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Edward Snowden, Criminal or Patriot: Media Coverage of National Security Agency Document Leaks

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"Edward Snowden, Criminal or Patriot: Media coverage of National Security Agency document

leaks"

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Abstract

Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad was used to analyze Edward Snowden's National Security Agency (NSA) document leaks from June 5, 2013 through October 1, 2013 as published in the *New York Times* (NYT) and the *Guardian*. The articles were coded by newspaper, headline, reporting journalist, page prominence, word count, publication date, and tone of stories.

Content analysis revealed that there was significant difference in coverage of Snowden: the *Guardian* utilized the word "whistleblower" extensively in a positive way while negative words like "leaker" drove *NYT* coverage of Snowden. Both papers overlap in their identification of Snowden's actions as one of the most significant intelligence disclosures since the Pentagon Papers.

Introduction

Edward Snowden, former technical assistant for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and National Security Agency (NSA) contractor for private defense firm Booz Allen Hamilton, is responsible for one of the most significant intelligence leaks in the history of the NSA (Greenwald, MacAskill, and Poitras, 2013; Harding, 2014). On June 5, 2013, British daily newspaper *The Guardian* revealed that Snowden "leaked a vast trove of secret information on the mass data-gathering" of the NSA (Harding, 2014). Through Snowden, *The Guardian* published classified NSA documents that required Verizon to give metadata from Americans' phone calls to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the NSA by order of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC).

While the NSA document leaks were initially anonymous, Snowden revealed himself to be the source, claiming his "sole motive [was] to inform the public as to that which is done in their name and that which is done against them" (as cited in Greenwald et al. 2013). He also claims that he sacrificed his privacy, security, and freedom because he "can't in good conscience allow the US government to destroy privacy, internet freedom and basic liberties for people around the world with this massive surveillance machine they're secretly building" (as cited in Greenwald et al. 2013).

Newspaper outlets played a major role in revealing the documents and guiding the public reaction to Snowden. The U.S. government labeled him a criminal; civil liberty groups labeled him a patriot. Federal prosecutors accused Snowden of espionage, filing a criminal complaint in *U.S. v Edward J. Snowden*. The U.S. charged Snowden with three offences, including two under the Espionage Act of 1917 18 U.S.C. §793: "theft of government property" 18 U.S.C. §641, "unauthorized communication of national defense information" 18 U.S.C. §793(d), and "willful

communication of classified communications intelligence information to an unauthorized person" 18 U.S.C. §798(a)3. Faced with criminal charges and fearing "torture or the death penalty", Snowden requested asylum from Russia in July 2013 (Herszenhorn, 2013). On August 1, 2013, despite disapproval from the Obama administration, Russian president Vladimir Putin granted Snowden temporary asylum up to one year (Myers and Kramer, 2013).

The goal of this research is to conduct a content analysis in order to investigate *The New York Times* (NYT) and *The Guardian's* coverage of Edward Snowden. This research seeks to analyze how the media portrayed Edward Snowden's classified National Security Agency (NSA) document leaks. The research questions driving this investigation include:

(i)   How did the *NYT* and *The Guardian* portray Edward Snowden?

(ii)   Where did the two newspapers overlap or differ in their coverage of the Snowden case?

I intend to apply Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatism and explore the language and word selections employed by the *NYT* and *Guardian* journalists in publication. Using Burke's "dramatistic pentad" as a theoretical framework, I will study the document leaks by utilizing the five-step tool to analyze "key elements of the human drama—act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose" (Griffin, 2011, p. 301). I will pay particular attention to similarities and differences in how Snowden is depicted, the recurring language, article placement, and journalists who covered the story.

Review of Literature

Existing research on Edward Snowden has been done primarily to discuss the legality and justification of his actions or in comparison to other notable government disclosures by Daniel Ellsberg (Pentagon Papers), Julian Assange and Bradley (now Chelsea) Manning (WikiLeaks). By doing this research, my study will include an updated and relevant application of Kenneth Burke's theory, while providing knowledge on a topic that has received comparatively little critical attention from a communication discipline perspective.

Dramatistic Pentad

Kenneth Burke believed life to be a drama, and that language "is a strategic human response to a specific situation" and verbal symbols serve as indicators "from which motives can be described" (Griffin, 2011, p. 299). His theory of dramatism is a "method of analysis and a corresponding critique of terminology designed to show that the most direct route to the study of human relations and human motives is [by] methodical inquiry into cycles or clusters of terms and their functions" (as cited in Kneupper, 1979, p. 130). The purpose of dramatism is to be used as a tool of critique; every individual should dissect and process any communication. Burke states that it is the job of the receiver to study the symbols and signifiers used in the message to investigate the motive behind a communication event by the dramatistic pentad.

The foundation of his theory is to investigate the motive behind a communication event. To do so, life—the drama—unfolds in the dramatistic pentad, a five step tool to "analyze how a speaker attempts to get an audience to accept his or view of reality by using [the key] elements of the human drama—act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose" (Griffin, 2011, p. 301). These elements transition from the standard questions of who, what, when, where, why, and to the pentad in order to "determine why the speaker selected a given rhetorical strategy to identify

with the audience" (Griffin, 2011, p. 302). For persuasion to take place, there must be a common ground between the speaker and the audience. Audience adaptation and identification comes in a variety of forms, including but not limited to "physical characteristics, talents, occupation, experiences, personality, beliefs, and attitudes", and linguistic strategy (Griffin, 2011, p. 300). By connecting to the audience through identifying traits, the speaker is able to sway opinions in their favor, simply by positive association.

The first component of the pentad is the act. The act seeks to discover what happened and names what took place in thought or deed. The second component develops the act, serving as the background of the act and sets the context for the act, asking where the act is happening. Once the context is set, the next two elements seek to discover who is involved, and the means or instruments—agents and agency. The final component is the purpose—the implied or stated goal of the act—and seeks to discover why the agents act.

In this case of Snowden and the NSA file leaks, the pentad includes the following elements:

(i)   Act: The June 5, 2013 publication of classified NSA documents.

(ii)   Scene: Snowden anonymously contacts Greenwald and Laura Poitras, independent documentary filmmaker, through encrypted e-mail to meet in Hong Kong.

(iii)   Agents: Edward Snowden, Glenn Greenwald, and Laura Poitras; telecommunication businesses; NSA and national intelligence agency directors; members of Congress and other government officials; leaders of foreign countries.

(iv)   Agency: *The New York Times* and *The Guardian.*

(v)　　Purpose: Snowden's stated goal or objective

Act. *The Guardian*, a British national daily newspaper, published classified National Security Agency (NSA) documents on June 5, 2013. According to MacAskill and Dance (2013), the published NSA documents revealed a secret court order from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC) requiring Verizon to hand over metadata from millions of Americans' phone calls to the agency. Following the June 5, 2013 leak, various other NSA surveillance programs were exposed to the public including the following:

June 6, 2013—PRISM: a clandestine mass electronic surveillance data mining program of the NSA that has direct access to some of the largest U.S. technology companies like Apple, Google, and Microsoft.

June 7, 2013—Presidential Policy Directive: detailed cyber-attack list of America.

June 8, 2013—Boundless Informant, or "the Informant": NSA tool reported to have the capability to provide near real-time statistics on the agency's spying reach and even being able to categorize information by countries.

June 9, 2013—Edward Snowden revealed himself to be the anonymous source of the NSA file leaks (Eaton, n.d.).

Scene. In late December 2001, someone with the username "TheTrueHOOHA" posted a question on Ars Technica, a popular technology website. This anonymous individual wanted to know how to set up his own web server. TheTrueHOOHA became "a prolific contributor; over the next eight years, he authored nearly 800 comments" and "described himself as…someone who had US State Department security clearance" (Harding, 2014). The online activity of The TrueHOOHA dwindled in 2009, until February 2010 where he mentions a troubling fact regarding pervasive government surveillance: "Society really seems to have developed an

unquestioning obedience towards spooky types… Did we get to where we are today via a slippery slope that was entirely within our control to stop? Or was it a relatively instantaneous sea change that sneaked in undetected because of pervasive government secrecy?" (as cited in Harding, 2014). After the last post on May 21, 2012, TheTrueHOOHA disappears and activity ceases.

In January 2013, Laura Poitras receives an e-mail from an anonymous stranger requesting her public encryption key. Poitras was used to strangers' queries as she had been working on a documentary on surveillance. Peter Maass (2013) wrote in *The New York Times* that Poitras "sent her public key—allowing him or her to send an encrypted e-mail that only [she] could open, with her private key—[but didn't] think much would come of it." The stranger corresponded with her, sending instructions on creating an even more elaborate and secure system of exchange with the promise of sensitive information. The information Poitras received "outlined a number of secret surveillance programs run by the government" (Maass, 2013). The staggering implications of the encrypted messages prompted Poitras to turn to her reporting partner and friend Glen Greenwald, a *Guardian* columnist. Poitras and Greenwald met in a New York City hotel lobby in April 2013 to discuss the information Poitras received from this anonymous stranger. Concluding that the encrypted messages provided "changed everything", they agreed to meet this stranger in Hong Kong—per the stranger's request in May 2013 via an encrypted e-mail. Due to sensitive and astronomical nature of the information, Ewen MacAskill, a former lawyer and veteran *Guardian* reporter was assigned to accompany Poitras and Greenwald. *The Guardian* wanted to ensure absolute certainty before publishing information that would put its reputation at risk, locally and nationally. On June 1, 2013, Poitras, Greenwald, and

MacAskill boarded a flight to Hong Kong and met the stranger, now known as Edward Snowden.

Agent and Agency. The key agents of the drama are grouped into tiers by connection to Edward Snowden or role in the drama; individuals contacted personally by Snowden; government officials who have introduced legislation for surveillance oversight, serve on intelligence committees, or oversee agency surveillance; foreign leaders who have been impacted by the U.S. government surveillance practices or granted asylum; and technology companies. The initial agents consist of the NSA, Verizon, FISC, and the FBI. FISC and the FBI issued the warrants, while Verizon was their target provider. Tier one, the main agents consists of: Edward Snowden; Laura Poitras, documentary film-maker and Greenwald's friend and collaborator; and Glenn Greenwald, *Guardian* columnist. Tier two consists of those indirectly involved: (i) Democratic U.S. Senator Ron Wyden, who, before Snowden, had been fighting "for tighter restrictions over the type of communication data the NSA can store on U.S. citizens [and helped] introduce a bipartisan reform bill aimed at reining in government surveillance programs" (MacAskill and Dance, 2013). (ii) Dianne Feinstein, Democratic U.S. Senator and vice chair of the Senate intelligence committee defended the NSA data collection saying "this is...protecting America", until it was revealed that the U.S. had "been spying on friendly governments". She then switched her position, calling for a "'major review into all intelligence collection programs'" (MacAskill and Dance, 2013). (iii) In a Senate hearing, the U.S. Director of National Intelligence, James Clapper, stated that the NSA did not "wittingly" collect "any type of data…on millions or hundreds of millions of Americans" amid getting fire for being evasive and misleading Congress about the NSA programs (MacAskill and Dance, 2013). Keith Alexander, the Director of the NSA, pioneered the "collect-it-all" approach to data surveillance. MacAskill

and Dance (2013) report that "Alexander has rejected calls to limit his agency's power and touted internal checks as adequate for reining in surveillance abuses."

The third tier consists of those in the international stage: David Cameron (U.K. Prime Minister), Angela Merkel (German chancellor), Dilma Rousseff (President of Brazil), and Vladimir Putin (President of Russia). Cameron defended the spying operations of the U.S. and U.K., putting himself at odds with other European Union leaders who have taken a more critical stance against American spying. It was reported that the NSA had been spying on Merkel's phone conversations, as well as the French citizens—French president Francois Holland and Merkel joined forces to push "new transatlantic rules on intelligence and security service behavior" (MacAskill and Dance, 2013). Rouseff publicly called the NSA's spying "a breach of international law" and even proposed a separate internet infrastructure for the Brazilians to "free itself from U.S. influence" (as cited in MacAskill and Dance, 2013). There is no existing extradition treaty between Russia and the U.S. so the White House has only been able to express displeasure at Putin's decision to grant Snowden temporary asylum.

The last tier consists of tech company CEO and founders: Marissa Mayer, CEO of Yahoo! and Ladar Levison, founder of Lavabit. Lavabit is a small secure e-mail provider Snowden was using. In August 2013, Levison chose to suspend operations so he would not have to comply with a government issued warrant that would allow the government unrestricted access to all 400,000 customer's data. The Yahoo! CEO issued a statement that they would be committing treason to disregard government data requests.

Purpose. The purpose of the Edward Snowden's decision to leak classified NSA files rest on one principle: transparency. Snowden has stated that his "sole motive is to inform the public as to that which is done in their name and that which is done against them." His

disenchantment with the scope of government surveillance prompted him to take action and stimulate conversation among the American public. Snowden has emphasized that it is his desire to trigger a debate "among citizens around the globe about what kind of world we want to live in" (*Guardian*, June 11, 2013).

Communication Studies

A study by Branum and Charteris-Black (2015) used keyword analysis to "compare the reporting strategies of three major UK newspapers on the topic of Edward Snowden and state surveillance" (p. 199). Their study focused on what "corpus analysis [revealed] about the differences" in the newspapers in "their reporting strategies of the Edward Snowden affair" (Branum and Charteris-Black, 2015, p. 201). Discourse analysis methodology shares similarities with the coding categories of content analysis: selecting a medium, selecting specific language, reporting style, and article collection. Looking into the ideology of the British press by a comparative keyword analysis, the study revealed similarities and differences in coverage presentation. Specifically, the *Guardian's* focus was on the surveillance itself and privacy issues, criticizing surveillance, while maintaining a defensive position of "its decision to publish classified materials" (Branum and Charteris-Black, 2015, p. 199). *The Daily Mail* heavily led its coverage on "personalization and the personal life of Edward Snowden" while *The Sun* was seen to favor and be "highly supportive" of "the rights for surveillance" (Branum and Charteris-Black, 2015, p. 199; p. 216).

In Scheuerman's (2014) study, he acknowledges the role of media in shaping public knowledge about Edward Snowden and argues "that we should interpret Snowden's actions as…civil disobedience" (p. 609). This study analyzed Snowden from his articulated responses to the public, in light of media coverage. Public statements by Snowden "appeals to the US

constitution…but also to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and even the Law of

Nations and the legal principle of non-refoulement" (Scheuerman, 2014, p. 621). In July,

Snowden accused President Barack Obama of deception:

> In the end, the Obama administration is not afraid of whistleblowers like me, Bradley
> Manning or Thomas Drake. We are stateless, imprisoned or powerless. No, the Obama
> administration is afraid of you. It is afraid of an informed, angry public demanding the
> constitutional government it was promised - and it should be. I am unbowed in my
> convictions and impressed at the efforts taken by so many (as cited in Roberts and
> Carroll, 2013).

While Snowden is a "hero to some and a traitor to…others, his explosive disclosures about US

spying has unleashed, as he clearly hoped, a worldwide political debate about state surveillance"

(Scheuerman, 2014, p. 609).

Legal Framework

Snowden's role in the publication of classified NSA documents is only "the latest in a

series of leaks that has riveted Congress's attention (Elsea, 2013). Barbara Redman (2014), a

Network Fellow at Harvard University Center for Ethics, argues that:

> Snowden's case (and many others) must be examined simultaneously through a variety of
> frames: legal, political, moral and organizational. Many contentious cases are precipitated
> by a technological revolution, in this case that of information technology, as usual
> outpacing the legal and ethical framework.

Army Private Bradley (Chelsea) Manning was charged under the Uniform Code of Military

Justice (UCMJ) for providing WikiLeaks with classified defense documents. Manning provided

"more than 91,000 secret U.S. military reports related to the war in Afghanistan…in July 2010,

after first alerting the *New York Times* and two foreign newspapers, *The Guardian* (London) and *Der Spiegel* (Germany), about the pending disclosure (Elsea, 2013, p. 2).

Elsea's (2013) report studied the implications of statutory prohibitions and prosecutions "against domestic or foreign media organizations" including "associated individuals" like Snowden, who "fled" overseas to a country that has no existing extradition treaty with the United States "before he could be taken into custody" (p. 2-3). The United States' ability to "obtain the extradition of a fugitive for a criminal offense may also be impacted by the existence of competing extradition requests made by other states" (Elsea, 2013, p. 21). President Vladimir ignored extradition requests by commenting, "'Russia never gives anyone up and doesn't plan to give anyone up. And no one has ever given us anyone'" (as cited in Elder, 2013). Sergei Gorlenko, the acting chief of the prosecutor general's extradition office told the Interfax news agency that "The United States is repeatedly refusing Russia to extradite individuals, to hold them criminally liable, including those accused of committing serious or heinous crimes" (*New York Times*, July 22, 2013).

Espionage Act. The Espionage Act of 1917 protects national defense information and some provisions within the Act apply "only to government employees or others who have authorized access to sensitive government information" (Elsea, 2013, p.8). Furthermore, the Act "gives no express indication that it is intended to apply extraterritorially, but courts have not been reluctant to apply it overseas." Espionage, however, is recognized as a form of treason "which generally applies only to persons who owe allegiance to the United States" (70 Am. Jur. 2d Sedition, Subversive Activities and Treason §15(2005); Elsea, 2013, p. 17). Specifically, 18 U.S.C. §793 prohibits the gathering, transmitting, or receipt of defense information with the intent or reason to believe the information will be used against the United States or to the benefit

of a foreign nation. 18 U.S.C. §793(e) provides that anyone in willful violation of the Act "shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both." 18 U.S.C. §1924 prohibits the unauthorized possession of classified information of the United States and removal of material by government employees, contractors, and consultants who come into possession of the material by virtue of their employment. The provision imposes a fine "not more than $1,000" and a prison term "for not more than one year." Elsea (2013) suggests that there seems to be "ample statutory authority for prosecuting individuals who elicit or disseminate many of the documents at issue, as long as the intent element can be satisfied and potential damage to national security can be demonstrated" (p. 15).

Publication Selection

My project relies on articles published in *The New York Times* and *The Guardian*. Edward Snowden selected Glenn Greenwald from the British daily newspaper *The Guardian* to publish classified NSA documents. The contributors and journalists of the British publication had exclusive access to the source of the document leaks and the information related to the documents prior to any other news organization.

I have selected *The New York Times* to compare its coverage with *The Guardian* based on the long-standing credibility of the paper as well as its reputation for investigative journalism. Regarded as the national newspaper of record in the United States, *NYT* is the largest metropolitan newspaper in the U.S., and has been awarded 114 Pulitzer Prizes (more than any other news organization) and four Peabody Awards.

Methodology

The methodological aspect of content analysis takes factual information and gives perspective to make a comparison. I will construct a coding schedule to classify and count message characteristics from selected articles in the *New York Times* and the *Guardian*. Criteria for selection of articles such as story type, date range, and database retrieval will be discussed under delimitations. Using R will produce a graphical output of data collected from the coding chart.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a "flexible research technique for analyzing large bodies of text" and is the common in the field of communication research because it "follows a clearly defined set of steps", is unobtrusive, relatively inexpensive, and yields data that can be quantified (Hansen et. al, 1998, p. 123; Berger 2000). This method is commonly used for media and communications research in the discovery paradigm (Berger, 2000). The classic definition of content analysis is "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (as cited in Hansen, Cottle, Negrine, and Newbold, 1998). Used to measure and describe media content through a representative sampling, the purpose of the method is to "identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts" (Hansen et. al, 1998, p. 95).

The process of this method breaks down into several steps by defining the research problem and analytical categories, selecting the media and sample, and constructing a coding schedule (Hansen et. al, 1998, p. 98-99). Berger (2000) defines coding as a "process by which we classify the data we have obtained from the material we have studied and give each item in a category a symbol or number." Merrigan and Huston (2009) state that "encoding texts means

translating…selected message into a form from which they can be analyzed" (p. 154). This method, used with the theoretical framework of the dramatistic pentad, will serve as the means to find key descriptors in order to investigate the motive of the drama.

Coding

The units of analysis are the articles retrieved from the LexisNexis database and the *NYT* archives. I will code the articles by the newspaper, headline, reporting journalist, page prominence, word count, publication date, and tone of stories. I will analyze the tone of stories in god and devil terms identified in Burke's theory. God term is defined as "the word a speaker uses to which all other positive words are subservient" and devil term is "the word a speaker uses that sums up all that is regarded as bad, wrong, or evil" (Griffin, 2011, p. 301). Examples of god and devil terms include "whistleblower" and "hacker" but are not limited to those words in this study. I will also include a category for neutral terms like "source" or "download". By documenting these terms, I will create a list to compare the percentage of god, devil, or neutral terms used in the *NYT* and *Guardian* coverage of Snowden. The categories I have selected to analyze will aid me in answering my research questions by showing patterns of depiction with frequency and recurring language, the importance assigned to an article by its placement, and the number of articles written by each journalist.

Delimitations

The date range I have selected to analyze *NYT* and *Guardian* articles will be from June 5, 2013 to October 1, 2013. For the purposes of this research, I will consider media coverage of Edward Snowden to begin on June 5, 2013. Over the four month period, I have selected to analyze the event in two month segments where news coverage related to NSA file leaks were prominent. The controversial event received constant news coverage, but the peak of breaking

news events fell into the months of June/July and August/September. The months of June and July received breaking news coverage from the *Guardian* initially publishing the documents. The months of August and September received breaking news coverage as Russia granted Snowden temporary asylum.

The stories I will include in my analysis reflect investigative journalistic traditions and will exclude articles that are: (i) not directly related to Edward Snowden, (ii) feedback and comments, (iii) letters to the editor, and (iv) opinion editorials. In the *NYT* archive search, 459 articles appear with the criteria of this project's date range, result type, and keyword "Edward Snowden." The *Guardian* offers an in-site search option which yields 3,870,000 articles. However, because the *Guardian* does not offer an archive search with criteria selections, I will use LexisNexis Academic & Library Solutions database. The LexisNexis search found 563 articles with the available criteria selection: keyword, date range, and publication. In analyzing articles from both searches, I will exclude articles that fall outside the parameters of my search.

Three way Analysis in R

R, a statistical computing and graphics software generated a frequency form from a count of "number of occurrences." Frequency form is "a data frame containing one or more factors, and a frequency variable" (Friendly, 2013, p. 3). A frequency and contingency table was created to explain the independent variable. From the variables, a two way contingency table was created with the structable() function in vcd (visualizing categorical data) to provide a "flexible tabular display" (Friendly, 2013, p. 5). A chi-square test, chisq.test() function, was used to "test independence of the row and column variable" (Friendly, 2013, p. 13).

The mosaic plot depicts where differences exist and how those differences fit with expectations. A plot was created for a graphical output of data collected from the coding chart.

Friendly (2013) describes mosaic plots as an "ideal method…for visualizing contingency tables (p. 25). The idea behind the plot is to "recursively sub-divide a unit square into rectangular 'tiles' for the cells of the table, such that the area of each tile is proportional to the cell frequency" (Friendly, 2013, p. 25).

The (gp=shading_Friendly) function—named after Michael Friendly—is a shading scheme to color code by expectation. Tiles are shaded to reflect the residuals (lack of fit); a blue tile reflects a result that was greater than the expected value (the greater the expected value, the darker the blue), a red tile reflects a result that was less than the expected value (similarly, the darker the red, the lesser the value), and a gray tile reflects a similar expected and outcome value. A dotted line reflects a result that does have significant deviation. The Pearson residual is a number that is the expected frequency in a cell and the "pattern of residuals can then be used to suggest a better model or understand *where* a given model fits or does not fit" (Friendly, 2013, p. 25). Another component of Friendly's shading scheme "uses fixed cutoffs of ± 2, ± 4, to shade cells which are *individually* significant at approximately $\alpha = 0.05$ and $\alpha = 0.001$ levels, respectively" (Friendly, 2013, p. 25). The $\alpha = 0.05$ level indicates a significant value and the $\alpha = 0.001$ level indicates a highly significant value.

Findings and Discussion

A total of 409 articles were analyzed, with 193 *New York Times* articles and 216 articles from the *Guardian.* Of the 193 articles from *NYT*, 63 were written in June, 64 in July, 39 in August, and 36 in September. There was no significant difference in total number of *Guardian* articles; 69 were written in June, 53 in July, 53 in August, and 41 in September.

A three way analysis of levels include: the three independent variables of month (June, July, August, September), source (*NYT* and *Guardian*), and valence (negative, neutral, positive). A frequency table was created to compare the frequency of words or phrases from the two news sources (see Appendix A for R script).

SOURCE	MONTH	VALENCE NEG	NEUT	POS
NYT	JUNE	148	45	30
	JULY	167	97	50
	AUG	81	76	21
	SEPT	15	61	15
GUARDIAN	JUNE	53	46	131
	JULY	163	65	129
	AUG	51	85	128
	SEPT	31	58	85

Table 1. Frequency form of article overview

New York Times

Because *NYT* was not the newspaper organization to break and lead the story, many journalists reported on the response of members of Congress and other government officials. The *NYT* reported NSA director General Alexander's comment on the program as being "critical in helping prevent…'terrorist' attacks'" and his "'grave concerns' about how Mr. Snowden had access to such a wide range of top-secret information" (Sanger, Savage and Schmidt, 2013). Former Vice-President Dick Cheney said Snowden was "doing enormous damage to the national

security interests of the United States" and the Department of State issued a statement that

"Snowden is wanted on felony charges and…should not be allowed to proceed in any further

international travel", with Secretary of State John Kerry "call[ing] on Russia to expel Mr.

Snowden" as "Snowden's destinations indicated 'his true motive…to injure the national security

of the U.S.'" (Baker and Barry, 2013).

June. In the month of June of *NYT*, 64 different kinds or types of words and terms were

used to describe Edward Snowden. Of the total number of words, 45 were negative, 9 were

neutral, and 10 were positive (see Appendix J). A tally from the coding chart (see Appendix B-I)

revealed a frequency total of 223, where there were significant differences: negative words

occurred 148 times, neutral words occurred 45 times, and positive words occurred 30 times (see

Appendix 19). The most frequently occurring word was a negative word "leaker" which includes

"leaking", "leaked", and "leaks(s)".

July. The month of July saw an increase in the variety of words used with a total of 109

words. Of the 109 words, 58 were negative, 31 were neutral, and 20 were positive. As a result of

a greater number of words used, the frequency total increased to 314 (see Appendix 20 for link to

full document). Again, there was a significant difference from the number of occurrences of

valence: negative words occurred 167 times, neutral words occurred 97 times, and positive

words occurred 50 times. *NYT* includes negative language from President Obama, calling

Snowden a "hacker", and Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) and Vice Chairman of the Senate

Select Committee on Intelligence describing the event as an "act of treason" (Peters, 2013).

Favorable language from Russia and Ecuador affect the tone of stories, but *NYT* journalists

utilize neutral terms like "contractor" most frequently. Due to extensive media coverage of the

NSA documents and surveillance procedures, Representative (Rep.) Justin Amash (R-MI) led H.

Amdt. 413—an amendment that sought to end authority for the blanket collection of records under the Patriot Act and to bar the NSA and other agencies from using Section 215 of the Patriot Act to collect records—to H.R. 2397 in July. H. Amdt 413 was narrowly defeated 205-217, garnering more public attention of the NSA documents.

August. In August, *New York Times* shifts from a marked negative coverage to a more neutral stance. Snowden agreed to do an interview with *NYT* reporter Peter Maass and in mid-August, the publication began to work with *The Guardian* to report on another set of major documents, with Jill Abramson (2013), former *NYT* editor-in-chief, releasing an editor's note that "We don't usually comment on our reporting before publication, but in this case we will make an exception since it is already public. *NYT* is reporting on material from The Guardian as well as other matters related to Edward Snowden" (*New York Times*, August 24, 2013). A total of 66 words were used to describe Snowden; 32 were negative, 25 were neutral, and 9 words were positive (see Appendix 20). The decrease in number of articles and total words may be a result of a focus shift; instead of Snowden receiving main coverage, journalists explored the ties between Russia and the United States as a result of Putin's asylum grant. There was a lesser frequency total of 178, and no significant difference in frequency of words: negative words occurred 81 times, neutral words 76 times, and positive words 21 times (see Appendix 20). "Leaks", "leaking", and "leaked" again was the most frequently occurring word. White House Press Secretary Jay Carney (2013) expressed disappointment that "the Russian Federation would take this step" in granting Snowden temporary asylum (*New York Times*, August 1, 2013). President Obama stated that he does not "think Mr. Snowden was a patriot" (*New York Times*, August 9, 2013).

September. *New York Times* used 54 words in September; 25 being negative words, 20 being neutral, and 9 being positive. The frequency total was 91, where: negative words occurred 15 times, neutral words 61 times, and positive words 15 times (see Appendix 20). Difference in reporting of negative government agency statements and *NYT* journalists' neutral statements were less significant in that neutral terms were more favored, and occurred the most frequently overall. However, the most frequently occurring word was negative: "leaker", "leaks", and "leaked".

Guardian

June. The *Guardian* had 47 different kinds or types of words and terms in the month of June. Of the 47, 22 were negative, 12 were neutral, and 13 were positive. A tally from the coding chart revealed similar significant differences of valence from *NYT* where a frequency total of 230 included: negative words occurred 53 times, neutral words occurred 46 times, and positive words occurred 131 times (see Appendix K and 20). Because Edward Snowden worked with the *Guardian's* Glenn Greenwald, the publication and its reporters would be more favorable towards a positive depiction. Positive words occurred the most in frequency, with Greenwald leading the story with direct access to Snowden. *The Guardian* also reported on Julian Assange of WikiLeaks "praising Edward Snowden as a hero" and Roy Greenslade (2013) explored if the British publication could "win a Pulitzer for Edward Snowden's NSA revelations" (*Guardian,* June 10, 2013; Greenslade, 2013). While there was greater variety of negative words used, like "fugitive" and "defector", the British publication led a positive coverage of Snowden, with the positive word "whistleblower" occurring the most frequently. The publication considered that:

> For an American, the traditional home for the kind of story Snowden was planning to reveal would have been the New York Times. But during extensive interviews last week

with a Guardian team, he recalled how dismayed he had been to discover the Times had a great scoop in election year 2004 - that the Bush administration, post 9/11, allowed the NSA to snoop on US citizens without warrants - but had sat on it for a year before publishing.

Snowden himself said, "I'm neither traitor nor hero. I'm an American", while accusing the US of "bullying" (*Guardian*, June 12, 2013). The *Guardian* reported on statements by human rights nongovernment organizations (NGO) "condemn[ing] the United States government for violating our rights and privacy."

July. A total of 121 different kinds of words were used to describe Snowden in the month of July. Of those words, 72 were negative, 30 were neutral, and 19 were positive. "Whistleblower" was the most frequently occurring word in July where frequency total was 357 and negative words occurred 163 times, neutral words occurred 65 times, and positive words occurred 129 times (see Appendix 20). Despite the *Guardian's* advantage of direct access to source and noticeable positive tone, there was a significant amount of dialogue from Congress members and other US agency officials. Rep. Pompeo (R-KS) claimed Snowden 'provided intelligence to America's adversaries' while Rep. King (R-IA) called Snowden a 'defector' (*Guardian*, July 5, 2013). An editorial by *Washington Post* (WaPo) was included in the *Guardian* coverage; WaPo commented on Snowden that he was "reported to have stolen many more documents" and had "damaging revelations" (*Guardian*, July 5, 2013). However, President Maduro of Venezuela "praised Snowden's leaks", and he was reported to say that "We think this young person has done something very important for humanity…has spoken great truths to deconstruct a world…controlled by an imperialist American elite" (Elder, 2013).

August. In August, a total of 83 words were used to describe Snowden where: 40 words were negative, 31 were neutral, and 12 were positive (see Appendix 20). Statements from the White House carry a distinctly disapproving tone as Carney (2013) said:

> Simply the possession of that kind of highly sensitive classified information outside of secure areas is both a huge risk and a violation. As we know he's been in Russia now for many weeks. There is a huge risk associated with . . . removing that information from secure areas. You shouldn't do it, you can't do it, it's wrong (*Guardian,* August 2, 2013).

Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC) alludes to national security by addressing "the members of Congress who want to reform the NSA program…if you want to gut it, you make us much less safe, and you're putting our nation at risk" (Ackerman and Roberts, 2013). On behalf of Snowden, his lawyer claimed that "[Snowden] is convinced and genuinely believes he did it first of all so that Americans and all people would find out that they are spying on us" (Luhn, 2013). Lonnie Snowden, Edward's father, commented that he wishes his "son could simply have sat in Hawaii and taken the big paycheck, lived with his beautiful girlfriend and enjoyed paradise. But, as an American citizen, I am absolutely thankful for what he did" (*Guardian,* August 1, 2013). In frequency and occurrences, negative words occurred 51 times, neutral words occurred 85 times, and positive words occurred 128 times. The total frequency for August was 264 (see Appendix 20). Again, "whistleblower" as a positive word was the most frequently occurring word.

September. There were 57 total number of terms used in September of which 26 were negative, 21 were neutral, and 10 were positive. However, total frequency count was 174 where: negative words occurred 31 times, neutral words occurred 58 times, and positive words occurred 85 times (see Appendix 20). A comment of interest was reported in a September 6, 2013 article from the *Times* where the executive editor wrote, "Abramson said she had met with US officials who had asked her not to publish the story, but said the decision to publish alongside the

Guardian was 'not a particularly anguished one'" (Ball, 2013). While there have been numerous statements from the U.S. government regarding Snowden and the document leaks, Ball (2013) wrote that the "office of the director of national intelligence also suggests stories published by the Guardian and New York Times are 'not news' but a 'road map…to our adversaries'" (*Guardian*, September 6, 2013). President Obama assured the public that the U.S. government is "not going around snooping at people's emails or listening to phone calls" and instead, focusing and "targeting very specifically on areas of concern" (Ball, 2013). An article published on September 13 by Richard Norton-Taylor and Dominic Rushe was the first time Snowden was not reported as the NSA "whistleblower". Despite the language from intelligence service offices, a positive term "whistleblower" was the most frequently occurring key term, consistent with the four-month coverage.

Mosaic Plot

Overall, the *New York Times* had negative coverage greater than expected, with a smaller than expected value of positive coverage. In contrast, the *Guardian* had a smaller than expected value of negative coverage and a greater than expected value for neutral and positive words. Structable() function for figure 1 combines valence totals for *NYT* (411 negative, 279 neutral, 116 positive) and the *Guardian* (298 negative, 254 neutral, 473 positive). Figure 1—a two way contingency table of source and valence—was created using the xtabs() function in R to create "crosstabulations of data using formula style input" (Friendly, 2013, p. 7).

Table 1 (see heading "3 way Analysis in r") showed a frequency form that reflected three dependent variables of month, source, and valence. Figure 1 has a significant p-value < .001.
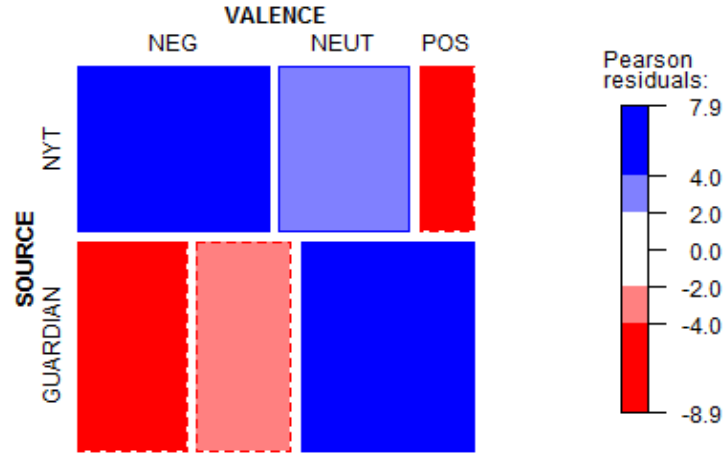
Figure 1

Table 1 (see heading "3 way Analysis in r") showed a frequency form that reflected three dependent variables of month, source, and valence. Figure 1 has a significant p-value < .001.

A two way contingency table of month and valence for *NYT* has a p-value < .001 (see Figure 2). Reflecting the results of the coding chart, the *NYT* coverage stays relatively consist in its negative coverage shown by the blue tiles. In September, there is a significantly greater than expected value towards neutral words, reflected in the darker blue shading. With the exception of a smaller than expected value, significant deviations do not appear in the figure 2 contingency table.
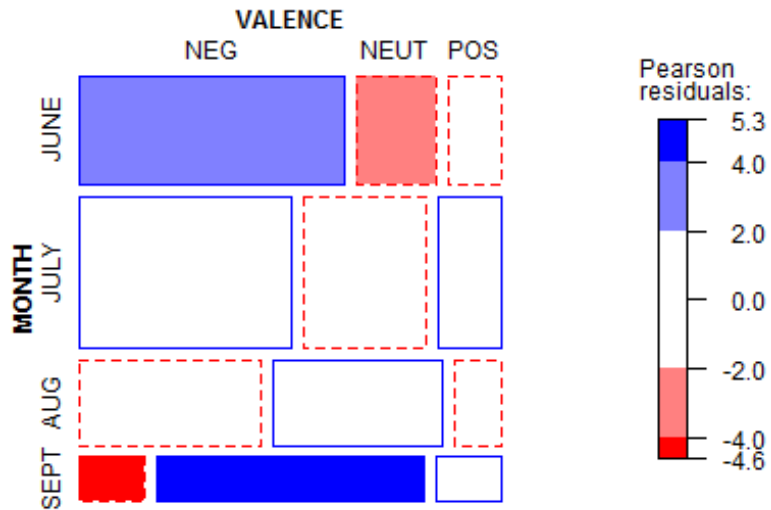
Figure 2

Figure 3 reflects a two way contingency table of month and valence for the *Guardian* with a p-value < .001. The *Guardian* had significant greater than expected value of negative words in July due to remarks by members of Congress and other U.S. government officials (as noted in subheading "July" under "Guardian"). In comparison, the other values are not of high significant deviation, with several tiles smaller than expected values.

Figure 3

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study sought to explore how Edward Snowden was covered by the media, and if there were any similarities or differences in reporting of two news publications. The findings revealed that the *New York Times* and *Guardian* descriptions of Edward Snowden overlap by:
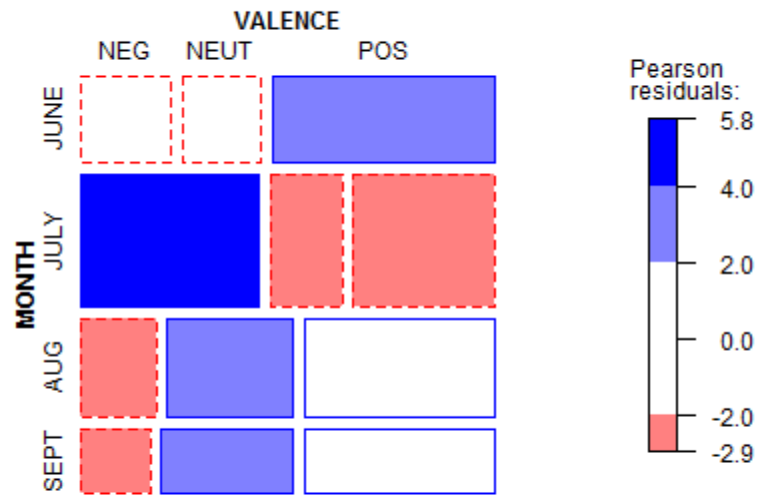
- Using neutral language like "downloading" or "giving" documents"

- Considering "hack," "hacks," and "hacker" as a negative term

- Referring to the incident as the "Snowden affair" or "Snowden drama"

- Acknowledging his actions as one of the most significant intelligence disclosures.

While the language ranges from "pilferer" and "traitor" to "hero" and "human rights activist", the publications differ in their overall portrayal of Snowden. The *New York Times* include critical statements from President Obama and members of Congress, and use strong language against Russia's role in the case. *NYT* consistently portrayed Edward Snowden in negative and neutral terms, including statements from individuals considering Snowden to be a "leaker" and having caused damage to the security interests of the U.S.

In *NYT's* reporting, neutral language describing Snowden as a "contractor" differ from the *Guardian's* extensive usage of "whistleblower" as a positive term to describe Snowden. The British publication provided more in-depth coverage of the act and scene compared to the *New York Times*. Due to Snowden's preference of Greenwald over *NYT*, the British publication reported extensive knowledge regarding the event, setting, and agents involved. The *Guardian* portrayed Snowden consistently with positive language—with the exception of July 2013 when *Guardian* incorporated statements from tier two agents—over the four month period of the drama. *The Guardian* extensively includes statements from Snowden "accusing" the U.S. of illegal behavior and voices the pro-Snowden/anti-American government sentiment of Russia,

China, and Venezuela. Negative words like "leaker" and "espionage" drive the *New York Times* coverage, while "leaker" and "whistleblower" drive an overall positive coverage of Snowden from the *Guardian*.

Similar to the Branum and Charteris-Black (2015) study, further research could be conducted to examine the coverage of surveillance itself from other reputable American newspaper publications. Another way to broaden this research is to study the event with a mixed method—to combine the dramatistic pentad with the cognitive dissonance theory—to decipher the motive behind the drama, and use the cognitive dissonance theory to reorganize new information with formerly held beliefs. What remains unknown from the scope of this study is how the inclusion of opinion editorials might affect overall coverage. Recommendations for further study include the following: identify which persuasion strategies are effective for agenda-setting; examine more publications and change delimitations of article type; and explore the rhetorical artifacts by means of ideological criticism to examine the dominant ideology and the muted groups (Foss, 2009).

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Appendices

Appendix A

```
File  Edit  Format  View  Help
# open up the frequency table .csv file
yoon <- read.csv(file.choose(), header=T)
# load the vcd package from the library
# use install.packages("vcd") if not found
library(vcd)
# put the levels of the three independent variables in the right order
# MONTH
yoon$MONTH <- factor(yoon$MONTH, levels = c("JUNE", "JULY", "AUG", "SEPT"))
# SOURCE
yoon$SOURCE <- factor(yoon$SOURCE, levels = c("NYT", "GUARDIAN"))
# VALENCE
yoon$VALENCE <- factor(yoon$VALENCE, levels = c("NEG", "NEUT", "POS"))
# create a 3 way contingency table
# the order for independent variables is:
# 1. rows; 2. columns; 3. rows within rows
structable(Freq ~ SOURCE + VALENCE + MONTH, data=yoon)
# chi squared for 3 way
yoontab <- xtabs(Freq ~ SOURCE + VALENCE + MONTH, data=yoon)
summary(yoontab)
# mosaic plot
mosaic(~ SOURCE + VALENCE + MONTH, data=yoontab, gp=shading_Friendly)
#
# create a 2 way contingency table of SOURCE and VALENCE
structable(Freq ~ SOURCE + VALENCE, data=yoon)
# chi squared for 2 way
yoontab <- xtabs(Freq ~ SOURCE + VALENCE, data=yoon)
summary(yoontab)
# mosaic plot
mosaic(~ SOURCE + VALENCE, data=yoontab, gp=shading_Friendly)
#
# create a 2 way contingency table of MONTH and VALENCE for NYT
structable(Freq ~ MONTH + VALENCE, data=yoon[which(yoon$SOURCE == 'NYT'), ])
# chi squared for 2 way
yoontab <- xtabs(Freq ~ MONTH + VALENCE, data=yoon[which(yoon$SOURCE == 'NYT'), ])
summary(yoontab)
# mosaic plot
mosaic(~ MONTH + VALENCE, data=yoontab, gp=shading_Friendly)
#
# create a 2 way contingency table of MONTH and VALENCE for GUARDIAN
structable(Freq ~ MONTH + VALENCE, data=yoon[which(yoon$SOURCE == 'GUARDIAN'), ])
# chi squared for 2 way
yoontab <- xtabs(Freq ~ MONTH + VALENCE, data=yoon[which(yoon$SOURCE == 'GUARDIAN'), ])
summary(yoontab)
# mosaic plot
mosaic(~ MONTH + VALENCE, data=yoontab, gp=shading_Friendly)
#
```

Appendix B

Article	Author	Placement	Word Count
Intelligence Chief Calls Leaks on U.S. Data Collection 'Reprehensible'	Charlie Savage, Edward Wyatt, Peter Baker, Michael D. Shear	NYT	2,278
Ex-Worker at CIA Says He Leaked Data on Surveillance/Ex-CIA Worker Says He Disclosed U.S. Surveillance	Mark Mazzetti, Michael S. Schmidt	NYT, A1	1,594
Guardian Makes Waves, and Is Ready for More	Christine Haughney, Noam Cohen	NYT, A12	919
How Edward J. Snowden Orchestrated a Blockbuster Story/Cryptic Overtures and a Clandestine Meeting Gave Birth to a Blockbuster Story	Charlie Savage, Mark Mazzetti	NYT, A13	1,495
U.S. Preparing Charges Against Leaker of Data	Michael S. Schmidt, Eric Schmitt, Keith Bradsher	NYT, A12	953
A New Kind of Leaker for an Internet Age	David Carr	NYT Media	989
Earlier Denials Put Intelligence Chief in Awkward Position/Disclosures on N.S.A. Surveillance Put Awkward Light on Previous Denials	Scott Shane, Jonathan Weisman	NYT, A18	1,017

Appendix 1: NYT - June sample pt. 1

Article	Published	Key Words/Adjectives
Intelligence Chief Calls Leaks on U.S. Data Collection 'Reprehensible'	07, June 2013	*Snowden not directly mentioned
Ex-Worker at CIA Says He Leaked Data on Surveillance/Ex-CIA Worker Says He Disclosed U.S. Surveillance	09, 10 June 2013	"source", "leaker", "a man whom many will see as a hero", "selective in what he disclosed, releasing only what he found to be the greatest abuses", "disclosures"
Guardian Makes Waves, and Is Ready for More	10, 11 June 2013	"source who leaked", "source…had to be 'in an adversarial posture vis-à-vis wth the U.S. government"
How Edward J. Snowden Orchestrated a Blockbuster Story/Cryptic Overtures and a Clandestine Meeting Gave Birth to a Blockbuster Story	10, 11 June 2013	"source", "lawmakers...accuse Mr. Snowden of treason", "casts himself as a truth-teller", "carefully selecting what to release seeking to avoid the attacks…of recklessness","'so convinced that he did the right thing" (Greenwald), "extracted secret documents", "leaker"
U.S. Preparing Charges Against Leaker of Data	10, 11 June 2013	"charge…Snowden…with disclosing classified information", "brazenness of disclosures", "damage [of] the revelations", "whistle-blower groups championed [Snowden]"
A New Kind of Leaker for an Internet Age	10, June 2013	"leaker", "source of the leaks", "never been a shortage of whistles; what has been in short supply is people to blow them", "Web not just a repository of leaked material, but a means of changing the dynamics of the debate…in which the public has access to the leaker", "whistle-blower", "face of opposition to state-sponsored information gathering", "leaker as Web-enabled public figure"
Earlier Denials Put Intelligence Chief in Awkward Position/Disclosures on N.S.A. Surveillance Put Awkward Light on Previous Denials	11, 12 June 2013	"disclosures", "leaked classified information", "Boehner called [Snowden] a traitor", "'difficult to understand…the motivation of somebody who intentionally would seek to warn the nation's enemies of lawful programs created to protect the American people. And I hope he is prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law'" (McConnell)

Appendix 2: NYT - June sample pt. 2

Appendix C

Article	Author	Placement	Word Count
Snowden Seeks Asylum in Russia, Putting Kremlin on the Spot	Andrew Roth, Ellen Barry	NYT, A6	1,098
Snowden Is Said to Claim U.S. Is Blocking Asylum Bids/Leaker is Said to Claim U.S. is Blocking Asylum Bids	Rick Gladstone, William Neuman	NYT, A6	655
Feinstein's Support for N.S.A. Defies Liberal Critics and Repute/Support for N.S.A. Defies Liberal Critics and Repute	Jeremy W. Peters	NYT, A15	1,152
Europeans Voice Anger Over Reports of Spying by U.S. on Its Allies	Stephen Castle, Eric Schmitt	NYT, A9	1,069
Outrage in Europe Grows Over Spying Disclosures	Steven Erlanger	NYT A4	1,522
Job Title Key to Inner Access Held by Snowden/Job Title Key to Inner Access Held by Leaker	Scott Shane, David E. Sanger	NYT, A1	1,641

Appendix 3: NYT - July sample pt. 1

Article	Published	Key Words/Adjectives
Snowden Seeks Asylum in Russia, Putting Kremlin on the Spot	01, 02 July 2013	"wanted by the U.S.", "publishing classified documents", "image as a truth-teller"
Snowden Is Said to Claim U.S. Is Blocking Asylum Bids/Leaker is Said to Claim U.S. is Blocking Asylum Bids	01, 02 July 2013	"fugitive", Snowden "accused Mr. Obama and the U.S. gov't of seeking to intimidate him and deceive the world bc of his disclosures","accused of violating espionage laws", "disclosures"
Feinstein's Support for N.S.A. Defies Liberal Critics and Repute/Support for N.S.A. Defies Liberal Critics and Repute	01, 02 July 2013	"'act of treason'" (Feinstein), "leaks", "revealed classified details", "liberals…hailing him as a whistle-blower"
Europeans Voice Anger Over Reports of Spying by U.S. on Its Allies	01, 02 July 2013	"obtained by Edward J. Snowden", "revelations", "espionage revelations"
Outrage in Europe Grows Over Spying Disclosures	01, 02 July 2013	*not directly about Snowden
Job Title Key to Inner Access Held by Snowden/Job Title Key to Inner Access Held by Leaker	01, July 2013	"leaking", "Snowden got hold of documents", "disclosure", "leaked", "brazen efforts", "Obama played down Mr. Snowden's importance", "'hacker'" (Obama), "young computer delinquent", "part of…most skilled team of hackers", "secret presidential directive…unveiled by Mr. Snowden", "collection of pilfered N.S.A. documents", "disclosed", "Snowden's breach", "self-appointed whistle-blower"

Appendix 4: NYT - July sample pt. 2

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Appendix D

Article	Author	Placement	Word Count
Defiant Russia Grants Snowden Year's Asylum	Steven Lee Myers, Andrew E. Kramer	NYT A1	1,056
Obama's Fall Moscow Trip Is Even More in Doubt	Mark Landler	NYT A3	1,106
Senate Panel Presses N.S.A. on Phone Logs	Charlie Savage, David E. Sanger	NYT A1	1,272
Whistle-Blowers in Limbo, Neither Hero Nor Traitor	David Carr	NYT Media	675
U.S. Envoy and Putin Aide Discuss Snowden	Steven Lee Myers	NYT A4	600
Court Rulings Blur the Line Between a Spy and a Leaker	Adam Liptak	NYT A1	1,287

Appendix 5: NYT - August sample pt. 1

Article	Published	Key Words/Adjectives	Quotes
Defiant Russia Grants Snowden Year's Asylum	01, 02 August 2013	"walk free", "wanted by the United States", "leaking", "leaks", "downloaded", "safely out of reach of American prosecutors", "defend his actions", "whistle-blower exposing wrongdoing", "disclosures", "Snowden's case"	"We are extremely disappointed that the Russian Federation would take this step" (Jay Carney), "Snowden might be interested in working to protect the personal data of millions of our users" (Pavel Durov, founder of Vkontakte--the most prominent Russian online social network)
Obama's Fall Moscow Trip Is Even More in Doubt	01, 02 August 2013	"Snowden affair", "fugitive", "disclose", "not a whistle-blower, but a contractor accused of a felony, who poses a huge risk", "leaks"	
Senate Panel Presses N.S.A. on Phone Logs	01, August 2013	"leaked NSA documents", "downloaded", "disclosures", "leaks", "stranded"	
Whistle-Blowers in Limbo, Neither Hero Nor Traitor	01, August 2013	"released", "revealed", "stateless, isolated, and frozen in place", "whistle-blowing…fraught with peril", "one person's heroic crusade is another's betrayal of loyalty", "acts of supreme self-sacrifice" (civil liberties advocates), "self-aggrandizement", "leakers"	"The more they reveal, the greater the threat against them" (Gregg Leslie of the Reporters Comm for Freedom of the Press)
U.S. Envoy and Putin Aide Discuss Snowden	02, 03 August 2013	"fugitive"	
Court Rulings Blur the Line Between a Spy and a Leaker	02, 03 August 2013	"leakers", "materials from", "'aided and abetted Snowden'" (David Gregory, NBC Meet the Press to Greenwald), "violations of the espionage laws"	

Appendix 6: NYT - August sample pt. 2

Appendix E

Article	Author	Placement	Word Count
Budget Documents Detail Extent of U.S. Cyberoperations	David E. Sanger	NYT A10	742
In Syria, Anger and Mockery as Obama Delays Plan	Anne Barnard, Gerry Mullany	NYT Middle East	1,254
Russia Issues Travel Warning to Its Citizens About United States and Extradition	David M. Herszenhorn	NYT A9	562
Brazil Angered Over Report N.S.A. Spied on President	Simon Romero, Randal C. Archibold	NYT A4	716
U.S.-Russian Ties Still Fall Short of 'Reset' Goal	Peter Baker	NYT A1	2,525
Putin Says Proof of Chemical Arms Attack Is Not Enough to Justify U.S. Action	David M. Herszenhorn	NYT Europe	889
Questions of Policy and Leadership Dog Obama Before Meeting in Russia	Steven Lee Myers	NYT A4	1,398
N.S.A. Able to Foil Basic Safeguards of Privacy on Web	Nicole Perlroth, Jeff Larson, Scott Shane	NYT A1	2,696
Legislation Seeks to Bar N.S.A. Tactic in Encryption	Scott Shane, Nicole Perlroth	NYT A7	1,208
Obama Tries to Soothe Brazil and Mexico Over Spying Reports	Simon Romero	NYT A4	641
A Journalist-Agitator Facing Prison Over a Link	David Carr	NYT B1	1,423
Daily Report: Many of Web's Encryption Tools Compromised by N.S.A.	NYT	NYT Tech	340
Obama Falls Short on Wider Backing for Syria Attack	Peter Baker, Steven Lee Myers	NYT A1	1,163

Appendix 7: NYT – September sample pt. 1

Article	Published	Key Words/Adjectives
Budget Documents Detail Extent of U.S. Cyberoperations	01, September 2013	"disclosed", "obtained", "disclosure", "Snowden documents"
In Syria, Anger and Mockery as Obama Delays Plan	01, September 2013	"disclosed"
Russia Issues Travel Warning to Its Citizens About United States and Extradition	02, 03 September 2013	"case of Edward J. Snowden", "wanted on criminal espionage charges"
Brazil Angered Over Report N.S.A. Spied on President	02, 03 September 2013	"revelations", "documents provided by", "fugitive"
U.S.-Russian Ties Still Fall Short of 'Reset' Goal	02, 03 September 2013	"shelter Edward J. Snowden", "leaker"
Putin Says Proof of Chemical Arms Attack Is Not Enough to Justify U.S. Action	04, September 2013	"disclosed"
Questions of Policy and Leadership Dog Obama Before Meeting in Russia	04, 05 September 2013	"disclosures", "leaks"
N.S.A. Able to Foil Basic Safeguards of Privacy on Web	05, 06 September 2013	"documents provided", "disclosed", "managed to obtain…classified documents", "leaked", "disclosures"
Legislation Seeks to Bar N.S.A. Tactic in Encryption	06, 07 September 2013	"disclosures", "disclosed"
Obama Tries to Soothe Brazil and Mexico Over Spying Reports	06, 07 September 2013	"revelations"
A Journalist-Agitator Facing Prison Over a Link	08, 09 September 2013	"documents stolen by", "leaked"
Daily Report: Many of Web's Encryption Tools Compromised by N.S.A.	06, September 2013	"documents provided", "contractor"
Obama Falls Short on Wider Backing for Syria Attack	06, 07 September 2013	"difficulty Mr. Obama has faced with Mr. Putin", "contractor", "disclosed"

Appendix 8: NYT - September sample pt. 2

Appendix F

Article	Author	Placement	Word Count
Verizon forced to hand over telephone data - full court ruling	N/A		N/A
NSA collecting phone records of millions of Verizon customers daily	Glenn Greenwald		1,348
NSA Prism program taps in to user data of Apple, Google and others	Glenn Greenwald, Ewen MacAskill		1,749
UK gathering secret intelligence via covert NSA operation	Nick Hopkins		1,010
Obama tells intelligence chiefs to draw up cyber target list – full document text	N/A		N/A
Boundless Informant NSA data-mining tool – four key slides	N/A		N/A
Boundless Informant: NSA explainer – full document text	N/A		N/A
Edward Snowden's choice of Hong Kong as haven is a high-stakes gamble	Julian Borger		603
NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden: 'I do not expect to see home again'	Glenn Greenwald		1,069
Edward Snowden, NSA files source: 'If they want to get you, in time they will'	Ewen MacAskill		1,183
NSA data surveillance: how much is too much?	James Ball		929
Prism scandal: European Commission to seek privacy guarantees from US	Nicholas Watt		535

Appendix 9: Guardian - June sample pt. 1

Article	Published	Key Words/Adjectives
Verizon forced to hand over telephone data - full court ruling	05, June 2013	*Document publication
NSA collecting phone records of millions of Verizon customers daily	06, June 2013	*Snowden not yet revealed
NSA Prism program taps in to user data of Apple, Google and others	07, June 2013	"
UK gathering secret intelligence via covert NSA operation	07, June 2013	"
Obama tells intelligence chiefs to draw up cyber target list – full document text	07, June 2013	*Document publication
Boundless Informant NSA data-mining tool – four key slides	08, June 2013	*Document publication
Boundless Informant: NSA explainer – full document text	08, June 2013	*Document publication
Edward Snowden's choice of Hong Kong as haven is a high-stakes gamble	09, June 2013	"leak intelligence documents", "unmask himself as a whistleblower"
NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden: 'I do not expect to see home again'	09, June 2013	*Interview* "source", "Q: Do you think what you have done is a crime? A: We have seen enough criminality on the part of government. It is hypocritical to make this allegation against me'", "leaked documents", "disclosures", "'I am a spy'" (Snowden)
Edward Snowden, NSA files source: 'If they want to get you, in time they will'	10, June 2013	*interview
NSA data surveillance: how much is too much?	10, June 2013	"unprecedented series of leaks", "whistleblower", "thanks to Snowden's leak"
Prism scandal: European Commission to seek privacy guarantees from US	10, June 2013	"leaking of NSA documents", "whistleblower"

Appendix 10: Guardian - June sample pt. 2

Appendix G

Article	Author	Placement	Word Count
Edward Snowden's letter to the president of Ecuador – full text	Press Association	US	354
New NSA leaks show how US is bugging its European allies	Ewen MacAskill, Julian Borger	US	557
Berlin accuses Washington of cold war tactics	Ian Traynor	US	1,230
Parliamentary committee 'too busy' to question intelligence agencies	Patrick Wintour	Home Pages	681

Appendix 11: Guardian - July sample pt. 1

Article	Published	Key Words/Adjectives	Quotes
Edward Snowden's letter to the president of Ecuador – full text	01, July 2013	*Letter by Snowden	
New NSA leaks show how US is bugging its European allies	01, July 2013	"leaked", "whistleblower", "revelations", "evidence provided", "US behavior 'was reminiscent of the actions of enemies during the cold war'" (Germany's justice minister Sabine Leuthereusser-Schnarrenberger), "documents leaked", "[Snowden] seeking sanctuary in Ecuador"	
Berlin accuses Washington of cold war tactics	01, July 2013	"disclosures", "US electronic snooping", "revelations", "whistleblower", "NSA scandal",	"reminiscent of the actions of enemies during the cold war'" (Leuthereusser-Schnarrenberger), "'These acts, if confirmed, would be completely unacceptable'" (France foreign minister Laurent Fabius), "'snooping and spying be halted immediately'" (Luxembourg foreign minister Jean Asselborn), "'worried and shocked about the allegations of US authorities spying'" (head of Euro parliament Martin Schulz)
Parliamentary committee 'too busy' to question intelligence agencies	01, July 2013	"released", "leaks", "snoopers'"	

Appendix 12: Guardian - July sample pt. 2

Appendix H

Article	Author	Placement	Word Count
XKeyscore: NSA tool collects 'nearly everything a user does on the internet'	Glenn Greenwald	Homes Pages; Pg. 1	1,688
Phone data collection is not key anti-terror tool, spy chiefs admit	Spencer Ackerman, Paul Lewis	Intn'l Pages; Pg. 14	1,073
Edward Snowden's father says FBI asked him to fly to Moscow	James Meikle, Alec Luhn	Intn'l Pages; Pg. 14	558
Edward Snowden granted asylum in Russia	Staff and agencies	US	250
Edward Snowden asylum case is a gift for Vladimir Putin	Luke Harding	US	657

Appendix 13: Guardian - August sample pt. 1

Article	Published	Key Words/Adjectives	Quotes
XKeyscore: NSA tool collects 'nearly everything a user does on the internet'	01, August 2013	"documents provided", "whistleblower", "revelations", "Snowden's most controversial statements"	"I, sitting at my desk," he said, could "wiretap anyone, from you or your accountant, to a federal judge or even the president, if I had a personal email" (Snowden), "He's lying. It's impossible for him to do what he was saying he could do" (Mike Rogers, Chairman, House intelligence committee),
Phone data collection is not key anti-terror tool, spy chiefs admit	01, August 2013	"disclosed", "whistleblower", "documents provided by Snowden"	
Edward Snowden's father says FBI asked him to fly to Moscow	01, August 2013	"whistleblower", "'As a father it pains me what he did'" (Lonnie Snowden), "leaks"	"If he comes back to the United States, he is going to be treated horribly. He is going to be thrown into a hole. He is not going to be allowed to speak" (Lonnie Snowden), "As a father it pains me what he did," Snowden said. "I wish my son could simply have sat in Hawaii and taken the big paycheck, lived with his beautiful girlfriend and enjoyed paradise. But, as an American citizen, I am absolutely thank-ful for what he did" (Lonnie Snowden)
Edward Snowden granted asylum in Russia	01, August 2013	"whistleblower", "stranded", "leaking", "US has been seeking Snowden's extradition", "face felony charges", "annulled his passport"	*granted temporary asylum for one year
Edward Snowden asylum case is a gift for Vladimir Putin	01, August 2013	"whistleblower", "Putin's decision to grant Snowden asylum…is a humiliating, wounding rebuff to the US", "Snowden story", "exposed", "stuck at the airport", "Snowden's critics…seek to portray him not as a heroic information activist but as a traitor and a spy", "leak"	

Appendix 14: Guardian - August sample pt. 2

Appendix I

Article	Author	Placement	Word Count
Press should not be 'intimidated into silence' over state secrets	Josh Halliday, Ewen MacAskill	Media	584
NSA surveillance: National Rifle Association backs ACLU challenge	Ewen MacAskill	US	442
Putin and Obama apart in more ways than one at G20 table	Ian Traynor	Home Pages; Pg. 1	1,298
Microsoft and Yahoo voice alarm over NSA's assault on internet encryption	Dominic Rushe	US	761
US spy budget has doubled since 9/11: CIA takes biggest share, accoding to document leaked by Snowden	Ewen MacAskill, Jonathan Watts	Home Pages; Pg. 6	606
Revealed: how US and UK spy agencies defeat internet privacy and security	James Ball, Julian Borger, Glenn Greenwald	Home Pages; Pg. 1	2,363

Appendix 15: Guardian - September sample pt. 1

Article	Published	Key Words/Adjectives	Quotes
Press should not be 'intimidated into silence' over state secrets	04, September 2013	"revelations", "exposed", "whistleblower"	
NSA surveillance: National Rifle Association backs ACLU challenge	05, September 2013	"revealed", "obtained", "whistleblower", "report", "disclosures"	"The range of voices joining the protest against mass government surveillance - not to mention the bipartisan storm since the recent NSA disclosures - is a real testament to the fact that the government's dragnet surveillance practices are offensive to Americans from across the political spectrum." (ACLU)
Putin and Obama apart in more ways than one at G20 table	05, September 2013	"whistleblower", "holed up in Russia"	
Microsoft and Yahoo voice alarm over NSA's assault on internet encryption	06, September 2013	"documents obtained", "whistleblower", "revelations"	
US spy budget has doubled since 9/11: CIA takes biggest share, according to document leaked by Snowden	06, September 2013	"leaked", "revelations", "whistleblowers", "insider threats"	"insider threats 'who seeks to exploit their authorized access to sensitive information to harm US interests'" (document)
Revealed: how US and UK spy agencies defeat internet privacy and security	06, September 2013	"revealed"	*Not directly about Snowden

Appendix 16: Guardian - September sample pt. 2

Link to full coding chart: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/13zfMWVOzG1eozMuQfCDvLJPu5-fHCFZu_zkaHjeKVyE/edit?usp=sharing

Appendix J

Tone	Word	Occurences
(+)	"Act of conscience" (Snowden)	1
(-)	"Assault against the people"	1
(-)	"Concern about how Snowden had access to wide range"	1
(+)	"Did the right thing"	1
(-)	"Disillusioned employees refashioning themselves as heroic whistleblowers"	1
(-)	"Disloyalty"	1
N	"Got hold of documents"	1
(+)	"Hero"	6
(-)	"Prosecuted to extent of law"	1
(-)	"Treason"	1
(-)	"True motive…to injure…the US"	1
(-)	"Walking disclosure time bomb"	1
(-)	"Young computer delinquent"	1
(-)	Accused of/accusations	7
(-)	Brazen effort	2
(-)	Breach	2
(-)	Charge/Charged with	10
(-)	Controversy	1
(-)	Criminal	4
(-)	Detention	1
N	Disclosing/Disclosed/Disclosures	25
N	Download/Downloaded	1
(-)	Escape	1
(-)	Espionage	9

Appendix 17: Word count sample for June from NYT

Key: (+) positive, (-) negative, (N) neutral

Appendix K

Tone	Word	Occurences
(-)	"America's Most Wanted"	1
(+)	"Courageous"	1
(-)	"Defector"	3
(+)	"Extraordinarily" brave/bravery	2
(+)	"Human rights activist"	2
(+)	"I am a spy" (Snowden)	1
N	"Neither traitor nor hero. I'm an American" (Snowden)	2
(+)	Acted for the public good	1
(+)	Admire/Admiration	1
(-)	Broke the law	3
(-)	Charges/Charged with	3
(-)	Condemn/Condemned	2
(-)	Crime/Criminal	2
(-)	Damage/Damages/Damaged	2
N	Disclosing/Disclosed/Disclosure(s)	10
N	Discover/Discovered	2
(-)	Dissident	1
(-)	Espionage	4
N	Evidence	1
(-)	Explosive (leak, revelation)	6
(+)	Expose/Exposures/Exposed	2
(-)	Extradite/Extradition	5
(-)	Fallout	1
(-)	Fight surrender	1

Appendix 18: Word count sample for June from Guardian

Key: (+) positive, (-) negative, (N) neutral

Appendix L

TOTAL Words: 64	Total number of occurences	
(-): 45		148
(+): 10		30
N: 9		45
		223

Appendix 19: NYT sample of June word count and frequency tally

TOTAL Words: 47	Total number of occurences	
(-): 22		53
(+): 13		131
(N): 12		46
		230

Appendix 20: Guardian sample of June word count and frequency tally

Link to full word count file: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1mEppD9QXh3Bp-etzxnIAvTqirSN7IHPEdEl9NgajBWg/edit?usp=sharing