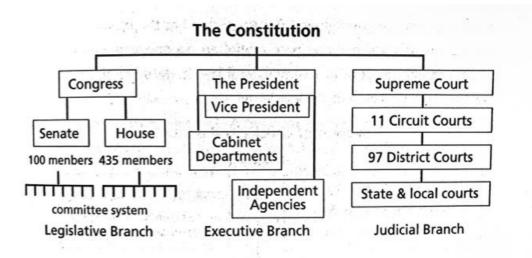


Figure 3. Branches of the Constitution (Nye 2013, 81)

The Constitution was designed to restrict the concentration of power to one single branch by giving each branch a little amount of control over the other branches, creating a system of balance (Nye 2013, 81-82) (See Figure 4. below).

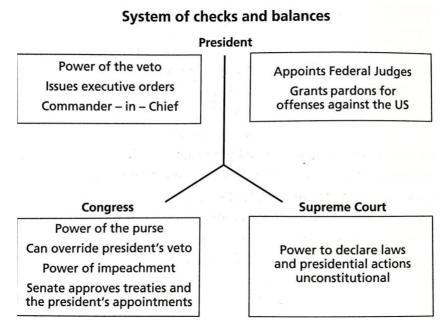


Figure 4. System of checks and balances (Nye 2013, 82)

The Congress is separated into two chambers; the Senate and the House of Representatives. No one elected to one of the two chambers can be appointed to any government job at the same time. Additionally, any member of the House of Representatives comes from a district within a state, not the state itself, and must be re-elected every two years, as these persons are the most immediate link between the local and federal government. There are no legal limits to re-election for representatives and many therefore stay in their positions for more than thirty years (Nye 2013, 82-83). Senators, on the other hand, are elected for six year terms, and once elected, they are often re-elected as they become well-known in their respective states. Every state must elect two senators. Senators are often former members of the House of Representatives or state governors (Nye 2013, 86-87).

The President is the head of the executive branch and can only be re-elected once and is therefore limited to two terms of four years - eight years in total if re-elected. Moreover, neither the President nor his cabinet have any seats or votes in Congress (Nye 2013, 83; 100). Oftentimes, the President's power is lessened as, due to always having an upcoming election as the term for presidency is only four years, Congress will often listen as much to the opinions from the public, making opinion polls so important in the US and during an election (Nye 2013, 100). To assist the President, he must appoint a cabinet, White House staff and administrators that must be approved by Congress. These people must answer to the President's request and are assigned to carry out the President's policies (Nye 2013, 102-103).

The judicial branch was established under Article III of the Constitution. Every judge must be appointed by the President and approved by the Senate which happens more than 90 percent of the time (Nye 2013, 107). Despite it not being stated officially in the Constitution, all judges are lawyers and only few have been under the age of 40. Federal judges can serve for unlimited time and most of the 846 judges therefore remain until retirement and can only be removed for gross misconduct (Nye 2013, 108). The judicial branch is built like a hierarchy with the Supreme Court at the top. The Supreme Court handles cases that have been appealed from the eleven Circuit Courts, the court before the Supreme Court in the hierarchy, located around the country. The Circuit Courts review cases from the 97 District Courts and last in the hierarchy is the state and local courts (Nye 2013, 108).

#### 5.2. Impeachment

Impeachment is a part of the Constitution to hold government officers such as the President, Vice President and other federal 'civil officers' accountable for violations of the law and abuse of power for example in treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanours, and if found guilty, Congress has the authority to remove a government official from office. However, the responsibility and authority to determine whether to impeach an individual is in the hands of the House of Representatives (Congressional Research Service 2015). Once an individual is impeached and there has been a trial, a conviction on an article of impeachment requires a two-thirds vote by Senators present. Should the impeached individual be found guilty of one or more articles against him/her, the Presiding Officer will pronounce the judgment of conviction and removal, which no formal vote is required for as it is a necessary effect of the conviction (Congressional Research Service 2015, 21).

Throughout US history, there have been several cases of impeachment of government officials (Congressional Research Service 2019, 56-57) but most striking is the impeachment of former Presidents of the United States of America. The first President of the United States to be impeached was the Democratic President Andrew Johnson in 1867 who was impeached for violation of the Tenure of Office Act after he attempted to remove, and replace, the secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, from his position, whom the act was made to protect (Yale Law School 2008). The next President to face impeachment was the Republican President Richard Milhous Nixon in 1974 who was believed to abuse his power as President and has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President of the United States William Jefferson Clinton was impeached in 1999 for similar crimes as Nixon (Senate 1999), and as of today, we see the same crimes against the Republic President Donald John Trump who was impeached in 2019 for Abuse of Power and Obstruction of Congress (United States House of Representatives 2020).

## 6. Analysis

In this section, we will be conducting our analysis. We will begin by analysing the frames from the CNN and Fox News articles, then we will move on to analysing the tweets from our selected politicians and then we will be analysing our comment threads. Finally, we will discuss our results before drawing our final conclusion.

#### 6.1. Thematic Analysis of Media Frames

In this section, we will conduct a thematic analysis of the chosen articles from our timeline (see section 4. Figure 2) from CNN and Fox News. We will begin by analysing the articles from CNN in a chronological order beginning from 25 September 2019. Following CNN, we will conduct the analysis of Fox News using the same order. Lastly, we will conduct a comparative analysis of the themes found, in which we will establish how CNN and Fox News each frame the impeachment.

#### 6.1.1. CNN

In this section, we will be analysing each article from CNN individually. The analysis will solely be based on what is written in the articles. Here, we will focus on frames by finding the themes in each article and understand how each theme is presented.

# 6.1.1.1. CNN 25 September 2019Whistleblower says White House tried to cover up Trump's abuse of power (Cohen et al. 2019)

This article is primarily concerned with the leaked information from the unknown whistleblower regarding the telephone call between Trump and Zelensky. Throughout the article can be found three themes; 1) that there is a negative tendency when referring to Trump, 2) mistrust to the President, and 3) every complaint is framed as evidence-based and factual.

Already in the beginning of the article, in the first two paragraphs, we see that there is a negative reference to Trump as the article primarily emphasizes Trump's wrong-doings and that White House Officials are disturbed by his actions.

**Washington (CNN)** — President Donald Trump abused his official powers "to solicit interference" from Ukraine in the upcoming 2020 election, and the White House took steps to cover it up,

Several White House officials were "deeply disturbed" by Trump's July 25 phone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky and tried to "lock down" all records of the phone call,

It is interesting to note that every time the journalist wants to emphasize specific words or sentences, it is put in quotation marks or written as an individual sentence to make sure the reader will pick up on it, and as mentioned above, this is primarily done to emphasize a negative action from Trump or reaction to this. Some of the quotation marks are probably used as the sentence originally is from a quote by an unmentioned person, however, by the way it is used, it still enhances a negative comment towards Trump.

This move concerned some officials, who shared their worries internally that this was an "abuse of the system."

The complaint notes White House lawyers were

"already in discussion" about "how to treat the call

because of the likelihood, in the officials' retelling, that

they had witnessed the president abuse his office for

personal gain."

Another example from the article, from the first page, is when the journalist highlights that Trump is not telling the truth.

Trump has maintained that he didn't do anything wrong, while simultaneously promoting unfounded conspiracy theories about the Bidens, Ukraine, and Russian meddling in 2016.

There is no evidence of wrongdoing by either Joe or Hunter Biden.

By adding the last sentence underneath, the article emphasizes the fact that Trump's claims are wrong since there is evidence supporting that Joe and Hunter Biden have done nothing wrong while making the sentence more noticeable to the reader as it stands by itself.

The second theme found is about a mistrust towards President Donald Trump. The article highlights that President Trump, and White House Officials, have tried to cover up the phone call on an IT system used to cover up sensitive information of national security importance. Highlighting that the President actively is trying to cover up this story, and potentially other actions, frames the President, White House Officials and Lawyers as distrustful.

White House lawyers also directed officials to remove the transcript of the call from a computer system that stores them for Cabinet-level officials and instead put the transcript in a system for especially sensitive information, the whistleblower alleges.

This move concerned some officials, who shared their worries internally that this was an "abuse of the system."

The whistleblower said they heard from other White House officials that this was "not the first time" that the Trump administration used this storage system to hold politically sensitive documents. The codeword-level system is meant to hold files of national security importance.

In the second theme, the whistleblower is also relevant as they suspect something suspicious is going on, as the article, towards the end, begins to refer to a scandal happening in the previous election, where it is highlighted that the whistleblower is confused about a mentioning of a certain IT system, CrowdStrike, in the call with Zelensky, and thereby chooses to highlight that there must be a connection between Trump, the Russians and the reason that Trump won the election back in 2016, as it is the same IT system that was the center of attention during a scandal with Trump, the Russians and the election 2016.

The whistleblower expresses confusion about Trump's references to CrowdStrike

Trump's interest in CrowdStrike and the DNC server, more than three years after the hacks, is part of a larger effort to undermine the notion that Russia meddled in the 2016 election to help him win. He has repeatedly rejected the assessment from CrowdStrike, which was later confirmed by US intelligence agencies, that Russia was behind the DNC hacks and leaks.

By including this information, it not only creates mistrust to the President as discussed above, but it also creates a belief that something suspicious could be happening and that what was previously blamed on the Russians also involves Trump and the reason he got elected back in 2016, that it was not a truthful win.

The third theme is seen in the manner the article refers to the allegations from the complaint. At this point in time, the allegations within the complaint have not been investigated and, as such, have no real evidence behind them. However, every time these allegations are mentioned, they are presented as facts that are not disputed in any way. This presents the President and the White House as a corrupt organisation working against the nation before any real evidence to this fact has been presented.

**Washington (CNN)** — President Donald Trump abused his official powers "to solicit interference" from Ukraine in the upcoming 2020 election, and the White House took steps to cover it up, according to a stunning whistleblower complaint released Thursday.

#### 6.1.1.2. CNN 13 November 2019

#### **New revelations from first public hearings paint damning portrait of Trump** (Collinson 2019)

This article is a caption of the first hearing regarding Trump's impeachment. However, besides covering the hearing, this article also highlights the feud between the Democrats and the Republicans following the impeachment. As such, three themes can be found throughout this article; 1) Trump is

as a traitor to the nation, 2) the Republicans blindly protect Trump, and 3) the Democrats are framed as having America's interest at heart.

Already in the title of the article and in the first three paragraphs, the article has painted a negative picture of Trump by associating words and phrases like shown below with Trump and his actions, and this continues throughout the article, including a quote from House Intelligence Chairman Adam Schiff;

New revelations from first public hearings paint damning portrait of Trump

Trump's alleged scheme

the core of this dark national chapter.

"If this is not impeachable conduct, what is?"

However, the framing of Trump goes as far as portraying him as a President that does not care about his nation's interests nor his allies around the world. By using these frames, Trump is portrayed as a traitor to America that only cares about promoting his own agenda without consideration for how this will affect his country or his allies.

painted an incriminating picture of Donald Trump as a President instinctively willing to sacrifice America's interests for his own.

As Taylor, paraphrasing a comment by Sondland, put it: Trump "cares more about the investigations of Biden" than Ukraine.

Moreover, while portraying Trump's 'America First' strategy, the article uses quotes from Bill Taylor, who is both a top diplomat in Ukraine and a Vietnam war veteran, and George Kent, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs. Both were the epitome of the post-World War II diplomatic approach of alliances and global leadership and both have served to further America's interests for decades. Using these two officials to oppose Trump's strategy, presents the strategy as harmful to America's interest while giving this frame legitimacy by presenting these two officials as individuals who have had America's interests at heart for decades and the needed knowledge to comment on the strategy.

A Vietnam War veteran who went against his better judgment to go back to Kiev to replace Marie "Masha" Yovanovitch, Taylor repeatedly reminded lawmakers he had no political motivation. Kent and Taylor were both the epitome of the post-World War II diplomatic consensus that sees America's interests best advanced through global leadership and transatlantic alliances.

"Europe's security and prosperity contributed to our security and prosperity," Kent said.

But this is a conventional, establishment worldview that Trump, with his "America First" outlook and mistrust of allies he sees as freeloaders, wants to destroy.

However, it is interesting how these opinions about foreign strategy and allies happen to be the same as the Democrats' (The Democratic Party 2020).

The second theme is seen in the way that the Republican party is portrayed in the article. In the article, they are presented as blindly protecting Trump with fierce loyalty, a loyalty that is based on Trump's hold on the party and not on evidence pointing to his innocence. This is further established in how the Republicans defend him, which is done through conspiracy theories and shouting, suggesting that they do not care for proper procedures of democracy but instead seek to ensure that a Republican President is not voted out of office by any means necessary. At the same time, the Republicans are presented as attack dogs, further establishing them as blind protectors who bite, bark and snarl at everyone Trump deems a threat.

If Democrats are to pull off a longshot bid to oust Trump, they need to break the dam of GOP support built up by a President who has an extraordinary hold on his party. Their longer-term

But his Republican allies -- who mostly defended him with bluster, conservative media conspiracy theories and process complaints -- underscored the daunting Democratic [the Republican Party are often referred to as GOP which stands for the Grand Old Party] The GOP's attack dogs

Following this, the article lashes out at Fox News, a public news outlet that is known for favouring the Republican party, arguing that the President, unlike former Republican President Nixon who was also impeached, has the media to support him even despite evidence that suggests foul play in his actions.

Unlike in the Richard Nixon era, a battery of conservative media pundits, talk radio hosts and Trump supporters on Fox News prime time have the wattage to rally GOP voters and keep Trump's Washington coalition intact. Furthermore, the article suggests that the Republican party has lost touch with its voters in their pursuit to protect their President blindly. It does this by including quotes from former Republican voters that no longer believe that the Republican party deserves their support.

"I no longer recognize the Republican Party of my youth," said 38-year-old Carly Rebuck, who did not vote for Trump last time and thinks he should be impeached.

Boyce O'Brien, a registered Republican who has lived in Phoenix for 22 years, also decried the GOP.

"Where are those Christian Republicans when it comes to integrity? They've ignored what this President has done," he told CNN's Kyung Lah.

The third theme focuses on the Democrats being framed as having America's interest at heart. This is done vicariously through the previous themes that presents the Republicans and Trump as fueled by personal interests that they will protect regardless of any evidence and the Democrats' struggle to convince the public of Trump's wrong-doings, a case that should have been easily made with the evidence available. Additionally, the Democrats are presented as worrying about the future of America, as they fight against a wall of fake outrage and blindly loyal defense for a President who betrayed his country.

ahead. The GOP's attack dogs may have succeeded in complicating what Democrats hoped would be an easy-to-understand case that could convince the public of Trump's malfeasance in a way that former special counsel Robert Mueller's voluminous Russia report could not.

"If this is not impeachable conduct, what is?" House Intelligence Chairman Adam Schiff, a California Democrat, asked, arguing that the republic's values and the concept of an accountable presidency were at stake for future generations.

# 6.1.1.3. CNN 19 November 2019

Alexander Vindman: White House's top Ukraine expert testifying in impeachment probe is decorated Iraq War veteran (Cole 2019)

This article covers the testimony from Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman. It gives a summary of Vindman's story of what has happened leading to the impeachment and Vindman's background. Throughout the article, four themes can be found; 1) Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman is portrayed in a positive light, 2)

trust and transparency from Vindman, and 3) mistrust to administration officials, Trump and the Republicans.

First and foremost, it is noticeable that there is a positive tendency throughout the article towards Vindman. Already in the title Vindman is being presented as a respectable man as he is both an expert in his field and a decorated war veteran.

# Alexander Vindman: White House's top Ukraine expert testifying in impeachment probe is decorated Iraq War veteran

Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, a decorated veteran who was born in Ukraine,

Moreover, to further push Vindman's credibility, the article mentions how admirable his brother is too.

On Tuesday, Vindman's identical twin brother, Army Lt. Col. Yevgeny Vindman, a National Security Council lawyer who handles ethics issues, is expected to attend his testimony, according to a person familiar with the matter.

Correspondingly to the first theme, the second theme that can be detected, is the way the article builds a certain trust to Vindman by including a large part of his background story and upbringing. This vulnerability and transparency from Vindman builds a connection to the public and the members of the Senate as he presents himself as part of the American Dream, hard working and humble, but also as a person who respects American values, the culture and the country.

The White House aide told Congress in his opening statement that he has "served this country in a nonpartisan manner ... with the utmost respect and professionalism for both the Republican and Democratic administrations." He noted that he has "never had direct contact or communications" with Trump.

"The privilege of serving my country is not only rooted in my military service, but also in my personal history. I sit here, as a Lieutenant Colonel in the United States Army, an immigrant," he will say, according to his remarks. "My family fled the Soviet Union when I was three and a half years old. Upon arriving in New York City in 1979, my father worked multiple jobs to support us, all the while learning English at night. He stressed to us the importance of fully integrating into our adopted country."

Vindman also said in his statement that he has been a Foreign Area Office specializing in Eurasia since 2008 and that he has worked the US' embassies in Ukraine and Russia as part of that job. He also worked for the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, serving as a politico-military affairs officer for Russia.

It can be discussed how much of this is just a repetition of what has been said in court, but nevertheless, it is still information that portrays Vindman in a positive way which uses up a large part of the article.

Moreover, the article also focuses a fair bit on the fact that Vindman is a decorated war veteran that has served his country multiple times. War veterans are very respected in the US and the focus on this part of Vindman's life might for many Americans mean that he can be trusted.

According to his prepared remarks, Vindman — who was awarded a Purple Heart for his service in Iraq after being wounded in an IED attack and still carries shrapnel from the attack in his body, according to a source close to him — told the House committee members how his family fled to the US from the Soviet Union when he was a child.

Vindman served multiple overseas tours, including in South Korea and Germany in addition to his deployment to Iraq, according to his prepared remarks.

Besides the trust and transparency that is built around Vindman on a personal level, the article also highlights that Vindman, from the beginning, expressed concerns about Trump and his phone call with Zelensky, however, his concerns, notes and what he wanted published were never included.

Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, a decorated veteran who was born in Ukraine, told the House Intelligence Committee last month during a more than 10-hour closed-door deposition that he reported concerns about Trump's July 25 call with the leader of Ukraine to the top National Security Council lawyer within hours, and said some of the changes he tried to make to the since-published transcript were left out, though he didn't say why.

between Trump and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky. During his October 29 deposition, he told the panel that one example of his attempts to change the transcript was to include Trump telling Zelensky there were tapes of former Vice President Joe Biden, which The New York Times has reported occurred where there's an ellipsis in the transcript that was released by the White House. The change was not made.

The third and final theme of the article is seen in the way that the administration, Trump and the Republicans are presented. The article mentions that multiple officials from the administration are being called to testify in hearings concerning the impeachment, questioning the scale of the situation, as the cover up attempts might have been large scale if multiple officials are being called upon. This mistrust to the administration is expanded upon as Vindman explains that he was told to stay quiet about the call that President Trump made.

His public hearing this week is part of a growing list of hearings the panel is holding with current and former administration officials who are tied to the matters Democrats are probing. Many of Vindman also told lawmakers that later, he was told not to discuss the call with anyone else.

Building on this, it is evident that the article is framing Trump and the Republican party negatively. By highlighting that an expert express concern towards Trump's actions, especially by establishing a very positive image of this expert, puts a negative frame on Trump shaking the trust between him and the public.

**Washington (CNN)** — The White House's top Ukraine expert -- who expressed concerns about President Donald Trump's phone call with the Ukraine President -- is set to appear on Tuesday

Moreover, it is mentioned that Vindman faced attacks by Trump and the Republican party in order to avoid the truth being told, enhancing the frame of mistrust in both Trump and the Republicans, but also presenting the Republicans as willing to attack an American patriot in order to protect their President.

Last month, Vindman faced attacks by Trump and Republicans, who were seeking to discredit the aide ahead of his potentially-damaging testimony.

Lastly, referring to a tweet made by Trump, the article mentions that Trump believes everyone who has testified against him are people who are out to get him regardless of his actions. This portrays Trump as a paranoid man in denial who sees everyone as an enemy and cannot acknowledge that he might have done something wrong.

In a tweet on the morning of his testimony, Trump alleged that Vindman and others who have testified about him as part of the impeachment inquiry are "Never Trumpers," though there is little evidence Vindman is a political opponent of Trump's.

# 6.1.1.4. CNN 18 December 2019

# An impeached Trump tries looking ahead, but uncertainty threatens Senate vindication (Brown 2019)

This article covers Trump's perspective, actions, interaction and thoughts for a few days up to the passing of the impeachment articles. It provides the readers with an insight into the thoughts and happenings from Trump's perspective leading up to the impeachment. As such, the journalist has to some extent kept the style of writing neutral as it is a repetition of what has happened. Throughout the article can be found three themes; 1) sympathy for Trump, 2) discussion of strategy, and 3) the Democrats have experienced scandals too.

The way the article presents the President's struggles regarding the days leading up to the trial and that he has not been given much information on what was going to happen, could create compassion for the President whether the reader agrees or disagrees with him and his actions.

"What are they doing?" Trump asked a top Republican ally, Sen. Lindsey Graham, upon learning Thursday morning that House Democrats may withhold sending articles of impeachment to the Senate until they feel assured there will be a fair trial.

"I said, 'Mr. President, I don't know,'" Graham told reporters before traveling to the White House to discuss the matter further with Trump.

Trump has hailed Van Drew's switch over the past several days, and used the unanimous Republican opposition to impeachment as evidence of the party's unity. He hopes the solidarity will extend in the Senate, but the future of the impeachment case was uncertain after House Speaker Nancy Pelosi told reporters she would only transmit the articles once the outlines of the trial were clear.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with Trump's actions, it should be expected that a person that is on trial should be informed of what is happening. Many people, whether they support Trump or not, may forget how much pressure he is under, also before the impeachment, so by presenting this perspective of Trump's life might create some sympathy for the President regardless of political opinion.

Moreover, the article mentions that a former Democrat has changed party to the Republicans due to the impeachment of Trump. Mentioning that a Democrat is changing party questions whether impeaching Trump is rightful. Additionally, the article continues by including a quote from the President expressing his opinion on the impeachment.

The President met in the afternoon with Rep. Jeff Van Drew, the New Jersey lawmaker who is switching parties from Democrat to Republican in opposition to Trump's impeachment.

"I don't feel like I'm being impeached because it's a hoax, it's a setup. It's a horrible thing they did," Trump told reporters when asked how it feels to be the third president impeached by the House.

The second theme in the article gives an insight into the President's preparations and strategies towards the trial. This information is released on the day of the passing of the articles of impeachment, meaning that the public will be aware of the strategies that the President could potentially use in trial. An interesting observation is the apparent divide between Trump's strategy for the trial and the strategy prefered by his aides and associates. Whereas his aides and associates seem to prefer a more

logical and political defence, Trump is pushing for an aggressive strategy attempting to frame the Democrats as impeaching him without evidence.

Some Trump associates have argued to the President that Cipollone is better suited for making a legal argument in a courthouse -- and not a political one, which they feel will be needed for the audience of senators on Capitol Hill and Americans watching at home.

As they await clarity, White House officials are grappling with what one aide called a "central decision point" in the legal preparations: who should play what role in Trump's defense, and what the legal strategy should look like.

Aides say Trump has advocated for an aggressive self-defense that might help shift public opinion and convince more Americans that Democrats impeached him on spurious charges.

The third theme in the article is found when it is mentioned that former Democratic President Obama was in a scandal regarding gun violence, referred to as the 'fast and furious' scandal, and that he should have been impeached for the same crimes that President Trump is impeached for now. By highlighting that the Democrats also were involved in a scandal, their trust and intentions for the impeachment is put into question.

One possible avenue for Trump is looking back, to Barack Obama, with a suggestion -supported possibly with Justice Department legal opinions -- that the former president should have been impeached for blocking congressional Republicans from fully investigating the "Fast and Furious" gun-running scandal.

The White House is expected to rely on Justice Department legal opinions issued under Democratic administrations to make their case -- including arguing that, under House Democrats' standard, Obama should have been impeached for withholding documents and testimony from Republican investigators pursuing information about the "Fast and Furious" scandal.

By mentioning that former Democratic President Obama should have been impeached by the same crimes that Trump is facing now is a blow to the Democrat's trust. This question whether the Democrats impeach Trump on behalf of his crimes or in order to hurt his reputation, especially due to the fact that it is a Republican-led chamber meaning there is a high chance of Trump being acquitted without rock-solid evidence.

Trump and his aides have long eyed a Senate trial as the venue for eventual vindication in the saga, viewing the Republican-led chamber as a lock to acquit the President.

#### 6.1.1.5. CNN 16 January 2020

#### Senate impeachment trial of Donald Trump officially begins (Herb 2020)

This article covers the first day of trial providing transparent information on what has been going on leading up to the trial. The article begins by generally discussing the court proceedings that are necessary when beginning a trial while also mentioning the conversations going on about briefings, court documents and witnesses that both the Democrats and Republicans expect to receive from one another. What is most noticeable about this article is the major focus at the end of the article about Pelosi's, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, opinion about the Republicans' way of managing the trial and the way she acted when signing the articles for the impeachment. Throughout the article can be found two themes; 1) the proceedings of the trial, and 2) Democrats and Nancy Pelosi seek a fair trial while Republicans neglect and dismiss evidence.

The article begins by explaining the proceedings of the trial. This is kept in a neutral language as it summarizes the proceedings. Throughout the article, the writing seems mostly neutral, however, it is interesting to look at the perspective the article has on the Democrats and the Republicans.

**(CNN)** — The third Senate impeachment trial of a US president in history convened on Thursday with the reading of the impeachment articles against President Donald Trump and the swearing in of Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts and the senators who will decide whether Trump should be removed from office.

The Senate conducted its ceremonial functions of the impeachment trial on Thursday before the actual arguments will get underway next Tuesday. House Intelligence Chairman Adam Schiff, a California Democrat and the lead impeachment manager, read the articles aloud in the chamber while senators looked on from their desks.

The article highlights that the Democrats need at least two-thirds of the vote to win meaning they need a minimum of 20 Republicans to vote against the President. Presenting it like this, it seems like an impossible win for the Democrats and their intentions behind the impeachment can therefore be questioned – why would a party impeach a President fully aware they will most likely not win? Especially right before an upcoming election. However, there is also a chance that they were hoping to gather enough evidence to get the votes needed to remove Trump from his position.

The outcome of the trial is all but determined, as the two-thirds vote required to remove the President would need 20 Republican senators to break ranks. But that doesn't mean the trial itself won't have twists and turns — and potentially some surprises — as Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell navigates the demands of his Senate conference, pressures from Democrats and the whims of Trump and his Twitter account.

Moreover, the article highlights that a nonpartisan believes that what Trump has done is wrong, pushing the idea that it is Trump who is at fault and not the Democrats who are out to get him. Mixed with the above mentioned, this also pushes the idea that the Republicans are blindly protecting Trump at all costs.

And the Government Accountability Office, a nonpartisan congressional watchdog, said Thursday that the Trump administration violated the law when it withheld Ukraine security aid that Congress has appropriated.

As the second theme, the article focuses on Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of House, and her actions. It presents Pelosi, and by extension the Democrats, as wanting a fair trial and the Republicans as wanting to block evidence and testimonies from being presented in the trial. The article does this by using Pelosi's statements that frames the Republicans as untruthful as it highlights that they do not want to consider new evidence in the trial. Additionally, this frames Pelosi and the Democrats in a positive light as she is the one pushing for all evidence and witnesses being included in the trial, suggesting that the Democrats are the ones fighting for a fair trial. This stance is further established with a quote from the Senate Democratic Leader Chuck Schumer who says that the Democrats and Pelosi will be communicating with the White House while they strategize, however, in contrast to the Republicans, they will not be taking cues from President Trump or anyone else, suggesting that the Republicans are not here to ensure justice but instead solely to protect the President. The idea of the Republicans blindly following and protecting the President is a continuation from previous articles.

The trial is only beginning this week after House Speaker Nancy Pelosi withheld the formal sending of the articles for four weeks while Democrats pushed for Republicans to agree to calling witnesses and obtaining new documents for the trial.

Pelosi said at her weekly press conference Thursday that Senate Republicans are "afraid of the truth," when asked what her response is to Senate Republicans who say they shouldn't have to consider new evidence like the Parnas material because it wasn't included in the House investigation.

"They don't want to see documents, they don't want to hear from eyewitnesses," Pelosi said. "They want to ignore anything new that comes up."

Asked if he would be in communication with House impeachment managers and Pelosi as they craft their strategy, Schumer acknowledged that he would confer with them but argued it was different from McConnell taking cues from Trump.

"We are taking our cues from nobody," Schumer said.

An interesting note for this article is the quote from McConnell pertaining to Pelosi. Where most of the article seems to highlight the positives surrounding Pelosi and the Democrats, this quote presents her as insensitive and disrespectful to the American Constitution and as possibly not taking this trial as seriously as it should be taken, as she is happily handing out pens.

McConnell on Thursday criticized Pelosi on the Senate floor for distributing souvenir pens while signing the impeachment articles on Wednesday.

"Nothing says seriousness and sobriety like handing out souvenirs, as though this were a happy bill-signing instead of the gravest process in our Constitution," he said.

# 6.1.1.6. CNN 05 February 2020

# **Trump acquitted at end of months long impeachment process, found not guilty of two articles** (Herb 2020)

This article focuses on Trump's acquittal. He was acquitted from two articles 'Abuse of Power' and 'Obstruction of Congress'. To begin with, the article focuses on the acquittal and the process leading up to it. Afterwards the article highlights the feud between Speaker of House Nancy Pelosi and President Trump. This continues by letting the reader know what was said, done and voted, and by who, during the trial. Throughout the article, three themes can be found; 1) the focus on Sen. Mitt Romney, 2) the feud between the Democrats and the Republicans, and 3) Democrats and Romney pushing for the truth.

The first theme found in the article is the large focus on Sen. Mitt Romney. Throughout the article, it is mentioned several times that Romney, a Utah Republican, voted against Trump, finding him guilty of his crimes. By highlighting the fact that there is a member from Trump's own party that votes against him, and highlighting it several times, questions the integrity of the party and shuts down the idea of the vote being fully partisan.

But the final day of the Senate's impeachment trial was not without suspense: Sen. Mitt Romney, a Utah Republican, found the President guilty of abuse of power, becoming the first senator in US history to vote to remove from office a president from the same party.

Especially as the article includes an emotional quote by Romney about his respect for democracy suggesting that other Republicans who voted against the charges did not uphold their oath to the Constitution and their nation since they are protecting a President who evidently corrupted the election in order to stay in power.

"Were I to ignore the evidence that has been presented, and disregard what I believe my oath and the Constitution demands of me for the sake of a partisan end, it would, I fear, expose my character to history's rebuke and the censure of my own conscience," Romney said.

"Corrupting an election to keep oneself in office is perhaps the most abusive and destructive violation of one's oath of office that I can imagine," Romney said in explaining his vote.

Moreover, the article then after includes a paragraph highlighting an emotional side of Romney turning to religion as guidance. Religion is very important to many Americans, and by including this paragraph, the article adds even more likeability towards Romney.

In his Senate floor speech announcing his vote, Romney choked up while explaining how his faith helped guide him to what he described as "the most difficult decision I have ever faced."

The second theme focuses on the feud between the Democrats and the Republicans. This is a feud that has always existed but following the impeachment, it seems to have heated even more.

Though Trump is likely to claim victory and vindication with the Senate's vote

The acquittal verdict was the final act of a four-month impeachment process that inflamed the partisan tensions simmering throughout the course of the Trump administration, friction that boiled over during the State of the Union even though Trump left impeachment out of his speech. While Wednesday's vote marks the end of the formal impeachment process, Trump and

Moreover, the article mentions that the Democrats knew that their chances of winning were small, so the true intention behind the trial can be questioned, even with the Democrats denying that the impeachment has nothing to do with the upcoming election. However, it suggests that the trial met with heavy resistance from the White House and Republicans, showing that the trial might have gone very differently if all the evidence was brought to light.

In the Senate, Democrats knew the votes were never there to remove the President. So they focused their efforts on pushing for the trial to include testimony from witnesses and subpoending documents that the White House blocked during the House's impeachment inquiry.

Congress, the impeachment articles the House charged Trump with in December. Romney was the sole Republican to vote to convict the President on the first article of impeachment, abuse of power, joining with all Senate Democrats in a 52-48 not guilty vote. Romney voted with Republicans against the obstruction of Congress charge, which fell along straight party lines, 53-47 for acquittal.

Furthermore, the article presents the Republicans as wanting to block witnesses and evidence that could prove wrongdoing by Trump, which links to earlier themes of the Republicans blindly protecting Trump from anything no matter the cost. However, with that established the article then includes a quote from Lamar Alexander who admits that Trump did something wrong but does not want to remove him from office. This presents the Republicans as puppets to Trump who are not willing to take a stand even though they know that he committed wrong-doings and instead pushes this responsibility on to the American people.

The week of the vote, a bomb was dropped on Republicans working to defeat the witness vote — new revelations from the draft book manuscript of former national security adviser John Bolton alleging the President told Bolton US aid was conditioned on Ukraine announcing investigations into Democrats.

"The question then is not whether the President did it, but whether the United States Senate or the American people should decide what to do about what he did," Alexander said Wednesday explaining his vote.

This feud between the two parties following the trial has pushed a prospect of a heated election as the two parties are on edge following the trial and the acquittal.

speech. While Wednesday's vote marks the end of the formal impeachment process, Trump and his Democratic detractors are sure to take up the fight over the ultimate significance of the President's impeachment as the presidential campaign heats up.

"Today, the sham impeachment attempt concocted by Democrats ended in the full vindication and exoneration of President Donald J. Trump," Grisham said.

This is especially evident when looking at the relationship between Pelosi and Trump that are presented in the article. It is emphasised in how they exchange icy remarks with each other and how Pelosi is quick to remark that even if Trump was not removed from office, he is impeached for life.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, whose icy exchanges with Trump during the State of the Union only underscored the acrimony of the impeachment process, has been quick to remind Trump he's now been "impeached for life" by the House. Democrats have dismissed the Senate trial as

he's now been "impeached for life" by the House. Democrats have dismissed the Senate trial as a cover-up for the President after Senate Republicans refused to consider new and important evidence.

However, while the article is mostly on the Democratic side, it does highlight a quote from McConnell commenting on how Pelosi refuses to accept the verdict, suggesting that Pelosi does not believe in the system that she is a part of or that she instigated the trial because of personal feelings of anger towards Trump, which were shut down by the Republicans.

"The speaker of the House says that she refuses to accept this acquittal," McConnell said. "Whatever that means. Perhaps she will tear up the verdict like she tore up the State of the Union address. So I would ask my distinguished colleagues across the aisle, is this really, really where you want to go?"

By focusing a part of the article on this, and the feud between the two parties in general, the article stages a very black and white battle between the two parties and the people involved. There is no question that each party is always seeking to win, but highlighting the trial in this way, the impeachment becomes a political battlefield.

Lastly, the third theme highlights the quotes made by Democrats in court and by Romney who voted against Trump. All these quotes involve the fact that the truth needs to be spoken, evidence must be considered and that everyone has a duty they must fulfil.

"If you find that the House has proved its case and still vote to acquit, your name will be tied to his with a cord of steel and for all of history," Schiff said. "But if you find the courage to stand up to him, to speak the awful truth to his rank falsehood, your place will be among the Davids who took on Goliath. If only you will say enough."

"Were I to ignore the evidence that has been presented, and disregard what I believe my oath and the Constitution demands of me for the sake of a partisan end, it would, I fear, expose my character to history's rebuke and the censure of my own conscience," Romney said. Democrats praised Romney for standing up to his party, but the backlash was swift in Republican circles. Romney's GOP Senate colleagues said they were disappointed, downplaying the significance of his vote, while the President's son Donald Trump Jr. called for Romney to be expelled from the Republican Party.

"I cannot and will not shrink from my duty to defend the constitution and to do impartial justice," Jones said.

Including these quotes frames the trial as a just cause because they refer to the fact that, despite the votes being against the Democrats, there is plenty of evidence to support their claim, so much in fact, that a former senior Republican has changed party. This calls into question the integrity and transparency of the vote, if the sole reason Trump was acquitted is because of the fact that there are more Republicans voting and that the Republicans are blindly protecting their President in order to not lose the power that follows the presidency. At the same time, the backlash from the Republican party targeted at Romney presents the party as a loyal attack dog that will not accept free thinking.

# 6.1.1.7. CNN 06 February 2020

#### Trump launches vindictive impeachment victory lap (Liptak 2020)

This article solely focuses on Trump's reaction after being acquitted. It focuses on the Thursday afternoon event and afterwards at a morning prayer breakfast. Throughout the article can be found two themes; 1) an angry Trump, and 2) a negative frame of Trump and the Republicans.

As mentioned, this article primarily focuses on Trump's acquittal by focusing on his reaction to it. Despite an acquittal, Trump seems very angry towards everyone that is, or has been, thinking of him and his actions as being wrong. At the same time, it is mentioned that some Republicans were hoping Trump had learned a lesson in humility, which Trump promptly shut down as he rambled for hours, calling out rivals and bouncing between disparate injustices.

But any Republican who hoped he'd learned lessons from his experience was likely disabused of the notion as he railed against his rivals and insisted he'd done nothing wrong.

There was no indication he planned to adopt a new approach following the ordeal. Instead, Trump spent more than an hour bouncing between disparate injustices and angry asides.

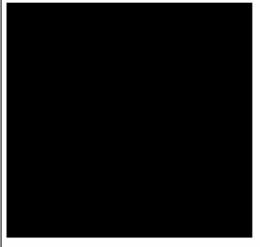
Following months of investigations, accusations and trial, it is understandable that the process must have been exhausting, however, the article only includes the anger that has followed Trump after his acquittal, and in addition to this, the article has chosen to use words like 'vindictive', 'angry' and 'insulting' when referring to Trump, portraying him as a rambling mad man who sees enemies everywhere.

**Washington (CNN)** — President Donald Trump emerged vindictive and angry at a rambling, mostly mean-spirited noontime event on Thursday meant to mark his impeachment acquittal.

It was a stream-of-consciousness victory lap that even Trump acknowledged had no real format.

"It's not a news conference, it's not a speech, it's not anything," he said of the event, which seemed at various moments to be ending only to gain speed again with another round of insults.

Following this, the article has included some of the quotes from Trump's insults about persons that he believes are out to get him.



On Sen. Mitt Romney, the Utah Republican who voted to convict: a "failed presidential candidate" who "used religion as a crutch."

On James Comey, the FBI director he fired: "A dirty cop" who represented "top scum" at the agency.

On the Russia investigation led by special counsel Robert Mueller: "It was all bulls\*\*t."

On House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, who led the effort to oust him

from office: "In my opinion, it's almost like they want to destroy our country."

To some Trump's anger might be justified, but to others, including the quotes mentioned above and also including quotes with him stating he has done nothing wrong, he is portrayed as angry and childish, that he believes that he has done nothing wrong regardless of the evidence presented in trial.

"We've been going through this now for over three years. It was evil, it was corrupt, it was dirty cops, it was leakers and liars. And this should never, ever happen to another president, ever,"

Afterwards, the article compares Trump and his reaction to former Democratic President Clinton who was also impeached. In this instance, the comparison of the two Presidents is used to portray Trump as irresponsible and somewhat disrespectful towards the American people. Furthermore, Trump is shown to not care about uniting the nation or government as he has no intentions of apologising for his actions that led to this event, instead he deepens the divide by angrily throwing out accusations against all who oppose him. Additionally, the article furthers the frame of a blindly loyal Republican party, worrying where Trump will go next as the Republicans seemingly do not have any interest in addressing any corrupt actions from their President.

"As everybody knows, my family, our great country and your president have been put through a terrible ordeal by some very dishonest and corrupt people," he said.

He added later: "When they impeach you for nothing, then you're supposed to like them, it's not easy folks. I do my best."

The message wasn't one of conciliation, apology or regret, which is how the last president to be impeached, Bill Clinton, ended his trial.

Unlike Clinton, Trump will face voters in November. And there are almost no examples from his presidency of admissions he was wrong.

The GOP fealty to the President has Trump's critics worried about where he'll go next. With no apparent consequence for behavior they see as corrupt, Trump will enter his reelection campaign unchecked and unbound.

Furthermore, the article suggests that this trial has had no effect on Trump as he returns to the same allegations against the Biden family, again ending the paragraph by establishing that there is no evidence pointing to wrong-doing by them. This further establishes Trump as a President who is only interested in attacking his rivals and not looking out for America's interests.

And on Thursday he returned to his original allegations against Joe and Hunter Biden, who he insisted engaged in corruption despite no evidence of wrongdoing.

Finally, the article returns to a previous theme, namely the Republicans' blind protection of Trump even though they admit he did something wrong. This is done through a series of paragraphs at the end of the article mentioning how the Republicans admit they believe Trump's action regarding Ukraine was not acceptable but still voted against impeachment. This suggests that the Republicans are not interested in justice or protecting the American people, instead simply interested in protecting their Republican President. This notion is further established with the mention of Romney being threatened with eviction from the Republican Party for his decision to vote against the President and with critics being worried about what Trump will do next, as the GOP's blind following will allow him to proceed unchecked and unbound.

Even as some Republican senators acknowledged Trump's behavior toward Ukraine was wrong, there was little political consequence for Trump since they voted to keep him in office.

Romney, the one Republican who voted to convict, has been shunned by Trump's allies. The President's son even suggested he be evicted from the Republican Party.

The GOP fealty to the President has Trump's critics worried about where he'll go next. With no apparent consequence for behavior they see as corrupt, Trump will enter his reelection campaign unchecked and unbound.

# 6.1.2. Fox News

In this section, we will be analysing each article from Fox News individually. The analysis will solely be based on what is written in the articles. Here, we will focus on frames by finding the themes in each article and understand how each theme is presented.

#### 6.1.2.1. Fox News 25 September 2019

# Republicans want whistleblower's sources, as inconsistencies in complaint emerge (Re 2019)

The article describes the happenings surrounding the release of the whistleblower complaint. However, instead of being focused on the complaint and the allegations within it, the article focuses much of its attention on dismissing all claims made in the complaint.

There are three pervasive themes in the article; 1) the allegations are false and there is an explanation for them, 2) Republicans want the whistleblower to be identified as these allegations are inconsistent and the leaks might be criminal, and 3) Joe Biden needs to be investigated.

The first theme, pertaining to the validity of the allegations in the complaint, is seen in the handling of the allegations themselves. In the article, all the allegations in the complaint are referred to only as hearsay and are always shut down immediately after they are presented. For example, it is established early on that phone calls, like the one in question in the complaint, have been stored on a different server than normal by the Trump administration for a while. This establishes this practice as normal and casts doubts on the allegations put forth in the complaint, as these call the practice into question.

The <u>whistleblower's complaint</u>, released earlier in the day, contained no firsthand accounts of wrongdoing. It cited information from White House officials who alleged there'd been efforts to hide Trump's July phone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, among other conversations. The Trump administration <u>reportedly</u> began placing transcripts of Trump's calls with several foreign leaders in a highly classified repository after leakers publicly divulged the contents of Trump's private calls with the leaders of Mexico and Australia in 2017.

Trump administration officials allegedly said White House attorneys "directed" them to remove the transcript of the call from the computer system where they normally were kept, according to the complaint. Instead, the transcript allegedly was kept on a system normally used for classified information. The whistleblower said that, according to White House officials, it was "not the first time" a presidential transcript was placed into this system in order to protect politically sensitive information and not national security-sensitive information.

By establishing that the allegations in the complaint are only hearsay, the article shines a light of doubt on the entire complaint, which leads into the next theme of Republicans questioning the validity of the complaint as inconsistencies arise around it.

The second theme has two actors in it, the "*top Republicans*" who seeks the truth from an inconsistent complaint with alleged misconduct and "*Democrats*" who ramp up impeachment inquiry with the inconsistent complaint as their origin. In the article, the Republicans are presented as the ones actually thinking rationally about the complaint, by having them question inconsistencies within and pushing for the whistleblower to be identified, to obtain first-hand knowledge of how they know the things they know and whether they have any credible sources for the complaint. On top of this, they are also used to call the legality of the complaint into question, as the information leaked within could be considered classified in nature.

Top Republicans on Thursday pushed to identify the White House officials who told a whistleblower of alleged misconduct by the Trump administration, as Democrats ramped up their impeachment inquiry -- and several apparent inconsistencies emerged in the whistleblower's complaint.

Rep. Andy Biggs, R-Ariz., a member of the House Judiciary Committee, <u>told Fox News'</u> <u>"Shepard Smith Reporting"</u> on Thursday that the administration had an apparent "leak problem," adding, "if they're leaking something that's supposed to be classified, then ... that probably is criminal in nature."

Additionally, they use President Trump's statement to go as far as associating the whistleblower with a spy, framing the complaint as a hostile act of treason that is put forth in an attempt to scandalise him, which the Democrats are framed as using to push an impeachment of Trump.

"I want to know who's the person, who's the person who gave the whistleblower the information? Because that's close to a spy," Trump said, according to audio of his remarks at a private event in a New York hotel obtained by The Los Angeles Times. "You know what we used to do in the old days when we were smart? Right? The spies and treason, we used to handle it a little differently than we do now."

Every time the Democrats are mentioned they are presented as being associated with the complaint and the false cry for impeachment. This is seen in two places. First, in the beginning of the article where the Democrats are ramping up their impeachment inquiry on the basis of this complaint. Second, with the mention of Committee Chairman Adam Schiff who pressured the Director of National Intelligence into agreeing with him on the need for further investigation. This also presents an idea of the Democrats being more deeply connected to the complaint as they are not trying to question any inconsistencies within but instead pushing people to agree to an investigation into Trump's actions.

Top Republicans on Thursday pushed to identify the White House officials who told a whistleblower of alleged misconduct by the Trump administration, as Democrats ramped up their impeachment inquiry -- and several apparent inconsistencies emerged in the whistleblower's complaint.

But after maintaining his composure for most of the morning, his frustration showed through at the end, when House Intelligence <u>Committee Chairman Adam Schiff</u>, D-Calif., repeatedly pressed him to agree that the matter needed to be investigated.

The final theme in the article is presented in the conclusion. It finishes by mentioning the investigation into Democrat Joe Biden effectively diverting the focus away from the issue of misconduct from President Trump by presenting a more pressing and already established crime that should be investigated instead. At the same time, the article mentions the freeze of military aid for Ukraine that President Trump had issued, which was a major issue being discussed in relation to the call to the Ukrainian President, but, as with the allegations from the complaint, ensures to shut down the problem immediately afterwards.

Joe Biden <u>has acknowledged on camera</u> that, when he was vice president, he successfully pressured Ukraine to fire the prosecutor, Viktor Shokin, who was investigating the natural gas firm <u>Burisma Holdings</u> — where Biden's son Hunter had a <u>highly lucrative role</u> on the board.

Trump made the request on the call for Ukraine to look into the Bidens after Zelensky first mentioned Ukraine's corruption issues, and after Trump separately requested as a "favor" that Ukraine <u>help investigate foreign interference in the 2016 elections</u>, including the hack of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) server involving CrowdStrike.

The call came not long after Trump had frozen millions of dollars in military aid to Ukraine. However, the aid was later released to Ukraine, and the Ukrainians <u>were unaware</u> the money was frozen in the first place until more than a month after Trump's call with Zelensky, according to <u>The New York Times.</u>

An interesting note for this article is that they establish early on that storing such transcripts on a highly-classified server is normal procedure. The article then presents the complaint's allegation that the transcript was intercepted before it could be placed on the normal servers that such phone calls are stored in, to be placed into a national security server which is under far more levels of security, even though the call did not fall under the guidelines for being stored on this secure server. This calls the validity of the complaint into question, as this is already presented as normal procedure. However, in the tweet that they link to afterwards it is clear that it is definitely not normal procedure for the White House to lock down such transcripts.



The tweet presents this procedure as a risk to national security and as a "*highly unusual*" action to take. However, even after having linked to a tweet that establishes that this procedure is highly unusual and having established that the White House does secure these calls on highly secure servers,

even if the calls are not qualified for these servers, the article proceeds to normalise this procedure by not questioning it.

#### 6.1.2.2. Fox News 13 November 2019

# **Trump impeachment witnesses' weaknesses exposed in first day of public hearings** (Fox News 2019)

The article presents the happenings of the first day of hearings in the impeachment trial. As a whole, it presents the case against President Trump as a failure from the beginning which only consists of hearsay and false allegations. There are two pervasive themes; 1) Testimonies and allegations are hearsay with no real evidence, which are shut down by the Republicans, and 2) the actions of Joe Biden should be investigated.

The first theme is seen throughout the article, as it ensures that every allegation or testimony that is presented are immediately shut down and that Republicans are presented as in the right. This is in particular seen through two sections of the article. First, they mention a new allegation which was presented during the hearing.

Still, the first day of testimony offered one previously undisclosed allegation. Career diplomat <u>William Taylor, the charge d'affaires in Kiev</u>, asserted that the president was overheard by a member of his staff on July 26 asking EU Ambassador Gordon Sondland about "the investigations." Sondland supposedly responded that "the Ukrainians were ready to move forward." Taylor said that following Sondland's call with Trump, the member of his staff asked what Trump thought about Ukraine.

Before immediately having Republicans shoot down the allegation and ensure that the testimony is described as hearsay while mentioning a previous testimony from Ambassador Sondland.

But Republicans pointed out that Taylor's testimony was unverifiable hearsay, several layers deep -- and that Sondland has previously testified that Trump explicitly told him there were "no quid pro quo's of any kind" with Ukraine.

This shows the pattern for presenting allegations still persists from the previous article and that Republicans are here to ensure that only proper evidence is considered. In doing so, they establish the complaint, the trial and the Democrats as being false, as there is no evidence and no witnesses that have actual first-hand knowledge of the happenings.

The article also focuses on the potential lack of support from Democrats, with the mention of how few votes the Democrats must lose before the impeachment cannot go through, as well as the second paragraph in the article mentioning "*critics may argue*" that there was no direct proof of the allegations presented, which might make "*moderate Democrats*" more hesitant. This presents the case as a hoax but also suggests that the Democratic party is trying to present a fake case which is only believable if you blindly follow the Democratic party.

Critics may argue that Democrats' first witnesses failed to directly prove that Trump, in a July 25 phone call, tried to pressure Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky into investigating Joe Biden's family business dealings in the country in exchange for the release of about \$400 million in military aid. That might make more moderate Democrats hesitant to impeach Trump.

Interestingly, they mention CNN and how they do not seem persuaded by the witnesses that have been presented. This implies that CNN is part of the Democratic crusade to impeach Trump and should be part of the group that would believe these allegations completely.

Not even CNN seemed persuaded. <u>CNN analyst Jeffrey Toobin, a former federal</u> <u>prosecutor, noted that Democrats had a "problem,"</u> in that their key witnesses Wednesday had never directly interacted with Trump.

In the final paragraph, the article shifts its focus to Trump who mentions that he is too busy to witness the "*witch hunt*" trial, presenting the trial as a hoax instigated by people who only want to frame President Trump in a bad manner, but also presenting Trump in a positive light as a President who still works for his country even under the pressure of such a trial.

Trump, for his part, said he was too busy to watch Wednesday's hearing. At a news conference with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Trump called Democrats' efforts a hopeless "witch hunt" and <u>vowed to release another transcript of an earlier call</u> with Ukraine on Thursday. Public testimony in the Trump impeachment inquiry hearing is set to resume Friday with Marie Yovanovitch, a former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine. <u>Click here for more on our top story.</u>

The final theme suggests that President Trump's concerns about Joe Biden and the dealings with Ukraine were justified by mentioning a testimony from Democrat key witness George Kent. Interestingly, they do not directly say he agreed or supported Trump's concerns but instead it "*appeared*" he supported them and it was the "*appearance*" of a conflict of interest.

Another key witness for Democrats on Wednesday, <u>George Kent, deputy assistant</u> <u>secretary of state for Europe</u>, appeared to give testimony that supported Trump's concerns about Biden's family dealings in Ukraine. Kent testified that he would "love" to see Ukraine look into the circumstances surrounding the closure of a probe tied to natural gas firm Burisma Holdings, <u>while also raising concerns that Hunter Biden's role</u> <u>on the board</u> of that firm created the appearance of a conflict of interest.

# 6.1.2.3. Fox News 19 November 2019

Vindman accuses Trump of making improper Ukraine 'demand,' says he alerted intel official (Pappas 2019)

This article revolves around the happenings of Lt. Col. Vindman's testimony as well as the testimony from Jennifer Williams who is aide to Vice President Pence. The article is a shift in direction compared to the previous two. It highlights and validates the allegations made against Trump by focusing heavily on the testimony from Lt. Col. Vindman but without debunking or shutting down the statements that he makes. Throughout the article there are three pervasive themes; 1) Vindman and Williams are credible witnesses or at least someone to respect, 2) Republicans and the White House are in tension with the credible witnesses, and 3) Biden family needs to be under investigation.

The first theme presents itself in several ways but mostly in the way Vindman is presented with mentions of his military career and his assurance to his father that telling the truth in America is not something to be afraid of as it is in Russia. The references to his military background presents him as a patriotic American who has fought and shed blood for his country, establishing him as a reliable witness who needs to be respected. Furthermore, the paragraph explaining how he shut down the offers from Ukraine to become defence minister adds to his patriotic image, with the addition of him notifying the chain of command establishing him as a man who follows the law and works for America.

Addressing Vindman -- who wore his Army uniform to Tuesday's hearing -- Schiff said, "I note that you have shed blood for America, and we owe you an immense debt of gratitude." Vindman referenced his family's history of moving from the Soviet Union to the United States 40 years ago, saying appearing for testimony in Russia would "surely cost me my life." But addressing his father, Vindman said today, "Do not worry, I will be fine for telling the truth." In another revelation, Vindman said Oleksandr Danylyuk, Zelensky's former national security adviser, asked Vindman to be the defense minister in Ukraine on a number of occasions, including three times around the time of the inauguration.

Vindman called the request "comical" and said he didn't leave the door open on the offer. "Every single time I dismissed it," he said, adding that he notified the chain of command back home.

At the same time, Democrats are presented as the protectors of these credible witnesses, as the Democrats defend them from attacks made from President Trump who accused both of them of being a "*never Trumper*", suggesting that they are only trying to take him down.

In his opening remarks, the top Democrat on the panel, Schiff, defended both witnesses against recent attacks, telling Williams "we all saw the president's tweet about you on Sunday afternoon" accusing her of being a "Never Trumper." Williams later rejected that term, under questioning Tuesday.

The second theme plays off the first theme. While establishing Vindman as a credible witness who has shed blood for his country and is only here to tell the truth, the article presents the White House and the Republicans as "the bad guys". While the Democrats defend Vindman, there is tension between the Republicans and Vindman, suggesting that the Republicans are in conflict with a credible witness, who can no longer just be dismissed as hearsay.

The tension between Vindman and Republicans was evident after the revelation: at one point, when California Rep. Devin Nunes, the top Republican on the committee, called him "Mr. Vindman," the witness replied, "it's Lt. Col. Vindman."

At the same time, the White House is "*downplaying*" the hearing and, with the mentions of Trump's attacks on the witnesses, is generally portrayed as wanting to shut down a credible witness.

The White House downplayed the hearing, though, as a debate over two individuals' personal opinions about a call that Americans can read for themselves. During the hearing, Trump tweeted a video calling the inquiry a "charade." He also spoke to reporters at the White House, saying, "Republicans are absolutely killing it. Because it's a big scam." He added: "What's going on is a disgrace."

It is interesting, however, that excluding mention of Democrats defending the witnesses, the Democrats are still presented as only wanting to tarnish Trump and withholding important knowledge

in the case, while Vindman is wholly presented as credible. This suggests that, even though Vindman's testimony and allegations can be trusted, the article wants to ensure that the Democrats are still portrayed as an organisation doing all they can to go after Trump.

Republicans on the committee dismissed the testimony, with Nunes calling the Democrat-led inquiry a "partisan frenzy" while blasting the media coverage over what he called a "fevered rush to tarnish and remove" Trump. He referenced recent media reports that Democrats have shifted the wording they use to describe the allegations against the president from "quid pro quo" to "bribery" after conducting focus groups with voters. At the end of the hearing, he said there was "no evidence" presented for impeachment.

Republicans also lamented how Democrats won't grant their request to call the anonymous whistleblower who ignited the impeachment probe to testify to lawmakers. "Now that the whistleblower has successfully kickstarted impeachment, he has disappeared from the story—as if the Democrats put the whistleblower in their own witness protection program," Nunes said.

The final theme is presented at the end of the article, where it is made a point of mentioning the Biden family's involvement in the case and Ukraine, continuing a trend from previous articles of including these final mentions of the Biden family.

Hunter Biden was a board member of Ukrainian energy company <u>Burisma Holdings</u>, which had been under investigation before then-Vice President Biden pressured Ukraine to fire the prosecutor in charge.

#### 6.1.2.4. Fox News 18 December 2019

# House votes to impeach Trump over Ukraine dealings, as Pelosi floats holding up Senate trial (Re & Schultz 2019)

This article pertains to the happenings immediately after the vote to impeach Trump. Throughout the article there are five pervasive themes; 1) the impeachment vote was only backed by Democrats, but even Democrats do not agree with it, 2) the Democrats have left politics and law aside in a crusade to impeach Trump, 3) Republicans represent America and are worried for the future of politics, 4) Trump did nothing wrong and is not worried but instead frustrated that the Democrats are allowed to do this, and 5) Joe Biden is the real criminal in this case.

Throughout the article, it is made clear that the entire impeachment process is only being instigated by the Democrats who are pushing the impeachment forward without any supporters from the Republican side. Along with this, the impeachment and the entire process behind it is being presented as an illegitimate process where nothing has been proven and it is being forced to the Senate. This sets the impeachment, and the Democratic support, up as a sham that cannot be trusted.

Without any Republican support, the House on Wednesday night voted to impeach <u>President Trump</u> for "abuse of power" and "obstruction of Congress" related to his dealings with <u>Ukraine</u>, making Trump the third American president ever to be <u>impeached</u>.

"Today marks the culmination in the House of one of the most shameful political episodes in the history of our Nation," the White House said. "Without receiving a single Republican vote, and without providing any proof of wrongdoing, Democrats pushed illegitimate articles of impeachment against the President through the House of Representatives. Democrats have chosen to proceed on this partisan basis in spite of the fact that the President did absolutely nothing wrong. Indeed, weeks of hearings have proved that he did nothing wrong."

Within the first theme, it is also established that not all Democrats are behind the partisan push for the impeachment. In doing so, it presents the Democratic party as a fractured organisation but, more importantly, it reaffirms the notion that the impeachment allegations are false and the impeachment is being pushed through because the Democrats simply want to impeach Trump no matter the cost.

"I also could not in good conscience vote for impeachment because removal of a sitting President must not be the culmination of a partisan process, fueled by tribal animosities that have so gravely divided our country," Gabbard said.

"When I cast my vote in support of the impeachment inquiry nearly three months ago, I said that in order to maintain the integrity of this solemn undertaking, it must not be a partisan endeavor," she continued. "Tragically, that's what it has been."

Additionally, it is also suggested that even the House Speaker is worried about the strength of the impeachment case and, by extension, the legitimacy of the case, as she withholds the articles of impeachment. This further establishes that the Democratic party is not a united front in this impeachment and that the impeachment might not have a credible case behind it.

But, late Wednesday, House Speaker <u>Nancy Pelosi</u>, D-Calif, <u>floated the possibility</u> that the House would not send the articles of impeachment to the Senate, where Majority Leader <u>Mitch McConnell</u>, R-Ky., likely would oversee a strong defense of the president that could prove politically damaging for vulnerable Democrats.

The second theme is presented throughout the article, as it is made clear that the Democrats have been planning and trying to impeach Trump for long time, without evidence, and based on outrage and personal feelings of hatred. This dismisses the legitimacy of the impeachment as a whole as there are no evidence to back it up and it is only pushed through because of the hatred from the Democrats. Additionally, it establishes the Democratic party as an untrustworthy organisation that cannot be trusted to accept fact over feeling when handling matters of the nation.

The separate votes on the two counts teed up an all-but-certain Senate acquittal, should House Democrats forward the charges to the GOP-controlled chamber. They also fulfilled a <u>promise</u> made by some Democrats ever since Trump's inauguration to vote to impeach him, even as <u>polls have shown</u> support for impeachment declining.

"After three years of breathless and baseless outrage, this is their last attempt to stop the Trump presidency," McCarthy said. "Speaker Pelosi even recently admitted that Democrats had been working on this impeachment for <u>'two and a half' years.</u> Those were her words, not mine."

And, as McCarthy argued in his closing address, other top Democrats have long encouraged their colleagues to impeach the president -- including U.S. Rep. Rashida Tlaib, D-Mich., who promised on video to "impeach the motherf---er" all the way back in January.

To solidify the image of Democrats leaving law and order behind, it is established that they are rushing the impeachment process and running an unfair trial where GOP witnesses are barred from testifying, hearings are held in private and "left wing law professors" are invited to express their feelings on Trump. All the while, they are calling for a fair trial from the Republicans. This reaffirms that the Democrats are not interested in the trial being fair and, as such, not interested in finding the truth or protecting the country.

Pelosi insisted that Republicans would need to run a fair trial if the matter made its way to the Senate, without explaining what exactly she was seeking. Republicans, including McConnell, <u>this week</u> condemned Democrats for rushing to impeach and rejected the idea that they would do Democrats' work for them in the Senate.

McConnell openly embraced his role as a partisan, saying House Democrats had paid only superficial lip service to the idea of fairness -- even as they allowed a trove of hearsay evidence against the president, barred several proposed GOP witnesses, conducted hearings out of the public view, called a series of left-wing law professors to testify about their feelings on Trump, and prejudged the case publicly for months.

The idea of not being interested in finding the truth is also presented directly, as it is established that the Democrats lied about their motives for this impeachment. They are not doing this for America or because of concerns for national security, instead they are celebrating the impeachment behind the scenes because they have finally achieved their long-wanted goal of impeaching Trump.

It was a long-brewing moment of frustration, as Republicans openly cast doubt on Democrats' claims that they were driven by an earnest desire to protect U.S. national security and the Constitution. At the outset of the proceedings, Pelosi claimed Democrats have "no choice" but to impeach the president, and that they were in reality quite saddened.

Despite Pelosi's claim, <u>photographs emerged</u> apparently showing Democratic staffers partying on Capitol Hill as the impeachment debate went on.

After the first article of impeachment was adopted, Pelosi had to signal to some Democrats to stop clapping. One Democrat yelled, "yay," but covered his mouth when he realized he was the only one.

Furthermore, the Democrats are also shown to throw politics and law aside in exchange for personal attacks. This solidifies the image of the Democrats not having any evidence to convince the Republicans on the charges laid on Trump and, as such, they result to personal attacks and desperate name calling, in their partisan pursuit of vengeance against Trump.

Debate on the <u>articles</u> broke down into a shouting match early in the afternoon, when House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jerry Nadler, D-N.Y., accused a GOP congressman of "spouting Russian propaganda on the floor of the House."

The third pervasive theme in the article is presenting the Republicans as the proper representation for American politics. This is done through two methods. First, they are quoted being worried about the future of politics and what this partisan impeachment will mean for the future. Having presented the impeachment as one big sham that is being pushed only by angry Democrats, the article presents the Republicans as the only bastion standing against this injustice and for the American people.

He added: "Will we let impeachment become an exercise of raw political power, regardless if it damages our country? Or will we protect the proper grounds and process for impeachment now and in the future?" he asked. "Because they lost to him in 2016, they'll do anything to stop him in 2020."

Gohmert had been arguing that Democrats' partisan impeachment effort meant that the country's "end is now in sight" and that he hopes he doesn't "live to see it." No House Republicans support impeachment.

Second, a point is made to mention how the Republicans want to move onto proper legislation that will actually help America instead of wasting time on this partisan sham of a trail, showing that the Republicans are the only ones still thinking of America.

The day was marked with some unexpected parliamentary curveballs. Shortly after the House gaveled in at 9 a.m., one GOP member forced a vote on whether to adjourn -- requiring lawmakers to head to the floor before the debate even started.

"I just moved for the House to adjourn so that we can stop wasting America's time on impeachment," Rep. Andy Biggs, R-Ariz., tweeted. "Republicans stand united against this radical, vindictive, partisan sham by the Democrats."

The fourth pervasive theme centres around President Trump. He is presented as being calm in the face of injustice, still attending rallies and performing his duties, while ensuring everyone that he has done nothing wrong.

"By the way, it doesn't really feel like we're being impeached," Trump said at the rally. "The country is doing better than ever before. We did nothing wrong."

In fact, he is more frustrated and worried that the Democrats are allowed to push this impeachment through. This connects him to the themes presented for the Republicans and, by extension, to the image of having America's interests at heart and being a victim in a false trial where he is accused of misconduct without evidence by angry and jealous Democrats that are only out to hurt him.

"Can you believe that I will be impeached today by the Radical Left, Do Nothing Democrats, AND I DID NOTHING WRONG!" Trump wrote in one of 45 tweets posted before noon. He asked his followers to "Say a PRAYER!"

"More due process was afforded to those accused in the Salem Witch trials," Trump wrote, observing that even Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky has repeatedly said at the United Nations that <u>he felt no pressure</u> from the White House to conduct political investigations in exchange for military aid.

Trump is also used to solidify the image of this trial being forced so hard through the system that even Democrats cannot agree with the process, driving them to the Republican side.

He added, to cheers: "We didn't lose one Republican, and three Democrats voted for us. The Democrats always stick together. Now think of it: Three Democrats went over to our side, no Republicans. It's unheard of."

The fifth and final pervasive theme of the article is a returning theme from most of the articles. This theme is centred on mentioning Joe Biden, in this case insinuating that he is the only real corrupt politician here and Democrats are barring Republican witnesses that would help defend the concern about that. This further establishes the Democratic party as a party out of control and no longer concerned with finding the truth and protecting America, but instead is on a pursuit for vengeance on Trump because they cannot handle the loss in 2016, while also trying to shift the focus onto Joe Biden's handlings in Ukraine.

And, regarding the abuse-of-power charge, Trump noted that it was former Vice President <u>Joe Biden</u> who <u>had "bragged" on video</u> about having <u>Ukraine</u>'s allegedly corrupt prosecutor fired by threatening to withhold \$1 billion in critical U.S. aid. But, House Republicans have been barred by Democrats from calling witnesses that would help them make the case that Trump's concerns about Ukraine corruption were legitimate.

The final paragraph of the article accurately sums up what this article tries to convey, that the Democrats are only here because they have been attacking Trump since the beginning of his presidency.

"If we're really being honest, Democrats have been searching for a reason to impeach President Trump since the day he was elected," Cole said.

#### 6.1.2.5. Fox News 16 January 2020

**Reporter's Notebook: Scenes from inside the opening of Trump's impeachment trial** (Schultz 2020)

The article is written from the perspective of a journalist who is attending the first day of the trial. Throughout the article there are four common themes; 1) the Democrats are excited and happy to be there, 2) Republicans are stunned this is even happening but are calm and collected, 3) it is a closed event where not many get a peek inside, and 4) Democratic moderates in the Senate are siding with the Republicans. The Democrats are portrayed as being overly excited and happy that the impeachment trial is happening. They are described as astute students who are already jotting down notes before the trial has actually begun, insinuating that they are so excited for this trial that they begin working on it before it begins. Along with this, specific Democrats are so excited for this that they cannot control themselves and almost collide with people.

The Democrats seemed like astute students in the classroom ready to learn. Sen. Elizabeth Warren, D-Mass., walked so quickly and purposefully to sign the oath book, that she almost collided with Sen. Mark Warner, D-Va., when he stopped in front of her in

The Democrats are also portrayed as ready for war, with one particular Senator's outfit being described. Adding to the frame of the Democrats being excited for the impeachment this paragraph portrays them as though they are gearing up for war where they need to be at their best.

The biggest outfit stunner was Sen. Kyrsten Sinema, who wore a bright red v-neck cocktail dress with a cape. The Arizona Democrat channeled a superwoman vibe for the momentous occasion in a normally buttoned-up Capitol.

On the other side of the room, the Republicans are described as prisoners being taken through an unfair trial that they believe should not be happening, making them out as victims of a system that they cannot control.

On the GOP side, their wooden desks were largely bare. Some sat stiffly like they were prisoners to a process they believe shouldn't be happening at all.

On top of this, where the Democrats were excitedly jotting down notes and ready for war, the Republicans are always referenced in a calm state and still thinking about the nation even during this trial. With Ted Cruz reading the Constitution, placing him on the side of America, and Senator Cassidy preparing for the trial ahead by making sure he had the proper rules ready for the trial.

At one point, Sen. Ted Cruz, R-Texas, was reading a book that a Cruz aide identified as the Constitution. Cassidy had a book on Senate procedures at his desk, open to the section on impeachment.

Furthermore, Senators Cassidy and Perdue are also described as the only ones having a proper discussion during the opening oath signing. This is referenced later, where we get to hear that they are discussing certain Acts and budgeting reforms, making the Republicans out to be the only ones here who are still thinking of the nation.

An aide later said Cassidy and Perdue were discussing the Prevent Government Shutdown Act and ways to reform the budgeting process. But largely senators only spoke in soft murmurs as they shared an exchange with their neighbor as the name-signing procession continued.

The trial itself is presented as being a closed event where everyone is restricted for access, with the press having extra restrictions forced on them and vacant seats that even the public did not want to fill. This makes the trial out to be restricted to only certain journalists and outlets, while the public does not seem to care enough for the trial to attend.

The press were subjected to additional access restrictions at the Capitol and required new press badges to be present. A special yellow ticket was also needed to enter the press gallery and watch Day One of the impeachment trial of President Trump.

For such a big day in the Senate, attendance never reached capacity. Though not all sections are open to the public, there were roughly a couple hundred seats vacant. C

The final theme in the article pertains to the moderates of the senate. An earlier theme to pull on has been the reluctance of moderate Democrats to go through with a trial that is seen as a hoax and personal attack on Trump. In this article, it is presented as though the moderate Democrat, Amy Klobuchar, practically runs straight for the Republican side of the room when she had the chance. This presents the Democratic party as losing members of their own party on this trial, as even they can see it is one big sham.

line. Sen. Amy Klobuchar, a moderate who has preached on the presidential campaign trail about her ability to work in a bipartisan fashion, made a beeline for the GOP side of the aisle after the Senate trial adjourned. She had a conversation with Sen. Roy Blunt, R-Mo., the chairman of the Senate Rules Committee.

An interesting note for this article is the way in which the events are described. Instead of simply presenting how the proceedings went, the article dramatizes the events by utilising very colourful language.

# 6.1.2.6. Fox News 05 February 2020

# Senate acquits Trump on abuse of power, obstruction of Congress charges (Re 2020)

The article details the events following the final vote of the impeachment trial of President Trump. Through the article there are four pervasive themes present; 1) the Democrats are divided, fuelled by hatred and will not accept the judgement, 2) Republicans are on the side of justice and the American people, 3) the impeachment had no merit behind its accusations and was a partisan endeavour and, 4) the Biden's are the real perpetrators of a crime in this whole trial.

The first theme manifests itself in several ways, one of which mentions how the Democratic party, or at least leaders from the Democratic party, did not actually want to go through with this trial but were forced to go ahead with it by radical wings of the party. This presents the Democrats as a fractured front who were not even united behind this trial but only followed suit as they did not want to lose their seats. At the same time, it also presents the Democrats as not believing in the accusations that they impeached Trump with, solidifying the idea of the impeachment being a sham that was not fuelled by legitimate concerns over Trump's behaviour but instead hatred and malice towards him.

Another Democratic source also said that impeachment "went as well as it could go." There was <u>significant consternation</u> among House Democrats about heading down the impeachment road at all over the summer, Fox News is told, but Democratic leaders felt they had to get in front of the impeachment movement and embrace it – or they may have been steamrolled by the progressive wing of the party.

Within this, there is also the reference to Nancy Pelosi's resistance to initiating the impeachment further solidifying the image of the Democrats not being united behind the impeachment and the impeachment being fuelled by hatred and not concern.

Speaking to reporters after the vote, McConnell noted that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif., had <u>resisted calls for impeachment</u> from the party's progressive wing before finally caving -- and said she should have trusted her "instincts."

"I'm pretty sure she didn't want to do this," McConnell said, referring to Pelosi's lengthy reluctance to initiate impeachment proceedings. Trump, speaking to Fox News ahead of the Super Bowl, <u>made a similar argument</u>, saying the "radical" wing of the Democratic Party had pushed her into making a grave mistake and realizing her "worst nightmare."

Along with the previous thoughts of the Democrats not believing in the trial, the Democrats are also directly presented as lying about the trial from the beginning. This further solidifies the view of the trial being a sham, perpetrated by the Democrats who were lying all along about the allegations and accusations that instigated the trial. On top of this, the final lines in the second paragraph brings up the idea that the impeachment was instigated to influence the next election, suggesting that the Democrats will try everything to win the election even at the cost of the American people.

"In what has now become a consistent tradition for Democrats, this was yet another witchhunt that deprived the President of his due process rights and was based on a series of lies," the White House said. "Rep. Adam Schiff <u>lied to Congress and the American people</u> with a totally made up statement about the President's phone call. Will there be no retribution?"

The White House continued: "Speaker Nancy Pelosi also lied to the American people about the need to swiftly pass impeachment articles they dreamt up, only to sit on them for a month before sending over to the Senate. In the Senate, the Democrats continued to make their political motivations clear – Rep. Schiff proclaimed the issues 'cannot be decided at the ballot box' – proving once again they think they know better than the voters of this country. This entire effort by the Democrats was aimed at overturning the results of the 2016 election and interfering with the 2020 election."

The theme of the Democrats being driven by personal malice instead of political concerns is a general theme throughout the article. However, there are two paragraphs that present the theme directly. First, with a statement from Republican Senator Lindsey Graham remarking that the Democrats are fuelled by "*unlimited hatred*" for the President, presenting the Democrats as a party that cannot be trusted to serve America as much as their own personal feelings. Second, is a paragraph that solidifies the idea of the trial being a sham and the Democrats being fuelled by personal interests, by mentioning that many in the Democratic circle have been calling for an impeachment for a long time. On top of this, the Democrats are not only fuelled by hatred, but also an obsession with harassing Trump, an obsession that is so out of control that they are no longer working on bettering America.

statement. "Unfortunately, I doubt my Democratic colleagues, who are being driven by unlimited hatred of President Trump, have the ability to move on. The president was

Pelosi formally <u>announced</u> the beginning of impeachment proceedings last September, although <u>freshmen</u> and <u>high-ranking</u> Democrats, <u>commentators</u>, and even the <u>Ukraine</u> <u>whistleblower's attorney</u> had urgently called for the president's removal for far longer.

"This should finally slam the door on the sick obsession these socialist Democrats have with harassing President Trump and his family," Emmer said. "Nancy Pelosi needs to learn some self-control by suppressing her hatred of President Trump so she can finally start getting things done for the American people."

The final theme associated with the Democrats is their unwillingness, or potential unwillingness, to accept the judgement that has been passed in the trial. This frame the Democrats as a party that is not fuelled by the interests of America but instead their own vindictive feelings toward Trump and their

desire to win over him and the Republican party. At the same time, this frames the Democrats as a party that does not believe in the American system, instead believing themselves to be smarter or more correct than everyone else. Additionally, the Democrats are not only presented as unwilling to accept the judgement but also shown as still unwilling to accept the Trump presidency in general. This is done through the mention of them challenging the validity of the next election and the excuse of only losing the previous election because of Trump's collusion with Russia.

"This partisan impeachment will end today," McConnell said. "But, I fear the threat to our institutions may not. Normally, when a party loses an election, it accepts defeat. ... But not this time."

make their political motivations clear – Rep. Schiff proclaimed the issues 'cannot be decided at the ballot box' – proving once again they think they know better than the voters of this country. This entire effort by the Democrats was aimed at overturning the results Instead, McConnell went on, top Democrats – including Hillary Clinton and Rep. Adam Schiff, D-Calif. – have already preemptively challenged the validity of the 2020 presidential election, and blamed their loss on unsubstantiated claims that the president's campaign colluded with Russians.

The second pervasive theme in the article focuses our attention on the Republicans. They are presented as being on the side of America and justice. This theme is presented through the quotes used throughout the article. Throughout the article, all the major quotes used are from Republican Senators such as Lindsey Graham and Mitch McConnell. These quotes are used to present the Democrats as an organisation out for revenge that is not interested in protecting the values of America or the values of democracy in general, but instead threaten to dismantle any institutions that do not perform as they want it to. This presents the Republicans as the only source of proper governance in America and as the only party still concerned with upholding and following the law.

"This partisan impeachment will end today," McConnell said. "But, I fear the threat to our institutions may not. Normally, when a party loses an election, it accepts defeat. ... But not this time."

Ahead of the vote, Republican and Democratic leaders referenced those tensions as they addressed the Senate. McConnell warned of "truly dangerous" Democratic partisans, saying they insist on taking down institutions that do not produce the outcomes they desire.

Along with this, the mention of a Gallup poll that shows record-high approval ratings for the Republican party, helps solidify this image of them working for the American people and their best interests. Work which is reciprocated by an increase in approval rating.

A <u>Gallup poll released this week</u> showed record-high approval numbers for Trump and the Republican Party in general, suggesting the impeachment proceedings may have backfired politically for Democrats. The Republican Party's approval numbers were at their highest since 2005, and Trump's were the highest of his presidency.

Something interesting within the Republican themes is how Republican Senator Mitt Romney is presented. Romney voted to convict Trump on one of the charges which led to much response from all sides. In the article, Romney's decision is mostly presented as an act of jealousy and not a decision made from the evidence. This presents him as separate from the Republican party and makes his frame reflect the Democratic party's frame of hatred and self-serving, invalidating his decision by portraying him as simply another politician joining the wave of hatred towards President Trump.

Later in the evening, Trump wrote, "Had failed presidential candidate <u>@MittRomney</u> devoted the same energy and anger to defeating a faltering Barack Obama as he sanctimoniously does to me, he could have won the election. Read the Transcripts!"

"Was this jealousy? " Lott asked, concerning Romney's vote. "He tried to lead the party. Now he can't even be a part of the party."

Moreover, the article uses a Democrat statement to support his decision and speech which directly connects Romney with the Democratic party and makes him reflect their frame even further.

Sen. Chris Murphy , D-Conn., told Fox News that "Romney's speech will go down as one of the most important in the Senate. There's still honor in this place."

The third theme of the article is focused on the trial itself. The pervasive narrative in this theme is how this trial is unjustified and partisan driven by the Democrats. It does this by establishing the judgement as an overwhelming vote while ensuring that it is the Democrat's claims that were overwhelmingly voted against. At the same time, the article includes quotes from Republican Senators and White House officials who question the validity of the trial, the evidence and the claims, which frames the whole affair as a sham conducted by the Democrats, a sham that the Republicans can see through and ensure justice prevails.

The <u>Senate</u> overwhelmingly acquitted <u>President Trump</u> on both articles of impeachment against him Wednesday afternoon following a brief trial, in a historic rejection of Democrats' claims that the president's Ukraine dealings and handling of congressional subpoenas merited his immediate removal from office. McConnell also said he was "perplexed" by Democrats' arguments that the evidence against Trump was overwhelming and obvious, but at the same time, more witnesses and evidence were desperately needed.

The White House asserted that the "sham impeachment attempt concocted by Democrats ended in the full vindication and exoneration of President Donald J. Trump," and slammed Romney as "one failed Republican presidential candidate."

The final theme of the article presents itself in the final two paragraphs of the article. This theme is a pervasive theme in most of the articles from Fox News and revolves around shifting the focus onto the question of the role of the Biden family in Ukraine. Interestingly, this frame is always presented in the end of the articles which makes it salient in the reader's mind as it is the final words that are read. Where the entire article invalidates the trial, and sets up the Democrats as a vindictive organisation out for petty revenge, this final theme shifts the real problem over to the perceived wrong doings of the Biden family in this affair. Doing so shifts the focus of the problem from Trump's misconduct to Biden's misconduct, effectively legitimizing the behaviour that the Democrats presented as reason to impeach Trump. This also shifts the focus away from a Republican (Trump) to a Democrat (Biden).

Minutes after the vote, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley, R-Iowa, and Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee Chairman Ron Johnson, R-Wis., <u>announced in a letter</u> they are seeking "records of Hunter Biden's travel while he was under U.S. Secret Service protection as they continue to investigate potential conflicts of interest to boost his business ventures in Ukraine and China."

The request underscored the continuing importance of a matter at the heart of the impeachment proceedings -- whether Hunter Biden, who <u>obtained a lucrative role</u> on the board of a Ukrainian company with <u>no relevant experience</u> while his father oversaw Ukraine policy as vice president, deserved the scrutiny Trump suggested in his <u>fateful July</u> <u>25 call</u> with Ukraine's new president.

# 6.1.2.7. Fox News 06 February 2020

# Trump condemns 'evil' impeachment after Senate acquittal: 'It was a disgrace' (Singman 2020)

The article revolves around President Trump's response from the White House to the acquittal judgement in his impeachment trial. Throughout the article there are three pervasive themes; 1)

Trump did nothing wrong, 2) Republicans ensured justice, and 3) Pelosi does not accept the judgement.

The first theme of the article is centred around Trump and the acquittal judgement. Following themes from earlier articles, the trial is presented as "*evil*" and instigated by corrupt members of government who only are only after hurting Trump and not because of any real concerns with his conduct. At the same time, it also calls into question other investigations into misconduct from Trump, in this case highlighting an earlier investigation on collusion with the Russians.

President Trump, commanding a triumphant scene at the White House complete with the playing of "Hail to the Chief," railed against what he called an "evil" impeachment process on Thursday hours after his historic <u>acquittal</u> in the Senate.

"It was evil. It was corrupt. It was dirty cops. It was leakers and liars. This should never, ever happen to another president, ever," Trump said. "It was a disgrace."

He detailed the timeline of investigations, remarking of the Russia probe: "It was all bulls---."

Within the first theme, Trump is also presented as a family man and not just a President. A family man whose family has been dragged through hell and back because of the constant outcries of misconduct Trump is facing. This presents him and his family as victims of constant harassment from Democrats trying to oust him without evidence. Additionally, the article ends with Trump pronouncing that America is now respected and thriving again, portraying the trial and everyone involved in it as being accomplices to destroying America and its reputation.

"I want to apologize to my family for having to go through this phony, rotten deal," he said, calling Ivanka to the podium and giving her a hug, and welcoming Melania Trump to the stage for a kiss.

"I just want to thank my family for sticking through it," he said. "This was not part of the deal, if I was going to run for president.. I didn't know I was going to have to run again and again and again every single week, but they stuck with me."

Holding Melania's hand, the president added: "Our country is thriving. Our country is respected again, and it's an honor to be with the people in this room, it's an honor."

The second theme is found in the article through the large segment where Trump is thanking Republicans for their handling of the impeachment trial while handing out compliments. This segment portrays the Republicans, and especially Mitch McConnell, as the purveyors of justice in this trial and the receivers of some weird compliments. Compliments ranging from having an incredible voice to looking better after being shot.

After a while, Thursday's more than hour-long address shifted into a rhetorical highfiving and back-slapping phase as Trump went around the room and began thanking Republican lawmakers.

Trump lauded Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., for his handling of the entire process.

During another moment, the president joked with Sen. Chuck Grassley, R-Iowa, touting his "incredible" voice, saying he has one "that scares people."

Trump then shifted to thank House Minority Whip Steve Scalise, R-La., who he said has become even more "handsome" since he was shot at a congressional baseball practice in 2017.

The third pervasive theme found in the article revolves around the feud happening between Trump and House Speaker Pelosi. The article sets the two up to be trading blows with Pelosi, a member of the Democratic party and Speaker of the House, who initiated the impeachment not accepting the judgement reached in the trial. Additionally, Pelosi is presented as fuelled by hatred in such quantities that she tore up the State of the Union speech from President Trump in public and in view of cameras, signalling that she does not respect the judgement nor the system of the impeachment trial.

The president's address Thursday comes after he literally waved his acquittal in Pelosi's face. The president, at the National Prayer Breakfast just hours before his address, held up newspapers with "Acquitted" headlines mere feet from Pelosi.

The two have been sparring all week—notably Tuesday at his third State of the Union. Following his address, the speaker tore up the pages of his speech in full view of the cameras, shocking lawmakers.

Furthermore, it is called into question the real reason for the trial. This is done through Pelosi's comments on Trump being impeached forever. As it is framed that Trump did nothing wrong and he is fully acquitted of all charges and Democrats not accepting this, it presents them as having a personal stake in the impeachment trial that extends further than just wanting to protect the nation. With this comment and the subsequent rebuttal from Trump, the man presented as committed to America and innocent of all the crimes, it presents the Democrats as only wanting to hurt Trump and not protect America.

Following the breakfast Thursday, Pelosi fired back at Trump for his comments and his proud display of his acquittal.

"You're impeached forever, you are never getting rid of that scar," Pelosi declared at a press conference Thursday, even amid Trump's victory lap.

But during Thursday's speech, Trump said people like Pelosi, and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., "want to destroy our country."

# 6.1.3. Comparative Analysis of Themes

In this section, we will be comparing the frames from CNN and Fox News in order to outline how they differ, giving us a clear distinction between the two while also piecing together the full frames of the two outlets.

Sorting through the themes from CNN and Fox News there are some clear frames that pervade the coverage from them, starting with what the reason for the impeachment is and to what degree the allegations made towards Trump are correct. In the CNN coverage, there is not made any attempt at questioning the allegations made towards Trump, on the contrary, starting from the whistleblower complaint all allegations are presented as factual and as criminal or wrong in nature. This is in sharp contrast to the way Fox News presents the allegations made against Trump. In Fox News's coverage, the allegations are all presented as either a falsehood proclaimed by liars and spies trying to take down Trump, as purely hearsay with no evidence backing them or as having a reasonable explanation behind the actions made by Trump and the White House. An example of this divide is with the allegation of wrong-doing stemming from the use of a highly-classified server to store the transcript. Where CNN portrays this and the entire procedure happening around it as highly unusual for the White House to do, Fox News instantly dismisses the allegation as wrong as the White House has been doing that since 2017.

Following this, CNN presents the impeachment as being a pursuit of justice, instigated by the Democrats who are trying to ensure that a corrupt President, whose actions put America at risk and who does not look out for America's interests, is properly put to justice. In doing so, they present the Republicans as blind followers and protectors who are not concerned with protecting America but simply want to ensure that their President is not impeached and will do anything to stop it from happening. This includes blocking witnesses and evidence that could prove wrong-doing while dismissing all testimonies and attempts to prove wrong-doing as hearsay and lies. This again is a

sharp contrast to how Fox News presents the reason for the impeachment. Here, the impeachment is being forced through the House and Senate in another attempt from the Democrats to take down Trump as they have been trying to do since he took office. The entire trial is one big sham with no evidence of wrong-doing that is fuelled by the Democrats' hatred for Trump, with Republicans being the last bastion against the Democrats' forceful and biased attempt to bring in emotion based testimonies to the trial. Furthermore, the trial is also an attempt by the Democrats to influence the upcoming election, by once again trying to present Trump's action as wrong and smear his reputation by any means necessary.

When looking at how the whistleblower is portrayed, there is also a clear difference from CNN and Fox News. In CNN's articles, the whistleblower is only really mentioned in the beginning of the timeline. However, when they are mentioned, they are only mentioned in relation to the allegations which CNN portray as true happenings and wrong or criminal in nature. As such, the whistleblower is portrayed as unimportant in the grand scheme of the trial as this person only functioned to bring these actions into light. This is in sharp contrast to how Fox News presents the whistleblower. With Fox News' focus on debunking the allegations made by the whistleblower, they also call into question the whistleblowers legitimacy. They do this by repeatedly mentioning the whistleblower throughout their articles in a negative light speculating for example that Lt. Col. Vindman could be the whistleblower, the idea that the whistleblower is being protected by the Democrats because they are part of the vindictive crusade against Trump or using President Trump's words to portray the whistleblower as a spy and a traitor.

On the subject of Democrats and Republicans, it is interesting how the two news outlets present the two. In CNN's coverage, the Democrats are presented as fighting tooth and nail in order to have a proper trial that will be able to bring a corrupt President out of office. They are the only ones still trying to uphold and preserve the interests and values that America has but they are fighting a losing battle. They are losing because the Republicans are under Trump's thumb and they are blindly following and protecting his every move. The Republicans are not interested in a fair trial nor are they interested in possible wrong-doings by Trump, they are simply interested in their party's President not being removed from office and will ensure that not happening by every means necessary. Meanwhile, in Fox News' coverage the Republicans are presented as being the only ones in this trial still having America's interests at heart and being the last bastion upholding American

values. They are here to make sure only proper evidence is considered and the only ones still thinking about the country outside of the impeachment. All the while, the Democrats are presented as a jealous mob that has been after Trump since he took office, that have no interest in the actuality of his actions but are instead only here to serve their own misguided revenge and will do so with all means necessary.

The major divide in how the two political parties are framed is also present in the way that the two outlets handle Nancy Pelosi and Mitt Romney.

Starting with Pelosi, both outlets associate her with the Democrats, which makes sense as she is part of the Democratic party, however, in that association also comes frame for her actions. CNN portrays Pelosi as a woman seeking justice in the face of the major obstacle that is the Republican party, as such, presenting her as a vital part in the fight to protect America, very much reflecting the frames of the Democratic party portrayed by CNN. When presenting her decision to stall the impeachment articles, it is shown as her wanting to ensure that the trial will be held on fair terms from the Republicans. However, important as well is that CNN does make it a point to present her action of ripping the President's State of the Union speech as a wrong action that should not become commonplace, they also ensure that the Republican party and Trump are presented as a single organisation that is putting America aside for their own personal gain, suggesting that Pelosi's ripping up the speech represents her frustration for America's safety and not a concern for her own feelings. Fox News also presents Pelosi with the same frame as the Democratic party, in this case, portraying her as a vindictive woman who simply hates Trump and is only interested in furthering her own revenge on him and not concerned with America nor the truth. Their portrayal of her withholding of the impeachment articles is also directly contrasting CNN, showing this as her having second thoughts on bringing the impeachment to the Senate as she knew that there was no case against Trump, thereby using her to show that even the Democrats knew this but still went through with the impeachment. Furthering the frame of Pelosi only being interested in her revenge, the tearing of the speech is presented as her being angry that her sham trial did not work and suggesting that Pelosi and, by extension, the Democrats are no longer concerned with upholding the laws and values of America. Looking at Mitt Romney's presentation in the articles, the divide between the two outlets is again present. CNN portrays Romney's tough decision to vote against Trump as him being the only Republican in the Senate that is still thinking for himself and still having America's interests before his own. They also use his vote to debunk the notion that this trial is purely partisan, giving further

backing to the frame of the trial being legitimate and the Republicans being under heavy influence from Trump. Meanwhile, Fox News presents Romney's decision as him simply being jealous that he was not elected President and Trump was. The decision is dismissed immediately and put into the same frame as the Democrats, portraying him as part of the vindictive scheme to smear Trump's reputation.

Where the previous frames have been completely different from the two outlets, the portrayal of Lt. Col. Vindman on 19 November 2019 is similar in many aspects. Both outlets portray the witness as being credible, they ensure that Vindman's military history and service for his country is mentioned while establishing him as a non-political party in this trial, making him a witness unbound by the obvious political struggles that this trial has presented. Both also establish the tension that is between Vindman, and the White House and Republicans, suggesting that these are clashing with a credible witness casting a damning shadow over the two. However, CNN uses these themes to establish the credibility of the charges put against Trump and to further establish that the White House and Trump's actions were definitely not within acceptable parameters. While Fox News does portray the testimonies from Vindman and Vice President Pence's aide Jennifer Williams as non-dismissible as they were actually listening in on the call, they also spend much room questioning the whistleblower, the trial and the Democrats, suggesting that even with credible witnesses that listened in on the call and are worried about the contents of it, Fox News still frame the charges as false and the trial as a sham.

An interesting find within the portrayal of Vindman is the mentions of the attacks on his character from President Trump and the tension between Vindman and the Republicans. As mentioned, both CNN and Fox News portray Vindman as an honourable and patriotic man with no political motive for testifying. However, where this is to be expected from CNN as their frame of the White House and the Republicans are generally negative, Fox News also frames these two negatively, if only for a brief moment. Having spent much of their article on 19 November 2019 highlighting Vindman as a witness demanding respect, they portray Trump and the Republicans as attacking and colliding with a credible witness, with Trump calling him a "*never Trumper*" and tensions between Vindman and the Republicans. Meanwhile, the Democrats, specifically Adam Schiff, are presented as defending Vindman from these attacks, marking the only moment that Fox News presents the Republicans in a negative light.

Where Vindman had similarities in his portrayal throughout the articles, the mentioning of Joe Biden's involvement in this case is done very differently. We are going to be starting with Fox News in this instance as the mentioning of Biden and his family affairs in Ukraine is a very pervasive theme that persists throughout the entire impeachment. In Fox News' articles, they make it a point to mention Biden and his son's involvement in a case of suspected foul play regarding some deals in Ukraine. Fox News always does this in the final paragraphs of their articles where they have framed Trump's actions as reasonable as Trump was trying to get to the bottom of Biden's foul play, thereby, they present Biden as the real criminal deserving of investigation in this entire case. However, where Fox News mentions Biden's actions as facts that have been investigated and found to be true and criminal, CNN mentions Trump claiming corruption from Biden and always follows that up by stating that no evidence of wrong-doing has been found or that Trump claims it with no evidence to back that claim.

CNN's overall frame shows the following; President Trump did something wrong or criminal that is worthy of impeachment and this is the sole reason for the impeachment process happening. The Democrats are fighting for evidence and a proper trial because the Republicans are no longer thinking of the country but themselves and will do everything to protect Trump.

Fox News' overall frame shows the following; the impeachment trial is only instigated because the Democrats are on a vindictive crusade to smear President Trump's reputation and remove him office, a crusade they have been on since Trump took office. Everyone pushing this impeachment forward are all liars, traitors and part of a conspiracy, which is why the whistleblower is being completely ignored after the complaint was filed and the Democrats are so eager to push the impeachment to the Senate, even though it is completely partisan.

# 6.2. Thematic Analysis of Political Frames

In this section, we will conduct a thematic analysis in order to find the frames created by the Democratic and Republican politicians. As mentioned in section 4.2, we have chosen the politicians based on their involvement in the impeachment process and trial and we will only be using their political Twitter account not their personal Twitter account.

The analysis will be separated into three parts. First, we will analyse tweets made by Democratic politicians. Thereafter, we will do the same looking at tweets made by Republican politicians. Lastly, we will conduct a comparative analysis and discussion of the themes found.

### 6.2.1. Thematic Analysis of Tweets Made by Democratic Politicians

When looking at the themes throughout the tweets made by the Democratic politicians, it is evident that the impeachment of President Trump is a major theme for some politicians but other themes are also present, however, it seems that the general message is the same - that the Democrats only want the best for the nation and the American people whereas Trump puts his own personal and political interests above the nations and is a threat to the national security. When looking at the tweets about impeachment, there are several different themes that can be found. It is also interesting to note that during the dates we chose to collect tweets from, the only thing Adam Schiff Tweeted about was the impeachment, whereas other politicians equally involved in the impeachment process, were still focused on other matters.

First and foremost, it is evident that the whistleblower and Lt. Col. Vindman are true patriots for exposing the truth. The fact that Republicans are going after people who honour their oath to defend the Constitution, and thereby their country, is an obstruction of justice. Associating the whistleblower and Lt. Col. Vindman with the word 'patriots' frames them as trustworthy and as people having the country's interest at heart. However, everyone who is fighting the whistleblower and Lt. Col. Vindman's patriotism are framed as the opposite of patriots.



**Chuck Schumer** <a>Omega</a> @SenSchumer · Nov 19, 2019 LTC Alexander Vindman and whistleblowers like him are patriots.

They are standing up for the Constitution they swore an oath to defend.

They must be protected from reprisals.



Nancy Pelosi 🥑 @SpeakerPelosi · Nov 13, 2019

Patriotism means putting country ahead of politics and personal ambition, and speaking out when you see something wrong. The witnesses coming forward to testify today have shown that patriotism again and again.

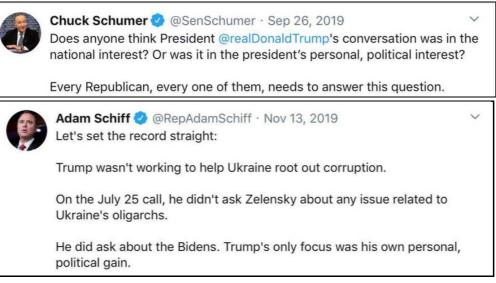


Moreover, Schiff compares President Trump's phone call with President Zelensky with a 'classic mob shakedown', framing Trump and his actions as illegal, unethical and as someone who will do everything to get his way.

<b>.</b>	Adam Schiff 🤣 @RepAdamSchiff · Sep 25, 2019 The transcript of the call reads like a classic mob shakedown:
	<ul> <li>We do a lot for Ukraine</li> <li>There's not much reciprocity</li> <li>I have a favor to ask</li> <li>Investigate my opponent</li> <li>My people will be in touch</li> </ul>
	Nice country you got there.
	It would be a shame if something happened to her.

This sort of harsh rhetoric towards Trump and the Republican party is a common theme found throughout the tweets, many of which become a blame game, that the Democrats are trying to help the country whereas Trump and the Republican are looking out for themselves and their own political interests. The frames they give Trump and the Republicans, makes this battle between the parties very black and white.





Additionally, the Democrats are very vocal about how the Trump administration is trying to hide the truth from the public, whereas the Democrats believe that the American people have a right to transparency. Again, this becomes a very black and white issue where Republicans are framed as liars who are only interested in their own political interest whereas the Democrats stand with the people, they demand transparency and a fair trial that honours the Constitution and that it is the facts that are in focus. Looking over the many tweets about this particular theme, it is evident that the Democrats are framed as a party that stands with the people, that honours the Constitution and believes in true patriotism.



## Senator Joe Manchin 🤣 @Sen\_JoeManchin · Feb 5

Voting whether or not to remove a sitting President has been a truly difficult decision, and after listening to the arguments presented by both sides, I have reached my conclusion reluctantly. My full statement:



### Adam Schiff 🤣 @RepAdamSchiff · Dec 18, 2019

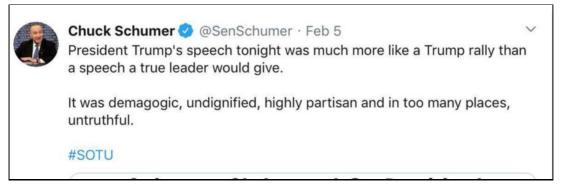
President Trump abused his power to cheat in the next election, then obstructed Congress to cover it up.

The only question is: Will Members honor their oath to uphold the Constitution?

History will remember the vote we take today. #DefendOurDemocracy



As the centre of attention in the impeachment, there is naturally a focus on President Trump, however, what is being said about Trump will somewhat reflect back on the Republican party. He is framed as a tyrant that is just trying to undermine everyone that has come in his way.



Throughout the tweets, there is a large focus on Trump being selfish and only interested in his own personal interest and political gain regardless of whether it may hurt parts of the society or other people around him. It is believed that Trump is dishonest and has betrayed his oath of office, he has engaged in behaviour that undermines the integrity of election and that he cannot be trusted as he has bribed a foreign power and thereby compromised the democracy and right to a fair election.



(((Rep. Nadler))) 🤣 @RepJerryNadler · Dec 18, 2019

These two articles charge that President Trump placed his private, political interests above our national security, above our elections, and above our system of checks and balances.



Chuck Schumer 📀 @SenSchumer · Feb 5

Once President Trump realized he got caught, he tried to cover it up.



**Chuck Schumer** (Sep 26, 2019) Does anyone think President @realDonaldTrump's conversation was in the national interest? Or was it in the president's personal, political interest?

Every Republican, every one of them, needs to answer this question.

Additionally, the Democrats maintain the claim that Republicans will follow Trump blindly and close their eyes to his illegal actions as if he is above the law.



Chuck Schumer 🤣 @SenSchumer · Feb 5

Together, the defenses advanced by President Trump's lawyers are as dangerous to the republic as they are preposterous.

Unable to defend the president, arguments were found to try to make him a king.

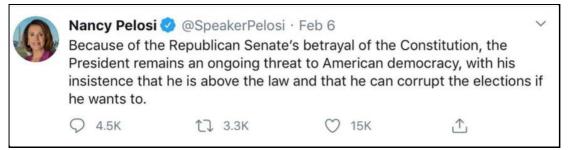


Adam Schiff 🤣 @RepAdamSchiff · Nov 19, 2019

My Republican colleagues suggest that since Trump's Ukraine scheme failed, since someone blew the whistle and the aid was ultimately released, that it doesn't really matter if he tried to bribe a foreign power with military aid.

The Constitution says otherwise.

Following this, Trump is framed as a threat to national security. They do this by continuously referring to the Constitution and remind the public that he has not upheld his oath to the Constitution, which is the foundation for Americans' beloved democracy.



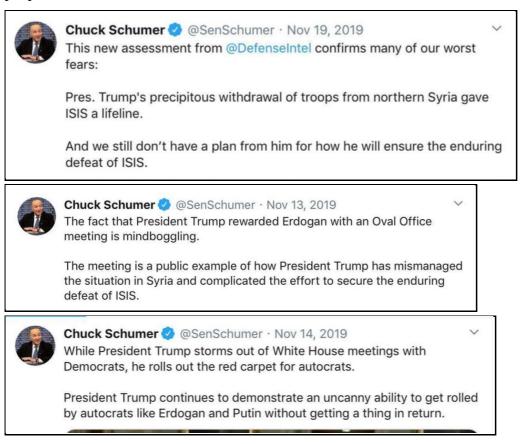


Chuck Schumer 🤣 @SenSchumer · Feb 5 Madison and Washington were right.

There's no greater subversion of our democracy than for powers outside our borders to determine elections within

For an American president to deliberately solicit such a thing—blackmail a foreign country to help win an election—is unforgivable

Moreover, in many of the tweets made, they refer to Trump as being more interested in collaborating and maintaining good relationships with autocrats such as Putin and Erdogan, that will never do anything for Trump or the US in return, while making bad decisions that will harm the American people.

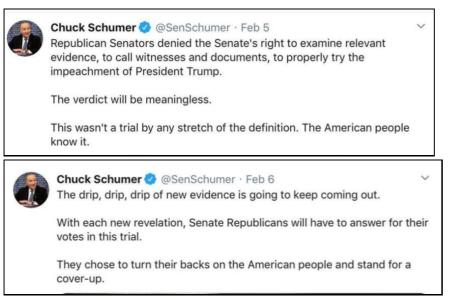


From the tweets, it is evident that the Democrats believe they have a solid case, that President Trump has engaged in illegal actions for his own political gain. While expressing their concerns about this they frame themselves as patriotic and "justice warriors" for the people, demanding transparency and a fair trial based on evidence and witness testimonies.

	Nancy Pelosi ② @SpeakerPelosi · Feb 5 The manifesto of mistruths presented in page after page of the address tonight should be a call to action for everyone who expects truth from the President and policies worthy of his office and the American people. #SOTU				
	Nancy Pelosi ② @SpeakerPelosi · Feb 6 President Trump was impeached with the support of a majority of the American people – a first in our nation's history. And now he is the first President in history to face a bipartisan vote to convict him in the Senate.				
	Q 2.9K	€] 1.4K	♡ 7.1K	Ť	
	Chuck Schumer @ @SenSchumer · Jan 16 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
Chuck Schumer ② @SenSchumer · Sep 26, 2019 ~ The public has a right to read the whistleblower's complaint for themselves. The contents of the complaint should be made public immediately.					~
	Q 393	1.2K	♡ 6.2K	♪	
	Chaur this throad				

Following how the Democrats frame themselves as justice warriors, there is a large focus in many of their tweets on getting the truth out and presenting the facts. The Republicans are being framed as crooks trying to cover up important evidence, spurring the Democrats to continuing the investigation of Trump even after his acquittal in order to get to the truth.





However, regardless of the circumstances, the Democrats frame themselves as "the bigger person" always having the nation's interest at heart, meaning that they are willing to extend their hand and work together to do what is best for the county and its people.



Despite the wrong-doings from the Republican party, the Democrats did applaud Mitt Romney who, as the only Republican, saw the truth and stood up to President Trump. In their tweets, they frame Romney in the same way they frame the Democrats by associating him with things that are very important to, and beloved by, the American people. They do this by mentioning that Romney put the nation's interest above his political interest, that he did this to vindicate the Founders' faith in self-governance and that he stands up to an immoral President.

	Nancy Pelosi ② @SpeakerPelosi · Dec 18, 2019 All of the witnesses from Trump's own Administration told the same s The President put himself above the law, abused the power of his offi for personal gain, and is trying to corrupt our elections.	
	We have a duty to the Constitution. #DefendOurDemocracy	
	Adam Schiff 🤣 @RepAdamSchiff · Feb 6 ~ The House proved overwhelmingly that the President abused his power.	
	Now the verdict is in:	
	One Republican Senator had the courage to do impartial justice.	
	To put country over party.	
	And vindicate the Founders' faith in self-governance.	
	And show us,	
	Right still matters.	
<b>P</b>	Adam Schiff 🥝 @RepAdamSchiff · Feb 5 Having proven Trump guilty, I asked if there was just one Republican Senator who would say "enough"	
<b>9</b>	Having proven Trump guilty, I asked if there was just one Republican	
۶	Having proven Trump guilty, I asked if there was just one Republican Senator who would say "enough"	
۲	Having proven Trump guilty, I asked if there was just one Republican Senator who would say "enough" Who would stand up against this dangerously immoral president	
•	Having proven Trump guilty, I asked if there was just one Republican Senator who would say "enough" Who would stand up against this dangerously immoral president Who would display moral courage	
	Having proven Trump guilty, I asked if there was just one Republican Senator who would say "enough" Who would stand up against this dangerously immoral president Who would display moral courage Who would do impartial justice as their oath required and convict	

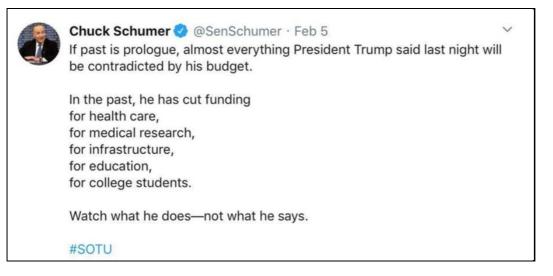
To summarise, when looking through the different impeachment themes, it is evident that the Democrats are framed as justice warriors who stand with, and fight for, the people, and everyone who will help them in their quest to expose Trump and the Republicans are patriots who are honouring their oath to the Constitution. They will do everything in their power to demand transparency and a fair trial based on evidence, just as the Founder's sought out when they created the democracy we know today. There is a lot of evidence that President Trump has engaged in illegal actions for his own personal and political interest as he believes that he is above the law, however, because the Republicans follow him blindly, they have chosen to close their eyes to Trump's illegal behaviour. Moreover, important evidence for the trial is being covered up in order to try and keep President Trump in power despite him being a threat to national security. However, one Republican, Mitt

Romney, dared to stand up to Trump as he believed the nation's interest and well-being should be put above any political party.

The rhetoric used by the Democrats are very black and white. On one hand, you have the patriotic Democrats fighting for the better of the nation and, on the other hand, you have a President and his political party who do not care about anything other than themselves, that are a major threat to the well-being of the American public and a national security threat, who do not care about American values and the Constitution. To get this message through, all tweets are written very specifically about the happenings, blaming either Trump or the Republicans while accusing them of being dishonest. These accusations are written as statements in the tweets made by the Democrats as it is already, before the trial, ascertained that Trump is guilty.

When looking at some of the other themes found throughout the tweets, we can see that similar rhetoric is used and that the underlying messages found in the tweets regarding the impeachment are almost the same.

All the themes are about making a difference for the American people or the country in one way or another. Many of the different tweets were about fighting for the right of the American people and that they support all people of colour, all nationalities and ethnicities, equality for women, LGBT rights, children and youth homelessness and education, help nations affected by natural disasters and government brutality, etc., which they frame Trump and the Republican party as not doing.



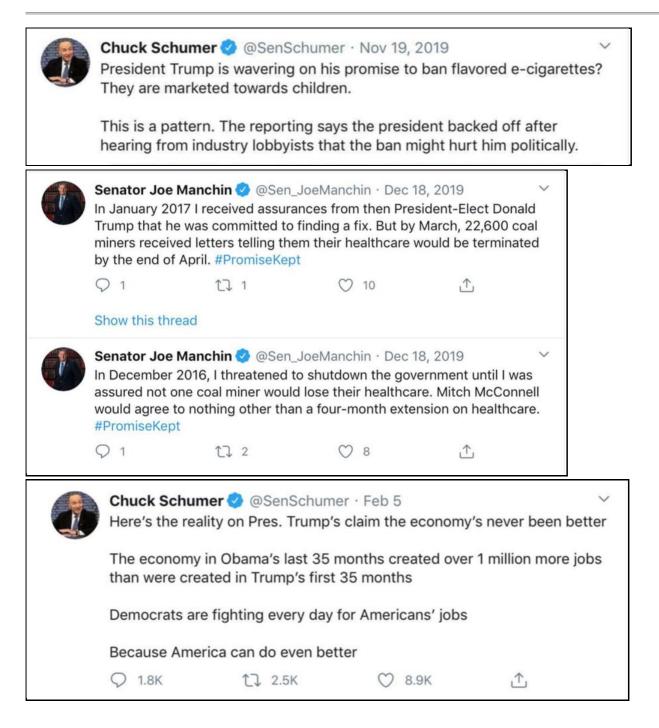
Additionally, there was a big focus on workers' rights and their right to a union. This was a common theme among many of the Democrats which led to many happily sharing that they have successfully

passed the UCMSA that supposedly should improve workers' rights and well-being. However, one Democrat actually voted against the UCMSA due to its lack of environmental focus.

Chuck Schumer ② @SenSchumer · Sep 25, 2019 · 
 I've been part of a union family from the day I was born. And I am standing here to fight for labor.
 Anyone who thinks that @realDonaldTrump might be a friend to the working people:
 Look who he nominated to be Labor Secretary.
 Eugene Scalia has spent his life fighting unions.

Moreover, in order to better improve the well-being of the nation, the Democrats had a great focus on Medicaid, healthcare, troops and veterans affected by agent orange, women's right to reproductive healthcare and abortion, and smaller prices on prescription drugs especially for people living with pre-existing conditions. However, also here Trump is framed as selfish, as it is mentioned in several tweets that he ignores congress raiding funds, taking money from unions that should help the many workers in the US, to fund his Mexico wall despite the fact that 11 Republicans agree that this is not good. Adding to this, it is presented that Trump will not ban flavoured e-cigarettes being marketed to children as promised because it might hurt him politically. Trump will remove Medicaid and Healthcare. He will not lower the prices on drugs to make them more affordable to the public. He will take away funds for people living with pre-existing conditions whose lives can be ruined by it. He will take away funds that will compromise workers' rights and well-being and their right to unions. He illegally withheld urgent disaster assistance from people affected by earthquakes in Puerto Rico. Everything that the Democrats are working for in order to help the people is being stopped by the President, and more concerning, is being stopped in the Senate by Senate Leader Mitch McConnell as he refused to pass any of the Democrat's bills. All whilst doing this, Trump is trying to credit himself for the growing economy and the many jobs that are being created despite this was due to Obama's work when he was President.







All these accusations made by the Democrats throughout the many tweets is, as mentioned, framing Trump and the Republican party as working against the people and disrupting the good work by the Democrats, framing themselves as standing and fighting for the people. They are saying that Trump is a liar and that he cannot be trusted, as he promises that he will help e.g. people with pre-existing conditions, however, his actions show something different.

<b>.</b>		RepAdamSchiff · Fe vill protect those with v their coverage.		$^{\checkmark}$ ditions, while		
	He says he is taking on the drug companies, but does nothing to lower Rx costs.					
	There is a word for those who say one thing and do another. Today, that word is President.					
	Q 7.3K	1, 25.3K	♥ 96.7К	<u>↑</u>		

It is evident that the themes found, and the frames they create, draw parallels with the themes and frames found in the tweets regarding the impeachment. The Democrats create this very distinct black and white picture where Trump and the Republicans become the "bad guys" whereas the Democrats are framed as the "good guys". They neglect that there might be an 'in between' and that the two

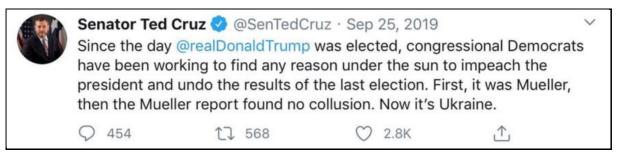
parties might agree on some subjects trying to work for the same course. Rather they paint a picture of a political battlefield.

# 6.2.2. Thematic Analysis of Tweets Made by Republican Politicians

As with the Democratic tweets, it is evident that the impeachment for some of the Republican politicians is a large focus throughout their tweets. However, for the Republicans that were mentioned as swing voters and Mitt Romney, the impeachment was not really mentioned, they chose to focus on other matters. However, every Republican politician, apart from Mitt Romney, seemed to have the same overall message, that the Republicans are trying to help the people and that the Democrats are stopping them from doing so because they are angry and jealous. A similar picture that the Democrats have tried to paint but the other way around.

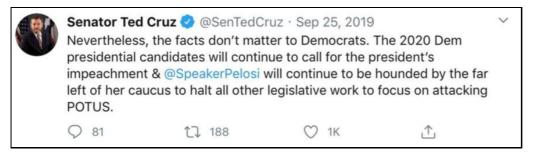
When looking at the tweets mentioning the impeachment, several different themes can be found, especially among tweets made by President Trump, however, other themes are also present.

One of the most prominent themes among the impeachment themes, is the tweets about the impeachment being a hoax made by the Democrats. The Democrats pulled this sham because they are unhappy with the results of the last election. Additionally, not only is the impeachment a sham but they have tried their hardest since President Trump was elected to find a reason to impeach him, however, they are doing this without any evidence.





Moreover, despite the Democrats having no real evidence, and their only reason for this "witch hunt" is that they are angry, jealous and not happy with their choice of President, they will use their hoax to argue their case when reaching the 2020 elections even though President Trump has done nothing wrong.



**Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump · Feb 5 I will be making a public statement tomorrow at 12:00pm from the @WhiteHouse to discuss our Country's VICTORY on the Impeachment Hoax!

This is also followed by a great number of tweets made by President Trump claiming that not only are the Democrats out to get him but everyone else too. When presenting these claims, Trump uses a very strong rhetoric using capital letters, comparing his entire presidency to a witch hunt.



This direct rhetoric seems very boisterous and loud. This sort of strong rhetoric is a common theme throughout many of the tweets made by the President, however, it is not a common theme among the other Republican politicians.

T	Donald J. Trump 🤣 @realDonaldTrump · Nov 13, 2019 NEVER TRUMPERS!				
	♀ 21.9K	ĵ] 11.8K	♡ 63.1K	Ť	
T	Donald J. True READ THE TRA		Trump · Nov 13, 201	9	~
•	Q 38.3K	Ĉ] 22.2K	💟 109.7К	企	
T	SUCH ATROCIO	DUS LIES BY THE R THIS IS AN ASSAUL	Trump · Dec 18, 201 ADICAL LEFT, DO N T ON AMERICA, ANI	OTHING	↓ LT ON

Yet, President Trump does not believe that he has done anything wrong or that he is the least bit at fault. This, and all of the before mentioned, including the President's strong use of rhetoric, sets the frame that neither Trump nor the Republican party is at fault or has done anything wrong, it is just the Democrats that are out to get them.

13	<b>Donald J. Trump</b> <a>Omega@realDonaldTrump</a> · Jan 16 I JUST GOT IMPEACHED FOR MAKING A PERFECT PHONE CALL!				
	♥ 103.2K	↑Ţ, 55.1K	💟 340.7К	$\uparrow$	
	Can you believe tha Nothing Democrats	, AND I DID NOTHI	np · Dec 18, 2019 ed today by the Radi NG WRONG! A terrib pen to another Pres	ole Thing. Read	

Additionally, in the above tweet President Trump asks for prayer. Taking prayers is also a minor theme found throughout tweets made by the President, while religion in general can be found in some of the other politicians' tweets too.



With these statements, the Republicans also touch upon the fact that they, despite it being a hoax, will fight for a fair trial honoring and following the Constitutional standards. They will take all facts and evidence presented into account before voting.



Additionally, they expect transparency from the Democrats too which they do not believe they have seen yet. The Democrats are framed as being unfair towards President Trump as they 'played by different rules' when Clinton was impeached and is trying to cover up a scandal involving Biden using the media, yet they do not talk about that, they are just out to get Trump out of anger.

Donald J. Trump 🕗 @realDonaldTrump · Sep 25, 2019 "Mark Levin: Media trying to protect Biden, ignoring MASSIVE DEMOCRAT SCANDAL" Mark Levin: Media trying to protect Biden, ignoring 'massive Democr... Fox News host Mark Levin said on "Hannity" that the media is trying to protect 2020 presidential contender Joe Biden from scrutiny over his... @ foxnews.com Q 6.7K 1] 14K ♡ 46.4K ± Senator Ted Cruz 📀 @SenTedCruz · Jan 16 GOOD NEWS AMERICA! @SpeakerPelosi's partisan #impeachment circus is done. The farce is over. It's time for the Senate to conduct a fair #ImpeachmentTrial – one that follows precedent, respects due process, & allows @realDonaldTrump to defend himself. Donald J. Trump 🥝 @realDonaldTrump · Sep 25, 2019 ....taken out of Ukraine and China. Additionally, I demand transparency from Democrats that went to Ukraine and attempted to force the new President to do things that they wanted under the form of political threat. Q 11.9K 1 20.4K C 85.3K <u>,</u>↑,

**Leader McConnell** @ @senatemajldr · Dec 18, 2019 Before President Clinton's impeachment trial, the Senate passed a bipartisan resolution to lay the basic groundwork. It passed 100 to nothing. I think we should repeat that bipartisan process.

Why does Senator Schumer want to invent different rules for President Trump?

In general, the Republican politicians paint a picture of the Democratic party as a 'circus', as a party that will do everything they can to get President Trump off of his post without any evidence, and all of this will be at the expense of the country, the Democrats will only hurt the nation and its people.

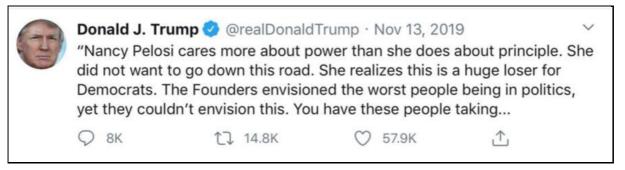
T	<b>Donald J. Trump</b> (2) @realDona Will the Democrats apologize af the Ukrainian President? They s surprise!	fter seeing what was said should, a perfect call - got	them by	
		♥ 117.5K	Ť	
	Leader McConnell 🤣 @senate The framers built the Senate to stabilize our institutions and pro passions from destroying our lo That is what we must do when t	break these kinds of partis otect our country. To stop s ng-term future. That is the	short-term	
Senator Ted Cruz O @SenTedCruz · Dec 18, 2019 House Democrats are treating #impeachment as a political weapon. If this becomes the standard, every president going forward will be impeached whenever the House is in the opposing party.				
	Sen. Lamar Alexander 🤣 @Se Just because the U.S. House wa to be.		∽ the Senate needs	
	We're approaching the impeach responsibilities—assuring the A articles from the House a full ar	merican people that we're		

However, the Republicans frame themselves as 'part of the people'. They want to make a difference for the American people.



Moreover, throughout the tweets, it is evident that both Nancy Pelosi and Adam Schiff are a major theme. It is apparent that it is Pelosi that is primarily in focus, however, the intent of these tweets is to frame Pelosi and Schiff, and thereby reflect back on the Democratic party, as corrupt, incompetent and as a disgrace to democracy and the Constitution.

Again, there is a distinct difference in the chosen rhetoric from Trump, McConnell and Cruz. President Trump's rhetoric frames Pelosi, Schiff and the Democratic party as someone who should not be in politics by associating words with them such as 'raging psychotics', 'worse than the worst people in politics', 'dangerous', etc., while also claiming they are being supported by 'the media mob', however, in many of Trump's tweets, he refers to @FoxNews and @foxandfriends, as them being on 'his side'.





However, two people that seem to have been neglected a little bit in the tweets, but who are mentioned by Fox News (see section 6.1.2.), are Mitt Romney and the whistleblower. These are only mentioned briefly by President Trump. He calls out Romney for being angry about Trump's presidency and calls out the whistleblower as being hired by Democrats in order to get Trump.



However, what the mention of the whistleblower is primarily used for is calling out the Biden's for being corrupt and demanding transparency like the Republicans have shown. Doing this, Trump sets the frame that despite the phone call he made to Ukraine that everybody is after him about, he was actually right to call out the Biden's as they are keeping secrets from the public and are not transparent at all.



When looking through the tweets containing other themes, it is evident that the overall frame and message that the Republicans want to portray is that the Democrats are the 'bad guys' whereas Trump and the Republican party is trying to help the people and make everything great again.

President Trump seems to favour trade deals made with China, and when mentioning this, he seized the opportunity to portray the Democrat, Chuck Schumer, as keeping secrets.

F	<b>Donald J. Trump</b> @ @realDonaldTrump · Jan 16 One of the greatest trade deals ever made! Also good for China and our long term relationship. 250 Billion Dollars will be coming back to our Country, and we are now in a great position for a Phase Two start. There has never been anything like this in U.S. history! USMCA NEXT!			
	Q 15.2K 1, 33.4K ♡ 163.5K 1			
Donald J. Trump <>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>				

However, despite the wish from Donald Trump to establish and maintain a good relationship with China, it seems like his fellow Republicans do not see China with such a great attitude.



The Republican politicians seem to focus more on supporting the Hong Kong protesters as they, coming from a land of freedom, believe that no one should bow down to a suppressive government, as the Chinese government is, but fight for democracy.



Senator Mitt Romney ② @SenatorRomney · Nov 20, 2019 The Senate just unanimously passed the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act to show our support for the pro-democracy protestors. These protests are further exposing China's relentless campaign of repression and censorship and remind us of how precious freedom truly is.



Leader McConnell 🤣 @senatemajldr · Nov 20, 2019

The Senate unanimously passes the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act. As the author of the United States-Hong Kong Policy Act of 1992 who has advocated for Hong Kong for decades, I am proud to stand with the protestors and hold China accountable.



Senator Ted Cruz 🤣 @SenTedCruz · Nov 20, 2019

The people in Hong Kong are engaged in an existential battle for liberty. Today the Senate sent a clear message that America stands with Hong Kong by passing the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act. #HongKong #HongKongProtests



Senator Ted Cruz 🤣 @SenTedCruz · Nov 13, 2019

The violence we've seen from Hong Kong police in response to peaceful protests is shameful. I will continue to support those speaking out against tyranny & fighting for freedom.

Additionally, Mitt Romney has stated that he believes that Huawei, a Chinese company, cannot be trusted and that the US should not be supporting a country that oppresses its people, or allow a business from such a country, to operate on US grounds.

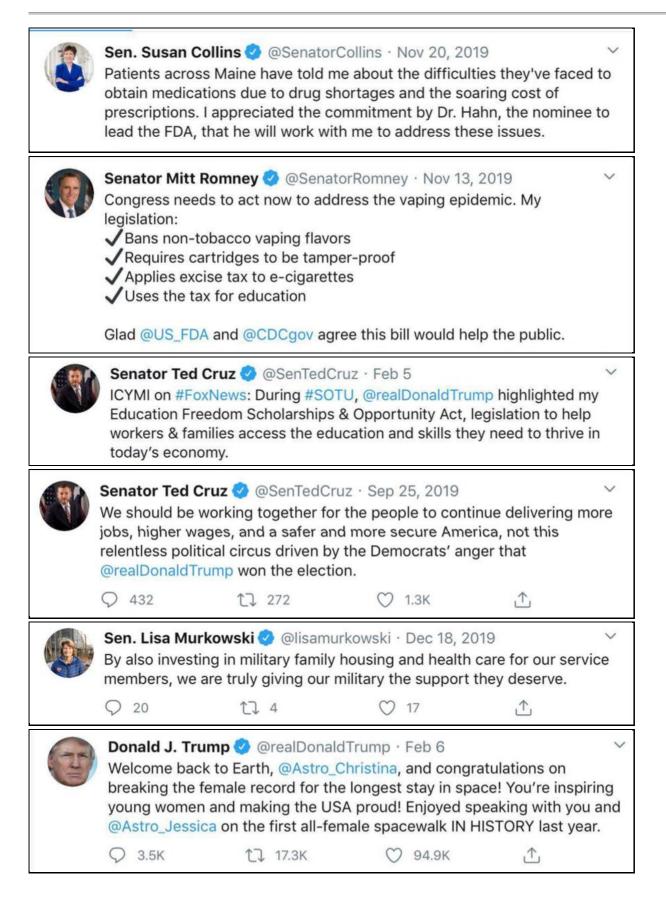


The theme of Republicans disliking autocratic countries, such as Russia, despite President Trump trying to maintain good relationships with them, also comes to light throughout the tweets. However, despite the disagreement of how close a relationship the US and Russia should have, it seems that the Republicans trust President Trump and his choices, as only Mitt Romney dared to stand up to President Trump when he believed that his actions were wrong.



However, all other themes found seem to revolve around the Republicans wishing to make a difference for the American people. They support workers' rights, having passed the USMCA, they believe in better healthcare and lower costs on prescription drugs, especially for people living with pre-existing conditions, their military, they stand with women, people of colour, clean energy etc.







Looking at the tweets, it is evident that the Republicans want to portray, and thereby frame, themselves as standing and fighting for the people, not only in America, but all over the world, by focusing on freedom of religion everywhere and the protection of all ethnicities.



However, they still believe that in order to protect their own people, the wall to Mexico should still be built.



alexander.senate.gov/public/index.c...

When presenting all these themes and how Republicans will do their best to improve the lives of the American people, they also seem to frame the Democrats of doing the opposite. Here, they blame Obama for making bad deals with Iran, claim that the Democrats are hurting people that have sacrificed their lives for the country and portray Democrats as only thinking about winning the election instead of making a difference where it matters.



Throughout all themes, including the impeachment themes, there seems to be a similar overall message, that the Republicans stand with and fight for the nation and its people whereas Democrats are selfish and are only trying to sabotage their good work. This presentation of the two parties becomes very black and white, as they do not seem to present things or agendas that they might have in common. Moreover, it is obvious that President Trump uses a very bold rhetoric compared to everyone else making strong statements and presenting opinions as he pleases.

### 6.2.3. Comparative Analysis and Discussion of Themes

After having gone through all tweets from both the Democratic and Republican politicians, it is evident that one can draw a parallel between many of the themes found with both parties.

When looking at the impeachment, it is evident that each party has their own perspective of how and why the impeachment is happening. The Democrats strongly believe that President Trump has committed a crime whereas the Republicans believe the impeachment is a hoax made by the Democrats in order to get Trump removed from his presidential post. Moreover, many of the other themes mentioned by the Democrats and the Republicans were very much the same e.g. wanting to improve healthcare, lower prices on prescription drugs, especially for people living with pre-existing condition, wanting to help military persons and their families, the focus on workers' rights, showing their support for all people of colour, equality, LGBT, youth and education, etc. It is evident that from what is portrayed in the tweets made by each party, they both have a wish to make a change. They both frame themselves as being the ones standing with and fighting for the people making changes where it really matters. This frame is also present when it comes to the many themes about impeachment. When mentioning themselves, both parties frame themselves as the ones being transparent, logical and demanding a fair trial where facts and evidence should be the most important factor before voting in order to honour and respect the Constitution and the Founding Fathers idea of democracy. When framing the other party however, both the Democrats and Republicans seem to find the worst possible way of portraying them by associating words and phrases like "corrupt", "dishonouring the Constitution", "selfish", etc. with them. Additionally, both parties continuously mention that the other party is just thinking of themselves and getting in the way of the others helping the American people. This use of rhetoric makes the entire situation very "you" or "me" where there is no room for "in between" despite the parties having a lot in common when looking at how they wish to help the American people. Rather it becomes a battlefield where you are either with me or

you are against me. Especially when mentioning the impeachment this becomes apparent when looking at how the two parties frame the whistleblower and Mitt Romney. The Democrats believe that the whistleblower is a patriot for coming forward exposing illegal actions made by the President and Mitt Romney is a hero for standing up to what he believes is wrong, putting the nation's interests above his own. However, the Republicans did not seem to take great interest in these two people, only President Trump made a few tweets about them, claiming that Mitt Romney is just angry and jealous and the whistleblower is working for the Democrats, making the whistleblower nothing else but part of their sham to get Trump out of office.

In overall terms, it seems that the goal for both parties is to make themselves look logical, yet empathetic and fighting for the right cause, all whilst trying to frame the other party as doing the opposite.

## 6.3. Thematic Analysis of Public Frames

In this section, we will make a thematic analysis of the two YouTube videos in order to compare the themes to the ones found in the thematic analysis of CNN's and Fox News' articles (see section 6.1.). Afterwards, we will make a thematic analysis of the themes found in the comment threads beneath each YouTube video (see appendices 3 and 4) in order to see if the frames from CNN and Fox News are reflected in the debates.

### 6.3.1. Thematic Analysis of Comments

In this section, we will do a thematic analysis of both CNN's and Fox News' chosen comment threads (see appendices 3 and 4). Afterwards, we will be conducting a comparative analysis to outline how the frames are presented.

To ensure that we understand the themes presented in the videos our comments are made on, we have performed a thematic analysis on the videos, which can be found in appendix 7. The analysis establishes that the frames presented in the videos are generally representative of the frames found in the articles, with a few outliers pertaining to the particular event being discussed. As such, the videos should not interfere with the frames displayed by the comments below.

### 6.3.1.1. CNN

In this section, the thematic analysis will be separated by comment thread. For CNN, we have chosen two comment threads with a total of 88 replies.

### 6.3.1.1.1. First Comment Thread

This comment thread is heavily dominated by two users, namely AK MediaArts and Family Lowe. As such, much of the discussion and comments revolve around these two, which for example takes the discussion onto the topic of abortion and, especially for the CNN side, these two are the major contributors to the themes. However, it is interesting to see how two sides saliently appear.

For the CNN supporters, there were four pervasive themes present in the comments, 1) Trump is corrupting the nation, 2) it is about "we" not "us" vs "you", 3) your evidence does not constitute evidence, and 4) simple "fuck you".

Some of the comments from user AK MediaArts are simply too long to copy paste into the document, as such, we will be referring to the appendix when these are used.

The first theme presents itself in the way that the CNN supporters attribute qualities to President Trump. They are very clear on the fact that he is the one causing major divides and trouble in the United States. This comes to light in different ways, one of which is claiming he spews false information and sows distrust in all sources of information that is against him, as such, making him the only source of information to be trusted. This is followed by an idea that many of his supporters blindly follow him and will defend him from anything (Appendix 3, comment 1.17.).

0	olrik parlez 2 months ago
	+Agra Nam
	Trust not thine own eyes and ears for they have become evermore useless. Trust Lord Donald in all thingsfor it is he who shall be thine misled guide and broken compass. Suckle ye
	at his feet and nuzzle beseechingly at his behind. Let us pray;
	Let us pray that in the autumn of the year, the blind and the deaf will speak once moreand not of the enlightenment of modern men but with the wisdom of the Philistinefor those
	teachings have been too long ignored! Dear Donald we prayMay the chaff once again, decide the fate for us all.
	Show less

Trump is presented as spurring his followers and others to violence, while condoning such violence as defending themselves. This is seen through comments from AK MediaArts, where they also start the theme of expanding the picture to "we". They see the rise in violent reactions from right wing members, especially Trump supporters, as a major threat to the nation as these people threaten and commit violence in the name of a difference of opinion. AK MediaArts, however, does not only think of themselves in this instance, instead pulling in the person in opposition to their comments, by stating that this is not only going to happen to them but will happen to everyone that does not agree with them left or right wing. Therefore, everyone is in danger of being a victim to these people which is why they, and Trump, must be stopped from furthering their agenda for the sake of all Americans. In doing this, they also use the theme of being the patriot that will happily die for their country, presenting CNN supporters and anti-Trump people as heroes fighting for the rights given to them by America (Appendix 3, comment 1.17.).

AK	AK MediaArts 2 months ago Resident Evil I didn't say I had see any actual attacks I asked if you were condoning violence. I don't condone ANYONE on Either side of the political divide attacking another person physically. What I said was I've seen Trump supporters talking in video about attacking others. And it wasn't said like if they do something to me but because of a possible loss in November. Or a few had it to say about the trial to remove Trump after his impeachment. In either case it's not appropriate behavior.
AK	AK MediaArts 2 months ago (edited) Resident Evil They might fear people that have threatened them with harm as many of the Trump supporters I've encountered. But I say bring it on. Because as long as we still have laws that allow me to have a different idea or view. I will continue to voice them. And if attacked on the street by some half wit physically I'll stand my ground. And when the authorizes arrive press charges against the attackers. And if for some god forsaken reason lose my life defending my right in this country then I'll have done a good deed. And the Murderers will be seen not as Patriots by the masses but terrorist. I would be the Patriot for standing up to someone trying to take my right to exist away just because we don't see things the same. I pray that type of world never comes. Although I've heard a few say if Trump loses they will be in the streets with guns and ready to use them against others. So do be careful of what you wish for. Because a nut like that could kill you just as easily as he could kill me. And gain Democrats aren't weak that a narrative from Trump. Please be aware not everything he says is true. Most of what he says is factually wrong. He spins the truth until it's no longer the truth. And that TDS you guys love to tout and try to hurt others with really says more about you. Not the Liberals, Democrats or even the Independents. It says tons about Trump supporters.

It is also evident that the CNN supporters do not only view Trump as a source of corruption but also the Attorney General William Barr. This suggests the existence of larger organised corruption within the government, in this case stemming from the Republican side, as both the people mentioned represent the Republican party.

Samantha Anders 2 months ago
 X The only scum I see is the Lying Pedophile Serial Rapist in the White House
 Barr Barr the Black Sh it and that Turd should someday be held accountable for Corrupting our Nation's Institutions

Within this theme is also the denial that people, and the Democrats, are targeting Trump because of a personal hatred or personal feelings of jealousy. This springs from a comment made by a Fox supporter who asks what it is politically that AK MediaArts dislikes from Trump, emphasising politically as to suggest that everyone who is against him has only had personal grudges with him. AK MediaArts (Appendix 3. Comment 1.61.) responds to this with a massive comment explaining all the political choices that they see, emphasising many of the points about division tactics, spurring hatred and violence against certain groups, and the constant lying that Trump seems to be doing when discussing his policies. This presents the CNN supporters as having a proper cause for going against Trump and, in some respects, that they believe the impeachment to be based on proper reasoning and evidence.

The second theme emerges in the way that AK MediaArts shows that they respect opposing opinions and in their argumentation for many of the points that they make. They do this, by mostly trying to argue multiple sides of a problem very much emphasising choice and different viewpoints. They also speak on the issue of Trump and the other topics argued in the sense of "we". It is not about Democrats vs Republicans, it is about Americans protecting each other and working together. In doing so, they always ensure that the only point that cannot be respected nor accepted is violence as this will destroy everyones' rights.

AK	AK MediaArts 2 months ago Resident Evil I have not accused you of anything nor have I called you anything. I asked if you were condoning violence and wishing for a possible Civil War. I'm not an anarchist or part of any group wishing to over throw the government. I personally believe and honor the rights we have. But if any group talks about going to the streets to inflict harm on their neighbors because they don't agree with them politically. I feel those people need to be locked up if they harm anyone. I stand behind your right to protest and to voice your views. As long as you remain within the confines of the law. You can't harm or harass someone because they don't agree with you. It can end badly for you when it comes to laws. I have shown you more respect than perhaps you deserve but this is a dialogue. I'm not looking to change your mind. You have a right to your beliefs as I do mine. So #AnybodyButTrump #BlueWave2020 a a a a a go so
Aß	AK MediaArts 2 months ago family lowe I'm for you and everyone here to retain your right to voice your opinion regardless of if I agree with it or not. We both want what is best. But we disagree on who can give that to us. I've worked over 40 yrs I'm retired and paid into Social Security and the present administration might start screwing with that. So please be aware you're not speaking to someone without years of knowledge about life or the political system. I've more than likely learned more than you ever would imagine. I didn't feel you hated me and honestly even if you did. It wouldn't make a difference. I don't know you aren't anyone I know personally so if you try to hurt me with words or insults I'd let them fall by the road. I might explain why I feel the insult was childish or ridiculous. But don't be fooled I'm not invested enough to be hurt. And no ne is actually talking about redistribution of your wealth. What was really talked about was taxation that would mean the very rich pay higher than others. And as for taking money from you. You are legally required to pay income tax otherwise you can go to jail. I paid well over 37% when I worked and that didn't include State or City. Plus all the sales taxes and other new taxes. Like your cellphone providers you pay taxes that are utilities taxes. The list goes on. But I paid them and still pay taxes on money that I get that isn't freebie give away. It's money I paid into the system so I'd have it when I retired. Show less

Within this theme of "we" also comes the idea that not all right wingers and left wingers are the same and that the idea of these extreme stereotypes that have been built are not representative of the majority of the sides. This is used to present all these issues and not "me" against "you" but "we" figuring it out together. No one is a traitor and no one is un-American for voting for what they feel is right, in fact, that is exactly the rights that the country has bestowed on its citizens and it must be protected no matter what side you believe in.

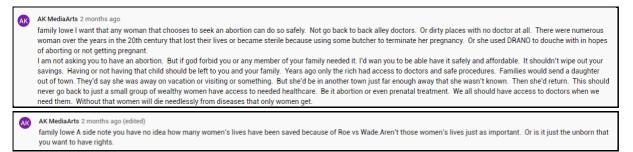
In doing this, AK MediaArts also dismisses the evidence that Family Lowe presented in their reply, playing on the third theme of CNN supporters simply saying that the evidence the Fox supporters present does not constitute evidence, a theme we will further explore in both this section and the Fox supporter section.

AK MediaArts 2 months ago family lowe thank you for the videos but these people don't represent all people out there just as the average Trump supporter isn't a rube. I don't pull up hate videos because they don't reflect the larger population at hand. I'm well aware that not every Trump supporter is a gun owner, not all are advocating to keep people out of the country if they're none white or none Christian. They come in all flavors and some are hardcore "I hate anyone not like me" and others are more chill. Same goes for the other side. The second woman is telling you what she had found to be true in her experiences. They are not representative of every city or every persons experience. I for one if I'm going to a place where there is extreme poverty. I'm never going to let anyone see what money I have. That's just common sense. If I'm going to take stand and try to help the community I'd approach perhaps a house of worship. And because you have not seen Trump supporters behave badly doesn't mean it doesn't happen. We live in two different areas of the country and we don't have the same base as friends family etc. We most likely aren't in the same age bracket. I do not feel you're a traitor because you will vote Trump. And neither am I unAmerican by voting against him. It's my right to vote for whomever I wish. And until this country is moved to a dictatorship or a monarchy. I'll exercise that right. And will continue to fight to allow those like you to be able to voice your difference of opinion that's what makes this country great. Not the bullying or name calling by anyone.

The "we" view is also evident in the discussion on abortion. AK MediaArts rebuke Family Lowe's very one sided idea of abortion being murder as all lives matter by presenting the idea that while Family Lowe might never want an abortion, and should not be forced to, this is just not true for everyone as there are several instances where an abortion is the best and only option, while also questioning the notion of all lives mattering with the idea of the woman's life not seemingly mattering

### in this instance. They emphasise the importance of choice and cooperation over personal ideas and

### opinions.



The third theme is an interesting one as it is reflected from both the CNN and Fox supporters, the idea of the other sides evidence being wrong and ours being right. It presents itself in different ways. The first way this theme is presented is from the user Blackwell. They simply dismiss the evidence outright, not presenting any counter arguments other than that it is not correct or that the opposing commenter is confused. An interesting thing to note here is also their choice in saying there are videos of it but not actually linking to any videos. Furthermore, they dismiss the idea that Anarchists are Democrats, in response to a Fox supporter calling out what they see as left wing violence. This shows that the CNN supporters do not view the extreme cases as "real" left wingers, which is a theme that is also reflected from the Fox supporters.

v blackwell 2 months ago @Dream Crusher In Chief Your alternative facts are just that; MEANINGLESS.

v blackwell 2 months ago (edited) @Resident Evil Yep, there's videos of it. PS pssst You're confused. Anarchists AREN'T Dems! tsk

This way of dismissing evidence is also present in a comment from AK MediaArts who dismisses videos from Family Lowe as being too narrow minded. However, having looked through what Family Lowe presents as evidence, it is very much an extreme case of what is possibly mental illness and what is at best anecdotal evidence to confirm an already believed bias.

AK MediaArts 2 months ago family lowe You need to expand your horizons in life. You are far to narrow minded. And just because I'm not what you think is RIGHT WING. You've deemed me a leftist. Thank you A for your lack of vision.

However, AK MediaArts also does this in a different fashion. Using the instance of Family Lowe's very one sided view on a bail law in New York, AK MediaArts presents their view and facts about the law at hand being an experiment and only really affecting misdemeanours, which disproves Family Lowe's notions on the matter. Additionally, still holding on to the "we" notion, setting up a

hypothetical of someone in Family Lowe's being brought in on a misdemeanour and having to go to jail as they could not pay the cash bail which is what the law is trying to eradicate.

AK	AK MediaArts for 2 måneder siden (redigeret) family lowe I don't know where you have obtained this so called information about NY and releasing someone without bail. Then giving them a gift card and the name of the witnesses. That's not what's happening. Did you read the entire thing. It's for people that have committed a misdemeanor not violent crimes or sex crimes or even murder conspiracy. And it's something that they'd only received if they show up for their court date. It's an experiment and it's not set in stone. I myself am not a fan of giving anyone a reward unless it's away to reinforce good behavior as you would a child. I do however like that the dropping of cash bail will allow now violent people to be released and return for court. This will keep silly misdemeanors from sitting in jail for an due amount of time. Before this change if you had a bail set for say \$2000 it might as well be a million for some families. And that would mean spending time in jail over a silly crime. Something if you had the money you'd be home enjoying your life until you returned to court. It also meant in some cases when you went to court you weren't having to deal with the angry and fear you've dealt with by incarcerated. As for obtaining a witnesses name I know many Courts across the country make jurors names pubic access information. But I've never heard of Witness information being given to anyone. However, it's not had to find that information if you have an idea of their name. If I knew for example that you lived say Lima, Ohio I could lookup all people with your last name. Continue to talk to you and learn ittle things that might help me determine which one of the Lowe you might be. It's not like 40 years ago. Most of our information is out there and pretty easy to get. Please rest assure I don't plan to look for you nor do I know who or where you live. It was just an example to show you that it's easy to find out information.
	AK MediaArts 2 months ago

family lowe I know you that FOX as it does no wrong. But the entire project is much more that what is said. It's an experiment to get people to return to court. And this law of no cash bail would benefit non violent offender and many misdemeanor offenders. It doesn't give everyone a catch and release. Imagine one of you children being in the wrong place wrong time. But arrested and you can't make bail for them. You'd want "No Cash Bail"

The fourth theme present with the CNN supporters is found in some of the comments' simple and aggressive nature. These are simply full dismissal of the Fox supporters and their opinions, however, they are done in some interesting ways.

Starting with the user Carlos The Giant Slayer who presents Trump as being an orange clown who sexually assault women.

Carlos The Giant Slayer 2 months ago family lowe Keep your support of the pussy grabbing, bone spurs ,orange Bozo the clown Pos tRump.

Next, we have Maureen Davis who turns the Trump supporters' TDS (Trump Derangement Syndrome) on its head, suggesting that the right wingers have had the same mental problems with the Democratic politicians as they have with Trump.

Maureen Davis 2 months ago @Resident Evil How's your COBS symptoms doing that you've all had for the past 3 1/2 years? You know your Clinton, Obama, Biden syndrome.. hope you all get well soon.

Interesting, is their embrace of the word Snowflake, which is used by the right wingers to insinuate that left wingers are too sensitive and fragile. Maureen Davis instead uses it as a springboard to suggest that the snowflakes will group together and form a snowball to hit those that believe them to be fragile and wrong in the face. In this case also using the topic of climate protection to do so.

Maureen Davis 2 months ago
@Resident Evil Yeah the people trying to save the planet are the ones who refuse to get off twitter and go outside? keep grouping snowflakes together and they form a snowball... you ever get blasted in the face by a snowball? it fucking hurts... i hope the one that hits you is made of ice.

Of course, AK MediaArts is also present in this theme. Their aggression comes in a response to some aggressive replies they get, sparking them to lash out. However, they still use this aggression to further their idea of working together and especially avoid violence just because of a difference in opinion,

using their outlash as an example of what happens when the only thing people do is attack opposing opinions instead of discussing.

### AK MediaArts 2 months ago Ray Cis Thank you so much for your concern. I think you should make an appointment to have you head removed from one of your orifice. I am giving you the same disrespect you've given me. I take it that you don't like my opinions so you feel emboldened to try to insult me. It okay you do not agree with my views. It again a freedom we enjoy in this country. I don't have to agree with you. I'm allowed to follow a different political party or no party at all. But your need to try to demean someone you don't know is very telling of what an insecure person you are in your life. Why insult, why not ask me why I've made a statement. But no, you feel you'll gain power by trying bully me with name calling. Grow up you sophomoric Neanderthal. If you had said something to get an actual dialogue. I guarantee you I would never replied so rudely. So if you wish to discuss your view vs mine without the need to insult me. I will gladly open dialogue with you however I tire of people telling me what I should believe. Where I will present my view and make it clear I'm not asking you believe it just respect my opinion as you want others to respect yours. Show less

For the Fox supporters, there were three pervasive themes to be found in the comments; 1) it is all about corruption and conspiracies from the left wing, 2) you are wrong and I am right, and 3) it is "us" vs "you".

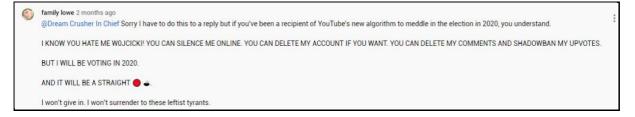
The first theme presents itself in the way that the Fox supporters view mainstream media (MSM) and the left wing in general, mainly that they are working together in a large conspiracy to silence Republicans and right wingers. MSM portrays the right wing and Trump supporters as violent and extreme. However, none of the shooters that were portrayed as right wing or Trump supporters were in fact either, and all the shooters who were not Trump supporters are being forcefully ignored as they do not fit the message that the leftist conspiracy wants to further.

Dream Crusher In Chief for 2 måneder siden AK MediaArts TDS is a real thing that you personify just by posting nonsense about someone killing you over your hatred of the president. How many people have Trump supporters shot over the last three years? Not crazy mass shooters that the msm falsely associate with Trump supporters, but actual supporters of the president? Compare that to how many crazy lefties have shot people in the name of taking down the president? New Zealand shooter wasn't a Trump supporter, Pennsylvania shooter wasn't a Trump supporter, Pennsylvania synagogue shooter wasn't a Trump supporter either. Nor were the two black shooters in that New York deli. You don't have about those too often do you, since once held up to scrutiny they don't fit the narrative of orange man and his supporters bad. You are brainwashed and you don't have any answers for any of my responses to your posts on this bs channel. Time to wake up and realize that the 99% negative coverage by the msm doesn't correlate with the president's rising approval ratings. Come on kid

In fact, it is the left wing extremists who are the real problem here, making the distinction between "real" Trump supporters and violent extremists on the right but not for the left.

Resident Evil 2 months ago
 @AK MediaArts got any videos of TRUMP supporters attacking you AntifiFaqs without provocation?? Like that reporter Andy noe? The Seattle fire bombing ?? Violent protests &
 threats of doing harm like the one's you anarchists have committed??

The left are tyrants trying to silence right wingers by banning their accounts and deleting their comments to ensure that their messages do not get spread. This presents the right wingers as being oppressed by a larger conspiracy run by the leftists, making them out to be a large corrupt organisation trying to take government by force in 2020.



Furthermore, it is not just the leftists and MSM that in part of the conspiracy, YouTube is also trying to silence the people from saying what they believe in, forcing Family Lowe to write an encrypted message, claiming they were banned from a certain channel and introducing another layer to the conspiracy with Bernie Sanders wanting to establish brainwashing camps.

family lowe 2 months ago
 @AK MediaArts I love how YoUtube is desperately trying to stop people from saying what they want to say.
 I was BANNED from Тном нагтмаии's Channel for saying I would not go w1 llinglie to B3rn1e's вrainwashing camps and having one of his chatters admitting that's what they wanted.

The second theme comes to light in two ways, first it is shown in the way that the Fox supporters dismiss all claims made by the opposing side by saying we have evidence of either your wrong-doing or our belief being right. This is used a lot by Family Lowe who links to videos often as a way to completely dismiss AK MediaArts' claims on different topics. In doing so, they claim that these videos will debunk the entire argument made by AK MediaArts at every turn. Important note, is that the writer of this paper does not see any of this evidence as proving anything. Starting with these two comments mentioned below, all of this evidence is simply home shot videos of a young man screaming "Slash the throats of all Republicans" or a woman explaining a very anecdotal story about her switching over to Fox News as her only news outlet, as all the other outlets advocated creating what she sees as beggars that will turn into mobs. This does, however, create an interesting divide between the two sides as seen from the Fox supporters' view. The Republicans make well thought decisions based on evidence and facts while the Democrats are fuelled by emotion, especially hatred, and just want to overthrow the government.

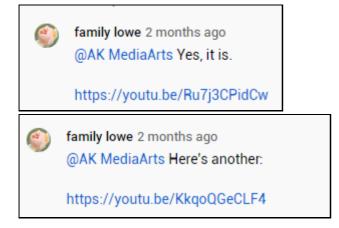
Another interesting note here is also the distinction made earlier between "real" Trump supporters, or right wingers, and crazy extremists, a separation that is not made for the left wingers who instead are very much connected to these extremists.

family lowe 2 months ago (edited) @AK MediaArts Here is some evidence DEBUNKING your bogus claims. https://youtu.be/ugkbJhEZf-Y

https://youtu.be/B9Ju0LPHu0c https://youtu.be/101qJmx79mQ https://youtu.be/y-q7NwCIKEk

family lowe 2 months ago

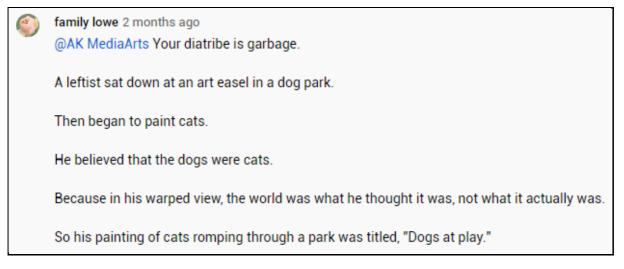
@AK MediaArts You said you don't care as long as someone isn't advocating the overthrow of the government? Ok https://youtu.be/uPBm-f8yE2o These two comments are again used as simple 'you are wrong' statements. Interesting, is that the videos that linked to are from Fox News regarding the bail law in New York, both confirming the craziness that Family Lowe attributes to this law.



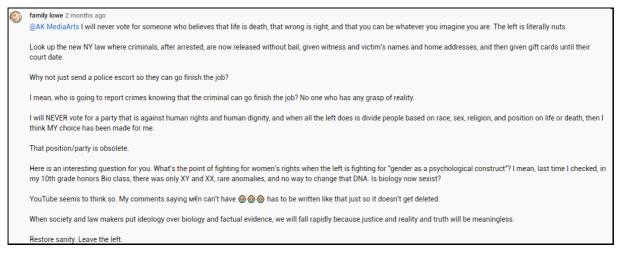
Finally, Family Lowe also connects this evidence to the conspiracy of the left, saying that all this is so easy to find and it is interesting that AK MediaArts did not find it themselves. This suggests that either AK MediaArts was not interested in finding what Family Lowe sees as real evidence or that someone, or something, is stopping them from finding it.

family lowe 2 months ago
@AK MediaArts With how easy it is to find information, you would think you could find this stuff on your own.

Next in this theme comes the complete dismissal of the opposing side by claiming them as delusional and only having these ideas because they are influenced by the MSM. First, presenting left wing supporters as completely out of touch with reality, as they see dogs as cats, possibly referring to the transgender discussion happening in America as of late.



In this comment, Family Lowe is definitely referencing the transgender discussion and using that, along with the New York bail law, to insinuate that the left wing is again completely out of touch with reality and their views are akin to a crazy person's thinking.



Another way of dismissing the opposing side is claiming that they have a mental illness that should land them in a mental facility. This suggests that they believe anyone who is against Trump is simply mentally ill, reflecting the final theme as well, where anyone not for us are against us.

Ray Cis 2 months ago @AK MediaArts Seek help from your nearest mental health facility immediately for your TDS.

Finally, in this theme is the idea that people are not actually against Trump because of his political actions but instead because of personal grudges, suggesting that Trump's political career is seen as stellar.

AL Sloan 2 months ago AK MediaArts OK dialogue what is it politically and I mean politically do you dislike about Trump. Politically.

The third and final theme in the Fox supporters is the complete defensive position that is "us" vs "you". In all comments that are for Trump, it is clear that they have no interest in listening to an opposing opinion, they are very hostile and in the case of Family Lowe outright states 'if you are not for me, you are against me'.

family lowe 2 months ago @AK MediaArts If you're not for me, you're against me. And again, in this comment stating "if you vote blue, there's nothing left to say", also stating that they do not believe you have the right to think what you want, reflecting the bad part of AK MediaArts' worry for the future, where you are branded as the enemy if you believe something different and that the right to thinking differently is in danger.

٢	family lowe 2 months ago (edited) @AK MediaArts If you just rely on CNN, then you will definitely vote blue.
	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLI53v05zRnf80DpzVR4NHFEH2bikGitFX
	You vote blue, then there's nothing left to say.
	Trump already said he'd protect SS and Medicaid, but of course, you believe CNN, so Whatever.
	I don't believe you can believe whatever you want.
	Babies are alive in the womb.
	Taking everyone's entire paycheck for socialized medicine, welfare, and "climate change" is theft. Show less

This also very clear in the discussion on abortion. Family Lowe is not interested in changing their view nor are they interested in accepting that others might have a different view or different need, very clearly stating their opinion and instantly denying any other viewpoints on the topic.

	family lowe 2 months ago @AK MediaArts Any woman that wants to kill her unborn baby doesn't deserve a safe place to do that.
	family lowe 2 months ago
	@AK MediaArts I am a woman. I have 3 children. I have had a miscarriage at 8 weeks.
	Babies are either alive or dead.
	There is no gray area.
	Period.
	The baby is not the woman's body. I am only pro-"choice" up until conception. Then, it's time to protect them as much as I would protect another life.
	Every life deserves to be respected.
	Not disposed of. And if the woman who is half of that little life cannot be human enough to care for the life she created, then she doesn't need to be creating any.
	Besides, if the baby wasn't alive, there would be no need for an abortion.
	Biology agrees. Life begins at conception.

Which is also reflected in a comment made by another user, who simply states "murder is murder", again suggesting no middle ground to be had and making an enemy out of the opposing opinion.

jan demars 2 months ago @AK MediaArts not really. Murder is murder

### 6.3.1.1.2. Second Comment Thread

For the CNN supporters, there are two pervasive themes present; 1) Trump is a liar and defending him is simply stupid, and 2) Trump is a sexual predator.

The first theme is present in the majority of the CNN supporters' comments in this thread. It presents Trump as a liar and a person who sows distrust in all media except the one that is for him.

M	Michael Harkness 2 months ago Wake up numb nuts. Are you really that gullable or do you only watch Fox news? Ever notice that ever news organization in the world is corrupt except for the one that kisses Trump's asshole
M	Michael Harkness 2 months ago @Billy Pardew. I'm 44 years old and I'm not trying to change anyone's mind here. I watch all news outlets. All of them and your right about the truth being somewhere in the middle but its sickening to hear. Sean Hannity just spoon feed a big helping of Trump Semen right down his viewers throat as if most Americans aren't smart enough to see what's going on for themselves. I guess you wouldn't if all you watched was Fox News. That's all I'm saying. Not trying to kiss you off personally.

Furthermore, they claim that if you used your common sense you would see that Trump is a madman and a liar, that Fox News spreads falsehoods because they are in the President's pockets and if you cannot see this you are simply stupid.

M	Michael Harkness 2 months ago @family lowe and since you have no common sense, I used words earlier not pictures. I'm sure your friends who you get your opinions from and who form your entire political state of mind before pretending it's your own can see that no imagery was used. I suppose you dont think Trump lies everyday in everything he says either huh? Probably not when you get your information from friends or worse Fox news. Why dont you try listening to him on your own and form a honest opinion from that. Do you think that silver spoon feed womanizing spoiled brat REALLY CARES ABOUT YOU AND PEOPLE LIKE US? Please use common sense if you have any left. He wouldn't piss on you if you were on fire and you know it.
	beljim 1954 2 months ago Must have stung your brain.
M	Michael Harkness 2 months ago Family Iowa, your a joke! AMD your to stupid to know why

In this, it is interesting that the hatred is only directed at Trump and Fox News, not towards Republicans or right wing media in general. On top of this, looking at Michael Harkness' comment on age, it seems that they and AK MediaArts, who was the major commenter in the first thread, are both in the older generations.

The second theme is presented in the final two comments from CNN supporters. They both make references to Trump being a sexual predator.

<b>\$</b>	Earthling Carnivore 2 months ago Trump must grab you by the oossy	
M	Michael Harkness 2 months ago @family lowe Trump would only have one thing t	o say to you and that would be and I quote " Show me you tits'

For the Fox supporters four themes were found; 1) Democrats will use anything to go after Trump, 2) the media is corrupt and Trump is not, 3) Democrats lost the argument and the war, and 4) copy paste.

The first theme is presented in the original comment of the thread. It presents the Democrats as trying to use everything to go after Trump by using a bee sting as the metaphor for it.



The second theme revolves around how the media is framing Trump in a bad light because they are all corrupt and owned by the people who hate Trump. Meanwhile, Trump is the only one not bought by anyone and, as such, he can be trusted to do what is best for America.

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Michael James 2 months ago
Michael Harkness just gonna mention...who owns the news? Follow the money :) the people in charge hate him. Why? He isn't bought. He isn't for them. Thank your lucky stars we have him for 4 more years
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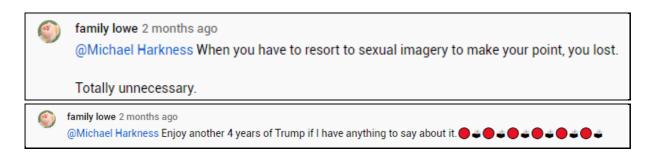
Furthermore, it is suggested that anyone having an opposing view is simply too young to understand that you need a middle of the road view as all news outlets are corrupt in some way, while also presenting Trump's lashing out as justified, as he is being falsely hunted 24/7 by people that dislike him, presenting it as simple payback against them.

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Billy Pardew 2 months ago
@Michael Harkness you're right about the corrupt media and when when you grow up you'll realize that you watch all the news to get the truth cuz it's somewhere in the middle.
Trump has every right to lash out at those low down dirty pieces of s*** that have spent 24/7 7 days a week trying to take him out of office. What goes around comes around paybacks are a b** and they're coming back around let me tell you
```

An interesting comment in this thread ties well into the all or nothing approach the Fox supporters seem to use. In this one, agreeing that Sean Hannity lies to his audience but only if the other party agrees that MSM and left wing viewers get the same treatment from their hosts. Interestingly, separating Fox News from Mainstream media as well.

```
Billy Pardew 2 months ago
@Michael Harkness then I'll agree that Sean Hannity fills Fox viewers with a mouth full of ear full of s*** if you agree that Rachel Maddow mainstream media viewers in are full of s*** or Arie melber or Lawrence 0'Donnell
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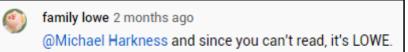
The third theme presents itself in two comments from Family Lowe again, and is present in comments from other themes as well. It revolves around a simple dismissal of an opposing argument, in this case because of a metaphor, and the idea of Trump winning the next election and how happy they should all be that they have him for four more years.



Building on that, it is important to reflect on who Family Lowe is. Therefore, the fourth theme is a weird theme but needed to discuss Family Lowe. They use a complete copy paste of a reply made in the earlier comment thread, suggesting that they might be there only to bait replies and spread their message around without any intentions of ever listening to an opposing argument – something that is also evident from the earlier first comment thread for the CNN video.

family lowe 2 months ago
@Michael Harkness I will never vote for someone who believes that life is death, that wrong is right, and that you can be whatever you imagine you are. The left is literally nuts.
Look up the new NY law where criminals, after arrested, are now released without bail, given witness and victim's names and home addresses, and then given gift cards until their court date.
Why not just send a police escort so they can go finish the job?
I mean, who is going to report crimes knowing that the criminal can go finish the job? No one who has any grasp of reality.
I will NEVER vote for a party that is against human rights and human dignity, and when all the left does is divide people based on race, sex, religion, and position on life or death, then I think MY choice has been made for me.
That position/party is obsolete.
Here is an interesting question for you. What's the point of fighting for women's rights when the left is fighting for "gender as a psychological construct"? I mean, last time I checked, in my 10th grade honors Bio class, there was only XY and XX, rare anomalies, and no way to change that DNA. Is biology now sexist?
YouTube seems to think so. My comments saying м€n can't have 🎯 🎯 has to be written like that just so it doesn't get deleted.
When society and law makers put ideology over biology and factual evidence, we will fall rapidly because justice and reality and truth will be meaningless.
Restore sanity. Leave the left.

It is, however, postulated that they are not a bot as some of their replies seem very human. In this case correcting a comment that got their name wrong, something that a bot would probably not do.



### 6.3.1.2. Fox News

As with CNN, the thematic analysis for this section will also be separated by comment thread. For Fox News, we have chosen three comment threads with a total of 99 replies.

### 6.3.1.2.1. First Comment Thread

For the CNN supporters, four pervasive themes were found; 1) the facts of wrongdoing are out for the public to see, 2) Republicans and Trump blocked evidence from being presented, 3) Congress,

which is majorly Republican, let key witnesses defy congressional subpoenas, and 4) the impeachment happened on a proper legal foundation.

In this theme, there is only one comment to go off, however, it ties in well with the rest of the themes present in the CNN supporters of this thread as it marks the impeachment as based on proper evidence that cannot be disputed.



The second theme presents itself in a discussion surrounding the evidence and witnesses in the trial. Here, the CNN supporters present Trump and the Republicans as blocking important evidence and testimonies from happening, implying that Trump hampered the trial because there was proper evidence to be found.

butchtropic 2 months ago @MaryJeanne Chessrown Ah, a "farce" that was so lacking in fact Trump had to BLOCK those closest to him from testifying and deny EVERY SINGLE document/email request. WHY IS THAT?.

On top of this, they present the idea of some Senators admitting that Trump did something wrong but still voted not guilty. As only Republican Senators voted not guilty, this presents the Republicans as blindly following and protecting Trump as they are afraid of what might happen if they do not.

butchtropic 2 months ago @Keys Cooling Yes, Congress DOES have the right to ANY information/testimony it asks for in an impeachment investigation, luckily for Dump the Senate is full of men with no testicles, some EVEN SAID they knew dump was guilty but didn't want him removed. Too afraid they might get voted out by Dump supporters.

Following that comes the third theme regarding Congress letting witnesses defy their subpoenas to testify. In this theme, it is questioned why Giuliani and Bolton did not appear at the hearings to testify even though they were at the heart of the events on trial. This is presented as Congress simply letting them defy their subpoenas to appear, further implying that the Republicans are sweeping aside important evidence because they have no interest in a proper trial.

M	Macdonald Maurice 2 months ago	
	Why didn't Bolton and Guliani appear at Hearings?	

GREY E CAT 2 months ago @Macdonald Maurice Because they defied Congressional subpoenas--and Congress let them.

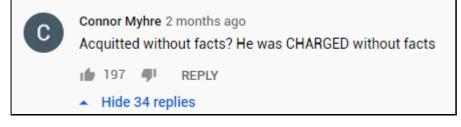
# Macdonald Maurice 2 months ago @GREY E CAT So what's the point of issuing subpoenas if they can be ignored? What a total farce! @GREY E CAT 2 months ago @Macdonald Maurice They can only be ignored if Congress lets them be... Congress chose to be feckless.

The final theme revolves around the impeachment being done on a proper legal basis. Both comments in this thread are responses to a comment from a Fox supporter saying that the House of Representatives failed in their job and had they done their job the impeachment would have never happened. This is not how the CNN supporters see it, with Mcdonald Maurice referencing the Founding Fathers as a way to imply that no President should have complete power and that they need to be held accountable for their actions. Meanwhile, GREY E CAT implies that the impeachment should actually have happened sooner if the House did their job, claiming the next election as the reason for the delay.

	Macdonald Maurice 2 months ago @Leomenidas S So if that's the case, who is to judge when or how a President should be called to account to explain his questioable actions before the people? The 'founding fathers', - all those years ago, - knew that if a nation were ever to give absolute, unquestioning power to one person, - without any checks, - inevitably it can lead to 'dictatorship'. Power tends to corrupt, - absoute power, corrupts absolutely! That is why the Impeachent procedure was put into The Constitution. Naturally, and perhaps for us, unfortunately, their 'crystal ball', was unable to predict every circumstance where this action was to be put into practise. Human instincts are sometimes selfish, but never infallible! Show less	
Carlos Carlos	GREY E CAT 2 months ago @Leomcnidas S I'm not sure that's legally sound. The House should have moved to impeach long before the Mueller reportbut they were more worried about re-election.	

For the comments reflecting Fox support, four pervasive themes were found; 1) the charges are based on no evidence, 2) the House is part of the attack on Trump, 3) left wing media spouts lies, and 4) Trump is here to save America.

The first theme presents itself in the large amount of comments referring to the charges and the trial itself as one big sham with no evidence, which the people who do not like Trump were happy to jump on. Starting with the original comment in the thread, it states the idea that the charges were placed on Trump without evidence.



And in a reply to GREY E CAT's statement on the fact being in the public sphere, this is being dismissed instantly as false slander and accusations that was jumped on by people who dislike Trump.

```
    Leslie Greenhalgh 2 months ago
    @GREY E CAT No they are not - there was falser accusation and slander which those who dislike Trump were happy to believe
    1 22 1 REPLY
```

An interesting note in this theme is that both sides agree that the trial was done to affect the next election, however, where the CNN supporters believe the election was a factor resulting in the delay of the trial, the Fox supporters claim the trial was forced through in order to have an effect on the election.

```
MaryJeanne Chessrown 2 months ago
@Temporary Profile Most people know that! You can't deny that this was a farce and a political ploy by the Socialist Democrats to bring down this President to they could stand a chance in November.
```

Finally, in this theme, it is presented that it was the Democrats and, interestingly, Mitt Romney that pushed the trial and took all opportunities they could to smear Trump. This suggests that they view not only the Democrats as corrupt but also Romney because they go against Trump.

HighsNBurgers 2 months ago House DEMS and their donkey Romney had every chance to be a-holes and they took it.

The second theme presents itself in two comments that refer to the House of Representatives. They both claim that the House did not do their job correctly, with one claiming that the House had no authority to request additional documents from the White House and the phone call should have been enough to know that the charges were fake.

```
Keys Cooling 2 months ago
Because they are equal branches of govt. the house has no business making requests for material from the executive branch that had nothing to do with there faux charges. The
phone call was released. What else could they possibly need
```

Meanwhile, the other presents the House as part of the attack on Trump, as if they had done their job the trial would have never proceeded to the Senate.

```
Leomcnidas S 2 months ago
If the house did everything they were supposed to do legally the impeachment sham would of never of made it to the Senate anyway.
```

The third theme revolves around the left wing media spouting lies and the dismissal of all opposing views as them being misinformed and brainwashed. In this theme, it is clear that the Fox supporters see all left wing media as spouting only lies and all that follow them are not capable of making an informed decision as they are brainwashed by the lies that the left wing tells them.

```
Richard Walker 2 months ago
@Temporary Profile all lies and misinformation. You can't make an intelligent informed decision based on lies, stupid
```

M

Furthermore, one commenter claims that only watching Fox News is not bad at all as their reports are more correct than many left wing media.

MooreCEJr 2 months ago @Temporary Profile Why would we watch something other than Fox (I watch multiple outlets as well).. they have reported more things right than CNN, MSNBC, and Washington Post combined not to mention that more people watch TV show Home and Gardens program than CNN according to ratings. Iol

An interesting theme that is also present in the other comment threads from the Fox supporters, is the dismissal of Mainstream Media as it only spreads lies and falsehoods. Interestingly, here it is clear that Fox News is not viewed as a MSM and, as such, can be trusted.

Richard Walker 2 months ago (abutchtropic That is called his legal right. Demonrats and MSM lies and misinformation are rotting your brain. You can't make an intelligent informed decision based on lies, moron

The final theme presents itself in the way that Trump is mentioned as being here to save America and clean up the dirty politics. This is done by making him out to be a saviour of America who will lead it to be the shining light on the hill and someone who will clean the swamp of warmongering politicians.

```
    Dave Devitt 2 months ago
    He did what's best, we are to be that shining light on the hill and now people are starting to see this for real!! Clean the swamp out and stop the war mongering! Trumps the Best!!!
```

Furthermore, it is claimed that it was prophesied that he would be impeached but not convicted, suggesting that Trump has god and faith on his side in his fight to save America.

Moape Rasake 2 months ago 2007 quote they shall cry IMPEACH ...IMPEACH...BUT IT SHALL NOT...Kim Clement...

On the flip side, it is the ones attacking Trump that are the real criminals in all of this. This is done by suggesting that it is actually the front runners in the trial that have the real ties with Ukraine, suggesting that it was only started to protect themselves from Trump's investigation. Interestingly, Romney is again paired with the Democrats, suggesting that all who oppose Trump are an enemy to America only out to protect themselves.

```
Nina Long 2 months ago
@Temporary Profile So you know about Pelosi, Schiff, Kerry and Romney having ties to the Ukraine. And not good ties. And you know about Mueller being a part of Uranium One.

1 7 4 REPLY
```

On top of this, the Democrats are presented as having had a grudge against Trump since day one, with them wasting America's time and resources in their crusade to oppose and remove him.

```
ChantYip 2 months ago

Perhaps you do not realize that the dem politicians have been trying to overthrow his presidency since day one. They obstruct everything he wants to do from changing the NAFFTA

Treaty, the border wall, the trade deficits, etc. This wastes a lot of time and money for the president to have to hire lawyers just to protect himself. The last draw is this nonsense

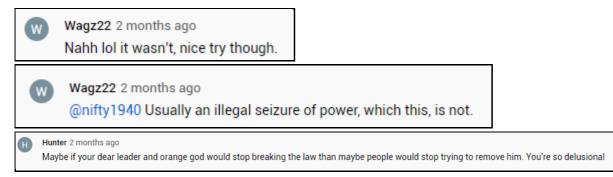
impeachment.
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### 6.3.1.2.2. Second Comment Thread

Much of this thread revolves around the idea of the impeachment being an attempted coup as well as a long conversation between two Fox supporters discussing the idea of a deep state government secretly controlling the country.

For the CNN supporters, there were two pervasive themes present; 1) the impeachment was not a coup, and 2) Trump accepted help from foreign powers.

The first theme presents itself as a response to the original comment in the thread, claiming the impeachment was an attempted coup. This notion is not accepted by the CNN supporters who see the impeachment as a legal measure taken on proper evidence and express the notion that Trump should stop breaking the law if he wants people to stop coming after him.



The second theme emerges from the user Garfield Farkle who jokingly states that foreign interference in elections is now legal seeing as Trump was acquitted.

Garfield Farkle 2 months ago

Look on the bright side.

With the Trump Precedent, obtaining election help from foreign governments is now legal! Our Russian allies are ready and willing to help again!

This comment is replied to by a Fox supporter who notions that there has always been involvement from foreign governments and, as such, Trump should not be charged for such a crime. This spark a theme within this theme of two wrongs not making a right, and just because it has happened before, does not mean it is okay that it is happening at all.

٢	Garfield Farkle 1 month ago @Gman Please tell me when a political campaign sent it's top 3 people to meet with representatives of a hostile foreign government that was offering them of campaign opponent. Then explain why that would justify someone else doing it.	lirt on a presidential
۲	Garfield Farkle 1 month ago @Gman What about them? That's no answer. I am interested in your reasoning, though. Do you intend to make an argument in which you say two people did the same thing, but one is ok and the other is not because you agree with the What is your opinion regarding the pursuit of help from foreign governments on political campaigns? Ok? Not ok?	first one's politics?
	Garfield Farkle 1 month ago @Gman Right. That is why I stated the principle after giving the example. Are you trying to say copying Hillary is the way to go? Please address, rather than dodge the questions I asked.	

From the Fox supporters, five pervasive themes were found; 1) the impeachment was an attempted coup, 2) opposing opinions are wrong, 3) the left falsely attacks right wingers, 4) it is not a problem if outside foreign interference happened, and 5) the entire country is controlled by deep state Democrats from the shadows.

The first theme originates from the original comment in the thread stating that the impeachment was a coup.

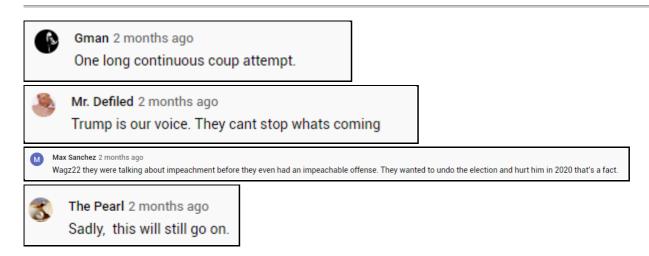


This notion is backed by several commenters afterwards, with some adding to the theme by suggesting that the people who instigated the impeachment should be tried as traitors and insinuating foul play as it is unbelievable that this could happen.

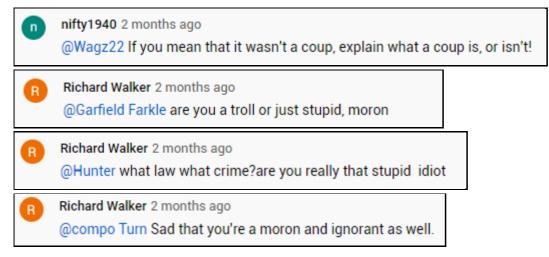
a woken V 2 months ago Yup which is high treason, so make us of the 2nd amendment and demand it

As a foreign national, and believing that it was a bloodless coup, WHY aren't they being tried for treason?? For many looking on, this beggars belief.

Furthermore, within this theme we find that other themes from the other threads pop up, such as the idea that the Democrats have been trying to overthrow Trump for a long time, and that Trump is the voice of the people, as such, not bought by the media or others. Along with this, the idea that the Democrats were looking to impeach Trump even before there was any offense to impeach for suggesting that the trial is a sham, while others add that the Democrats will not accept the judgement.



The second theme emerges in the way that the Fox supporters dismiss all opposing opinions. Reminiscent of other threads, if you are opposed to the idea of this being a coup, or believe Trump to be in the wrong, you are either entirely wrong, stupid, ignorant or a troll.



The third theme emerges in a conversation linked to a comment from a CNN Supporter. Here, they call Trump an "orange god" which is then questioned by the user Billy Burkeen who asks what colour the commenter is. In doing that, another comment asks Billy Burkeen what does it matter what colour their skin is, suggesting that Billy Burkeen might be racist. This is where the theme springs forth as Billy Burkeen defends themselves saying 'do not twist my words around' in an attempt to deflect the racism accusation. Afterwards, user Nifty1940 suggests the idea that the last resort of the Left is to call people racists, presenting the theme of the Left falsely attacking Right wingers.

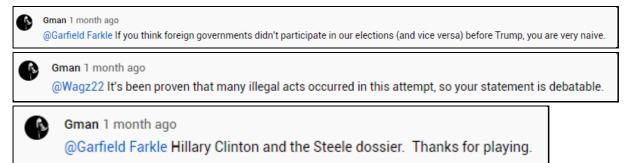
Billy Burkeen 2 months ago @Hunter orange god???? What color are you?

В

Billy Burkeen 2 months ago @Tophy why does it matter what color the President's skin is, don't twist it around towards me got that

@Tophy His point being that you are ID'd as a racist, because everything you believe in is falling down around you, so, all that's left for you to attack, is colour, get it now?

The fourth theme is a weird one. Where other Fox supporters are trying to say that Trump has done nothing wrong and that there is no evidence of any wrong-doing anywhere, the user Gman suggests that Trump did have help from foreign powers but this is okay and not a problem because it has happened before. This spark a response from the CNN supporters and a complete dismissal of the counterparts' arguments. Where the CNN supporter, Garfield Farkle, argues that just because it happened before does not mean it is okay, Gman simply makes a "gotcha" remark on Hillary Clinton and never really addresses the arguments from Garfield Farkle on whether it is okay for Trump to receive help from foreign governments and if copying Hillary is the way to go.



The last theme plays into the themes of corruption from other threads. In this conversation between the users Nifty1940 and Jonathan Sterling, they claim that the entire country is being controlled from behind the scenes by Democrats and others inbedded in a deep state. The only reason that the Democrats, and the people working with them, are not being tried as traitors is because they have such a huge majority in DC and control many other places behind the scenes. This presents the entire government as corrupt, however, where Nifty1940, who claims to be from Australia, sees the entire thing as completely messed up system, while Jonathan Sterling believes that only America is able to hold it together this well considering the circumstances, and other countries would fall if this happened in them, presenting a high level of patriotism.

An interesting topic that presents itself in the conversation is the sanctity of marriage. Jonathan Sterling claims that the deep state and Democrats have been dismantling the sanctity of marriage over many years, which is what has led to such massive problems all around America as the newer generations are smart but lack the civility that this sanctity represents and instills.

At the same time, this corruption goes back generations and has taken part in many scandals, such as the JFK shooting, and Trump is the one that will shed light on the shadowy corruption that plagues America and save the constitution and the rights that come with it.

	Jonathan Sterling 2 months ago @nifty1940 "believing that it was a bloodless coup, WHY aren't they being tried for treason??" Washington DC and area cities are 90% Democrat. The Deep State has other roots as well. A few tall weeds might be chopped down, but that won't change our direction. We have the best system in the world, but it's not perfect and power tends to corrupt. If you want to know what the Deep State is, search Judicial Watch's channel for ("The Deep State" from A to Z). The Deep State is the "powers that be". It's not just a few bad apples. It practically runs our country. It's very powerful, that's why it gets away with doing such things in our face. Show less
	nlfty1940 2 months ago @Jonathan Sterling Hi. You're preaching to the converted. I've known about this crap for 50+ yrs. I agree with all you say, but until a MAJOR player is on trial, convicted, sentenced and serving time, the rest is all smoke and mirrors, a pantomime of rhetoric, theatrics and self protection. A classic example: Trey Gowdy was in the best position to bring down Comey. He could have had Comey's guts for garters, but what happened. Comey got a free ticket and Gowdy split! Why? Because the two parties have a tacit agreement to protect their arses, (position, pensions, power, ability to influence and make \$\$\$\$) despite their differences. That's the reality of politics. Comey, and his ilk, will NEVER go to prison and the whole cycle will continue. The system sucks. Show less
٢	Jonathan Sterling 2 months ago @nifty1940 We have the best system in the world, but it's not perfect and power tends to corrupt. I agree Trey Gowdy is a player in the Deep State. He spent 10 years as a federal prosecutor forcing gender equality between husband and wife. Like Ann Coulter said "Marriage is the most important institution to civilize young people". The incivility we see is a result of destroying marriage over the last many decades, mainly via Supreme Court decisions, with no response from Congress. Coincidently, when our Supreme Court recently trashed our Constitution's Double Jeopardy Clause (in Gamble v United States), the solicitor General said prosecuting (and convicting) men multiple times for the same crime (even worse than what the Double Jeopardy Clause was intended to prohibit) was necessary so they can continue destroying marriage on Indian reservations. Apparently Indians are not keeping up with the rest of us (sarcasm). It's right there in the oral argument. The Deep State, mainly at the local level, was HUGELY empowered by the destruction of marriage. With tomorrow's kids being extremely intelligent and uncivilized, the future will be exciting! Much more to come
	Jonathan Sterling 2 months ago @nifty1940 "You're preaching to the converted" Yes, but apparently "the converted" are part of a different church "The system sucks" Now I know why you didn't say "our". Power tends to corrupt. If our system were so bad, it would be much worse for the rest of the world. And it might be in the not-too-distant future.
	nifty1940 2 months ago @Jonathan Sterling You're right. I like the analysis. The day JFK was done away with, the screws came loose, and until President Trump came along (a huge surprise to me) I despaired that anyone could bring the corruption to light and save the Constitution. At the moment, I'm unsure of the future gen. I truly hope you are right. Admittedly, there are sparks of hope, so I really want to share your enthusiasm.
n	nifty1940 2 months ago (edited) @Jonathan Sterling Yes, but as an Australian, and at arms length, I take a close interest in U. S. politics; because every time the United States cough, we get a cold! And, only a fool would not investigate the major Nation's health (warts 'n' all) to see how the global theatre impacts us, the ordinary bloke in the street. America is becoming the darling of poster- childs (under Mr. Trump) as to how delivery of promises, and policies are both set, followed through on and implemented. Not to put too fine a point on it, I wish we had a Trump here and every nation take notice of the impact he is making. He is a blessing to the World.

### 6.3.1.2.3. Third Comment Thread

This thread is heavily dominated by the original commenter Cryptozila. Additionally, he makes a lot of replies and throws out some big allegations.

For the CNN supporters, there were two pervasive themes; 1) you/Republicans are crazy, and 2) there is corruption stemming from the Republicans.

The first theme emerges from the original comment in the thread, stating that everyone who instigated the impeachment are the real criminals with ties to Ukraine and continues throughout the conversation with user Cryptozilla. This is not the view of the CNN supporters who shoot it down without real arguments other than you are insane, crazy, delusional and simply wrong for believing that Trump did nothing wrong and it is the others who are the problem.

W	Wagz22 2 months ago Calm down Alex Jones Iol maybe they're reptilians too?!
	stable genius 2 months ago You are seriously sick. Ask for help.
D	Didymus Mac 2 months ago One of the dumbest statements made, ever. You tRumpholes should just go ahead and drink the Kool-Aid.
@Cryp baking	us Mac 2 months ago ptozilla You have made many mindless statements in your comment. I can only assume you're either a NUT JOB republican or a NUT JOB Russian. You should pursue knitting or g. Tomorrow some guys will be stopping by your house with a white jacket for you to try on. It's going to fit you perfectly. I think you'll like it. It was nice to meet you though Mr. ni. Good night.

The second theme comes from a comment from the user Garfield Farkle who is a returning commenter, suggesting that Republican Attorney General William Barr was bought off and that all Republican Attorney Generals have been corrupt traitors. Interesting, is seeing how both sides claim corruption from the other.

۲	Garfield Farkle 2 months ago
	Who bought off William Barr? Why no Justice Dept. investigations of any of them? First Sessions, then Barr. Why can't we find an AG who is not a traitor?

The themes emerging in the Fox supporters' comments are also tied to and emerges from the user Cryptozilla, as they are the original commenter in the thread and they reply to many comments in thread. There were three pervasive themes found in the comments; 1) the ones that went against Trump are the real criminals and part of deep running corruption, 2) it is all a conspiracy and I have evidence, and 3) the Left are stupid and cannot handle losing.

The first theme originates from the original comment in the tread. Here, it is claimed that Pelosi, Biden, Kerry and Romney are the real criminals with ties to Ukraine and the ones who should be under investigation. Interestingly, these are all the people who had a major role in the impeachment, Trump's biggest rival in the next election and the only Republican who voted against Trump. This is backed up by multiple commenters who also add the idea of it being a "political mafia" suggesting organised criminal activities and add Adam Schiff to the list, suggesting that all who oppose Trump are part of a corruption ring and trying to save themselves from Trump's investigations.



The second theme presents itself in the replies from Cryptozilla to people questioning the idea of all these people being involved in corruption. The overall theme for the replies is corruption stemming mostly from the Democrats involved in the situation.

Cryptozilla uses a specific phrase a lot, stating that they have done 'thousands of hours of research', that they are simply following the trails and not affiliated with or supporting any political party. This frame them as a logical thinker and, as will also become apparent later, anyone who disagrees with them is too emotionally invested and/or blinded by Leftist propaganda to see the connections. They also present the impeachment as an attempt from the players in the conspiracy to save themselves from Trump's investigations. An interesting note is that even with "thousands" of hours of research, Cryptozilla never links to any sources that might back up his claims, simply stating "follow the money" and dismissing all opposing thoughts as blinded by career politicians, and left media and education.

# Cryptozilla 2 months ago @Wagz22 Alex Jones would just rant and scream. That's not what is happening here. I've done a ton of hours of research and what I've posted here is just a part of it. When you hear the complaints, it's always a complaint about "How dare Trump ask about Biden" but more importantly "How dare he hold up that money". It's because they all involved in pulling money out of Ukraine and the corruption leads back to who was put in charge to clean up corrupt by Obama. Schiff as well has his hands dirty with a number of investments (he's supplied as a matter of record) showing he's invested in these corrupt companies and he's also been involved with a number of Ukraine businesses in military sales. I have no emotional ties to any of them and I will call out corruption in any form from anyone. Normally law makers have protected each other for favors because most of them on the take - one way or another. But Ukraine hit a nerve and these career politicians have felt for far too long that they are in control so they came up with a case based on a phone call. They brought a bunch of non-witnesses and then believed their superior intellect and law degrees would be enough to talk their way through a case that would take down the most powerful political person in the world. They need to all be investigated and then we will see why they are all working together.

They also present this as a larger problem that arises from "career politicians", starting the theme that Trump is innocent and part of the solution as he is not a career politician, while also suggesting that this sort of corruption might be rampant in the government as this is just one country with that many high-level politicians connected to it who are able to mount enough support to start an impeachment.

<u>.</u>	Cryptozilla 2 months ago @Didymus Mac These are not mindless statements and I do not follow either party in America. The evidence is from thousands of hours looking into this group that are all tied together. And everything leads back to funneling funds out of the Ukraine. And I said back in November Romney was part of it as well and he showed his cards. Schiff also has reported financial investments in a number of Ukraine companies and has had Ukraine arms dealers funding his campaign. Follow the money and you'll see why they felt they had to do this to keep the cover over what they've been taken. And this is just one country, these people are all career politicians that have all massed fortunes while being "public servants"
	Show less

Cryptozilla plays the logical thinking card multiple times, presenting all who oppose their view as simply too emotional and blinded by the career politicians. Building upon this, they also present Trump as the only one in the whole event without anything to gain from Ukraine, presenting him as the only one not bought by anyone and the only one trying to protect America's interests. As such, they also present Trump as completely innocent in this whole affair and as being attacked by a large group of corrupt politicians.

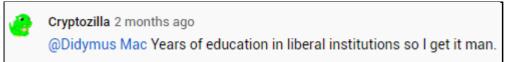
Cryptozilla 2 months ago @etownbrawler1 You are not following the money and running on emotion. The lies are what have been told to you for years by these carrier politicians and backed up by the majority of the media that are in bed with them. Get outside the States and look at things objectively. The world as you say is not looking at the US president in the wrong to ask to investigate someone clearly corrupt by his own admission to having the prosecutor fired. But how all this gang stuck together because they have to in order to hide their corrupt deals. It doesn't stop at Ukraine either... Iraqi contract money went "missing" in the billions. The deal Kerry did with Iran is not a coincidence. But perhaps you are a paid shill... who knows anymore. Trump didn't profit but all the rest of them did. It's something that should be investigated and screaming LIES isn't going to avoid the investigations. Show less

While also stating that the only reason someone disagrees with his findings is because they are afraid

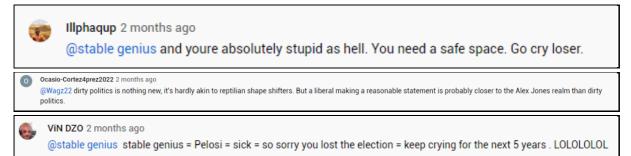
of the truth that he has found.

	Cryptozilla 2 months ago
-	@Didymus Mac You can rant all you want. The money trail is there and the investigations are coming! I careless about what party someone is in but if they are working against the
	country and the people then it should be investigated.
	Nobody is questioning if Trump was on the take but you sure get bent out of shape when you want to know who was. Investigate Trump too if you like. But the have been some
	horrible corruption going on the Ukraine and the minute people ask to find out who got paid they freak out. What is there to hide and why is it clearly driving you insane? You don't
	need a straight jacket. You just need to open your eyes and see the light.
	Show less

Finally, they reaffirm the idea of a larger conspiracy from the Left wing by mentioning that Didymus Mac cannot see the truth he presents because they have been indoctrinated by liberal education institutions, suggesting that the conspiracy goes deeper than just earning money for the career politicians.



The final theme emerges from comments presenting the Democrats as stupid and not able to handle that Trump won. What is interesting, is the mention that they need a safe space, suggesting that Democrats cannot handle the real world and that liberals making a reasonable statement is more akin to the craziness of Alex Jones than anything else, reaffirming the idea that the right wing supporters see the left wing as out of touch with reality.



### 6.3.2. Comparative analysis of YouTube Comments

For the CNN supporters, Trump is the problem and he is the sole reason for the impeachment. Not because of some personal grudge but because he breaks the law repeatedly and he corrupts the nation with threats of violence and false information, while positioning himself as the sole provider of truth by smearing the reputation of all sources of information that do not agree with him. The Republicans are protecting Trump because he has a grip around them that they do not dare let go of, as such, they do everything in their power to ensure that he is not convicted and voted out of office.

The CNN supporters do play on the idea of corruption and conspiracy with the accusations of foul play from Republican Attorney Generals, the notion that the Republican party knew that Trump did something wrong but were too scared to vote against him and the idea that the Senate, which is majorly Republican, let potential key witnesses in the case simply ignore subpoenas to testify. However, an interesting note is that it is not the entirety of the Republican party nor the entirety of the right wing that is being blamed or framed as the enemy. Mostly when these ideas come up, it is either specific people mentioned by name or, more often than not, Trump and his supporters. This suggests that they do not see a large conspiracy corrupting all sectors of the right wing but a singular source of problems, namely Donald Trump, and his followers as the problem in all of this.

Meanwhile, the Fox supporters see the reason for the impeachment as being the left wing is mad that they could not beat Trump in the 2016 election and now want revenge. On top of this, the left wing is corrupting every part of America and is part of a major conspiracy that is trying to impede the free

speech of anyone who does not vote blue and control the country. This conspiracy takes different forms. For some, the impeachment was about silencing Trump to avoid investigations into Ukraine, as the people with actual corrupt ties to Ukraine were every major player involved in the impeachment, Joe Biden, and the only Republican who voted against Trump, namely Mitt Romney. Some take the conspiracy further and see the left wing as a shadowy organisation that has controlled the country for years through a deep state which is also responsible for all problems that are in society right now. On top of this, it is not just the left wing politicians that is the problem, it is also the mainstream media, which Fox News is not part of. The mainstream media, including YouTube, is part of the conspiracy to oppress right wingers and spreads false information to portray the right wing in a bad light. Furthermore, everyone who were against Trump in this trial are traitors to the nation and should be treated as such, meaning capital punishment for all of them. One key component to the conspiracy notion presented in the Fox supporter comments, is the fact that Trump had nothing to gain from this trial and is not bought by or working together with the mainstream media nor is he a career politician. This means that Trump's word is trustworthy as his agenda is America's agenda and not his own.

Both sides have their share of complete dismissal of an opposing idea, however, where the CNN supporters have a few that try to make arguments for a society driven approach, where we work together instead of fighting and it is everyone's right to their own opinions, the Fox News supporters are very hostile and dismissive all the time. There is no room for opposing thoughts, if you do not think their way you are the enemy and you are either delusional, brainwashed by the left wing conspiracies, too emotional to think clearly or simply stupid and mentally ill.

This divide in acceptance of opinions is especially evident in the discussion on abortion between AK MediaArts and Family Lowe. Throughout the thread, AK MediaArts reiterates again and again that all should have the right to their own opinions as long as they do not involve violence against someone, additionally, establishing that while Family Lowe might not want abortion to be a thing, the issue needs to be tackled, not as a black and white or good and bad issue, but instead with the needs of everyone in mind. This is sharply contrasted by Familt Lowe who repeatedly states that abortion is simply murder and everyone who disagrees with them are simply justifying murder, adding that anyone who does not agree with them are the enemy and will be treated as such.

Interesting to note related to the topic of abortion is the conservative notions on the human body and relationships displayed by the Fox supporters. As mentioned, Family Lowe presents the belief that abortion is murder, a belief mostly displayed by far right, conservative and religious people. At the same time, in the large discussion between user Jonathan Sterling and Nifty1940 (section 6.3.1.2.2), the sanctity of marriage, being between a man and a woman, and the subsequent destruction of this sanctity, is what is driving many, if not all, of the problems that the American society faces right now. Again, a very conservative and religious stance which excludes everyone who does not conform to these guidelines.

# 7. Discussion of Results

In this section, we will be discussing our results from all three parts of the analysis in order to find similarities and disparities between the three. Doing this, will allow us to reflect on how our analysis matches with our research question while also giving us the opportunity to establish overall framing choices made by the three sectors. We will begin by going through the frames found in the CNN sections of our analysis discussing how the articles, tweets and comments each reflect their own frames while still producing a similar overall frame. We then focus on the Fox News sections of our analysis, doing the same. Having discussed the results in terms of framing, we reflect on the results in terms of methodological choices and how these have affected our research. We finish the discussion by putting the impeachment as a whole into perspective by utilising the information gained from the analysed frames. Having discussed our results, we will draw a conclusion on our research question.

Having reviewed all three parts of the analysis, focusing on only the CNN section, it is evident that when looking at CNN, the Democratic politicians and the public comments, categorised under CNN supporters, that many similar frames are present. However, as much as there are similarities in how these frames are presented there are also some differences, yet the overall messages remain the same, that President Trump has committed a crime and should be put to justice, that the Republican party are blindly protecting him and that the Democratic party is doing everything they can for the American people.

One of the major themes for all three sectors is the focus on the impeachment, however, different frames are presented under this. One of the first problems that are established is President Trump himself, that he has committed a crime and should be put to justice. When looking at the CNN articles,

they focus a lot on Trump's "abuse of power", that he is a "traitor to the nation" his selfishness and his anger. Throughout the articles, they continuously mention that he has committed this crime out of self-interest without taking the consequences into account, however, towards the end, the last couple of articles become more explicit highlighting President Trump's angry, childish and vindictive outbursts and behaviour. This picture of President Trump is similar to the frame that the Democratic politicians have of him, however, already from the beginning there is a major focus on how bad of a President he is. Here, President Trump is called out for only acting upon his own political interest, making decisions that are a danger to national security and that he is more concerned with autocratic leaders than establishing a good relationship with the Democratic party in order to help the American people. Additionally, among the public, President Trump is also framed as the problem as they focus on the fact that he is the one causing major divides and trouble in the United States. President Trump spews distrust and false information, yet he lashes out on any media or information that is against him. This is also an issue that CNN has called out, highlighting that the President and White House Officials cannot be trusted as they have been hiding criminal actions committed by the President on national IT servers. The Democratic politicians also pointed out the President's lack of transparency, especially during trial where witnesses were not allowed to testify and new evidence was not considered. This too, is something that CNN points out, focusing majorly on the 'battle' that the Democrats have been fighting trying to get a fair trial based on witnesses and evidence. However, among the public the focus of "us" and "them" is not found among the two parties but rather among the public themselves. Here, they create a political battlefield where they claim that they have seen an increase in Trump supporters becoming more violent and that Trump therefore must be stopped, which again, pinpoints President Trump as the initial problem in all this as he is corrupting the country. On the contrary, they frame themselves as patriots wanting to die for their country if needed in order to stand up against these violent Trump supporters. This too is a highlighted frame among the politicians as they associate Lt. Col. Vindman, the whistleblower and everyone else standing up for their country and the Constitution with patriotism. The mentioning of patriots and patriotism is not done as much throughout the CNN articles, however, they do spend a lot of time framing Democrats, the whistleblower and Lt. Col. Vindman as transparent, trustworthy and as having America's interest at heart.

As the source of the problem is President Trump, the Republican party automatically becomes part of the problem as well, as they reflect President Trump and his actions. Here, it is a common frame that the Republican party follows Trump blindly regardless of his illegal actions. Also, in reference to the Republican party, CNN highlights the mistrust and lack of transparency which is supported by tweets mentioning that both the President and his party are hiding important facts. However, among the public comments, they are more focused on emphasising many of the points about division tactics, spurring hatred and violence against certain groups, and the constant lying that Trump seems to be doing when discussing his policies, which only strengthens their beliefs that they have a proper cause of concern and that the evidence can be trusted. Moreover, they believe that Trump and the Republicans are withholding evidence and testimonies from happening, implying that Trump hampered the trial because there was proper evidence to be found. This statement is also true according to many of the tweets made and in the articles. Among the YouTube comments is a denial to the Republicans' claim that the Democrats are impeaching Trump due to jealousy and hatred. This theme is not presented as such by CNN or the politicians, however, they focus a lot on having enough presentable evidence about Trump's illegal actions in order to impeach him, thereby presenting the Democrats as factual and logical, and the only reason Trump was acquitted is because he has more Republicans voting in the Senate. Both from CNN and in the tweets, they establish a problem concerning the illegal actions by President Trump and his Ukrainian phone call, which Adam Schiff refers to in a tweet as a 'classic mob shakedown', supported by CNN referring to the Republican party as GOP attack dogs because they will follow President Trump blindly regardless of his obvious illegal actions, which shows in the Senate when they voted to acquit him of both articles. This problem is also a concern to the public who highlights that some Senators admitted that Trump did something wrong but still voted not guilty and that the impeachment and following trial has not been conducted on fair terms. This issue is also taken up by the Democratic politicians who do not believe that they have witnessed a fair trial, tweeting that they will continue the investigation even after Trump's acquittal in order to expose the truth that the American people deserve.

Among the YouTube comments they call out Trump and the Republican party as being corrupt. This is not a recurring theme in the CNN articles and is only mentioned briefly by some of the Democratic politicians. Looking over the tweets, however, there is one Republican that the Democrats praise, Mitt Romney, who stood up to Trump due to his belief that Trump is guilty in the 'Abuse of Power' article. This focus is shared by CNN which frames Romney as a man of faith who values democracy. Among the comments, however, there is no focus on Romney, rather they continue the battle between parties, calling out the Republican party as corrupt traitors. The public argues that President Trump should have been impeached earlier but the upcoming election affected this. This aligns with the

whistleblower's concern about CrowdStrike which President Trump mentions during his phone call with President Zelensky. CNN highlights this in one of the articles making the claim that there must be a connection between Trump, the Russians and the reason that Trump won the election back in 2016.

When framing the Democrats, the YouTube comments present themselves as 'the bigger person' by showing that they respect opposing opinions and in their argumentation for many of the points that they make while trying to argue multiple sides of a problem very much emphasising choice different viewpoints. In doing this, the comments create a "we", that it is about Americans protecting each other and working together instead of painting a picture of a political battlefield with Democrats versus Republican, which adds to the frame of them being the "justice warriors", similar to the frame Democratic politicians have given themselves. This especially comes to show in a specific tweet made by Nancy Pelosi stating that despite the dispute between the parties, Democrats are always ready to extend their hand in order to work together for the sake of the people, with a picture showing President Trump turning her away. However, other comments establish a distinct line between "us" and "them", dismissing Fox supporters' opinions and calling out Trump as an orange clown who sexually assault women. In terms of Pelosi, she is a very controversial figure in the impeachment, and the CNN articles have not left out the fact that she made some bad decisions like ripping up the State of the Union speech and handing out pens on an otherwise sad day in American history, however, they will always follow this up with good representation of her, reminding that she is logical and factual and that her claims are evidence based, just like it is represented in the tweets.

Many of the frames discussed above are presented differently by the three sectors, however, it seems that the goal for all three sectors is to generally present themselves as logical, patriotic, justice warriors, and as standing and fighting for the people whereas Trump and the Republicans are the opposite. The Republican party blindly follows and supports a mad-man who is only interested in himself and is a threat to national security. It is believed, and supported by evidence, that Trump has committed an illegal action and he should be put to justice regardless of his acquittal as they honour and respect democracy and the Constitution. When trying to get the message across, it does seem that the public is more extreme spurring direct hate whereas the articles and tweets remain more restrained.

Looking at the themes presented in the Fox News section, it is clear that there are definite similarities throughout the sectors of frame builders regarding almost all aspects of the impeachment. However, there are also salient differences in the way these themes are presented and to what extent they go.

Starting with the representation of the problem concerning the impeachment, all sectors are in agreement that the reason for the impeachment was not because of any wrong-doing on Trump's part but instead because the left wing and Democrats are jealous that they did not win the last election, and this impeachment is just the next attempt to remove Trump from office in a line of attempts to do this starting from when Trump took his oath. Where all the sectors do agree in these themes, the extent to which they expand them differs. The media and politicians in general focus the problem as stemming from the Democratic party, and while they are very much abusing the system and doing this out of spite without regard for the nation, it is focused on Trump and not a larger conspiracy to attain control of America. Meanwhile, the public and President Trump use the impeachment to expand on a larger problem of corruption and conspiracy originating from the entire left wing, including every mainstream media and every politician that is against Trump. The objective of the conspiracy is not just to remove Trump from office but is instead attempting to control the nation by curbing the free speech of all right wing supporters, controlling the narrative presented to the people, indoctrinating the youth through the educational system and deconstructing the moral backbone of America by destroying such things as traditional marriage and allowing abortion. This suggests that while the public does present similar themes to the other sectors, their opinions are more extreme and expansive to what the media and politicians portray or at least to what these two are willing to present.

This expansion on a theme is also found in the portrayal of Joe Biden. Where the media simply hint at the fact that the Biden family are the real criminals in this whole event by ending multiple of the articles by mentioning the Biden affairs in Ukraine, President Trump directly refers to Joe Biden as needing to be investigated and extending the theme to the whistleblower working with the Democrats to protect Biden. Meanwhile, Ted Cruz uses the Biden affairs to suggest that Trump's actions were justified because the happenings suggest potential corruption, thereby admitting that Trump's might have done something wrong but justifying it because it was done to combat another wrong. Interestingly, no other politician mention the Biden affairs in their tweets, suggesting that there was not party wide agreement on the degree of corruption emanating from the Bidens. However, this theme is taking to the extreme by the public. Presented in the public frame, it is not just Biden that has bad ties to Ukraine, it is every major player in the impeachment and the only member of the Republican party who voted against Trump, namely Mitt Romney. The public suggests that the impeachment was not only done to affect the next election and because the Democrats are vindictive and jealous, but also to silence Trump and stop investigations into Ukraine, as these would reveal a larger web of corruption and bribery coming from big players in the government. Interestingly, this web of corruption is also presented as being easily uncovered if you only do the research and think logically about the situation, furthering the idea of a larger conspiracy, because if it's that easy to see the connection, why has it not been uncovered yet.

Building on that, the public also present the idea that because Trump is not a career politician and, therefore, not a part of the web of corruption or in league with mainstream media, he can be trusted to uphold the interests of America, as he is the only one not standing to benefit from investigations into Ukraine and the impeachment. The frame of only one side having the interests of America in mind is also seen in the media and political frames, however, without the larger conspiracy in mind. In the media frames, the Republicans are presented as being the only party still upholding American interests, with mentions of them still discussing legislation meant to help America during this sham of a trial. Additionally, they are presented as the only ones pushing for a fair trial and considering the law and Constitution while the Democrats are trying to push for the use of anecdotal evidence and testimonies that have nothing to do with the trial. This is also reflected in the public frames, where the decisions made to block certain evidence is defended. These frames are also reflected in the political frames. Again, the Republicans frame themselves as the ones fighting for America and the only ones following the Constitution while the Democrats are the reason they cannot get anything done as they simply block all their attempts at bettering the country. This shows that the public is again more extreme in their views as they see a large conspiracy where left wing politicians and everyone agreeing with them cannot be trusted, however, there is agreement that the Republicans and Trump are the only ones who can be trusted to still uphold America's interests and follow the Constitution.

A recurring theme that is presented in all sectors is the idea that Trump's actions are completely justified and do not constitute impeachment because earlier Democrats were not impeached for certain actions, that Trump's actions were made to uncover corruption and that foreign governments have interfered in elections before. This suggests that everyone in the Fox News section agrees that

his actions were wrong but justified and not worthy of impeachment because the Democrats have done similar things and not been impeached.

A theme that is not pervasive in the political or public frames is the idea of the Democrats being split on the decision to impeach Trump, which appears in the media frames. This suggests that, at least from the political and public view, the Democrats and left wing is not seen as a split group, where some might have reservations regarding the impeachment or hold similar beliefs to a right winger, instead they are grouped together as one coherent group of enemies that are fighting against us. Meanwhile, it is interesting to see how Mitt Romney is treated. As the only Republican who voted against Trump he is categorised by the same themes that the Democrats are within all three sectors. He is presented as a jealous vindictive man who is only voting against Trump because he did not become President himself. This does, however, take different shapes in the different sectors. In the media frames, while his decision is presented with certain considerations of how he came to make it, the majority is still focused on Trump's comments about Romney connecting him to the attributes of the Democratic party. In the political frames it is, as mentioned, only Trump who comments on his decision, attributing it to jealousy and condemning him, while the rest of the Republicans do not tweet about him, suggesting that the party as a whole is not agreeing that his decision excludes him from the Republican party. However, in the public frames Romney is completely grouped together with the Democrats and the left wing, and the corruption that flows from them.

Overall, it is clear that all three sectors have a general theme to present, namely that we are the good guys and they are the bad guys. In the media frames this is evident in the way that the Republican party is placed as the bastion fighting to ensure a fair proceeding, in a trial that should not be happening as there is no evidence nor any wrong-doing. In the political frames this is clear as they present the same ideas, as the media, of the trial being a hoax with no evidence but also in their framing as the only party still working to better America in the face of constant blocks and non-cooperation from the Democratic side. In the public frames, seen through the eyes of corruption and conspiracies from the entire left wing and mainstream media, it is also clear that the bad guys are not really people that can be cooperated with but are instead the enemy. This creates a situation where there is no willingness to bend one's opinions. In the media frames, there is no doubt that Trump is innocent and the Democrats are clutching at straws to remove him from office again. In the political frames the same themes emerge but with the addition of the Democrats failing to uphold the

Constitution and blocking the Republicans from making any real progress in bettering the country and, finally, in the public frames anyone who has an opposing opinion are either stupid, brainwashed, too emotional to see reason or simply unwilling to.

After going through the themes in all three parts of the analysis for both the CNN section and Fox News section, we can establish that there are similarities between the frames found in the media, political and public sectors. Moreover, one of the major themes that is very prominent in all three sectors, is the intense need to create a frame of "us" and "them", making this entire discussion very black and white.

This manifest itself when looking at the way that the two sides present the opposition. In the media and political frames, the focus lies in framing the other party as selfish, corrupt and unworthy of governing America, as the opposition is the only reason that they cannot better the country. Among the public, this divide is seen in the extreme cases of dismissal and opinion of the opposition. An interesting point found in this divide is the difference in how the sectors connect. The politicians and media outlets generally remain more professional in their language and statements, however, among the Republicans there is an outlier, namely President Trump who uses a more direct and personal language which is more comparable to the way that the public speaks. Pairing this with the themes stemming from the CNN supporters, this suggests that Trump is either affected by or affecting his supporters, creating a more extreme rhetoric and toxic behaviour.

Reflecting on our methodological choices, we will discuss how these have affected our research. In terms of creating a general picture of media frames that are presented by CNN and Fox News, the choice of using only written articles from certain highlight dates does seem to have been sufficient. However, in order to get a more in depth understanding and generally more reflective frame, a larger selection of data in terms of e.g. articles, social media posts, news broadcasts etc. would have been preferred and needed. Another aspect in our media data is the direct search for impeachment content. Not limiting the parameters to this would have allowed us to see if other content from the outlet reflects the same frames as the ones created surrounding the impeachment, allowing us to use the impeachment as a reflection on the outlets framing as a whole.

An important note surrounding the results of our political frames is that the tweets were not collected with the impeachment in mind, only within the timeframe. As such, we have found frames that do

not pertain to the impeachment, giving us results that are not within our scope of the impeachment. However, while these results do sit outside our scope, they do still reflect upon the frames within the impeachment, allowing us to discuss how both sides present the opposing party in their normal day to day activities. Our analysis shows that both sides present the opposition as the reason that they cannot better the country more which bolsters the frames of the impeachment where the opposition are the ones not adhering to the Constitution or the law. From an outsider's perspective, there is to some degree an understanding of the vast difference in opinion in relation to the impeachment between the parties as the Democrats are choosing to impeach a Republican President, however, as we established in the second part of the analysis (see section 6.2.), many of the Democratic and Republican politicians seemed to have the same agendas and thoughts on how to improve the American society and help where it is needed, yet they still seem to create the same frame of "us" and "them", where they continuously blame the other party of hindering them from helping the nation. However, looking at the results and arguments from the public, it is evident that the two sides are very different when it comes to opinion on legislation and how the country should be governed, and that cooperation does not seem to be an option as both sides strongly believe that an opposing view is wrong and only seen this way because the opposition is stupid, brainwashed or blind.

An interesting result in the political frames is seen in the Republican tweets. Where the Republican party overall has the same frame, many of the themes presented by President Trump, such as good relations to China and Russia, friendly terms with autocratic leaders and condemning Mitt Romney, are all not communicated by other Republicans. In fact, many of the Republican politicians' tweets seem to be in direct contrast to Trump's views, with many tweets expressing sympathy and support for Hong Kong and dislike for countries such as Russia and its leader. Taking that into consideration with a theme presented at the CNN frames where the Republicans are completely under Trump's thumb to the point where they knew that he did something wrong but did not actually vote against him, it would seem that the Republican politicians do not really agree with Trump but see the option of keeping him in office as the only way of staying in control.

In regard to the public frames, it is very important to be aware of the demographic that we can realistically say that our data represents. While certain indicators are made in the comments on who these people are, we have no real way of confirming or denying their claims. This means that, while very unlikely, multiple of the users that we have could be the same person commenting from different accounts or comments being made by bots. Additionally, people spending this much time arguing

and commenting on a YouTube video, so-called "keyboard warriors", are not necessarily a good enough representation of the American public as they evidently have very extreme opinions and seem to be very aggressive and dismissive of opposing opinions. Relating to that, is a pattern of very aggressive and copy pasted comments made by Family Lowe. While certain comments do suggest that the person is not a bot, it does question the intentions of the comments, as the person does not seem to be interested in arguing their case but instead is baiting for hate comments by expressing outrageous claims of corruption and very strong opinions.

Another aspect to consider in the public frame is the absence of certain themes regarding earlier developments in the impeachment. This suggests that while the general frame stays the same, aspects of it are discarded in favour of new developments, indicating that frames are ever evolving. This also brings the choice of only having comments from the last day of the timeline into question, as this choice seems to have lost us certain themes. This could have been avoided by including comments from more dates, however, this would have been preferred if the media frames were based off YouTube videos. Another approach could have been to include multiple online forums in an attempt to get a more diverse and reflective set of data, however, we would still risk encountering "keyboard warriors". Of course, the optimal route would have been to actually engage with Americans directly, as we would have had clear information on ideology, gender, age etc.

It is evident that before and during Donald J. Trump's impeachment that there have been accusations regarding the Democratic party and their reason to impeach Trump merely is due to the fact that they do not support him as President and want him removed from office. Yet, as we can see from former impeachments, Presidents from both the Democratic and Republican party have been impeached, and on similar grounds, namely abuse of power for personal gain. However, none of the aforementioned Presidents were found guilty of their crimes thus being acquitted, therefore, it can be questioned why the Democratic party chose to file for impeachment of Donald J. Trump despite former impeached Presidents being acquitted for similar crimes and simultaneously knowing they were lacking evidence.

Having said that, it is curious to see how both sides have a solidified frame of the impeachment and Trump's actions from the beginning. The Democrats and CNN both jump on the allegations and present them as facts from beginning to end, even before any investigation had been conducted into the matter. Meanwhile, the Republicans and Fox News present the allegations as fake with absolutely no evidence and call into question every aspect of the impeachment, from the whistleblower to the arguments made about Trump, again before any investigations had been conducted into the matter. Using the knowledge of earlier impeachments as well as a theme found in the CNN supporter comments, it does seem that the choice to impeach, and the extent to which this choice was drawn out, was an attempt from the Democrats to weaken Trump's position in the upcoming election. However, it does seem that Trump's grip on the Republican party has strengthened as they protect him regardless of any arguments made to his wrong-doing. At the same time, the partisan push of the impeachment seems to have confirmed certain themes on corruption and conspiracies presented by right wing supporters in the public, as they see a party forcefully push an impeachment all the way to trial without any support from the opposing party.

In one of CNN's articles, it is highlighted that the whistleblower is confused about a mentioning of a certain IT system, CrowdStrike, by President Trump during his phone call with President Zelensky. The article then highlights that there must be a connection between Trump, the Russians and the reason that Trump won the election back in 2016, as it is the same IT system that was the centre of attention during a scandal with Trump, the Russians and the election 2016. President Trump and the Republicans claim that Trump made a perfect phone call without any malicious intentions, however, his mention of CrowdStrike which was, as mentioned, the centre of attention when discussing whether Trump and the Russians collaborated in tampering the result of the 2016 elections and his attempt at finding dirt on a Presidential rival suggests that the phone call was not as "perfect" as it is presented to be and was actually an attempt at affecting the upcoming election, similar to what the Republicans are accusing the Democrats of doing with the impeachment.

## 8. Conclusion

We can conclude that there is a correlation between media frames, political frames and public frames. Beginning by looking at CNN, they frame the impeachment as legitimate proceeding as President Trump's actions were criminal in nature which can be supported by evidence. From the beginning, all allegations and accusations are framed as facts and the Democratic party is presented as the only party considering America's interest over their own. They do this by subsequently framing the Republican party as loyal attack dogs that blindly protects President Trump despite the claims made against him and the admittal from Republicans politicians that he did something wrong. Fox News creates a similar frame, however, reversed. Here, the impeachment is only instigated because the Democrats do not like Trump and are jealous of Trump winning the 2016 election, and that this is just another attempt of removing him from office in a long line of unsuccessful attempts starting from when he took his oath. The Republican party is framed as the only party having America's interest at heart, battling a jealous and vindictive Democratic party.

In terms of the correlation between the three sectors, we see that there is a definite correlation between the general frame of the problem regarding the impeachment on both sides. The media and political frames express the same overall frame, however, they also have clear correlations in terms of themes and language that is used to express this frame. However, in the Republican side of the political frames there is an outlier in President Trump who uses a more direct language and presents more extreme opinions on corruption surrounding the impeachment which is more reflective of how the public frames are presented. The public has the same overall frame, however, they present more extreme opinions and aggressive approaches towards opposing opinions. This is especially evident in the Fox News supporter comments who view the impeachment through the lense of corruption, expressing ideas of a large-scale conspiracy from the left wing aimed at suppressing all who oppose them and stopping Trump from investigating further into Ukraine, as it would reveal a larger web of corruption.

Throughout the three sectors, we see an ongoing theme of establishing a divide between "us" and "them". No matter the topic being presented, the opposing party is always presented as an enemy that must be defeated no matter the cost, making no room for differing opinions and cooperation. An example of this is how Mitt Romney's decision to vote guilty on one charge is treated. From the Republican side, he became the black sheep who was shunned and framed, alongside the Democrats, as a jealous and angry man because Trump became President and he did not, as well as connecting him to the large web of left wing corruption in the public frames. On the contrary, the Democrats praise him as the only Republican who can see the light of their cause and a patriot capable of putting America's interest above his own. Both sides leave no room for considerations, the Republicans instantly distance themselves from him showing that opposing opinions are not accepted and the Democrats hail him as a patriot, even though he only voted guilty on one charge, showing that they do not see any opinion of Trump's innocence as valid.

Through the analysis, we see that the two political parties have a similar "us" vs "them" frame when discussing legislation outside of the impeachment, suggesting that the overall frames found in our analysis might be reflective of the framing done on a day to day basis.

## 9. Further Research

If this research was to be redone, we would utilise a larger sample size from all aspects. This would be done by utilizing all articles regarding the impeachment in the timeframe, including more, if not all, politicians in the tweets and, if possible, travel to the US to personally interview people to reduce the number of unknown variables that we have in this research. If that was not possible, we would gather a larger sample size consisting of multiple online forums in an attempt to circumvent the unknowns by sheer data size.

Having established what the frames are, there are two interesting possibilities to research. First, it would be interesting to focus on certain frames and investigate where these originated from and how they have evolved over time. Second, it would be interesting to investigate the effects of these frames, possibly put into a larger perspective of time, and see how the use of certain frames have affected either coverage, opinion or legislation on a topic. Another perspective from the effects is looking at how the different sectors of frame builders affect each other. This could for example be in investigating how certain social movements affect not only politicians and media coverage but also the way legislation might be worded or framed.

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