

ilmedia

  
TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT  
ILMENAU

---

Humayun, Muhammad Fahad

***From Candidate to President:***

How DW Covered Donald Trump before and after 2016 US  
Presidential Elections

---

Technische Universität Ilmenau  
Ilmenau, 2018

URN: [urn:nbn:de:gbv:ilm1-2018200037](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:ilm1-2018200037)

From Candidate to President:

How Deutsche Welle covered Donald Trump before and after the US Presidential

Elections

Master's Thesis

Muhammad Fahad Humayun

**Abstract:**

This research study investigates the coverage of Donald Trump before and after his US 2016 presidential elections win using Framing Theory as theoretical background. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis using Ward's and Centroid method is applied. Results show that DW framed Donald Trump as the "bad candidate" before he was announced as the Republican nomination, and as "White Supremacist" after his election win.

Ethics Statement:

I, Muhammad Fahad Humayun, student of Master's program in media and communication science at Technical University of Ilmenau hereby confirm that I am aware of my responsibilities as a social science empirical researcher and all the coded material was taken from publicly published content on DW website and no private information was used in this study. Data in the spss file attached as appendix is free of any data manipulation and data fabrication.

I have no financial results associated with this study or YouTube channels included in this study.

X

---

Muhammad Fahad Humayun

## Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	8
A brief history of us-german relations: .....	9
From 1785 to World War 1 .....	9
World War 1 and 2 .....	10
German Reunification .....	11
Anti-Americanism in Germany.....	11
Donald Trump and Germany .....	12
Donald Trump (candidate) remarks about Germany .....	12
Donald Trump (President) remarks about Germany .....	13
Importance of News Coverage and its Analysis .....	14
Choice of Media.....	17
Deutsche Welle .....	18
Research Question:.....	19
Chapter 2: Theoretical approach.....	20
Theory Building Process.....	20
Who (Media Producers) .....	23
Channel (Medium).....	24
To Whom (Audience) .....	24
Effect (Media Effects).....	24
Says What (Media Content).....	25

Media Richness Theory .....	25
Media System Dependency Theory.....	27
Agenda Setting Theory .....	27
Framing Theory .....	33
Framing Theory as primary framework.....	39
Assumptions .....	39
Theoretical Conceptions .....	40
Focus and Previous Literature: .....	41
Chapter 3: Literature Review.....	43
Framing Theory .....	43
Definitions .....	43
Associated Concepts .....	46
Categorization .....	49
Conceptual Issues and Limitations.....	51
Studies with Framing as primary framework .....	52
Studies concerning coverage of Donald Trump.....	57
Chapter 4: Methodology.....	62
Research Questions .....	62
Research Design .....	62
Matthes & Kohring Method.....	63
Sampling and Data Collection .....	64

Codebook Development .....	65
Codebook Reliability .....	70
Data Cleaning and Data Analysis: .....	74
Chapter 5: Results.....	75
Sample Description.....	75
Research Question 1 .....	76
Research Question 2 .....	82
Research Question 3 .....	86
Frame: White Supremacist.....	88
Frame: Presidential Coverage .....	88
Research Question 4 .....	90
Chapter 6: Discussion .....	93
Before Donald Trump's 2016 US presidential election .....	93
After Donald Trump's Election Win .....	94
Bibliography .....	97
Formal Categories .....	110
Problem Definition Categories .....	110
Causal Attribution Categories .....	112
Moral Evaluation Categories.....	113
Treatment Recommendation Categories .....	113

## Table of Figures

<b>Figure 1: Harold Laswell Model of Communication (Laswell, 1927)</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>Figure 2: Framing as process (de Vreese, 2017)</b> .....	<b>50</b>
<b>Figure 3: Example of most frequent words found in sample using QDA Miner</b> .....	<b>66</b>
<b>Figure 4: Example of KWIC list of the word “Donald Trump”</b> .....	<b>67</b>
<b>Figure 5: Formal categories</b> .....	<b>68</b>
<b>Figure 6: Problem Definition Categories</b> .....	<b>69</b>
<b>Figure 7: Causal Interpretation Categories</b> .....	<b>70</b>
<b>Table 1: Intercoder Reliability for Formal Categories</b> .....	<b>71</b>
<b>Table 2: Reliability tests for Problem Definition Categories</b> .....	<b>72</b>
<b>Table 3: Reliability Tests for Causal attribution categories</b> .....	<b>72</b>
<b>Table 4: Reliability tests for Moral evaluation categories</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>Table 5: Reliability Tests for Treatment Recommendation categories</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>Table 6: Sample Description</b> .....	<b>75</b>
<b>Figure 8: Breakdown of sources used by DW to report on Donald Trump</b> .....	<b>75</b>
<b>Table 7: Cluster membership for coverage before Donald Trump’s nomination</b> .....	<b>77</b>
<b>Table 8: Mean and Standard Deviation for the three clusters</b> .....	<b>80</b>
<b>Figure 9</b> .....	<b>82</b>
<b>Table 9: Cluster membership after Donald Trump’s nomination</b> .....	<b>83</b>
<b>Table 10: Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters after nomination</b> .....	<b>85</b>
<b>Table 11: Cluster membership after Donald Trump’s win</b> .....	<b>87</b>
<b>Table 12: Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters</b> .....	<b>89</b>
<b>Table 13: Cluster membership after G-7 summit 2017</b> .....	<b>91</b>
<b>Table 14: Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters after G-7 summit</b> .....	<b>92</b>



## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The diplomatic relations between United States of America and Germany go back more than two hundred years, when the then Kingdom of Prussia and United States of America came to an agreement over trade and peace on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1785 (US Department of State, 2018). Subsequently, after the formation of unified German empire in 1871, the two nations have had a mixed relationship, being on opposite sides in both world wars but maintaining trade and exchange of knowledge, technology, students and goodwill before and after the world wars. In recent history, after the reunification of Germany in 1990, United States of America has been one of the closest ally of Germany (The White House, 2016).

However, this transatlantic relationship threatened to change after Donald Trump announced his candidacy for 2016 US presidential elections. The full exchange of his statements with German chancellor Angela Merkel will be presented later in this chapter, but as early as October 2015, Donald Trump had started attacking German leader. His full quote of “I always thought Merkel was this great leader. What she’s done in Germany is insane” (ABC News, 2017) was followed by comparing German chancellor to his opponent Hillary Clinton and calling both of them a ‘problem’ for their respective countries (ABC News, 2017).

In parallel to Donald Trump’s statements and attitude towards Germany, I would point out here that politics and diplomacy often rely on news coverage and the tone

of that coverage (Anderson, 2014). How political leaders shape their policies and how their policies are perceived, are usually based on the manner in which contemporary media covers them. In this aspect, being a communication science researcher, it's pertinent to look and analyse the coverage of Donald Trump in media; in this case Germany based media enterprise.

In the following pages, I will shed more light on US-German relations, Donald Trump's candidacy and presidency, importance and need for analysing news coverage and my choice for German media, Deutsche Welle. It is necessary here to mention however, the scope and nature of this research. My broader aim is not to measure the impact of news coverage of Donald Trump on US-Germany relations, but merely limiting to analysis of the news coverage, focused on Donald Trump, by German media. The choice in this limitation is arbitrary and necessitated by the time and nature of this research study, rather than based on scientific notions.

## **A BRIEF HISTORY OF US-GERMAN RELATIONS:**

### **From 1785 to World War 1**

As mentioned earlier, Germany and USA have had diplomatic relations since 1785, and the first consular exchange took place in 1871, when a consular agreement was signed between two countries in Berlin (US Department of State, 2018). It was followed by establishment of American diplomatic presence in 1797, and was subsequently renewed after the establishment of German empire in 1871 (US

Department of State, 2018). Germans, on their part had been migrating to USA since 17<sup>th</sup> century and a Germantown was established near Philadelphia in 1683 (German Missions in US, 2018). In fact, Germany sent their first convey to USA in 1834, by sending commerce specialists to Washington DC. In 1874, Germany had some form of official representation in Washington DC, and a consulate in New York (German Missions in US, 2018). Germany had established a permanent embassy in Washington DC by 1914, after United States promoted the American representation to ambassadorial status in 1893 (US Department of State, 2018).

### **World War 1 and 2**

United States of America and Germany terminated their diplomatic relations in 1917, following the declaration of war on both sides (US Department of State, 2018). The ambassadors returned to their respective countries. The relationship resumed in 1921, following the treaty of Berlin. Normal relations blossomed until the respective ambassadors were recalled again in 1938 following tense relations between the two countries (German Missions in US, 2018).

After World War 2, and subsequent creation of German Federal Republic and German Democratic Republic, due to surrender of Germany, Germany became a symbol of cold war animosity between USA and USSR (Heine, 2007) the scope of which is beyond this research.

### **German Reunification**

Since the German reunification in 1990, Germany and United States have become close allies, sharing partnerships in military, education, foreign policy, trade and commerce and technology. German-American Friendship Garden, set up in 1980's to commemorate the German migrants to United States, acts as the symbolic representation of excellent relations between the two countries divided by Atlantic Ocean (German Missions in US, 2018). United States is the principal trade partner of Germany outside the EU (Heine, 2007) and acts as one of the leading importers of German exports.

### **Anti-Americanism in Germany**

After the September 11 attacks on Twin Towers, Germany agreed to be a part of anti-terrorism coalition sent to Afghanistan. However, shortly after, the US invasion of Iraq was met with criticism in Germany (Berendse, 2003). Germany subsequently decided not to send troops. During the cold war era, the official position in East Germany was to be against everything United States stands for, and these resentments, resurface in times of controversies (Berendse, 2003). However, any notion that German view USA as adversary are propaganda theories and misinformation (Heine, 2007).

## **Donald Trump and Germany**

### **Donald Trump (candidate) remarks about Germany**

Shortly after announcing his candidacy to be the next US president, Donald Trump surprisingly came across as a fan of German chancellor Angela Merkel and in an interview remarked that ‘Merkel is greatest leader in the world’ (ABC News, 2017). But this praise was followed by his infamous critique on Germany’s immigration policies where he thought Germany is under imminent attack by Muslims for being a refugee open country and publicly said that German Chancellor is ‘insane’ and USA doesn’t need a similar leader in the form of Hillary Clinton (The Local, 2018).

These kinds of remarks towards a sitting foreign leader of a close ally are basis of this research study. These remarks were unprecedented and stood against all the conventional diplomacy and public speaking guidelines. But Donald Trump, the candidate did not adhere to any ethical guidelines.

Instead, after being made the primary Republican candidate, Donald Trump again attacked Angela Merkel and specifically Germany on its policies, saying that ‘crime has risen to levels that no one thought they would ever see’ (ABC News, 2017).

While being a candidate, Angela Merkel did not respond to Donald Trump’s comments, perhaps, expecting him to lose. President Obama’s last trip was to Germany before stepping down and his praise and commitment to the bilateral

relations between two countries could not have been more contrasting than the incumbent president Donald Trump.

### **Donald Trump (President) remarks about Germany**

As a president, it was expected Donald Trump would not act in the same casual manner as he did during the election process, and upon meeting the German chancellor, seemed to again praise her counterpart. Their infamous meeting in White House where President Trump appeared to refuse a handshake offered by Angela Merkel in front of numerous international press (BBC, 2017) was seen as the indication of Donald Trump's inspite for Germany. He and Angela Merkel refuted those claims publicly and Donald Trump even went on to say that "he had the best chemistry with Merkel" (ABC News, 2017).

However, Angela Merkel famously remarked that "times in which we could completely depend on others are over", referencing to Europe's and Germany's closest ally USA. These remarks seem to have set Donald Trump, free of the traditional diplomacy and adding up to his comments during the G-7 summit where he was heard saying "Germans are very bad" (The Local, 2018), he openly tweeted and criticised Germany for its trade surplus against USA.

It is in the context of these statements that this research study is placed. Not just his remarks about Germany and Angela Merkel, but the overall coverage Donald Trump has received since his announcement for presidential campaign in 2015 from

German media, can offer us interesting insights into future relations between countries, public sentiment in Germany and of course the official diplomatic positions.

Media has been known to have both an effect and a mouthpiece for audience. In addition to that media is also called for as a vehicle in diplomacy and as a measure for future research (Anderson,& Shirky2012). In the following pages, I will remark more on all these developments to further explain my selection of this topic.

### **Importance of News Coverage and its Analysis**

Government, international organizations, academia, and virtually all spheres of public consume and use news media to form and phrase their policies and opinions. (Becker & Vlad, 2009) Western Democracy is built on the notion of fair and free media, as a process of independent exchange of information, which culminates in the formation of an informed public (Ashforth & Mael, 1989 ; Boyd & Crawford, 2011 ; Chon, Choi, Barnett, Danowski, & Joo, 2003 ; Durham, 1998 ; Himelboim & Limor, 2011).

This importance has been recognised both in academic literature and normative theories of politics, sociology and culture and by important figures in power throughout the twentieth century. (Agirdas, 2015 ; Cottle, 2007 ; Gade, 2004 Lang, 2006 MacDonald, Milfont, & Gavin, 2015). Governments have used news coverage to put forward their nationalistic agendas and on the other side revolutions have

been based primarily on coverage of respective demands and issues of revolutionaries’.

Thus, news is largely generated and produced by people (actors) deciding to introduce topics (themes) into real life phenomenon happening around us. This process is mostly utilized by those in power, to influence the events taking place, according to their own concerns and whims (Benesch, 2012 ; Bechmann & Vahlstrup, 2015 ; Bechmann & Lomborg,2012 ; Carey, 1989 ; Briggs, 2012).

However, it has also been argued that media serves as the voice of masses, and that it only echoes opinions which are in majority in a country’s public sphere.

(Morley, 1993 ;Neuman, & Crigler, 1992 ; Shoemaker & Mayfield, 1987 ; Schudson, 1989) This ideology stems from the above-mentioned notion, that media organizations serve as a bridge between those who are in power and those who selected them.

In both the scenarios, the important theme which emerges is, unequivocal importance of news coverage and more importantly the analysis of news coverage.

Only focusing on importance of news coverage, without analysing it through a rigorous empirical approach will mean accepting another source of power, albeit governed by commercial reasons (Claussen, 2004).



As a communication science student, while taking this broad paradigm into context of Donald Trump's unorthodox presidential campaign and presidency, it is pertinent to view it from a lens of news coverage which it not only gathered, but according to some, is based and empowered by (Wells, et al., 2016).

U.S elections and presidential tenures have also been well covered by scholars, although the bulk of studies have involved U.S scholars and media. Farnsworth & Lichter analyzed the news coverage of George W. Bush's first year in office and found significant differences before and after the September 11 attack on twin towers (Farnsworth & Lichter, 2010). How the candidates themselves position themselves in media and in return how media frames the candidates was examined by Miller, Andsager & Riechart (1998). They studied the press releases by candidates and elite media coverage of those press releases and concluded that there was a distinct difference between both. New York Times coverage of all US presidential campaigns between 1955 and 2000 revealed that the most frequent frame used was the "horse race" and newspaper coverage focused more on the character of candidate as compared to the policy positions candidate took (Benoit, Stein & Hansen, 2005). Gan et al. (2005) compared the coverage of US presidential elections of 2000 by France's Le Monde and Singapore's The Straits newspaper and found 'Horse race' frame to be the primary frame used by both newspapers and concluded that regular frames

were disrupted because of the unusual event of recounting a new frame emerged as the primary frame used in later coverage (Gan, Teo & Detenber, 2005).

These arguments, based in scientific and empirical reasoning, point to a broad research question which comes as

*Preliminary Research Question: Analysing coverage of Donald Trump in German media*

However, this is too broad a research question, without any specifications of type of media and type of analysis. Both choices must be made according to the scientific notions and not on whimsical basis. In the following pages, I give my reasons for choice of media and a brief overview of that choice followed by presentation of other scholarly works which have examined Donald Trump already through the prism of news media and their findings.

### **Choice of Media**

In line with the former arguments presented so far that news can function as a process of international relations, diplomacy, social reality and public sphere, my choice of media for this research study was governed by the same arguments.

Before World War 2, and after the start of so called industrial age, western countries looked to add to the normal diplomacy norms with promotion of their own 'identity, culture, values and policies' (Carey, 1989). This brought upon Radio France

International followed by BBC World service, Voice of America and subsequently Deutsche Welle. Similar to its international counterparts and predecessors, Deutsche Welle offers “a gateway to accurate information in crisis” and “compensation for lack of media supply” (Deutsche Welle, 2017). Therefore, to research and analyse coverage of Donald Trump as a candidate and as a president in German media, a clear and obvious choice is to choose DW as the main media source.

### **Deutsche Welle**

Media in Germany is regulated by individual states and is not government controlled, instead works on US model of striving for maximum profit (Blank & Schmidt, 2003).

Deutsche Welle is publicly funded and claims to be free of German government's influence (DW, 2016). DW mission statement, on its website reads as

“Deutsche Welle was commissioned to convey German and other positions on important issues, chiefly on politics, arts and economics, to people and promoting dialogue and understanding between the people of different continents. DW conveys Germany as a nation rooted in European culture and as a liberal, democratic based on the rule of law. DW is known for its in depth, reliable news and provides access to German language (DW, 2017).”

It has radio stations and online content in 30 languages as of 2018 and Television broadcast spanning 24 hours in Deutsch and English as well as sometimes in Spanish and Arabic as well. According to its own website, it has an audience of 157 million and counting on weekly basis (DW, 2017). DW has headquarters in Bonn and main studios in Berlin, with around 1500 employees and as many freelancers from more than 60 countries (DW, 2017).

DW also maintains a 24-hour updates news blog, with news stories around the world and an excellent search function available on the blog. In this contemporary age where newspaper readership has declined, and TV programming has been largely replaced by online news media (Anderson, & Shirky, 2012), I decided to focus on DW's English version newswebsite as my primary choice of medium for analysis. Thus, without theoretical appropriation at this stage, my primary research question if followed.

**Research Question:**

RQ: How did DW cover Donald Trump as a presidential candidate and as a president?

## CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL APPROACH

Media communication researchers and scholars, often look to investigate and find the connection between different aspects of media content production, its effects and how production is influenced by variety of factors and how the content affects the audience and if and how audience affects the content. In this regard, communication delves into sociology and sometimes psychology, and in recent times, economics.

The choice presented to media scholars is still limited and governed by theories developed decades ago because of the increasing nature of studies borrowing multiple concepts instead of a structured theoretical background with its inherent assumptions and boundaries.

While deciding on the appropriate theoretical framework for investigating media content, it is first necessary to glance at the method of theory building in communication and the classification of theories which emerge from the said process.

### **Theory Building Process**

According to Gans & Gitlins, one approach to theory building process is to look what the theory stands for. Following that approach, a theory can look at media content as an exact mirror of the 'social reality we live in from day to day lives' (Shoemaker & Resse, 1996). This approach or framework is based on the assumption that media

communication enterprises produce texts, images and videos which are based on real life and that media is a 'mirror' of social fabric. Following this line of thought though leads away the researcher from the financial influences which might or can affect the production of media effect and is a normative approach of media institutions. It also instigates a belief that audience have the full control over this process, since audience shape the social fabric which leads media producers to try and reflect it in newspapers and television screens and so on.

The second line of thought, in theory building process focuses on the professionals in the media industry (Gans, 1979). The way media professionals work, and their schedules, and the hierarchy decided by their respective organizations, can also have a marked effect on the final media product. This approach basically eliminates one of the drawbacks of the earlier approach where the factor of professional's influence on their respective work was neglected. However it is a narrow approach and puts too much emphasis on a single factor, and following this approach, any empirical focus on audience is shifted.

Following these approaches, 'media is a mirror of reality' can be modified into 'media is a mirror of reality which majority can agree upon and any derivations from the usual opinions and beliefs in the society is not accounted for in media content. This approach is usually put forward by those who believe that mass media has a role to play in social unfairness and divisions within the social class and propagates for the

more inclusion of minorities (Morley, 1993). This approach is also one of the least developed line of thoughts in the media literature.

Schumaker and Elizabeth (1987) in their monograph came up with the idea that it is not only the media industry or the media audience which have say or influence in the process but there are other powers, invisible from public eye, such as financial institutions, advertisers, governments, business owners of media enterprises and military organizations which often have the last decision on the direction of content.

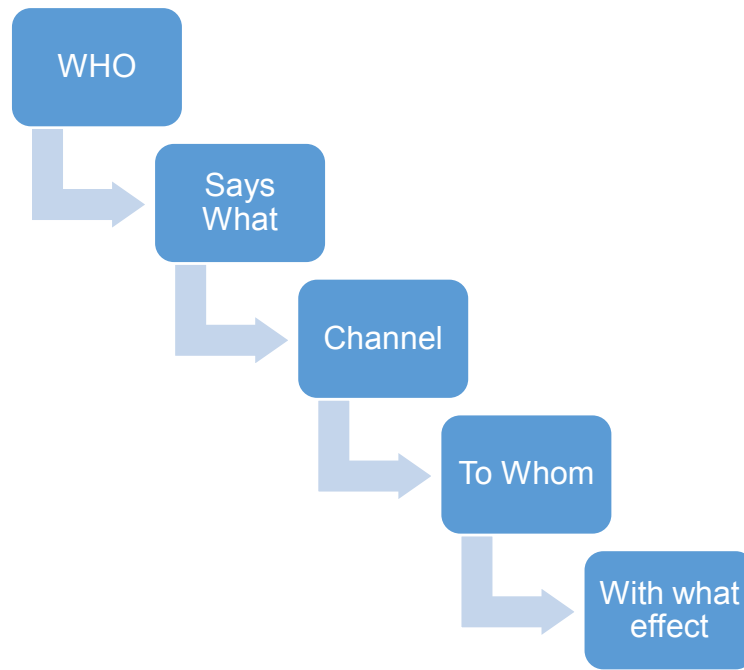
This approach balances the drawbacks in first three approaches of building theory in a way, that it accounts for both internal and external factors and has a wide-reaching scope for empirical grounds. It can also account for the financial reasons within the media industry itself, and the factors influencing media industries themselves from outside.

The final approach in this regard looks at meta factors, such as philosophical beliefs and argues that any kind of content produced is on some scale, a reflection of the sociological and ideological beliefs held by the producer (Gans, 1979).

While all these approaches are the subsequent basis of the actual theories which have been developed, there can be another classification made of the theories, using Laswell's model of communication, which looks at the empirical reasons for using appropriate theories. Although this simplistic model (figure 1), gives an idea about the communication process, it can be used as a guideline for selection of

appropriate theoretical framework based on the research questions in an empirical study

Figure 1: Harold Laswell Model of Communication (Laswell, 1927)



### **Who (Media Producers)**

Who in this model stands for the media producers, and thus, there are theories which focus on media producers only such as gatekeeping theory, editorial management theory and organizational approach to journalism. However, since my focus is not on the media producers, but on the content, I will not go on lengths about such theories.



### **Channel (Medium)**

Skipping the second process of the model, the third step refers to the channel or medium. Similarly, as I described theories which specifically focus on the media producers part, there are sociological, psychological and communication theoretical approaches which focus on medium and its effects, most prominent of which is Marshall McLuhan's medium is the message approach along with theory of Niche. But, since medium is not my focus of empirical investigation, it is beyond the scope of this research to discuss theoretical approaches which focus on selection of medium.

### **To Whom (Audience)**

This step in the simple model of communication by Harold Laswell, focuses on selection of audience. Similarly, media theories such as active audience theory or cultivation theory focus on the same aspect of communication science. Discussing such theories in detail however is not possible in the limited scope awarded to me here.

### **Effect (Media Effects)**

Perhaps the most researched aspect of communication science, media effects theories such as cultivation theory, hypodermic needle theory, knowledge gap theory, spiral of silence theory among others all look partially or completely at the effect of media. Perhaps the most common theory in this regard is Agenda Setting

theory which states that media is responsible for setting an agenda for discussion in public sphere (Carey, 1989).

### **Says What (Media Content)**

However, the aspect of communication science, I happen to focus on based on my research question is, Media content and analysis of it. Theories which look at media substance and matter and analyse it through different prisms are of my interest here. In this regard, some of the popular theoretical approaches, scholars include while attempting to analyse media content are Agenda Setting theory, Media Richness theory, Media System Dependency Theory and Framing Theory. I will look at all these theoretical approaches briefly and discuss their origins, assumptions and methods, to decide the appropriate theoretical framework for this study.

### **Media Richness Theory**

As stated earlier, communication science theories are usually borrowed from other well-developed disciplines of science such as management science, psychology, sociology and linguistic studies. Fiedler's contingency theory about leadership and its scale of 'least preferred co-worker' (Giddens, 1984) was converted for usage in communication studies by Daft & Langel (1984) into Media Richness Theory.

Originally media richness theory was built to gauge a specific's medium's ability to reach the message across without any changes in the intended message for the specific internal organizational communication (Ajzen, 1991 ; Ashforth & Mael, 1989 ;

Banks, Taylor, & Gill, 2013). However subsequent work modified it into a framework which has been increasingly used to gauge the ability and quality of online communication content in comparison to other types of content. Not only that, it has broadened its aspect to analysis of content as well as medium.

It's core assumption is that media content can be analysed, examined and differentiated on the grounds of its ability to solve issues related to clarity and bias, dissolving personal judgment and understanding the multiple degrees of comprehensibility of an intended message (Chia, 2010 ; Heyer, 1988). In other words, this theoretical background can be used to examine, how rich a particular media content or text is. It depends on four criteria to evaluate media content.

1- Time and manner of feedback (Steenson & Ahva, 2014)

2- characteristics of the channel through which content is being shared and increasing function of those characteristics

3- Linguistic analysis of the content

4- Qualities and closeness of the medium

As is evident, this theoretical background, even though does analyse the media content, is macro in nature and only looks at the content as part of the bigger problem, and thus do not give necessary tools and understanding of the content analysis itself. Thus we move our discussion onto another theoretical framework.

### **Media System Dependency Theory**

One of the complex communication theories, media dependency theory integrates conceptual frameworks from multiple branches including psychology, sociology and strategic organizational studies. Like the media richness theory, it is broad in its examination, nature and scope and includes multiple levels of examination including examination of media which I am interested in.

Media dependency theory thrives on two assumptions. Audiences rely on media to give correct and accurate information, but this reliance depends on the media's ability to do that (Chon, Choi, Barnett, Danowski, & Joo, 2003). This second postulate related to the examination of media content, but it can't be done separately. The reason that it must be in conjunction with some sort of effect that the content had or can have, makes it inappropriate to use it in this study. Similarly, this model doesn't offer empirical grounds, its analysis and examination are based more on descriptive methods.

### **Agenda Setting Theory**

The basic conceptual premise in agenda-setting is the transfer of salience of issues across different agendas (cf. McCombs 2014, p. 35), where the former focus in this discipline was on the transfer from media to public agenda (cf. McCombs 2014, p. 35). It is differentiated between several levels of agenda-setting. The first level constitutes the transfer of issues as topics or objects. That it is more about the

general salience transfer, whereas the second level of agenda-setting includes the transfer of attributes as well. This means that the connotation of said issues also is transferred across different agendas. Narrowed down, the first level of agenda-setting focuses on what is salient and the transfer of this salience across agendas and the second level also takes into perspective the valuation of the salient issue, the tone with what it is set, and how this connotation transfers across agendas.

Which is why, it is at risk to be mixed up with framing-theory (cf. McCombs, 2004, p. 87). Finally, the third level of agenda-setting contours the transfer of salience of entire networks of objects and/ or (their) attributes (cf. McCombs 2014, p. 57).

Adding to the development of theory itself, there is a huge body of empirical studies based on agenda setting theory. To gain better understanding of this research topic, I will provide a summary of studies which concentrated mostly either on electoral agenda building by candidates and their influence on agenda of traditional media or on the use of new social media (e.g. Twitter and its analogues) to build public agenda and to impact traditional media agenda regarding more public issues or events. The “sweet spot” will be research that fit both sides of stated inquiry interest.

It is in this sub-domain that this study is being carried out. There are already several studies who have examined the factors which influence the media during US elections. (Benoit, Stein, & Hansen, 2005) studies New York Times coverage of presidential elections in last 50 years. This wide ranging study, done with the help of

computational methods, gave a few interesting insights. One of them was that 'newspaper coverage can also be influenced through another medium of communication' and candidates effectively look to set media agenda using advertising and news releases. Boyle (1991) studied the US elections coverage of 1996 and found out that coverage was focused on issues media presented and not the vice versa. To sum up the research stream on US elections involving agenda setting theory in one form or another, the studies have been conducted on

- Comparing news coverage of two presidents (Farnworth & Lichter, 2010)
- The relationship between US president and news media(Wanta & Foote, 1994)
- How Television networks decide on election topics (Gans, 1979)
- Newspapers' coverage of candidates' press releases (Kaid, 1976).

In overall, it's necessary to outline, that social media use and its effect on agenda building process served as main research focus for many studies with wide variety of specific goals and research perspectives, the most interesting and relevant of them were: bias between established, elite news outlets and independent bloggers agenda (Meraz, 2009), explorative overview of social media use as tool of agenda building in different elections, purposed to find out what, to whom and how effective was communicated (Aparaschivei, 2011) or was there audience engagement, certain response or not (Adams & McCorkindale, 2013). The

researchers do not confine themselves only to major elections like presidential, but also analyse social media usage, communication types and response of other major political bodies – e.g., US Congress (Golbeck, Grimes, & Rogers, 2010). Besides, audience side of the process was put under thorough research as well – e.g., various meanings of audience tweets during election, types of agenda transmitted via posts (Jungherr, 2014) and even prediction power of audience activity in social nets (Tumasjan, 2010) were studied.

Such wide preliminary overview of research topic covered in this field is crucial as it lets us know, that this field is quite well investigated and certain research can be used as reference studies with strong potential to enrich as well as to guide us on our way.

However, I will concentrate on five most relevant researches, divided in two groups.

1. Dedicated more to a political perspective of social nets usage than to it as an agenda building tool in electoral campaigns:  
  
(Conway, Kenski, & Di Wang, 2015; Ku, Kaid, & Pfau, 2003; Sweetser, Golan, & Wanta, 2008)
2. Focused on more general events, but emphasis on social nets' exclusive role in events coverage and their influence on traditional media:

(Borden & Grzywinska, 2012; Wu, Y., Atkin, D., Lau, T., Lin, C., & Mou, Y, 2013)

All of them used quantitative content analysis as method, the object of analysis was a combination of traditional media (e.g. newspaper articles, or TV news spots, online versions of news or official statement) versus social media accounts in social nets (Twitter, Facebook, other similar networks). To a certain extent all these researches sought to check whether activity on social media can first initiate and then influence traditional media agenda setting. If the result was positive – then the details were covered: to which extent, in which conditions, how long. The typical way to prove existence of such dependence was presenting received data in timeline of certain news appearance in analysed types of media. If there was significant leap or time gap between social media and traditional media with former going ahead – then the hypothesis of social nets influence as tool of agenda building could be accepted. In political sphere, especially during elections, results are less obvious and can be divided in two groups: for the number of issues decisive role of Twitter activity of certain party or candidate is proved, usually for those issues which are under symbolic possession of this political body and in general can be regarded as issue ownership. Though still for some issues decisive role belongs to traditional media activity, e.g. newspaper publications. Thus, in overall, I can conclude, that Twitter and traditional news media seem to have a symbiotic relationship that varies in



intensity and depends on set of certain issues under analysis. (Conway, Kenski, & Di Wang, 2015);

In addition, even regarding the previous form of online communication during elections such as web sites of candidates, they are proved to be actively involved in the process of traditional media agenda setting. The research of web site campaigning has shown that it can be used as successful tool for effective public relations, as the electoral agenda of candidate Web sites is admitted to further become the subsequent agenda of the traditional news media. (Ku, Kaid, & Pfau, 2003).

The provided analysis of conducted relevant research proved existing power of candidate's' social media activity or digital activity in more general perspective and their potential to influence traditional media agenda. Though, certain details should be taken into consideration especially that not all issues are influenced by social media activity solely and transmitted as further agenda to conventional media, there can be certain issues that will be provided as salient issues by traditional media channels as well. This notion implies specific attention to future codebook elaboration and coding process to be able to embrace all possible varieties in this process of mutual influence and symbiotic co-existence.

Lastly, related to our topic, there have already been several empirical studies on Donald Trump's win in 2016 US elections. (Azari, 2016) studied the causes and

factors behind Trump's sudden rise to political elite and singled out news media as the most influential factor behind his successful attempt at winning the Republican nomination for 2016 US elections. While not strictly adhering to the topic of examination of our study, Bruijn(2017) examined the key messages and narratives Donald Trump used to attract political support. The most reoccurring themes were illegal immigrants, Donald Trump himself as a candidate and untrustworthy political system of United States. (Wells, et al., 2016) independently carried out a study looking to find reasons for his positive campaign in media and in a more detailed manner, re-affirm Azuri's key finding that Donald Trump used media to his advantage. They presented a hybrid model of his media strategy which focused on combination of negative and positive image to stay in news and thus stay in public agenda.

### **Framing Theory**

Probably the most detailed literature on framing theory comes from (Entman, 1991, 1993,2007). Framing in media is recognized visibly when similarly occurring incidents are reported in different and contrasting contexts to each other.

Furthermore, they are only visible when this news stories are analyzed and researched based on their use of semantics otherwise they appear neutral and objective to the mind of average reader. This is done by using background stories, implying words and experimenting with the style, mood and tense of text (Entman,

1991). Entman (1991) further adds that news stories can be written deliberately in a way to offer a perspective about the said event which he called a “frame” and influence the mood and mind of the reader. Both words and pictures, through various combinations can have this effect on the audience (Entman, 1991). In the landmark text on framing, Entman (1991) also describes the four major functions of framing. Reporting the event as to exaggerate or undermine its importance on public life. This can be done through extensive or minor reporting of the issue being reported. News headlines also attempt to answer the question themselves the probable perpetrators behind the event thus attributing responsibility. The third major function framing performs according to Entman (1991) is evaluating the news based on moral grounds and thus influencing the audience whether the said event should have happened or not happened. Lastly, framing tends to forecast future implications of the said event and based on those implications, readers can make up their mind about the news story.

Entman (1993) also explains the process of framing in detail in his 1993 dissertation of the subject. Framing is done by careful selection of a whole reality as to show only the specific events which can build a sense of perceived reality. Frames bring to the attention of audience only some of the events happening and ignore the others, thus shedding light on topics or subjects which suit their purpose. (Entman, 1993). They create a predicament which needs to be addressed and taken care of immediately

for the betterment of public. This is done by making prominent some words or phrases or pictures and ignoring others, 'thereby elevating them in salience' (Entman, 1993). This becomes very significant in issues pertaining to larger interest such as international politics, where giving more airtime to a certain idea can nest ideas in the mind of public. (Entman, 1993).

Entman (2007) also defines the term "bias" and related it to framing in the sense that deliberate framing of news events gives audience a wrong sense of information and news organizations instead of remaining neutral side with one party in conflict of ideologies giving a major advantage to that party. Before mentioned roles make the three distinct categories of bias, named as "distortion bias", "content bias" and "decision making bias" (Entman, 2007). Entman (2007) also introduced another term "Priming" to explain his earlier notion of selecting only a piece of information from the whole to cast as news and ignoring the rest of information about an event, which is the basic purpose of framing.

Iyengar (1987) set forward the basis of framing theory when he proposed that audience ask question from themselves when they first receive news such as who did it and why did it occur.

Neuman (1992) defined and explained in detail the diverse types of frames which were usually present in United States newspapers in their coverage of 1992 war. They categorized these frames into four main types which are conflict, economic

consequences, human impact and morality. Conflict frame is employed to portray a dispute of any nature between different parties which can scale from individual persons to sovereign states. Employment of such frames often incurs a negative feeling about the reported event in audience and triggers their dissatisfaction for handling the reported event by the party in charge (Neuman, 1992). Conflict frames are often used in contexts where an issue or event has been reported in a serious manner. Human interest frame typically plays with the emotions of people by signifying human loss in a disaster and thus creating a feeling of sadness and despair among the readers (Cho, 2006). Judging news in the sense of right and wrong using religion, society ethics, cultural traditions or general morals as mirrors can be defined as morality frame. (Seon-Kyoung, 2009). This frame is often used discretely by merely asking questions or making inferences or asking the public about their opinion on the issue instead of employing it explicitly because of journalistic ethics that require some form of objectivity while reporting (Neuman, 1992).

News frames can also be categorized into two broad categories as episodic news frames and thematic news frames. (Iyengar, 1991). Episodic news frames focus on specific events or persons during crisis to highlight their importance or insignificance, their contribution or impartiality and their targeted profiling, to send a message. On the other hand, thematic news frames find a range of themes or contexts to use

while covering the same events which can be religious, societal, cultural, national or transnational, and many others. (Iyengar, 1991). These frames can also be used in another sense as in who is responsible for solving the problem, specific persons and organizations or societies and nations, thereby allowing media to influence public policies and government decisions on these issues (Iyengar, 1987).

Focusing on media content, as discussed above, research can be further narrowed down into two streams. Issue specific news frames have been studied by (Durham, 1998; Entman, 1991; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Martin & Oshagan, 1997; Norris, 1995 and Simon & Xenos, 2000) to name a few; the list is almost uncountable. On the other hand, well known studies concerning generic news frames have been carried out by (Capella & Jamieson, 1997; d'Haenes & de Lange, 2001; de Vreese et al., 2001; Iyengar, 1991; Neuman et al., 1992 and Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

U.S elections and presidential tenures have also been well covered by scholars with respect to framing theory, although the bulk of studies have involved U.S scholars and media. Farnsworth & Lichter analyzed the news coverage of George W. Bush's first year in office and found significant differences before and after the September 11 attack on twin towers (Farnsworth & Lichter, 2010). How the candidates themselves position themselves in media and in return how media frames the candidates were examined by Miller, Andsager & Riechart (1998). They studied the press releases by candidates and elite media coverage of those press releases and

concluded that there was a distinct difference between both. New York Times coverage of all US presidential campaigns between 1955 and 2000 revealed that the most frequent frame used was the “horse race” and newspaper coverage focused more on the character of candidate as compared to the policy positions candidate took (Benoit, Stein & Hansen, 2005). Gan et al. (2005) compared the coverage of US presidential elections of 2000 by France’s Le Monde and Singapore’s The Straits newspaper and found ‘Horse race’ frame to be the primary frame used by both newspapers and concluded that regular frames were disrupted because of the unusual event of recounting a new frame emerged as the primary frame used in later coverage (Gan, Teo & Detenber, 2005). This offers as the premise of using both inductive and deductive methods in my study, since the nomination of Donald Trump as US republican candidate for president can be justifiably taken as an unusual event.

Research focusing on Donald Trump as an individual and unprecedented US president have also already begun with authors focusing on digital politics influenced by Trump (Karpf, 2017), his path to nomination in relation to media coverage (Azari, 2017; Wells, Shah, Pevehouse, Yang, Pelled, Boehm, Lukito, Ghosh & Schmidt, 2017) and frames used by Donald Trump himself in his political rhetoric (Bruijn, 2017). It’s evident that there is still a lack of clarity in framing

conceptualizations among scholars and a general lack of empirical studies examining the US presidential coverage by foreign media.

### **Framing Theory as primary framework**

Both Framing and Agenda Setting can be suitable thematic frameworks in this research since they posit enough groundwork for content analysis. Media richness theory and media systems dependency theory, while necessitate a level of media content research, do not generally focus on media content exclusively. In addition to these theories, grounded theory often used in media content analysis, was also not thought of because of its well documented conceptual issues (Coddington, 2015).

However, a case can be made that both Agenda Setting theory and Framing Theory can be used in this research study. To finally select for appropriate theoretical framework, I make the following arguments for my choice of theory.

### **Assumptions**

As discussed in detail in above pages, Agenda Setting has a fundamental assumption that media content, influenced by media producers, aims to set an 'agenda' for public discussion (Agirdas, 2015 ; Bechmann & Lomborg, 2012 ; Benoit, Stein, & Hansen, 2005 ; Borah, 2011 ; Carey, 1989 ; Chong & Druckman, 2007 ; McCombs, 2004). Media researchers who choose this framework inherently either choose to believe this assumption or test it. However, my primary research question is not about whether and if Deutsche Welle had a agenda for coverage for Donald



Trump, instead Deutsche Welle is a choice of media and specifically I am not looking for any hypotheses to test. Therefore Agenda Setting theory in its most fundamental form is not applicable.

On the other hand, second level agenda setting, which is quite close to what Framing Theory holds for asserts assumptions related to salience features in media text (McCombs, 2004). Saliency, does look at the intricate features of the text and offers a well-developed methodology for media analysis, but, its primary function is to detect agenda setting first and foremost.

Framing theory however, assumes that texts could be modified to reshape and reform coverage of events, but it doesn't assume a bigger picture. In this case, I believe Framing Theory is more appropriate choice, since looking at something more than the coverage is not my primary research motive here. Framing Theory also provides for a plethora of research and choice of methodologies and its basic assumption that there are frames within texts, sits quite well with my research question.

Therefore, in this context, Framing Theory looks a better choice to use as a theoretical framework to build on the research question

### **Theoretical Conceptions**

What really sets them up apart is, Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory although similar in methodology, have somewhat different conceptualizations.

Framing theory can be conceptualized in variety of ways depending on the which ideological position one takes, but it holds that texts can be broken down to decipher meanings which may not be visible to ordinary audience. While salience also is defined by and large by the same concept, salience alone does not stand for any meaning and is used to prove a tool and vehicle and a means for setting Agenda.

Therefore, the research question about coverage of Trump, does not correspond with conceptualization of salience, but it can be argued that which frames were used to describe, and report Donald Trump can be a specific research question, using a theoretical framework.

#### **Focus and Previous Literature:**

As we have just reached upon our specific research questions, it is worth while mentioning here that which frames were used by DW to cover Donald Trump, does indeed, is a continuation of research looking at coverage of US presidents in past and literature available on Framing Theory.

U.S elections and presidential tenures have also been well covered by scholars with respect to framing theory, although the bulk of studies have involved U.S scholars and media. Farnsworth & Lichter analyzed the news coverage of George W. Bush's first year in office and found significant differences before and after the September 11 attack on twin towers (Farnsworth & Lichter, 2010). How the candidates themselves position themselves in media and in return how media frames the

candidates were examined by Miller, Andsager & Riechart (1998). They studied the press releases by candidates and elite media coverage of those press releases and concluded that there was a distinct difference between both. New York Times coverage of all US presidential campaigns between 1955 and 2000 revealed that the most frequent frame used was the “horse race” and newspaper coverage focused more on the character of candidate as compared to the policy positions candidate took (Benoit, Stein & Hansen, 2005). Gan et al. (2005) compared the coverage of US presidential elections of 2000 by France’s Le Monde and Singapore’s The Straits newspaper and found ‘Horse race’ frame to be the primary frame used by both newspapers and concluded that regular frames were disrupted because of the unusual event of recounting a new frame emerged as the primary frame used in later coverage (Gan, Teo & Detenber, 2005). This offers as the premise of using both inductive and deductive methods in my study, since the nomination of Donald Trump as US republican candidate for president can be justifiably taken as an unusual event. This body of literature will be examined in further detail in next chapter, but for now I can describe my specific research questions based on this literature.

### **Chapter 3: Literature Review**

Since the focus and theoretical framework of this research study has been made quite clear now, I will review state of literature specifically to include studies concerning this thesis. I will first talk about Framing theory in more detailed manner, its various definitions given by scholars over the years and its problems in conceptualizations and agreed upon methodologies. I will then include studies and books which have used Framing Theory to investigate similar research questions and will share their chosen methods and critically evaluate their results and assumptions. This will be followed by studies specifically about US elections and US presidents and presidential candidates and the different manner of research queries which have been carried out related to them. Finally, this chapter focuses on Donald Trump, and him being subject of scholarly work.

#### **Framing Theory**

It's difficult to trace origins of Framing Theory, but in this section, I will present earliest definitions of Framing and the development of theory ever since, followed by arguments related to its conceptualization, methodological innovations and finally a review of literature which have used this theory.

#### **Definitions**

##### *Framing:*

Framing was first defined as

“Persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse”  
(Gatlin, 1980, p.7).

Gatlin (1980) does not necessarily limit Framing to communication and media contents but explains that Framing process and Frames are a wider part of society and are often overlooked or understood as something inevitable, since making sense and meaning is core function of our linguistic capability.

This ideology was narrowed down to political communication by Gamson & Modigliani (1989) who termed Frames as “interpretive packages” which enable us to make sense of different phenomenon and happenings. The first and foremost function of Frame, according to Gamson & Modigliani (1989) is to give a central theme to an issue or an event, thus similar events and issues could be seen in relation to each other. Although these definitions do set a precedent for Framing as a conceptualization, but it was Entman (1991, 1993) who gave a conceptual framework to the theory. He narrowed down Framing to concerning news only and came up with a functional definition to identify frames. His assertion that

“Frames can be found by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (Entman, 1993, p.52)

This specific definition of Framing provides a working methodology and conceptualization to empirically research Frames, which is absent from usual definitions of frames. Entman previously also described functions of a frame, which

have been touched upon in theoretical section but for the purpose of cohesion, I will repeat it here,

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a more communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p.52)

As in quite evident, these two definitions, joined together can provide a working methodology to extract frames from texts. I will touch upon this more in next chapter, but for now, I will close off this sub section by providing some more notable and widely accepted definitions of Framing.

While these above-mentioned scholars have focused on taking Frames as a nature and function of texts, others advocate for a more extensive and wide-ranging operationalization of framing. In this line of research, frames can be defined as the purpose and function they serve. According to Capella & Jameison (1997), Frames must have the following characteristics otherwise it can be interpreted as style and tone of text. Frames should have easy to comprehend and operationalize definitions, both thematically and empirically. In addition, they have to visible and replicable by other scholars, and not just the ones who identified them. Perhaps their most important condition of frame is that it should be relatively easy to differentiate between two extracted frames and lastly, they must carry some empirical value (Capella & Jamieson, 1997).

While this definition is more of a method to find and extract frames, it does point towards a bigger problem in Framing research which will be looked upon in detail in the next few pages. Similar to most of communication science research, its fairly easy to define a new concept and conduct an empirical study using your own conceptualizations, only for the study to be unrealisable and unscalable. That is why its pertinent to first decide on a short and brief definition of framing and to establish the scholarly roots. For this purpose I will end this subsection about definitions related to framing using De Vreese (2017) line that “frame is an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic” (de Vreese, 2017) and while this does make it seem a part of Agenda Setting theory rather than an alternative, an important distinction De Vreese makes is that Agenda Setting focuses more on “salience of issues” while Framing is concerned with how issues and events are portrayed (de Vreese, 2017).

### **Associated Concepts**

The reason it is important to distinguish and realize framing as a definitive concept in communication studies is because it can help researchers and scholars to investigate the communication process itself using the framing theory. As it has been realized that communication is a multi-level complex nonlinear development which takes place in real time (Altmeyden, 2008 ; Anderson 2014 ; Banks, Taylor, & Gill, 2013 ; Domke, Shah, & Wackman, 1998 ; Deuze, 2004) among others, framing can

help investigate it by associating the different stages of that process (de Vreese, 2017).

Thus, framing is also not a single linear progression but is conducted in multiple stages which can be termed as “frame building, frame setting, and individual and societal level consequences of framing” (Domke, Shah, & Wackman, 1998).

### *Frame Building*

Frame Building merely explains the reasons for existence of frames in media content and takes into both internal and external influences on the finished journalism product. Internal influences on journalism content are well documented by (Shoemaker & Resse, 1996) in their stages of influence and aspects outside the newsroom can be referenced to those in power and the overall environment (society) values and norms in which journalism production takes place (de Vreese, 2003).

### *Frame Setting*

Frames setting takes into account audience and media consumers' decision, learning prowess and intellectual capability to identification of frames, and comes under the umbrella of media effects studies (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The penetration of newsframes in the sphere of public discussion related to the respective news and the replication of those frames among masses and elites alike can be thought of as Frame Setting.



*Individual and Societal Implications of Framing*

Individual and societal implication of Framing is based on the premise that mass communication research is concerned with social constructivism and thus theoretical frameworks should account for how perceived reality is constructed (Neuman & Crigler, 1992). The various and differing character media consumers and media producers take turns to produce, often needs approaches of same complexity, and in this vein frames can be differentiated into “media frames” and “individual frames” (Scheufele, 1999). This differentiation helps establish framing as a distinctive feature of communication process from Agenda Setting and even second level agenda setting and priming concepts. Media frames have been defined by (Entman, 1991 ; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989 ; Tuchman, 1978) among others as previously mentioned, “concepts and themes needed to give meaning to events”. Individual frames however can be recollected as bits of information and memory which helps one to consume new knowledge and data. Thus framing not only concerns with meta analysis of media producers, but it also extends to media effects research and posits responsibility on individuals as well to complete the process. It can be safely stated that in addition to newsmakers decision to give spin to events, individuals can also add their own comprehension to events based on their previous experience and knowledge and biases and values they hold.

### **Categorization**

As touched upon briefly above, framing research can be further narrowed down into two streams. Issue specific news frames have been studied by (Cohen & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Entman, 1991; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Martin & Oshagan, 1997; Jasperson et al., 1998; Norris, 1995 and Simon & Xenos, 2000). On the other hand, popular studies concerning generic news frames can be summarized as done by (Capella & Jamieson, 1997; d'Haenes & de Lange, 2001; de Vreese et al., 2001; Iyengar, 1991; Neuman et al., 1992 and Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Expanding on studying conducted by Jasperson and others (1998), they investigated the opinion of masses regarding using content analysis of United States newspapers regarding coverage of US annual budgets and came up with four specific news frames which they termed as “talk”, “fight”, “impasse” and “crisis” (Jasperson, 1998). However, the other stream of research in framing literature, is focused and adamant that specific frames cannot be replicated, and thus generalized or well-defined frames should be used to examine content and opinion. In this regard, a widely accepted classification of news frames was put forward by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) who posit that all news can be broken down into one of these five news frames

1- Conflict

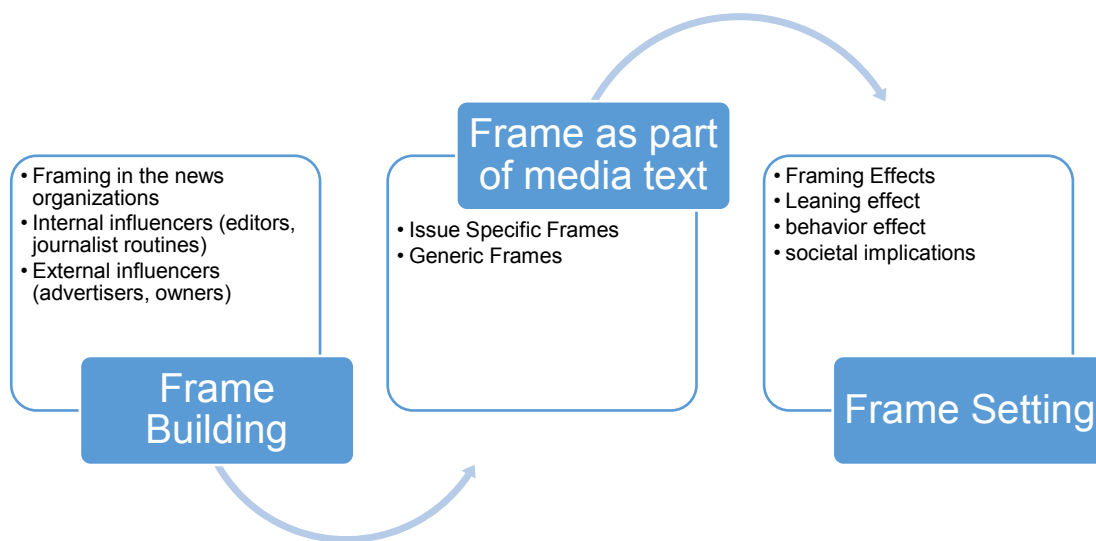
2- Human Interest

3- Attribution of Responsibility

## 4- Morality

## 5- Economic Consequences

Figure 2: Framing as process (de Vreese, 2017)



Although this list and their definitions are comprehensive, it forces and implies that all future framing research is limited to investigation whether these frames were present in media texts and defeats the purpose of differentiating framing from priming in political communication.

## **Conceptual Issues and Limitations**

### *Sociological and Psychological Origins*

As touched upon briefly in chapter 2, framing as a framework for investigating communication can be traced to two distinct bodies of literature. One is sociological (Entman, 1991; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974) and the other is psychological (Domke, Shah & Wackman, 1998; Iyengar, 1991).

Sociological aspect of framing deals with the communication aspects of framing and its presence in communicative text, for example its locations, its process and its identification (de Vreese, 2003). Psychological aspect of framing deals with its consequence on the ability of audience to interpret news and other aspects of mass communication (Domke, Shah & Wackman, 1998).

### *Framing Process*

Thus, there is a growing body of literature which asserts that it is imperative that framing cannot be done without actually changing the accurate information (Borah, 2011; Bruijn, 2017; Chong & Druckman, 2007; D'Angelo, 2002; Domingo & Peterson, 2011; Iyengar, 1991; Martin & Oshagan, 1997; Seon-Kyoung An, 2009). D'angelo (2002) claims that often in political communication, while reporting events, a central idea and theme is added to spin the story and thus make it the primary focus of attention. This has been termed as emphasis framing (Borah, 2011).

### *Production of Frames*

There is also differentiation in the debate between the manufacturing of frames in news. Gamson & Modigliani (1989) did a comprehensive study on perception of nuclear force in newspapers and concluded that there are three main aspects in which a story can be created to give a central theme or frame, these are “existing societal norms, advertising influence and journalistic routines” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). On the other hand, Entman (1991) believes frames have four specific purposes.

### *Framing and Agenda Setting*

Lastly framing studies have often been mixed and related with second level agenda setting. In his famous monograph, McCombs argued that framing should be considered a sub branch of agenda setting (McCombs, 2004). However, this proposition was widely contested and opposed, and numerous studies propped up to challenge this notion.

### **Studies with Framing as primary framework**

De Vreese (2004) conducted an interesting experiment where the participants were asked to watch a fabricated television program produced in collaboration with European Union. The program was about supposedly exaggeration of European Union and including more countries. The experiment was carried with 145 participants, which is sufficient number of participants for a study to be significant in

terms of quantitative data. The purpose of study was to find out perceptions and influences, frames in news story can make. Not surprisingly, the results indicated that frames in news story are as important as the facts reported itself (de Vresse, 2004).

Similar to this study, Shen (2004) also conducted an experiment in controlled environment to test framing effects. Participants were briefed and explained on two contrasting political scenarios and asked to give their opinions and make choices on a number of variables. The focus of study was to determine if frames are the single cause of participant choices and subsequently have an effect similar to hypodermic needle model. However, the results showed that participants own bias and existing perceptions played the same role as the controlled frames used in the political briefing. This shows that media effects research and framing effects vastly overstate and over emphasize the role of frames, but they do play a part in making sense of what's important or "salient" (Shen, 2004).

In a recent study, Schuck and Feinholdt (2015) came up with a working model to evaluate human emotions as a media effect due to framing. They make key divisions in the types of effect itself and name some important variables such as "valence", "arousal" and "excitement" which can be judged through experiments. This research study was a follow up to the studies which have categorized valence as being either negative or positive.

Framing is quite often not only used by media producers but social elites such as governments and multinational for profit organizations too to spin key issues related to their intended policies. One such example is Gulf war, where President Bush repeatedly called Saddam Hussein as “Hitler” and laid grounds for public approval of a war (Mintz & Redd, 2003). This made the case for action on the part of President Bush to do something about it in the eyes of American public, which is supposedly what American government wanted to do (Mintz & Redd, 2003). This study adds to the growing body of literature and scholars who actively stand for framing effects as direct consequence of issue framing and thus influencing and often changing the direction of debates around key issues.

Iraq war has been subject to quite a lot of scholarly investigation, mainly in the aftermath, both in social science and humanities. Another study conducted by Dimitrova and Stromback (2008) confirms the findings of previously mentioned research by focusing on coverage of Iraq war in Swedish and American press. They reaffirmed the theory of frames being used in political communication to masses by political elites, since there was a considerable difference in coverage of newspapers between the two countries, but the difference was co related to the direction and manner of public discussion in political spheres of two countries.

In this last example about the role frames actively played in Iraq war, Kolmer and Semetko (2009) used a comprehensive sample of newspapers from America, UK,

Czech Republic, Germany, South Africa and Qatar media platforms. In their large sample they similarly deduced that type of coverage was governed by the type and manner of national policy regarding each respective country. However, this study was financed by Media Tenor, and there are possible conflicts of interests in the reported findings.

Similar to this research, analysis of coverage of elections by a foreign news media was done by Christensen (2005) where he analyzed and compared US and UK newspapers based on their coverage of 2002 Turkey elections. The author makes a key point about the role of prior frames related to image of Muslim countries and their democratic systems. In his extensive qualitative research, he concluded that the coverage was biased by the official position of respective governments towards Turkey.

Its worthwhile to mention here research carried out using generic news frames. The 2000 US presidential election was a closely contested one and was indecisive initially. Gan, Teo and Detenber (2005) use quantitative methodology using pre-selected generic news frames to measure the coverage of US presidential elections of 2000 in two foreign newspapers, The Strait Times from Singapore and France's popular newspaper Le Monde. Their extensive sample revealed that "race horse" was the most prominent frames used in the coverage of two papers (Gan, Teo & Detenber, 2005). Perhaps the most important finding of their study was the



admission that in an event of unexpectedness, generic news frames are not very helpful, and issue specific news frames are compulsory for a complete analysis of coverage.

Of course, these studies were carried out before social media networks became a norm in political discussion and caused a disruption in journalism industry. However, in case of 2011-2012 US republican primaries and decision to select the suitable candidate to face President Obama, researchers found out that similar frames were used in social media coverage and print media coverage of events leading up to the elections (Hong, 2012). This points towards a correlation and symmetry of political frames across platforms and media channels.

In a comprehensive study carried out by Benoit, Stein & Hansen (2005) where they analysed New York times coverage of all presidential elections between 1952 and 2000, where they used computer assisted content analysis to carry out investigation using generic news frames, not surprisingly their results indicated "horse frame" as the primary frame (Benoit, Stein & Hansen, 2005). However, computer assisted content analysis did enable them to analyse a fairly large sample of newspaper articles. Their method to extract frames was also interesting because instead of normal routine to use a unit of analysis, they used a unit of theme by providing coders a sample of theme from newspaper story. The coded units were then fed into a computer software to realize the final output.

Another computerized content analysis research looking at US newspapers coverage of US election was carried by Miller, Andsager, & Riechert in 1998. They looked at the leading candidates in 1996 US presidential elections, and compared the frames used in candidate's own campaign material to the coverage they got. What's relevant and interesting is the aspect that they used a computer program for content analysis, and then they used hierarchical cluster analysis to cluster together the various terms which appeared as a result of content analysis. This type of inductive framing technique is usually not replicable. However, going back to their study, they found out that terms such as ad, advertisements, marketing had the highest co occurrence in clusters (Miller, Andsager & Riechert, 1998) and deduced that newspaper coverage was significantly different than the frames initiated by the candidates themselves. This poses a question on how and what do the frames depend on? Previous studies indicated that they depend on the elite in the case of transnational issues (Borah, 2011) but perhaps in the case of national issues, other factors are involved.

### **Studies concerning coverage of Donald Trump**

Research focusing on Donald Trump as an individual and unprecedented US president have also already begun with authors focusing on digital politics influenced by Trump (Karpf, 2017), his path to nomination in relation to media coverage (Azari, 2017; Wells, Shah, Pevehouse, Yang, Pelled, Boehm, Lukito, Ghosh &

Schmidt, 2017) and frames used by Donald Trump himself in his political rhetoric (Bruijn, 2017).

Shoreinstitute center for media, policy and politics at Harvard university recently analysed Donald Trump's first hundred days at office. I will be shedding light on their findings about his media coverage, which not surprisingly stand out. They notice the fact that Donald Trump as a candidate is not just sceptical about standard news media, he actually tries to counter and influence his own coverage (Harvard, 2017) which is usually what politicians try do but the remarkable thing is his success rate is quite high. They also present an unusual amount of television coverage Donald Trump got as a president, which stands at 41 percent, approximately thrice the amount US presidents have gotten in their first year on average (Harvard, 2017).

(Wells, et al. (2016) investigated the mechanisms, Donald Trump used in their coverage to look for new developments in theoretical aspects of political communication and the success to his communication strategy was that Donald Trump renounced the normative practices of digital and analog content creation and instead used an age old communication practice of "an old age blue collar businessman" (Wells et al., 2016). Another successful practice he carried out was using social media, specially Twitter to bait journalists fishing for stories and thus

made full use of modern journalism practices, where every controversial statement is courted immediate attention on a plethora of cable and web based news channels.

This, according to scholars, is a complete application of executability of 'hybrid media system' where candidates can gain coverage on different mediums simultaneously by focusing on different niches those mediums entertain; in the case of Trump, carrying out traditional rallies to give rousing speeches to span newspaper coverage and at the same time using digital media to cover digital bases (Wells., 2016).

Karf (2017) picks on those points and ponders if political science and specifically political communication need to re-examine their theoretical models due to Donald Trump's surprise win. He notes that this was a highly unlikely event which occurred, but it was not of blue or chaotic but rather based on everything public relation campaigns stand for (Karf, 2017). Usually public campaigns preach for as little controversy as is possible and quite often controversies kill presidential bids, but Donald Trump invited controversies on purpose just to get in media light and this seemed to increase his chances of success rather than diminish it (Karf,2017). He further argues that there is a need to expand boundaries of digital politics and scholars need to remodify political communication to be better able to predict unlikely scenarios such as Donald Trump's 2016 US presidential election win.

Azari (2016) looks at the news media's role in Donald Trump's success in a more skeptical way and argues that news media outlets share financial interests with political parties and are inherently biased, in this case, a clearly visible partisan divide between America's popular television news channels. Fox news covered and continues to do so, President Donald Trump in a very positive coverage and immediately quashing the controversies surrounding him which is motivated by financial reasons (Azari, 2016). Another core function media does in this instance is to provide core communication within political parties by highlighting Donald Trump's statements and choices for those who aren't aware of it. On the whole, this contrasting role played by media does become a coordination by both disseminating his message by engaging in constant debate over his suitability and covering his political policies far and wide (Azari, 2016).

Another core function detected in the findings that media played was to amplify Donald Trump more than a person by postulating his policies as a president and making a president look more than like an ordinary scenario and associating presidential chair with super powers that he could change everything and that gave his followers belief that he could, in a good way (Azari, 2016)

I think it can be concluded from the literature review that framing theory is in need for more empirically transparent studies and that Donald Trump's candidacy and

presidency is an excellent opportunity to investigate it. In the next chapter I focus on methodological problems in quantifying frames and explain my chosen methods.

## **Chapter 4: Methodology**

In this chapter I will first present my research questions, followed by a discussion of methodological problems in extracting frames and my chosen research design.

Thereafter, I will discuss the development and reliability of codebook, sample size and data collection method and lastly a transparent brief of my data analysis.

### **Research Questions**

As discussed in relevance and theoretical foundation of this study, I have posited the following research questions to be answered through this research

RQ1: How did DW frame Donald Trump as a presidential candidate before his Republican nomination?

RQ2: How did DW frame Donald Trump as a presidential candidate after his Republican nomination?

RQ3: How did DW frame Donald Trump as a US president before 2017 G-7 summit?

RQ4: How did DW frame Donald Trump as a US president after the 2017 G-7 summit?

These research questions are related to the important key dates during Donald Trump's presidential term short after. To emphasize again, the G-7 summit is taken as a turning point because of the exchange of hostile comments between German chancellor Angela Merkel and US president Donald Trump.

### **Research Design**

Although there has been an increase in use of framing theory over the last few years, an important empirical problem is yet to be solved; extraction of frames in a replicable and scalable manner through empirical analysis (Scheufele, 1999, p.103).

This is partially due to the reason that its difficult to code frames because of their abstract nature in texts (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). For this reason, Matthes & Kohring (2008) present a review of methods being used to extract frames and conclude that all of the methods entertain a degree of coder bias and in some of the methods, frame might be just imagination of author and may not exist in the texts.

To be as empirically transparent as possible, and to validate the research findings through statistical analysis, I have adopted quantitative content analysis as the primary method to extract frames. More specifically, I initially adopt Matthes & Kohring's (2008) method of extracting frames. Furthermore, as I will discuss in the codebook development, I use both inductive and deductive category schemes.

### **Matthes & Kohring Method**

Usually scholars tend to extract frames through direct coding which can present a problem of bias and coder reliability. Matthes & Kohring (2008) method of frame extraction is based on an indirect method of coding. First, they propose to operationalize the definition of frames and framing. For this purpose, I have adopted Entman's (1991 & 1993) definition which is again presented.

Framing is *"to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation for the item described"* (Entman, 1993, p.52).

So as per the definition, a frame in the text has had to have

1- A problem definition: Where a problem is defined or identified or posited by media content



2- A causal interpretation: The same homogenous frame should also interpret this problem in some relevant context

3- Moral Evaluation: Alongwith the interpretation, it is assumed that frame will also present an evaluation of problem in terms of benefits and advantages.

4- Treatment Recommendation: And lastly the frame will recommend a kind of solution for the said problem.

As it can be observed, using content analysis technique to read texts and plan to identify a frame which fulfils this criterion is a risky manoeuvre since all these characteristics aren't usually contained in one word or sentence and perhaps not even in one paragraph and are usually scattered (Matthes & Kohring, 2008).

Thus, they propose to use the operationalization of framing, to develop a codebook according to the operationalization in the first step. In the second step, they propose using statistical measures to identify frames which fulfil the operationalization variables.

As a first step, I look to develop codebook using inductive and deductive methods using the primary four variables, contained in Entman's (1993) definition of frames which are *Problem Definition*, *Causal Interpretation*, *Treatment Recommendation* and *Moral Evaluation*.

### **Sampling and Data Collection**

DW website with its English version was selected as the primary media sample.

DW's website provides an excellent search function which allows search results based on combination of words and dates. The search for term "Donald Trump" between the dates of 16<sup>th</sup> June 2015 to 15<sup>th</sup> June 2017 resulted in 3120 articles.

From this sample, the advertisements and notices, alongwith articles which did not

have Donald Trump as the primary subject were removed. The final sample consisted of 2908 articles. The articles were stored using Microsoft One Notebook feature which lets the account owner clip web article to be stored both on web using Microsoft One Drive cloud account and on the personal computer. The articles were then exported to pdf format and Microsoft Word files to be used in Provalis Pro suite for coding.

### **Codebook Development**

An inherent problem in this method is lack of pre-developed codebooks in other research studies. Since in the literature review, it was deduced that this is the first research study which looks at the said research problem of Donald Trump's coverage by German media and since my method involves operationalization of framing definition, thus I had to develop sub categories for the four variables myself.

I did this by using PEW (2015) research report on US-German relations, Harvard Kennedy School's (2017) report on news coverage of Donald Trump in first 100 days, and using Prosuite QDA Miner and Sim Stat software to primarily analyse the whole sample to find keywords in context and frequency of most used words (Appendix B). As can be seen, President and Trump are the most used words in the sample, but there are words such as "administration" and "Washington" which indicate the highly cantered coverage of Donald Trump and his administration, and also before his selection as the president, an emphasis of his future government in the unlikely chance that he gets selected. To clarify further, I used Donald Trump as a keyword in context to find all the instances he was mentioned in the whole sample (Appendix C).

Figure 3: Example of most frequent words found in sample using QDA Miner

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1		FREQUENCY	% SHOWN	% PROCESSED	% TOTAL	NO. CASES	% CASES	TF * IDF
2	TRUMP	5069	3.76%	3.48%	1.73%	1	100.00%	0.0
3	PRESIDENT	2012	1.49%	1.38%	0.69%	1	100.00%	0.0
4	DW	1112	0.83%	0.76%	0.38%	1	100.00%	0.0
5	HOUSE	642	0.48%	0.44%	0.22%	1	100.00%	0.0
6	PEOPLE	576	0.43%	0.40%	0.20%	1	100.00%	0.0
7	WHITE	544	0.40%	0.37%	0.19%	1	100.00%	0.0
8	ADMINISTRATION	519	0.39%	0.36%	0.18%	1	100.00%	0.0
9	WEDNESDAY	513	0.38%	0.35%	0.18%	1	100.00%	0.0
10	CLIMATE	494	0.37%	0.34%	0.17%	1	100.00%	0.0
11	STATES	488	0.36%	0.33%	0.17%	1	100.00%	0.0
12	NEWS	450	0.33%	0.31%	0.15%	1	100.00%	0.0
13	OCTOBER	446	0.33%	0.31%	0.15%	1	100.00%	0.0
14	WWW	433	0.32%	0.30%	0.15%	1	100.00%	0.0
15	CLIPPED	430	0.32%	0.30%	0.15%	1	100.00%	0.0
16	COUNTRIES	430	0.32%	0.30%	0.15%	1	100.00%	0.0
17	HTTP	430	0.32%	0.30%	0.15%	1	100.00%	0.0
18	ORDER	416	0.31%	0.29%	0.14%	1	100.00%	0.0
19	WASHINGTON	413	0.31%	0.28%	0.14%	1	100.00%	0.0
20	UNITED	407	0.30%	0.28%	0.14%	1	100.00%	0.0

Using these inductive methods, in combination with the deductive approach from selected prior research studies, codebook was developed consisting of 5 main categories (A- Formal categories, B- Problem Definition categories, C- Causal Interpretation categories, D-Moral evaluation categories, E- Treatment recommendation categories). The complete codebook is attached as Appendix A in this research study but hereby I give a brief introduction of the four variable categories and sub categories under them. All variables under the categories from B to E were binary variables with coding values either 1 or 2.

Figure 4: Example of KWIC list of the word “Donald Trump”

1	Australian PM Malcolm	Trump	
1	President Donald	Trump	attacks FBI probe into possible
1	The act would bar	Trump	from deleting tweets after publishing
1	- What happens now th	Trump	fired the head of the FBI?
1	"There is still a wide ch	Trump	and the majorities in both houses dec
1	"There is still a wide ch	Trump	and then to actually convict and remo
1	That doesn't mean, how	Trump	lose.
1	Many Congressional Re	Trump	, but stick with him anyway as long as l
1	"If those members in vu	Trump	as an albatross, they'll run away from
1	"If those members in vu	Trump	is very different from Republicans imp
1	Pope Francis and Presic	Trump	meet despite deep
1	Clipped from: http://ww	Trump	- meet-despite-deep-divide/a-389652
1	Despite some rather pu	Trump	met with Pope Francis at the Vatican c
1		Trump	's infamous - since deleted - covfefe tw
1	Despite some rather pu	Trump	's policies as "not Christian," the pont
1	"Thank you so much,"	Trump	could be heard saying before they wer
1	Since	Trump	announced his presidential campaign
1	Since Trump announcec	Trump	's plan to bar refugees from coming to
1	They also share drastic	Trump	has rolled back a number of Obama-er
1	The pope has also voice	Trump	holds a series of different opinions.
1		Trump	appears moved by meeting
1	Pope Francis looked qu	Trump	, his wife Melania, daughter Ivanka a
1	Melania	Trump	, who is reportedly herself a Catholic,
1	First Lady Melania	Trump	appeared with President Trump's dau
1		Trump	commonly goes to Twitter to share his
1	First Lady Melania Trum	Trump	's daughter and son-in-law to meet Pc

Figure 5: Formal categories

**Formal Categories**

Category	Value	Instructions
<b>Date of Coding</b>		Input the date when article is being coded in format dd.mm. yyyy
<b>Title of article</b>		Input the title of article
<b>Date of article</b>		Input the date when article was published in format dd.mm. yyyy
<b>Section of article</b>		Input the numeric value according to following 1- Germany 2- Europe 3- Africa 4- Asia 5- Americas 6- Middle East 7- Business 8- Science 9- Environment 10- Sports
<b>Source of article</b>		Input the numeric value according to following 1- DW correspondent/Reporter 2- News agency 3- Other media organizations 4- Other
<b>Number of words in article</b>		Input the number of words in article

While formal categories are self-explanatory, I briefly explain some of the problem definition categories in the next page.

Figure 6: Problem Definition Categories

Name	Topic/Actor	Value	Instructions
<b>Donald Trump</b>	Actor		Input Yes if article talks about 1- Donald Trump as sexist 2- Donald Trump as racist 3- Donald Trump as white nationalist 4- Donald Trump as President 5- Donald Trump as businessman 6- Donald Trump as father and husband
<b>Germany</b>	Actor		Input yes if article talks about 1- Germany as sovereign country 2- Germany as Europe's leader 3- Germany as NATO member
<b>Republican Nomination</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- Donald Trump as candidate 2- Republican Convention 3- Jeb Bush 4- Ted Cruz 5- Republican party's decline 6- Republican party's rise 7- Donald Trump tax returns
<b>Democratic Nomination</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- Hillary Clinton as candidate 2- Bernie Sanders as candidate 3- Democratic National Committee 4- Bill Clinton
<b>Russian Involvement</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- Donald Trump's collusion with Russia 2- DNC documents hacking 3- FBI investigation over Russian involvement in US 2016 elections 4- Vladimir Putin statements about Donald Trump 5- Rex Tillerson's Russian contacts 6- US relationship with Russia
<b>US Foreign Policy</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- US and climate change agreement 2- US and Mexico border 3- US immigration policies 4- US trade agreements 5- US role in Syria 6- US relationship with North Korea 7- US relationship with China
<b>US Domestic Policy</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- US policy on gun control 2- US health care system

As mentioned above, all the sub categories under this category are binary with either yes or no as the coding answer translated into 1 or 2 in QDA Minor for analysis. The sub categories such as “Donald Trump” as an actor (Appendix A) or US Domestic Policy (Appendix A) are selected based on the keywords in context analysis done prior of the whole sample (Appendix C).

Figure 7: Causal Interpretation Categories

Name	Category	Value	Instructions
<b>Low employment rate</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>Declining US export</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>High Crime Rate</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>US Domestic Terrorism</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>Obama's presidency</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>Rise of white nationalism</b>	Topic		Input yes or no

Similar to problem definition categories, causal interpretation categories were adapted from Harvard (2017) review of Donald Trump's first 100 days and they seem to explain the reasons Donald Trump rose to the power. The complete codebook can be analysed from Appendix A.

### **Codebook Reliability**

All categories and sub categories were checked for reliability using Kohen's Kappa, Interclass coefficient for string variables and percentage agreement. A coder was used from the department of Media and Economics sciences, for a pre-test of 300 articles from sample randomly chosen. The results for reliability are on the next page.

The results of reliability tests for Problem Definition categories are presented on the next page. Its visible that all categories were highly correlated with the minimum score of 0.89 on some categories and most categories with 100% reliability. Thus, the codebook was used to code the final sample.

Similar results were also obtained for causal interpretation categories, treatment recommendation categories and moral evaluation categories. The tables are

presented on separated pages as to not break down rows in the middle of page to avoid confusion.

#### Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for Formal Categories

Category	Kohen's Kappa	String Identity	Inter-class Correlation
Date of coding	/	1.00	/
Title of Article	/	1.00	/
Date of Article	/	/	1.00
Section of Article	/	/	1.00
Source of Article	1.00	/	1.00
Number of words	/	1.00	/
Mean Reliability coefficient = 1			

Table 1: Intercoder Reliability for Formal Categories

In Table 2, the minimum score obtained for Kohen's Kappa was 0.89. which is still considered strongly reliable. There were three or more categories with 100% agreement between coders indicating codebook was reliable and self-explanatory with no categories inter linked or having conflicting interpretations.

In Table 3, the minimum score obtained was again 0.89 for categories related to causal attribution. The reliability for moral evaluation categories and treatment recommendation categories (Table 4 & 5) yielded similar results indicating codebook's usability for this research. The tables are presented on next page due to space restrictions.



## Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for Problem definition categories

Category	Kohen's Kappa	Percentage agreement (in %)
Donald Trump	0.96	96
Germany	0.89	89
Republican Nomination	0.92	97
Democratic Nomination	0.97	99
Russian Involvement	0.96	99
US foreign policy	1.00	100
US domestic policy	1.00	100
US trade policy	0.97	99
US-German relationship	0.97	98
Multiple Topic	1.00	100
Mean Reliability coefficient = 0.97		

Table 2: Reliability tests for Problem Definition Categories

## Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for Causal attribution categories

Category	Kohen's Kappa	Percentage agreement (in %)
Low Employment Rate	0.96	96
Declining US Export	0.96	97
High Crime Rate	1.00	100
US Domestic Terrorism	0.97	99
Obama's Presidential Term	0.89	93
Rise of white nationalism	0.92	95
Mean Reliability coefficient = 0.98		

Table 3: Reliability Tests for Causal attribution categories

## Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for Moral Evaluation categories

Category	Kohen's Kappa	Percentage agreement (in %)
Benefit to US: Domestic	0.96	96
Benefit to US: Foreign	0.96	97
Damage to US: Domestic	1.00	100
Damage to US: Foreign	0.97	99
Mean Reliability coefficient = 0.98		

Table 4: Reliability tests for Moral evaluation categories

## Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for Treatment recommendation categories

Category	Kohen's Kappa	Percentage agreement (in %)
US Electorate changes	0.96	96
US Education system	0.96	97
Democratic Leadership	1.00	100
Republican Leadership	0.97	99
Social Media echo	0.89	93
Mean Reliability coefficient = 0.98		

Table 5: Reliability Tests for Treatment Recommendation categories

**Data Cleaning and Data Analysis:**

Data was initially stored in Provalis Pro Suite Sim Stat for statistical analyses. Any missing codes were recoded, and data was checked for mistakes using Frequency and cross tabulation measures.

Referring to the Matthes & Kohring method (2008), I used to hierarchical cluster analysis to extract frames. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis can be performed using various methods, Matthes & Kohring (2008) recommend using Ward's method with Euclidean distance as the standard for measuring proximity between individual items of a cluster and using pre-defined range of clusters. However, a problem with using pre-defined range of clusters is that data is then definitely distributed to one of the clusters and it might not be statistically correlated or the distances between the categories might be too large (small number on Euclidean measure). Thus, I decided to first use Ward's method for calculating clusters and then applied Centroid method to check the distances within the clusters to reaffirm whether the categories and articles did fall under that cluster or were simply included because of the pre-defined number of clusters.

I present my results to the four research questions using the above two measures for performing hierarchical cluster analysis in the next chapter.

### Chapter 5: Results

In this chapter I will provide results to the four research questions I posited in this research study along with their interpretation and importance.

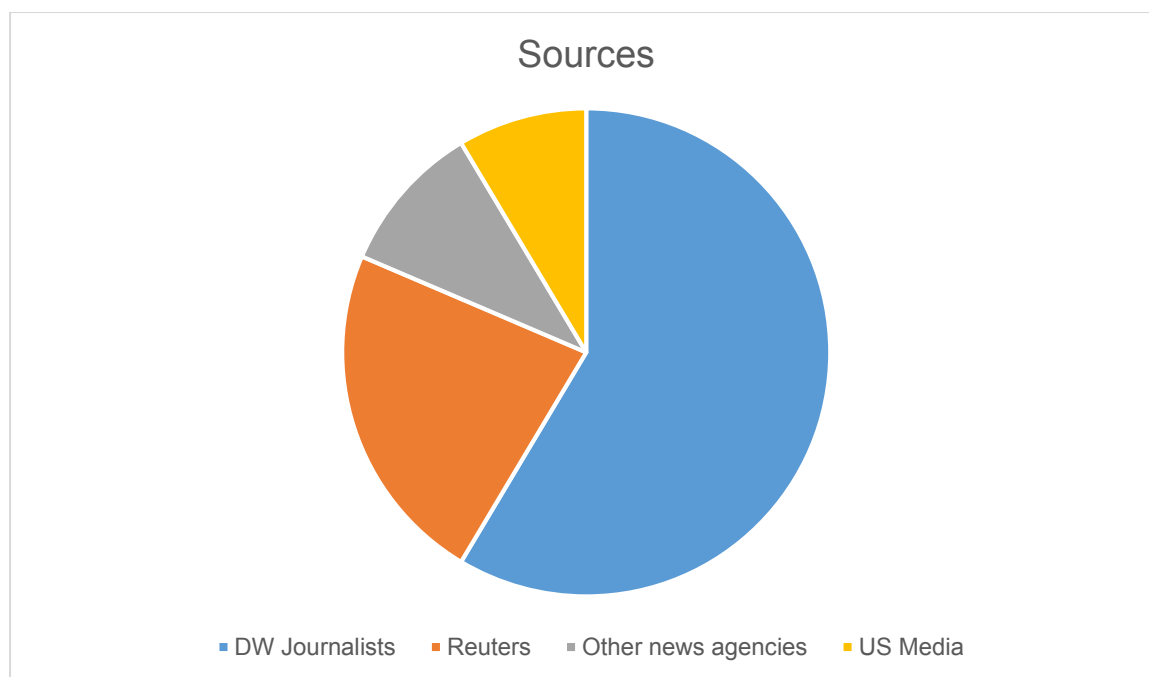
#### Sample Description

Category	16/06/2015 – 26/05/2016	27/05/2016 – 09/11/2016	10/11/2016 – 27/05/2017	28/05/2017 – 15/06/2017
Number of Articles	1243	720	810	135
Average number of words/article	853~	924~	980~	1020~
Most frequent section	Americas	Americas	International	Germany

Table 6: Sample Description

Before presenting the analysis to research questions, its worth noting that average number of words per article increased as the dates go meaning DW increased its coverage of Donald Trump gradually as it started getting clear that the candidate Trump is not there for circus and means business.

Figure 8: Breakdown of sources used by DW to report on Donald Trump



DW mostly used its own journalists for the articles and Reuters news agency again emphasizing the scale of foreign coverage DW can pull and the importance given to Donald Trump by the German media giant (Figure 8)

### **Research Question 1**

My first research question was *RQ1: How did DW frame Donald Trump as a presidential candidate before his Republican nomination?* As mentioned above, I used hierarchical cluster analysis using both Ward's and centroid method.

I selected a range of 2-5 clusters for Ward's method. There is an obvious and distinct frame emerging which has put into first cluster, where articles talk about Donald Trump, and the republican nomination process, along with US domestic policy and rise of white nationalism and how it might damage US on foreign front.

Thus, using this method, it's clear that there was a theme emerging that if Donald Trump gets selected as the republican nominee, it's a bad impression for US democracy in front of the world and the factors attributed to are rise of white nationalism. I term this frame as "*Bad candidate*" (Table 7) but the exact term of the frame is not important here. What's important is its employability here in addition to definitive characteristics this frame holds. This frame fulfils all of the Entman's (1993) characteristics for a frame and DW being a foreign news outlet advocates and predicts that Donald Trump's candidacy and his emerging rise as a politician does not bode well and attributes these events taking place to rise of racism in USA.

Apart from this frame, this 5-cluster divide shows that many of the unrelated categories have been clustered together such as Germany as an actor and US-domestic affairs. I was not sure whether there is any relation between two and whether these two were reported together several times to be placed in same cluster, so the three clusters show that they do were in

Cluster Membership: Before Donald Trump's nomination

Variables	5 clusters	4 clusters	3 clusters
<b>Actor: Donald Trump</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Actor: Germany	5	4	3
<b>Topic: Republic Nomination</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Topic: Democratic Nomination	2	2	2
Topic: Russian Involvement	3	3	3
Topic: US Foreign Policy	5	3	3
<b>Topic: US Domestic Policy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Topic: US Trade Policy	5	1	1
Topic: US Germany Relationship	5	4	3
Attribution: Low Employment Rate	3	3	3
Attribution: Declining US Export	2	2	2
Attribution: High Crime Rate	2	2	2
Attribution: US Domestic Terrorism	1	1	1
Attribution: Obama's Presidential Term	3	3	3
<b>Attribution: Rise of White Nationalism</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Benefit: US (Domestic)	4	3	3
Benefit: US (foreign)	2	2	2
Damage: US (Domestic)	5	4	3
<b>Damage: US (Foreign)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Treatment: US electorate changes	4	4	3
Treatment: US education system	2	2	2
Treatment: Democratic Leadership	5	4	3
Treatment: Republican Leadership	1	1	1
Treatment: Social Media Filter Bubble	2	2	1

Table 7: Cluster membership for coverage before Donald Trump's nomination

same cluster. This raises an obvious suspicion that one drawback of cluster analysis that statistical software will assign articles one cluster or another if range of clusters is chosen.

Another frame which is emerging from this table is articles in the second cluster talking about Democratic nomination, US crime rate and education system. A background on the events taking place during the US primaries 2016 tells that DW took another angle on Donald Trump being popular among the voters and that it looked at more of the reasons of his popularity. So, to check whether these clusters did exist, or they are just clustered because of the range given, I used centroid method to calculate hierarchical cluster analysis using the same five clusters and use the standard deviation and mean between them this time to identify frames (Table 8) We can see here that only the categories highlighted in orange are closer to each other and all the categories have really low scores. This means that there is a definite presence of the frame termed as “Bad Candidate” above, and majority of the articles before Donald Trump’s nomination cover either one of these issues and collectively the coverage around Donald Trump before he was selected as the Republican nominee was dominated about his credentials as the primary candidate. Specifically, his negative credentials. These findings seem to corroborate with the Wells et al. paper about Donald Trump’s use of media to his advantage. They advocate that Donald Trump purposefully fuelled negative coverage around him to

gain more media retraction and stay in news and it worked to his advantage because of his politically low profile (Wells, et al., 2016). In other words the more DW focused on the negative aspects of Donald Trump's campaign, the more German media outlet highlighted his campaign and that works for it. It will be interesting to note whether such a negative coverage about one of the top candidates for the next presidential term of a friendly ally country holds up consistently once it's established that he indeed is one of the main candidates.

We can see here that only the categories highlighted in orange are closer to each other and all the categories have really low scores. This means that there is a definite presence of the frame termed as "Bad Candidate" above, and majority of the articles before Donald Trump's nomination cover either one of these issues and collectively the coverage around Donald Trump before he was selected as the Republican nominee was dominated about his credentials as the primary candidate. Specifically, his negative credentials. These findings seem to corroborate with the Wells et al. paper about Donald Trump's use of media to his advantage. They advocate that Donald Trump purposefully fuelled negative coverage around him to gain more media retraction and stay in news and it worked to his advantage because of his politically low profile (Wells, et al., 2016). In other words the more DW focused on the negative aspects of Donald Trump's campaign, the more German media outlet highlighted his campaign and that works for it. It will be interesting to note



whether such a negative coverage about one of the top candidates for the next presidential term of a friendly ally country holds up consistently once it's established that he indeed is one of the main candidates.

Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters: Before Donald Trump's nomination			
Variables	Cluster 1 M (SD)	Cluster 2 M (SD)	Cluster 3 M (SD)
<b>Actor: Donald Trump</b>	<b>0.52 (0.50)</b>	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.01)
Actor: Germany	0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.04)	0.01 (0.07)
<b>Topic: Republic Nomination</b>	<b>0.71 (0.39)</b>	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)
<b>Topic: Democratic Nomination</b>	<b>0.36 (0.42)</b>	0.52 (0.50)	0.05 (0.06)
Topic: Russian Involvement	0.07 (0.02)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Topic: US Foreign Policy	0.00 (0.00)	0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.07)
<b>Topic: US Domestic Policy</b>	<b>0.84 (0.57)</b>	0.04 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Topic: US Trade Policy	0.00 (0.00)	0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.01)
Topic: US Germany Relationship	0.00 (0.00)	0.08 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)
Attribution: Low Employment Rate	0.07 (0.02)	0.01 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)
<b>Attribution: Declining US Export</b>	<b>0.21 (0.17)</b>	0.24 (0.26)	0.07 (0.06)
<b>Attribution: High Crime Rate</b>	<b>0.24 (0.26)</b>	0.02 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
<b>Attribution: US Domestic Terrorism</b>	<b>0.65 (0.45)</b>	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.07)
Attribution: Obama's Presidential Term	0.07 (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)
Attribution: Rise of White Nationalism	0.60 (0.47)	0.05 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)
Benefit: US (Domestic)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
<b>Benefit: US (foreign)</b>	<b>0.22 (0.15)</b>	0.71 (0.39)	0.02 (0.00)
Damage: US (Domestic)	0.04 (0.01)	0.02 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Damage: US (Foreign)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.01)
Treatment: US electorate changes	0.00 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)	0.08 (0.06)
Treatment: US education system	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Treatment: Democratic Leadership	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)
Treatment: Republican Leadership	0.04 (0.01)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Treatment: Social Media Filter Bubble	0.02 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)

Table 8: Mean and Standard Deviation for the three clusters

Although qualitative analysis of the texts is not part of my analysis, but just to add to the quantitative analysis showing a highly negative coverage of Donald Trump, below is an excerpt from a DW article which fully encapsules this frame (Figure 9).

The following article is a not a news coverage, it does not talk about any real events

taking place, or has taken place. Below is a prime example of how news media outlets actually frame news phenomenon. DW journalists meet up with one of the movie directors and critics, and ask the opinion about which type of a character Donald Trump will play in the movie. Not surprisingly, they came up with the character profile of a person who promises change at the expense of law, one who breaks the law and uses whatever means of violence available to him to change the default order of proceedings.

Such an article is not of blue among DW' coverage. In fact DW regularly used such pieces to frame Donald Trump and it is not a surprise that statistical analysis show Donald Trump is a candidate for racists who believe in white supremacy.

Unfortunately at the time of writing I could not find many papers which look the way Donald Trump was covered as a candidate by US or foreign press so a case has to be made whether DW only followed a pattern shared by other media giants or they took a negative view of the republican candidate because of his statements and his support base. What's clear as the response to first research question is that DW framed Donald Trump as the "bad candidate" for United States of America before he got selected as republican candidate.

Figure 9

## Why Trump could star in a vigilante film | Film | DW | 20.01.2016

Wednesday, October 18, 2016  
8:36 PM

Clipped from: <http://www.dw.com/en/why-trump-could-star-in-a-vigilante-film/a-37173968>

He has a big mouth, promises change and shows no regard for the law. There are striking parallels between President-elect Donald Trump and the narratives of US vigilante films, film expert Peter Vogl tells DW.

*DW: You've said there is a connection between Donald Trump and motive of revenge in US cinema. One of Hollywood's most famous vigilante films, "Death Wish," happens to be one of Trump's favorites. In which context did he mention that?*

Peter Vogl: During his election campaign, Trump said in a speech, while he was pressing for gun ownership rights, that he loved the film. He praised Charles Bronson and complained that the film has been categorized as politically incorrect.

*In your new book, "Hollywood Justice - Selbstjustiz im amerikanischen Film 1915-2015," you examine films in which people take the law into their own hands - an issue that comes up often in American cinema. What exactly is vigilantism?*

### Research Question 2

My second research question was related to how DW framed the coverage of Donald Trump after he got nominated as the primary Republican candidate for US presidential elections of 2016. As with the first research question, I first employ Ward's method for calculating 5 to 3 clusters. The results are presented in Table 9 on next page.

Cluster Membership after Donald Trump's nomination			
Variables	5 clusters	4 clusters	3 clusters
<b>Actor: Donald Trump</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Actor: Germany	5	4	3
Topic: Republic Nomination	1	1	1
Topic: Democratic Nomination	1	1	1
Topic: Russian Involvement	5	4	3
<b>Topic: US Foreign Policy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Topic: US Domestic Policy	2	2	1
<b>Topic: US Trade Policy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Topic: US Germany Relationship	5	4	3
Attribution: Low Employment Rate	3	3	3
Attribution: Declining US Export	4	3	3
Attribution: High Crime Rate	2	2	2
Attribution: US Domestic Terrorism	2	2	2
Attribution: Obama's Presidential Term	2	2	2
Attribution: Rise of White Nationalism	2	2	2
Benefit: US (Domestic)	4	3	3
Benefit: US (foreign)	4	3	3
Damage: US (Domestic)	4	2	2
Damage: US (Foreign)	4	2	2
Treatment: US electorate changes	4	2	2
Treatment: US education system	4	2	2
Treatment: Democratic Leadership	4	2	2
<b>Treatment: Republican Leadership</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Treatment: Social Media Filter Bubble</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

Table 9: Cluster membership after Donald Trump's nomination

It can be noticed that after his nomination, DW toned down the negative coverage and instead focused on Donald Trump's proposed "America First" policy related to foreign affairs and trade agreements around the world. In fact, DW also focused on the reasons why Donald Trump got selected as the Republican candidate and attributes the reasons to republican party leadership in United States and also to social media filter bubble. The attribution of social media filter bubble is interesting as it indicates the rise of fake news stories on Facebook during that period which was just getting highlighted as Donald Trump approached the elections.

Although Donald Trump criticised Angela Merkel during this period on her immigration policies and claimed that Germany is under attack by muslims (ABC, 2017), his such statements are reflected in cluster two which as can be seen in the next table is irrelevant because of the low mean score. This indicates that during this period DW definitively tried to change down its coverage.

The question arises whether these individual categories constitute a homogenous frame and to which my interpretation suggests, it does not, however naming a frame as discussed above is not of substance, instead looking at the change of coverage and change of theme portraying that coverage is of much more importance. But still it can be argued that DW used "Presidential Candidate" frame in this period of coverage, since it focused and diverted its coverage from targeting personal aspects

of his candidacy to his suitability as future president of US and what changes will he bring if he gets selected.

Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters: After Donald Trump's nomination			
Variables	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
<b>Actor: Donald Trump</b>	<b>0.71 (0.39)</b>	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.01)
Actor: Germany	0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.04)	0.01 (0.07)
<b>Topic: Republic Nomination</b>	<b>0.52 (0.50)</b>	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)
<b>Topic: Democratic Nomination</b>	<b>0.36 (0.42)</b>	0.36 (0.42)	0.05 (0.06)
Topic: Russian Involvement	0.07 (0.02)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
<b>Topic: US Foreign Policy</b>	<b>0.21 (0.17)</b>	0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.07)
<b>Topic: US Domestic Policy</b>	<b>0.84 (0.57)</b>	0.04 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Topic: US Trade Policy	0.00 (0.00)	0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.01)
Topic: US Germany Relationship	0.07 (0.02)	0.08 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)
Attribution: Low Employment Rate	0.04 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)
Attribution: Declining US Export	0.02 (0.00)	0.24 (0.26)	0.07 (0.06)
Attribution: High Crime Rate	0.05 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
Attribution: US Domestic Terrorism	0.02 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.07)
Attribution: Obama's Presidential Term	0.07 (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)
Attribution: Rise of White Nationalism	0.22 (0.15)	0.05 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)
Benefit: US (Domestic)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
Benefit: US (foreign)	0.05 (0.06)	0.29 (0.32)	0.02 (0.00)
Damage: US (Domestic)	0.04 (0.01)	0.02 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Damage: US (Foreign)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.01)
<b>Treatment: US electorate changes</b>	<b>0.24 (0.26)</b>	0.04 (0.01)	0.08 (0.06)
Treatment: US education system	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Treatment: Democratic Leadership	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)
Treatment: Republican Leadership	0.65 (0.45)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Treatment: Social Media Filter Bubble	0.02 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)

Table 10: Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters after nomination

**Research Question 3**

My third research question was about DW's coverage of Donald Trump after he won the US presidential elections of 2016. The results are presented in Table 11 and 12.

In retrospect this was the most emphasizing and important period of coverage and can be correlated and compared with coverage of US presidents by foreign media and coverage of US president by national media.

DW uses a range of categories in this period (this period was also the second longest sample in terms of time and biggest in terms of article). The obvious coverage angles like US policies on trade, foreign relations and home are there but DW also takes note of the rising home terrorism incidents in US, reports that white nationalism is on the rise (there were white nationalists marches in US covered extensively by media during this period and raised an alarm in world community). It also talks about whether there should be any changes made in US electorate because of the debate surrounding Hillary Clinton winning the elections in terms of total number of votes. Lastly DW also gave coverage to reports about Russian involvement in US elections.

The heterogeneity measures for this period show that around 700 articles are in this first cluster out of the total 810 articles analysed in this time period. This shows that this was the biggest cluster found in this study and even from this single cluster, there are multiple frames emerging. I talk about these in the next paragraphs.

Cluster Membership: After Donald Trump's Win			
Variables	5 clusters	4 clusters	3 clusters
<b>Actor: Donald Trump</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Actor: Germany	4	4	3
Topic: Republic Nomination	5	4	3
Topic: Democratic Nomination	5	4	3
<b>Topic: Russian Involvement</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Topic: US Foreign Policy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Topic: US Domestic Policy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Topic: US Trade Policy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Topic: US Germany Relationship	4	3	3
Attribution: Low Employment Rate	5	4	3
Attribution: Declining US Export	4	3	2
Attribution: High Crime Rate	5	4	2
<b>Attribution: US Domestic Terrorism</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Attribution: Obama's Presidential Term	5	4	3
<b>Attribution: Rise of White Nationalism</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Benefit: US (Domestic)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Benefit: US (foreign)	2	2	2
<b>Damage: US (Domestic)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Damage: US (Foreign)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Treatment: US electorate changes</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Treatment: US education system	3	2	2
Treatment: Democratic Leadership	3	3	3
Treatment: Republican Leadership	3	2	1
Treatment: Social Media Filter Bubble	5	4	1

Table 11: Cluster membership after Donald Trump's win



**Frame: White Supremacist**

The most prominent frame emerging from this time period is how Donald Trump is giving rise to domestic terrorism, white nationalists movements, is helped by Russia and electorate changes might mean he would never be selected as majority's president. This frame is in line with the coverage of Donald Trump in politically left US media (ABC, 2017) and German newspaper (The Local, 2017).

**Frame: Presidential Coverage**

This frame is one which is usually applied because of the incumbent arrival of new US president. It was also found in New York Times coverage of presidents in a 50 year time span (Benoit, Stein, & Hansen, 2005). This frame can be traced in this cluster and using mean scores on next page by looking at the co existence of Donald Trump as actor in articles and coverage surrounding US policies which is something expected when a new government is formed in western democracies.

Overall its interesting to note that DW changed the negative coverage from when the Donald Trump announced his campaign to slightly positive topics, but after his presidential win the coverage was skewed negatively with all the topics which are usually selected by US left media such as ABC news or CNN, and were reported in the analysis of first 100 days of Donald Trump in Harvard study ( (Harvard Kennedy School, 2017). Perhaps due to its international audience, DW tends to side with other major international broadcasters.

Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters: After Donald Trump's win			
Variables	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
<b>Actor: Donald Trump</b>	<b>0.71 (0.39)</b>	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.01)
Actor: Germany	0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.04)	0.01 (0.07)
Topic: Republic Nomination	0.04 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)
Topic: Democratic Nomination	0.01 (0.07)	0.02 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
Topic: Russian Involvement	0.07 (0.02)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
<b>Topic: US Foreign Policy</b>	<b>0.21 (0.17)</b>	0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.07)
Topic: US Domestic Policy	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Topic: US Trade Policy	0.00 (0.00)	0.33 (0.39)	0.04 (0.01)
Topic: US Germany Relationship	0.07 (0.02)	0.08 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)
Attribution: Low Employment Rate	0.04 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)
Attribution: Declining US Export	0.02 (0.00)	0.24 (0.26)	0.07 (0.06)
Attribution: High Crime Rate	0.05 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
Attribution: US Domestic Terrorism	0.02 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.07)
Attribution: Obama's Presidential Term	0.07 (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)
<b>Attribution: Rise of White Nationalism</b>	<b>0.84 (0.57)</b>	0.05 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)
Benefit: US (Domestic)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
Benefit: US (foreign)	0.05 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)
Damage: US (Domestic)	0.04 (0.01)	0.02 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Damage: US (Foreign)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.01)
Treatment: US electorate changes	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.01)	0.08 (0.06)
Treatment: US education system	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Treatment: Democratic Leadership	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)
Treatment: Republican Leadership	0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Treatment: Social Media Filter Bubble	0.02 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)

Table 12: Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters

I present the results for the last research question on the next page, followed by a discussion of these results and what they mean for future research implications and any shortcomings in my analysis.

**Research Question 4**

My fourth research question directly corresponded with the time period where Donald Trump and Angela Merkel exchanged hostile statements. The question of how DW framed this month is probably the most insightful part of this research.

Table 13 shows the highlighted categories and how they all fall in one cluster although they had contrasting connotations. For example, DW covers both damage to US on international relations front and benefit to US, and this result is probably indicating that DW used these themes in one article, most likely in different paragraphs in analysing why Donald Trump is criticising Germany for its trade surplus with USA.

It talks about the declining US export, relationship between Germany and USA and US trade policy. What's interesting to note is that the coverage is highly skewed towards G-7 conference, meaning DW used its own resources and did not focus on US domestic events during this time period. This corresponds with findings that major international broadcasters tend to focus on the image of the country of their origin as their primary purpose. But its notable that its of criticising Donald Trump for its statements, DW took a holistic view of situation and tried to cover depth for the reasons behind the sudden hostility.

Cluster Membership: After G-7 Summit			
Variables	5 clusters	4 clusters	3 clusters
<b>Actor: Donald Trump</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Actor: Germany	1	1	1
Topic: Republic Nomination	4	4	3
Topic: Democratic Nomination	5	4	3
Topic: Russian Involvement	3	3	2
<b>Topic: US Foreign Policy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Topic: US Domestic Policy	2	2	2
<b>Topic: US Trade Policy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Topic: US Germany Relationship</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Attribution: Low Employment Rate	2	2	1
<b>Attribution: Declining US Export</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Attribution: High Crime Rate	3	3	3
Attribution: US Domestic Terrorism	4	4	3
Attribution: Obama's Presidential Term	5	4	3
Attribution: Rise of White Nationalism	4	4	3
Benefit: US (Domestic)	2	1	1
<b>Benefit: US (foreign)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Damage: US (Domestic)	2	1	1
<b>Damage: US (Foreign)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Treatment: US electorate changes	4	4	3
Treatment: US education system	5	4	3
Treatment: Democratic Leadership	5	4	3
Treatment: Republican Leadership	4	3	2
Treatment: Social Media Filter Bubble	3	2	2

Table 13: Cluster membership after G-7 summit 2017

During this time period there are no other uniform clusters, meaning again that statistical software put the categories in one of the clusters just for the sake of it. We can view it in the table 14.

Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters: After G-7 Summit			
Variables	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
<b>Actor: Donald Trump</b>	<b>0.71 (0.39)</b>	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.01)
Actor: Germany	0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.04)	0.01 (0.07)
Topic: Republic Nomination	0.04 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)
Topic: Democratic Nomination	0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
Topic: Russian Involvement	0.07 (0.02)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Topic: US Foreign Policy	0.21 (0.17)	0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.07)
Topic: US Domestic Policy	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Topic: US Trade Policy	0.00 (0.00)	0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.01)
<b>Topic: US Germany Relationship</b>	<b>0.75 (0.81)</b>	0.08 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)
Attribution: Low Employment Rate	0.04 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)
Attribution: Declining US Export	0.02 (0.00)	0.01 (0.07)	0.07 (0.06)
Attribution: High Crime Rate	0.05 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
Attribution: US Domestic Terrorism	0.02 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.07)
Attribution: Obama's Presidential Term	0.07 (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)
Attribution: Rise of White Nationalism	0.02 (0.07)	0.05 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)
Benefit: US (Domestic)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.05 (0.06)
Benefit: US (foreign)	0.05 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.02 (0.00)
Damage: US (Domestic)	0.04 (0.01)	0.02 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Damage: US (Foreign)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.01)
Treatment: US electorate changes	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.01)	0.08 (0.06)
Treatment: US education system	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Treatment: Democratic Leadership	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.00)	0.04 (0.01)
Treatment: Republican Leadership	0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
Treatment: Social Media Filter Bubble	0.02 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)

Table 14: Mean Values and Standard Deviations for clusters after G-7 summit

## **Chapter 6: Discussion**

My thesis title was comparison of the coverage done by DW before and after Donald Trump became president, so it is only fitting that I divide this discussion into the key periods of this coverage and present a holistic view of comparison. After that, I make some remarks about the short comings of the study and the future outlook on subject.

### **Before Donald Trump's 2016 US presidential election**

Donald Trump announced his candidature in a very controversial manner by making racist remarks and proposing radical changes to the political atmosphere in United States. He also did not have a political background and was already a controversial figure because of his statements during President Obama's eight-year tenure. This, not surprisingly got him bad coverage from the major news outlets inside and outside of the US (Harvard Kennedy School, 2017). Perhaps this is one explanation for DW's extremely negative coverage about Donald Trump early on his campaign. Through hierarchical cluster analysis using two different methods, I have identified the most prominent frame in the first part of his presidential as "bad candidate". The frame can be termed as another name, but the binary data clearly showed that DW attributed Donald Trump for giving fire to racists and that such a candidate running to be the president showcases United States in a bad light.

However, after his republican nomination, when it was clear that he was outright the front runner for Republican party to be the next US president, DW changed its focus from Donald Trump's personal attributes to his political attributes and focused on his positions on trade and foreign policy. Usually this is not a surprise frame or theme for candidates running for presidents (Bruijn, 2017) but this kind of result, highlights both the advantages of Framing theory and the short comings in communication science literature. Although I did not use hypothesis in my research design, it is very hard to predict the frames and coverage angles of news media outlets because of the varying amount of factors the coverage depends on. Donald Trump did not change as a person, neither his style of campaigning and his remarks got less controversial but DW changed its coverage of Donald Trump after the nomination as if the personal characteristics were not important.

### **After Donald Trump's Election Win**

Donald Trump met with Angela Merkel, a leader of ally country he supposedly did not like for her view on immigration and controversy arose after their photo session in White House (CNN, 2017). However, DW continued to focus on Donald Trump's policy making and political decisions rather than his controversial manner of leadership. The focus did change to US-Germany relationship, and the German media giant did criticise his statements about Germany's trade surplus with USA but

it also looked at other perspectives and possible answers about his statements regarding Germany.

Thus, an important difference in comparison of his coverage can only be made between the coverage Donald Trump received before his republican nomination and after. Before his nomination, DW mostly focused on his negative personal statements but once Donald Trump was affirmed as a household political name, coverage changed to his political stance. The reasons for this change were not part of this research study but this research study can act as a base for further looking into the coverage of Donald Trump by media outlets and the possible answers about their coverage using other theoretical frames such as Agenda Setting or Gate Keeping Theory. Perhaps, even public diplomacy can act as an answer to this empirically solid claim that Donald Trump's personal attributes have stopped getting highlighted in media.

Although the research aim was to select a German news outlet, DW is fundamentally of international nature. This decision was taken because of the language constraints and is accepted as a flaw since this research study alone can not make claims about the German media's perception about Donald Trump but can act as DW's coverage of Donald Trump from the time he announced his candidacy to a month after G-7 summit, a period of almost two years, because there was no sampling choice made and all of the articles concerning from this time period were analysed. This huge



media content sample can serve as a starting point for studies looking into media studies related to Donald Trump.

### Bibliography

ABC News. (06 July 2017 г.). *What Trump and Merkel have said about each other.*

Получено из ABC News: <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-merkel/story?id=46198767>

Agirdas, C. (2015). What drives media bias? New evidence from recent newspaper closures. *Journal of Media economics*, 123-141.

Ajzen, I. (1991). The Theory of Planned Behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Process*, 179-211.

Altmppen, D. K. (2008). The structure of news production: The organizational approach to Journalism Research. B M. Loffelholz, D. Weaver, & A. Schwarz, *Global journalism research: Theories, Methods, Findings, Future*. Ilmenau: Wiley-Blackwell.

Anderson, C. (2011). Blowing up the newsroom: Ethnography in age of distributed journalism. B D. D, & P. C, *Making online news* (стр. 151-160). New York: Peter Lang.

Anderson, C. (2014). The sociology of the professions and the problem of journalism education. *Radical Teacher*, 62-68.

Anderson, C., E., B., & Shirky, C. (2012). *Post industrial journalism. Adapting to the present*. New York: Tow Centre for Digital Journalism.

Argyris, C. (1974). *Behind the front page: Organizational self renewal in a metropolitan newspaper*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ashforth, B., & Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *The academy of management review*, 20-39.

- Azari, J. (2016). How news media helped to nominate Trump. *Political Communication*, 677-680.
- Banks, M., Taylor, S., & Gill, R. (2013). *Theorizing cultural work*. London: Routledge.
- Baxter, G., & Marcella, R. (2012). Does Scotland "like" this? Social Media use by political parties and candidates in Scotland during the 2010 UK general election campaign. *Libri*, 109-124.
- BBC. (31 January 2017 г.). *Germany's rising tide of populism*. Получено из BBC: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38776251>
- Bechmann, A., & Klausen, H. (2017). *Measuring impact across social media: An analysis of the digital social layer on northside festival as a larger cultural event in Aarhus in 2014*. Aarhus: rethinkIMPACTS RAPPORTEUR.
- Bechmann, A., & Lomborg, S. (2012). Mapping actor roles in social media: Different perspectives on value creation in theories of user participation. *New Media and Society*, 765-781.
- Bechmann, A., & Vahlstrup, P. (2015). Studying Facebook and Instagram Data: The Digital Footprints Software. *First Monday*, 20(12).
- Becker, L., & Vlad, T. (2009). *Validating Country Level Measures of Media Freedom with Survey Data*. Chicago: Midwest Association.
- Beckett, C., & Dueze, M. (2016). On the role of emotion in the future of journalism. *Social Media + Society*.
- Benesch, C. (2012). An empirical analysis of the Gender Gap in News Consumption. *Journal of Media Economics*, 147-167.

- Benoit, W., Stein, K., & Hansen, G. (2005). New York Times coverage of presidential candidates. *Journalism and Media Communication Quarterly*, 356-376.
- Berendse, G. (2003). German Anti-Americanism in context. *Journal of European Studies*, 333-350.
- Blank, T., & Schmidt, P. (2003). National identity in a United Germany: Nationalism or Patriotism? An empirical test with representative data. *Political Psychology*, 289-312.
- Borah, P. (2011). Conceptual Issues in Framing Theory: A systematic examination of a decade's literature. *Journal of Communication*. doi:doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01539.x
- Boyd, D., & Crawford, K. (2011). Critical Questions for Big Data: Provocations for a cultural, technological and scholarly phenomenon. *Information, Communication and Society*, 662-679.
- Boyle, T. (2001). Inter media agenda setting in the 1996 presidential election. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 26-44.
- Breed, W. (1955). Social control in the newsroom. A funtional analysis. *Social Forces*, 326-355.
- Briggs, M. (2012). *Entrepreneurial Journalism*. New York: CQ Press.
- Bruijn, d. H. (2017). *Donald Trump's Rhetoric: An analysis of his frames*. Delft: TU Delft.
- Capella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. (1997). *Spiral of cynisim. The press and public good*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Carey, J. (1989). *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, Practices and Participation*. New York: Routledge.
- Carpenter, S., Boehmer, J., & Fico, F. (2016). The measurement of journalistic role enactments: A study of organizational constraints and support in for profit and non profit journalism. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 587-607.
- Chia, R. (2010). From modern to postmodern organizational analysis. *Organisation Studies*, 579-604.
- Chon, B., Choi, J., Barnett, G., Danowski, J., & Joo, S. (2003). A structural analysis of media convergence: Cross-industry mergers and acquisitions in Information Industries. *Journal of Media Economics*, 141-157.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. (2007). Framing Theory. *Political Science*, 103-126.
- Claussen, D. (2004). Cognitive Dissonance, Media Illiteracy, and Public Opinion on News Media. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 212-218.
- CNN. (30 May 2017 г.). *How a single sentence from Angela Merkel showed what Trump means to the world*. Получено из CNN:  
<http://edition.cnn.com/2017/05/29/politics/merkel-trump-europe/>
- Coddington, M. (2015). Clarifying Journalism's quantitative turn: A typology for evaluating data journalism. *Computational Journalism and Computer Assisted Reporting*, 331-348.

- Compton, J., & Bendetti, P. (2010). Labour, new media and the institutional restructuring of journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 487-499.
- Cottle, S. (2007). Ethnography and news production. New (s) developments in the field. *Sociology Campus*, 189-205.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. London: Sage Publications.
- D'Angelo, P. (2002). News Framing as a multi-paradigmatic research program: A response to Entman. *Journal of Communication*, 870-880.
- David, C., Atun, J., Fille, E., & Monterola, C. (2011). Finding Frames: Comparing Two Methods of Frame Analysis. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 329-351.
- de Vreese, C. (2017). Framing as multilevel process. B P. Rossler, C. Hoffner, & L. Zoonen, *The International Encyclopedia of Media Effects*. John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- de Vreese, H. C. (2005). News Framing: Theory and Typology. *Information Design Journal*, 51-61.
- Deutsche Welle. (25 07 2017 г.). *Who we are: Profile*. Получено из Deutsche Welle: <http://www.dw.com/en/about-dw/profile/s-30688>
- Deuze, M. (2004). *What is journalism?* Amsterdam: Spinhuis.
- Dimmick, J., & Rothenbuhler, E. (1984). The Theory of the niche: Quantifying competition among media industries. *Journal of Communication*.

- Dimmick, J., Chen, Y., & Zhan, L. (2004). Competition between the internet and traditional news media: The gratification-opportunities niche dimension. *Journal of Media Economics*, 19-33.
- Domingo, D., & Peterson, C. (2011). *Making online news*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Domke, D., Shah, D., & Wackman, D. (1998). Moral Referendums: Values, news media and the process of candidate choice. *Political Communication*, 301-321.
- Donsbach, W. (1991). Exposure to Political Content in Newspapers: The Impact of Cognitive Dissonance on Reader's Selectivity. *European Journal of Communication*, 155-186.
- Dunn, D. H. (2009). Assessing the debate, assessing the damage: Transatlantic relations after Bush. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 4-24.
- Durham, F. (1998). News Frames as social narratives: TWA Flight 800. *Journal of Communication*, 100-117.
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*.
- Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. *Journal of Communication* 41(4).
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43(4).
- Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing Bias: Media in The Distribution of Power. *Journal of Communication* 57, 163-173.

Farnworth, S., & Lichter, R. (2010). Reporting on two presidencies: news coverage of George W. Bush's first year in office. *Congress & Presidency*, 91-108.

Festinger, L. (1962). *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. California: Stanford University Press.

Gade, P. J. (2004). Newspapers and organization development. Management and journalist perceptions of newsroom cultural change. *Journalism and Communication Monographs*, 6(1).

Gamson, W., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American Journal of sociology*, 1-37.

Gan, F., Teo, L., & Detenber, B. (2005). Framing the battle for White House. *International Journal for Communication Studies*, 441-467.

Gans, H. J. (1979). *Deciding what's news. A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*. New York: Pantheon.

Gerbner, G. (1998). Cultivation Analysis: An overview. *Mass Communication and Society*, 175-194.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society. Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole word is watching*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goffman, E. (1973). *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.



Harvard Kennedy School. (2017). *News Coverage of Donald Trump's first 100 days*.

Massachusetts, Cambridge: Harvard Kennedy School.

Heine, J. (2007). Empire Defanged? Non-US perspectives on US Foreign Policy.

*International Political Science Review*, 531-543.

Heyer, P. (1988). *Communications and History: theories of media, knowledge and*

*civilization*. Connecticut: Greenwood.

Himmelboim, I., & Limor, Y. (2011). Media institutions, news organizations, and the

journalist social role worldwide: A cross-national and cross-organizational study of code of ethics. *Mass communication and society*, 71-92.

Hong, S. (2012). Online News on Twitter: Newspapers' social media adoption and

their online readership. *Information Economics and Policy*, 69-74.

Hughes, J. (1997). *The Philosophy of Social Research*. London: Longman.

Iyengar, S. (1987). Television News and citizen's explanations of national affairs.

*American Political Science Review* 81, 815-837.

Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*.

University of Chicago Press. Получено из

<http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/I/bo3684515.html>

Kaid, L. (1976). Newspaper treatment of a candidate's news releases. *Journalism*

*Quarterly*, 135-157.

Karlsson, M., & Sjøvaag, H. (2015). Content Analysis and Online news. *Digital*

*Journalism*.

- Karpf, D. (2017). Digital Politics after Trump. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 198-207.
- Lang, A. (2006). Using the Limited Capacity Model of Motivated Mediated Message Processing to Design Effective Cancer Communication Messages. *Journal of Communication*, 57-80.
- Larsson, A., & Moe, H. (2012). Studying political microblogging: twitter users in the 2010 swedish election campaign. *New media and society*, 729-747.
- Lasswell, H. (1927). *Propaganda Techniques in world war*. New York: Knopf.
- Lecheler, S., & de Vreese, C. (2013). What a difference a day makes? The effects of repetitive and competitive news framing over the time. *Communication Research*, 147-175.
- Lopez-Escobar, E., Llamas, J., McCombs, M., & Lennon, F. (1998). Two levels of Agenda Setting among advertising and news in the 1995 spanish elections. *Political Communication*, 225-238.
- MacDonald, E., Milfont, T., & Gavin, M. (2015). Applying the Elaboration Likelihood Model to increase recall of conservation messages and elaboration by zoo visitors. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 866-881.
- Macnamara, J. (2003). Media content analysis: Its uses; benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations*, 1-34.
- Martin, C., & Oshagan, H. (1997). Disciplining the work-force: The news media frame a General Motors plant closing. *Communication Research*, 669-697.
- Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: towards improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*, 258-279.

McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the Agenda: The mass media and public opinion*.

Malden: Blackwell Publishing Inc.

Miller, M., Andsager, J., & Riechert, B. (1998). Framing the candidates in primaries:

Issues and images in press releases and news conferences. *Journalism and Media Communication Quarterly*, 312-324.

Morley, D. (1993). Active Audience Theory: Pendulums and Pitfalls. *Journal of*

*Communication*.

Nerone, J., & Barnhurst, K. G. (2003). US newspaper types, the newsroom, and the

division of labor, 1750-2000. *Journalism Studies*, 4, 435-449.

Neuman, W., M.R, J., & Crigler, A. (1992). *Common Knowledge. News and the*

*construction of political meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Norris, P. (1995). The restless searchlight. Network news framing of the post-cold

war. *Political Communication*, 357-370.

PEW. (2015). *Germany and the United States: Reliable Allies*. New York: PEW

Research Center.

Potter, J. (2014). A critical analysis of cultivation theory. *journal of communication*,

1015-1036.

Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. (1998). *Analysing media messages: using quantitative*

*content analysis in research*. New Jersey: Erlbaum.

Roach, C. (1997). Cultural imperialism and resistance in media and literary theory.

*Media culture and society*.

- Scheufele, D. (1999). *Framing as a theory of media effects*. International Communication Association.
- Schudson, M. (1989). The sociology of news production. *Media culture society*. doi:0.1177/016344389011003002
- Semetko, H., & Valkenburg, P. (2000). Framing European Politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*, 93-109.
- Seon-Kyoung An, K. K. (2009). How do the news media frame crises? A content analysis of. *Public Relations Review* 35, 107–112.
- Seung Ho Cho, K. K. (2006). Framing effect on the public's response to crisis: Human interest. *Public Relations Review* 32 , 42-422.
- Shoemaker, P., & Mayfield, E. (1987). Building a theory of news content: A synthesis of current approaches. *Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication*.
- Shoemaker, P., & Resse, S. (1996). *Mediating the message. Theories of influences on mass media content*. (изд. 2nd). White Plains NY: Longman.
- Simon, A., & Xenox, M. (2000). Media Framing and effective public deliberation. *Political communication*, 363-376.
- Slothuus, R. (2005). More than weighing cognitive importance: a dual process model of issue frame effects. *Annual Meeting Midwest Political Science Association*. Chicago: IL.
- Stenson, S., & Ahva, L. (2014). Theories of journalism in a digital age. *Journalism Practice*, 1-18.

The Local. (11 January 2018 г.). *German-US relations after a year of Trump: What has changed?* Получено из The Local (De):

<https://www.thelocal.de/20180111/german-us-relations-after-a-year-of-trump-what-has-changed>

The White House. (17 November 2016 г.). *Fact Sheet: United States - Germany relations.* Получено из The White House:

<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/11/17/fact-sheet-united-states-germany-relations>

US Department of State. (20 January 2018 г.). *A guide to United States' history of recognition, diplomatic and consular relations since 1776: Germany.*

Получено из US Department of State:

<https://history.state.gov/countries/germany>

W. Russel Neuman, M. R. (1992). *Common knowledge: News and the construction of political meaning.* Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.

Wanta, W., & Foote, J. (1994). The President-news media relationship: A time series analysis of agenda-setting. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 437-448.

Wells, C., Shah, D., Pevehouse, J., Yang, J., Pelled, A., Boehm, F., . . . Schmidt, J. (2016). How Trump drove coverage to nomination: Hybrid media campaigning. *Political Communication*, 669-676.

## **Appendix A**

### **Codebook for master's Thesis**

From Candidate to President: How Deutsche Welle covered Donald Trump before  
and after the US Presidential Elections

Muhammad Fahad Humayun

Master of Arts in Media and Communication Science

Matriculation Number: 58162

Technical University of Ilmenau

**Instructions:**

Input values in QDA Minor according to the following instructions.

Do not leave a field empty

**Formal Categories**

Category	Value	Instructions
<b>Date of Coding</b>		Input the date when article is being coded in format dd.mm. yyyy
<b>Title of article</b>		Input the title of article
<b>Date of article</b>		Input the date when article was published in format dd.mm. yyyy
<b>Section of article</b>		Input the numeric value according to following 1- Germany 2- Europe 3- Africa 4- Asia 5- Americas 6- Middle East 7- Business 8- Science 9- Environment 10- Sports
<b>Source of article</b>		Input the numeric value according to following 1- DW correspondent/Reporter 2- News agency 3- Other media organizations 4- Other
<b>Number of words in article</b>		Input the number of words in article

**Problem Definition Categories**

1- Take article as unit of coding

2- Input numerical value 2 for Yes. Otherwise input 1 (for No)

3- Input Yes, if article dedicates at least a paragraph for following topics (and subsequent sub topics)

4- You can input yes for multiple categories within a same article

5- Read the article at least twice before inputting values.

Name	Topic/Actor	Value	Instructions
<b>Donald Trump</b>	Actor		Input Yes if article talks about 1- Donald Trump as sexist 2- Donald Trump as racist 3- Donald Trump as white nationalist 4- Donald Trump as President 5- Donald Trump as businessman 6- Donald Trump as father and husband
<b>Germany</b>	Actor		Input yes if article talks about 1- Germany as sovereign country 2- Germany as Europe's leader 3- Germany as NATO member
<b>Republican Nomination</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- Donald Trump as candidate 2- Republican Convention 3- Jeb Bush 4- Ted Cruz 5- Republican party's decline 6- Republican party's rise 7- Donald Trump tax returns
<b>Democratic Nomination</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- Hillary Clinton as candidate 2- Bernie Sanders as candidate 3- Democratic National Committee 4- Bill Clinton
<b>Russian Involvement</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- Donald Trump's collusion with Russia 2- DNC documents hacking 3- FBI investigation over Russian involvement in US 2016 elections 4- Vladimir Putin statements about Donald Trump 5- Rex Tillerson's Russian contacts 6- US relationship with Russia
<b>US Foreign Policy</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- US and climate change agreement 2- US and Mexico border 3- US immigration policies 4- US trade agreements 5- US role in Syria 6- US relationship with North Korea 7- US relationship with China
<b>US Domestic Policy</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- US policy on gun control 2- US health care system



			4- US LGBTQ policy 5- US budget
<b>US Trade Policy</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- US tax system 2- US trade deficit 3- White House National Trade Council
<b>US-Germany Relationship</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about 1- US as ally of Germany 2- US defence contribution to NATO 3- Donald Trump comments about Germany

### Causal Attribution Categories

- 1- Take article as unit of coding
- 2- Input numerical value 2 for Yes. Otherwise input 1 (for No)
- 3- Input Yes, if article dedicates at least a paragraph **explicitly** for following topics
- 4- You can input yes for multiple categories within a same article
- 5- Read the article at least twice before inputting values.

Name	Category	Value	Instructions
<b>Low employment rate</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>Declining US export</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>High Crime Rate</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>US Domestic Terrorism</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>Obama's presidency</b>	Topic		Input yes or no
<b>Rise of white nationalism</b>	Topic		Input yes or no

### Moral Evaluation Categories

- 1- Take article as unit of coding
- 2- Input numerical value 2 for Yes. Otherwise input 1 (for No)
- 3- Input Yes, if article dedicates at least a paragraph for following topics
- 4- You can input yes for multiple categories within a same article
- 5- Read the article at least twice before inputting values.

Name	Category	Value	Instructions
<b>Benefit to US: Domestically</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about Donald Trump's policies as positive domestically
<b>Benefit to US: Internationally</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about Donald Trump's policies as positive internationally
<b>Damage to US: Domestically</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about Donald Trump's policies as negative domestically
<b>Damage to US: Internationally</b>	Topic		Input yes if article talks about Donald Trump's policies as negative internationally

### Treatment Recommendation Categories

- 1- Take article as unit of coding
- 2- Input numerical value 2 for Yes. Otherwise input 1 (for No)
- 3- Input Yes, if article dedicates at least a paragraph **explicitly** for following topics
- 4- You can input yes for multiple categories within a same article
- 5- Read the article at least twice before inputting values

Name	Category	Value	Instructions
US electorate changes	Topic		Input yes or no
US education system	Topic		Input yes or no
Democratic leadership	Topic		Input yes or no
Republican leadership	Topic		Input yes or no
Social media filter bubble	Topic		Input yes or no

**APPENDIX B**

EXCEL File for Frequency Distribution

**APPENDIX C**

Excel File for Keywords in Context (Donald Trump)

**APPENDIX D**

SPSS Data File