

(De)Legitimizing Surveillance Revelations through the Media Lenses: Critical Discourse Analysis of the British Newspapers on the 2013 NSA Disclosures

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ABSTRACT

This research interprets and explains how and why the British newspapers such as: *The Guardian*, the *Daily Mail* and *The Independent*, have (de)legitimized the NSA Snowden revelations of 2013. The study uses a critical discourse analysis to understand what media framing techniques are used by the media sources and how can they be explained by looking at the core ideologies and news values of the newspapers. The corpus used for the analysis includes ninety articles in total, consisting of thirty per newspaper. The frames are identified using Entman's (1993; 2005) definitions of media framing. They are then explained using the (de)legitimation techniques by Van Leuwen and Wodak (1999) in a comparative manner. The analysis reveals that *The Guardian* focuses on deligitimising surveillance and justifying their decision to cooperate with Edward Snowden on the basis of legality, public interest, morality and power abuse. The *Daily Mail* legitimises surveillance using arguments concerning security, counterterrorism and citizen protection while concentrating on Snowden's personal life, love, lifestyle and character. *The Independent* follows an informative narrative to raise awareness about the scandal through a politically autonomous stance. It allows the readership to shape their opinion on the subject by presenting them with contra and pro surveillance arguments.

1. Introduction

Mobile social media and advanced technologies make people experience an increase in mass surveillance and a violation of their privacy. Such events as the 9/11 in the USA, the 7/7 in the UK and the Snowden NSA revelations contributed to the rapid increase of the media discourse concerning surveillance technologies and tactics utilized worldwide both in the UK and internationally (Bernard-Wills, 2011). Edward Snowden, a former CIA employee, earned a status of a 'whistleblower' after releasing information about mass-surveillance programs run by NSA and the 'Five Eyes' Intelligence Alliance, consisting of Australia, NZ, the USA, the UK and Canada, to selected media sources. The story swiftly gained worldwide attention and the topics regarding surveillance, personal privacy and security threats were extensively covered by the media.

While analysing all media coverage concerning the Snowden affair, it is vital to obtain a holistic perspective about the scandal. This research narrows it down and presents a CDA of the British newspaper coverage on the issue. As noted by Fowler (1991), journalistic discourse is representative of the facts about a story, however, the linguistic discursive can be reflected in ideologies, values or beliefs of the newspaper editorials and the information provided is limited to the access to reliable sources and documents (p. 10-13). Such strategies are used to influence the target audience, therefore it is vital to examine how surveillance-related issues are represented, opposed or justified in various news media outlets (Branum & Charteris-Black, 2015). A deficient media coverage would not succeed in highlighting

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the mass surveillance practices as pressing concerns on a global scale and would not be able to stimulate public debate on that matter therefore media uses various discourses to influence the audience and appeal to their values and ideologies.

Previous research indicated a clear gap in the media analysis of Snowden's revelations, therefore the objective of this research is to explore and explain how and why the British newspapers have (de)legitimized the NSA Snowden revelations of 2013. This is done by scrutinising ninety articles from newspapers that differ in their core ideology including: *The Guardian* (liberal), *Daily Mail* (conservative) and *The Independent* (centrist). The framework of (de)legitimization strategies established by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) is applied to the analysis of the selected articles from each of the newspapers. Furthermore, the theory of media framing is used to identify reoccurring themes within the articles from each newspaper, which can be linked to their ideology.

The study begins with a literature review, which outlines the ideologies and values of the media and the existing surveillance and NSA revelations research. Following, it presents the analytical framework with definitions and explanations of media framing, sourcing, ideologies and the (de)legitimation techniques. Then, the study explains the methodology and the CDA. Next, it shows the findings and the analysis of three newspapers and explains the identified frames using excerpts from the articles. Lastly, it discusses the results in light of the literature review and presents a summative conclusion.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Ideologies and values of the media

Following a normative view, the media is regarded as a fourth estate² fulfilling the tasks of democracy through informing citizens and shaping public discourse. As the fourth estate, a media system is expected to hold governmental, judiciary, and executive powers to be accountable. According to the Habermasian (1989) ideal of a discursive public sphere, the media should enable rational discussions. Yet, the media constitute a platform in which different actors and content compete for interpretative dominance of the media discourse. The resulting media discourse does not necessarily reproduce public opinion or real-world events but may present biased interpretations toward elite due to certain power constellations (Hackett, 1984; Klein & Maccoby, 1954; Strömbäck, 2008).

Some scholars claim that access to information on national security issues by the media is restricted. Therefore, it is more difficult for the media to maintain its role of a watchdog in this field (McGarrity, 2011; Hefroy-Milscher, 2015). Hefroy-Milscher (2015) mentions the barriers that journalists encounter when trying to function as a 'fourth estate' when it comes to reporting on salient events and refers to the 'journalist-source relationship' (p. 257). The author challenges the role of the media as an 'agenda-setter' and calls it 'agenda silencing' especially when it concerns intelligence-related events. The author further claims that "the purpose of media coverage is to communicate and legitimise silences orchestrated by state, legal, or intelligence censorship" and to report on "what other media know, rather than publicising new facts" (ibid.).

Ideologies and values are key motivators for newspapers to tell a story with a particular twist, to evoke specific reactions from the targeted audience and to understand the world through an explanatory

² The other three estates in democracy are the legislative, the executive and the judiciary.

lens. O'Neill and Harcup (2010) tentatively propose ten news values that newspapers use to choose their stories which include: "the power elite, celebrity, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news, magnitude, relevance, follow-up and newspaper agenda" (p. 279). Nevertheless, these values only play a role when addressing a specific audience and adhering to what they wish to view. Van Dijk (2001) defines an ideology as "beliefs shared by groups" and claims that ideologies are not always negative, because they can "serve to establish or maintain social dominance, as well as to organize dissidence and opposition" (p. 14). Consequently, ideologies help newspapers to organise their thoughts and tell a story through a desired angle.

Nevertheless, Fowler (1991) states that "values are in the language already, independent of the journalist and of the reader", which shows that an ideology "is already imprinted in the available discourse" (p. 41-42). Hence, it is an inevitable result of writing. Fowler (1991) further notes that "perception and understanding involve the active deployment of mental schemes and processing strategies" that are known to the reader prior to processing an article (p. 43). This tacit knowledge enriches the readership with the ability to understand and perceive a story through a personalised lens.

All of the aforementioned aspects are significant elements for conducting a CDA of newspapers. While carefully scrutinising the articles, the values, ideologies, target audience and the presumed bias of an editorial have been considered. Understanding how these factors help journalists in producing relevant news material can further explain their linguistic choices and the style of their narrative. This research takes these aspects into consideration both when identifying the frames present in the newspaper articles and the (de)legitimation techniques employed.

2.2. Surveillance and Snowden revelations research

It is important to note that research analysing the media discourse concerning the Snowden revelations is only beginning to appear. Commonly, the object of research is more personal and focuses rather on individual journalists or personalities, such as Glenn Greenwald (Rice, 2015; Salter, 2015) or Edward Snowden himself (Branum & Charteris-Black, 2015; McLeod and Shah, 2014; Schulze, 2015). For example, Di Salvo and Negro (2015) analysed four international newspaper outlets (*New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *The People's Daily*, *The South China Morning Post*) and discovered that they are all consistent in framing Snowden as a 'whistleblower'. Di Salvo and Negro (2015) also mention that research containing an analysis of newspapers from differing countries implies the "consideration of the limits of comparing different journalistic cultures and media systems, which inevitably affect the practice of journalism and editorial choices" (p. 816). This means that the samples used in an analysis are not representative of the entire journalistic culture, but they highlight a solid part of it.

Barnard-Wills (2011) highlights the increase in technology and surveillance-related media coverage in the UK and finds that the media discourse mainly varies from limiting personal liberty to reducing criminality. Foucault (2007) considers surveillance to be a tool for security and a state power to protect the population. Branum and Charteris-Black (2015) examine three major UK newspaper outlets: *The Guardian*, *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail* and look at how they report on the Snowden revelations. Their claim is that the written articles are biased in accordance with the editorial's ideology, target audience and news values. *The Guardian* reports on surveillance revelations. It describes surveillance as deceptive, extensive and implies that it presents risks for democracy and lawfulness. The main narrative follows legal, moral, and public-support arguments to justify the narrative of the authors. The *Daily Mail*

reports on Snowden on a more personal basis, referring to his living situation and personal life. These articles mostly remain neutral in their narrative, giving recommendations rather than opinions (Branum & Charteris-Black, 2015, p. 210). *The Sun* takes on a protectionist stance towards the UK and its government, trying to legitimise surveillance.

Jie Qin (2015) uncovers how social media frames the Snowden revelations in comparison to traditional journalism through the use of semantic network analysis. He found that social media users associate Snowden's case with "whistle-blowers, bipartisan issues, and personal privacy issues", whereas journalists from established editorials associate it with "issues of national security and international relations" (p. 175-176). Furthermore, Qin (2015) found that media frames on social media and legacy news differ with respect to word selection and salience. Word selection is a selective use of keywords and carefully crafted hashtags to appeal to the audience (p. 174) while word salience means that "the degree of centrality of a word suggests the importance of the word in the network" (p. 175).

3. Analytical Framework

3.1. Media research: framing, sourcing and ideologies

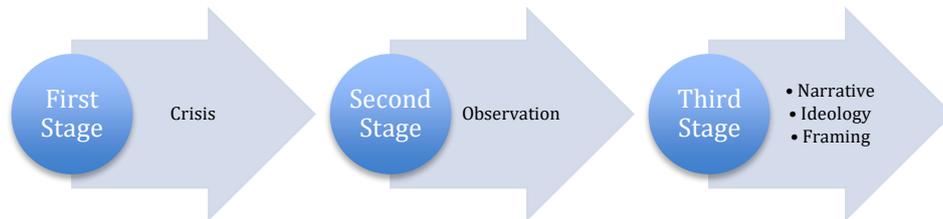
In order to understand how a newspaper's ideology or values impact the way the information is presented to a viewer, this research uses the theory of media framing. Entman (2004) defines this technique as "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (p. 5). The media manipulates the way people receive and interpret socio-political issues through media framing, which successfully shifts or focuses the audience's attention to particular details, phrases, events or issues, in order to limit or shape the reader's understanding of a specific subject matter (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). Frames are applied by the media in "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). Therefore, frames create a context to a problem, offer a possible interpretation, suggest a way of coping with it and adapt the narrative to fit the source ideology or set of values. Insofar, as the rhetorical devices used differ, the most common ones used in newspaper articles are metaphors, analogies, stereotypes, inferences, references to history and priming (cognitive associations already present in a person's mind) (ibid.). Many problems can be framed, but the most common ones are situations, attributes, choices, actions, issues, responsibility and news (Hallahan, 1999).

Sourcing is an important aspect of framing, as the sources used by the media are driving forces for ensuring legitimacy, credibility, trustworthiness and reliability to the readers (Gandy, 2015). Nevertheless, the selection of sources used by authors can reflect a form of bias, which deviates them from rational argumentation and persuasion. Instead, they engage in coercive techniques to influence the tone and direction of the presented information (Greenberg & Hier, 2009, p. 465). Sourcing is especially significant in surveillance and security news coverage, as media outlets often have direct access to secretive information from state officials or other authoritative sources.

The model of the Stages of Media Reporting (Figure 1) resonates with the actual analytical sequence used in this research. It starts with the crisis situation or scandal (the Snowden revelations), followed by the observation based on the analysis of the media discourse presented by newspaper articles, leading to identifying the specific narrative based on the ideologies represented by media

providers through framing. This model is a useful tool for understanding the course of events during media reporting and identifying what phenomena lead to what results.

Figure 1: Stages of Media Reporting



Source: Based on Herfroy-Mischler (2015)

Framing was selected as an analytical method, as it is relevant for examining newspaper articles using the CDA. This method is especially useful when the topic of analysis (NSA revelations) can be interpreted and viewed in different ways, depending on the source, which in this case is a newspaper editorial (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The following chapter elaborates on the (de)legitimization techniques used to identify the frames present in the newspapers.

3.2. (De)legitimization techniques

This research focuses on identifying legitimization techniques used in the newspaper articles to legitimise or delegitimise surveillance. These techniques are then applied and connected to possible frames related to the Snowden revelations. The framework on legitimization used in this study is based on Van Leeuwen's and Wodak's (1999), van Dijk's (2005) and Van Leeuwen's (2007) semantic multimodal approach. The approach has been effectively applied in similar studies concerning surveillance legitimisation by the news, broadcasting media, the government or in general, using legitimisation techniques in political sciences research (see Barnard-Wills, 2009; Schulze, 2015; Lischka, 2017; Reyes, 2011; Tiainen 2017). This approach specifies four legitimisation categories that can be observed in discursive practices including: (1) authorisation (2) rationalisation, (3) moral evaluation and (4) mythopoesis (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Van Leeuwen (2007) defines these categories in the following way: (1) authorisation is "legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested", (2) rationalisation is "legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action, and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity", (3) moral evaluation is "legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems" and (4) mythopoesis is "legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions" (p. 92). Furthermore, van Dijk (2005) explains the strategy of positive and negative self-presentation used in biased accounts of scandals (p. 373). The author notes that such tactics are used in favour of the writer's ideology or interest. They are often applied to (de)emphasise the good or bad aspects of cases involving 'Us versus Them', hence

“blaming negative situations and events on opponents or on the Others (immigrants, terrorists, youths, etc.)” (ibid.).

Berger et al. (1998) stipulate that legitimation can be viewed as “a process by which cultural accounts from a larger social framework in which a social entity is nested are constructed to explain and support the existence of that social entity, whether that entity be a group, a structure of inequality, a position of authority or a social practice” (p. 380). Van Leeuwen (2007) adds to this and claims that legitimation focuses on the ‘Why’, thus “Why should we do this? And Why should we do this in this way?” (p. 93). Furthermore, using legitimacy in discourse can have powerful effects on a larger scale. This is because discourse, which delegitimises certain actions can lead to the disempowerment and loss of privileges, which were used to meet objectives, especially in institutions (Reus-Smit, 2007, p. 161-162).

The semantic categories of legitimisation are applied to the identified frames used by the selected newspaper editorials from the newspapers including: *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and the *Daily Mail*. The articles from each news source are analysed, key themes and frames are identified, the information is summarised and key quotes are collected. Then, the visible frames are examined in light of the legitimisation and de-legitimisation arguments.

4. Methodology

The study assumes a critical discourse analysis approach. CDA is an analytical method, which “studies language use in speech and writing as a form of ‘social practice’” that is socially constructed and conditioned in cultural, ideological and historical context. It shows a “dialectical relationship between a discursive event and the situation(s) or social structure(s), which frame it” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 271-280). In summary, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that CDA addresses social problems and discursive power relations, dominance and inequality and the way they are reproduced (p. 258). CDA proved to be a useful method in combination with the study of legitimation techniques (see Wodak, 2001, p. 2) and analysis of media discourse (see Fairclough, 1995).

Based on the chosen approach and methodology, social constructivism is a paradigmatic approach, which fits with this research the most. Guba and Lincoln (1994) explain social constructivism and state that knowledge is a product of social interaction, interpretation and understanding and that the creation of knowledge can vary based on social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender factors (p. 113). These constructions are subject to continuous revision in different contexts, where consensus can be built (ibid.).

In order to get a holistic perspective on how the British newspapers framed the NSA revelation, three newspaper sources representing a different political ideology were selected and served as units of analysis. *The Guardian* was chosen, as it represents a left-wing, liberal ideology, the *Daily Mail* was selected as a right-wing, conservative newspaper and *The Independent* as a centrist one. *The Guardian* is crucial for this analysis, as it was the first newspaper to publish the information regarding NSA leaks. It is critical of surveillance and is protective of its reasoning why disclosing Snowden’s findings to the world was a right thing to do. The *Daily Mail* assumes a neutral standpoint, ignores whether surveillance should be portrayed as good or bad, and employs a descriptive narrative of the NSA revelations, focusing more on Edward Snowden’s individual life, motifs and reasons to initiate the scandal. *The*

Independent is a centrist newspaper which attempts to portray unbiased opinions usually showing different perspectives.

The articles from the aforementioned newspapers were identified using the LexisNexis database. The following keywords were applied during the search: Edward Snowden, NSA, surveillance and 'whistle-blower'. The articles were included if they fell into the timeframe from 5th June 2013 (when *The Guardian* published the first article regarding the leaks) until 1st August, 2013 (Edward Snowden was granted asylum in Russia). The timeframe focuses on the summer of 2013, which was the period when the information about NSA revelations was leaked for the first time by Edward Snowden, and when media attention was high. The LexisNexis (Lexis Uni) search, using the timeframe and the specified keywords showed 34 articles for *The Guardian*, 36 for the *Daily Mail* and 32 articles for *The Independent*. After careful screening of the titles, 30 most relevant articles were selected for each newspaper, making a total of 90 articles used in the analysis. The duplications of the articles were disregarded and not included in the study. Articles on stories irrelevant to the search, for example about people holding the same surname as Snowden or unrelated subjects were omitted as well.

The analysis included four steps: (1) deductively identifying the framing techniques used by the newspapers, based on their ideology and news values (see Table 1), (2) linking the identified frames with the (de)legitimization techniques such as authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation and mythopoesis, which are defined in Chapter 3.2., (3) detecting the frames and illustrating them by excerpts and keywords used by the authors of the articles, (4) searching for overlaps between the frames and the techniques to justify how the newspapers either legitimized or delegitimized surveillance. Table 1 presents the codebook used for the selection of newspaper articles and analysis. Furthermore, the (de)legitimization techniques are applied to the newspaper articles only if they are clearly identifiable in the text. For example: one newspaper may be only using legitimization through (1) authorization and (3) moral evaluation and the other strategies such as: (2) rationalization and (4) mythopoesis may not feature in the discourse.

Table 1: Codebook for the selection of newspaper articles (based on Saraisky, 2016)

News Source	1. <i>The Guardian</i> 2. <i>Daily Mail</i> 3. <i>The Independent</i>
Timeframe (format: day/month/year)	05/06/2013 until 01/08/2013
Topics addressed	- Edward Snowden - NSA Revelations 2013 - Surveillance revelations 2013
Keywords	NSA revelations, Edward Snowden, surveillance, whistleblower, security, privacy
Expected Frames	- Infringement of security and privacy - Morality - Legality and Lawfulness - Democratic values
(De)legitimation	(1) Authorisation

techniques (see definitions in Chapter 3.2.)	(2) Rationalisation
	(3) Moral evaluation
	(4) Mythopoesis

5. Findings and Analysis

After the analysis of the articles, the following frames were identified per newspaper. *The Guardian* used: lawfulness and public interest, protectionism of Edward Snowden and power abuse and morality. The *Daily Mail* used: minimalizing the impact of Snowden's disclosures, justifying surveillance, Snowden's personal life and discrediting other newspapers. *The Independent* used: an informative narrative, impartiality and protectionism of Snowden.

5.1. The Guardian

On June 5th, 2013 *The Guardian* was the official newspaper to side with the 'whistleblower' Edward Snowden and publish the information about the NSA revelations. The newspaper helped justify why surveillance is dangerous and poses a threat to democracy and privacy of people. The news values and ideology of the editorial were clearly represented during the initial publication of the story. Their narrative defended the decision to disclose the information to the world. The leaked documents from the American intelligence agencies showed how citizens, politicians, United Nations (UN) officials, the European Union (EU), private businesses and authorities were under extensive surveillance. *The Guardian* revealed three main programs used for global surveillance including: Prism and XKeyscore³.

The corpus includes thirty articles written by thirty different journalists. The most common frames used by *The Guardian* were: lawfulness and public interest (Table 2), protectionism of Edward Snowden (Table 3) and power abuse and morality (Table 4). These frames are illustrated by the excerpts. When linking these frames with the (de)legitimation strategies of Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), we can conclude that *The Guardian* was legitimising its decision to publish the report about NSA surveillance programs and delegitimising government surveillance through the use of strategies such as: (1) authorisation, (2) rationalisation, (3) moral evaluation and (4) mythopoesis. The observations about these findings are described below.

a. Lawfulness and public interest

Table 2: Illustration of 'lawfulness and public interest'

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1. "The recent revelations by another whistleblower, Edward Snowden, accused the court of breaking the fourth amendment to the US constitution. This entitles Americans "to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures". The operative word, as so often, is unreasonable." (2013, July 10, *The Guardian*),
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³ Other programs used for global surveillance were: ECHELON, Carnivore, Dishfire, Stone Ghost, Tempora, Stingray, DCSN, Fairview, Pinwale, RAMPART-A, SORM, Boundless Informant, Frenchelon, MYSTIC and Bullrun.

2. "US civil libertarians are seeking to confront the assault on the fourth amendment, possibly before the proper supreme court. Britain has only a foreign secretary assuring it that Snowden is talking nonsense. Privacy International is seeking a legal challenge to the data-scooping of NSA and GCHQ. The government has refused to let such a case come before a public court." (2013, July 10, *The Guardian*),

3. "A top secret US National Security Agency programme allows analysts to search with no prior authorisation through vast databases containing emails, online chats and the browsing histories of millions of individuals, according to documents provided by whistleblower Edward Snowden." (2013, August 1, *The Guardian*),

4. "Pressure is growing on the White House to explain whether there was effective congressional oversight of the programs revealed by Snowden." (2013, June 10, *The Guardian*).

The Guardian's first identifiable frame is lawfulness and public interest. The journalists justify their reasons for publishing the information about the mass-surveillance espionage by referring to the freedom of press and speech and ensuring that it is in the interest of the public to learn about how their privacy is infringed and how their information is extensively used by the government. The newspaper creates a narrative about legality of the surveillance programmes by making references to the US Constitution, the Bill of Rights (the First and the Fourth Amendment), FISA (US Foreign Surveillance Court), democracy, freedom, liberty and transparency. The authors refer to the Constitution, which is America's supreme law that outlines the structure of the government and fundamental laws that shall always be adhered to. There is also a frequent mention of the Bill of Rights, especially the First Amendment, which ensures the freedom of speech and the freedom of press and the Fourth Amendment that safeguards the right to security and privacy against unreasonable searches and seizures. *The Guardian* aims at appealing to the public by making them aware of their fundamental rights and tries to raise awareness about the fact that the surveillance programs are unjust, unconstitutional and not transparent.

This frame manipulates the audience into delegitimising surveillance on the basis of legality, thus appealing to the public interest and fundamental rights. The (de)legitimation techniques from Van Leeuwen (2007) which fit this narrative are: (1) authorisation, (3) moral evaluation and (4) mythopoesis. As seen in Table 2, *The Guardian* uses mythopoesis to delegitimise surveillance by creating a narrative that makes it non-legitimate. Quote 3 reads that NSA acted without prior authorisation or supervision and it was interfering with internet activities of millions of US and non-US citizens (e-mails, online chats, browsing history etc.). Quote 4 symbolises that there was no effective 'congressional oversight' of the espionage. Through this narrative, the public is informed about what areas of their lives were affected by the NSA revelations. *The Guardian* also uses authorisation to delegitimise surveillance by referring to the supreme law, questioning the constitutionality of the intelligence programs and emphasizing that the fundamental rights of the citizens from the US and other countries shall be respected. In quote 4, the NSA scandal is referred to as an 'assault' on the fundamental rights of American citizens and beyond, and a serious 'legal challenge'. Furthermore, all four quotes delegitimise

surveillance through moral evaluation, showing government corruption, which causes distrust and controls citizens by closely monitoring their actions.

b. Protectionism of Edward Snowden

Table 3: Illustration of 'protectionism of Edward Snowden'

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1. "The reason why a loyal ex-soldier broke cover was not to aid an enemy. It was to inform a friend, his own country. He was simply outraged by the lies told to Congress by his bosses about NSA operations. As Harvard's Stephen Walt said, Snowden was performing a public service in drawing attention to a "poorly supervised and probably unconstitutional" activity" (2013, July 10, *The Guardian*),

 2. "It was a life that, in his own words, Snowden decided to "sacrifice" in order to reveal the extent and reach of US surveillance techniques" (2013, June 12, *The Guardian*),

 3. "Any charges against him should be ones to which it is possible to mount a public interest defence (...) It must be for a civilian jury to decide whether Mr Snowden's actions are more troubling and significant than the documents and practices which he has exposed. Mr Snowden must be able to come in from the cold. And America must do more to help make that happen." (2013, July 3, *The Guardian*),

 4. "As nurse in the A&E department, Donnelly spent years insisting that there were serious problems at Stafford Hospital before they eventually came to light. I don't know the Snowden case, but I think that if anybody has genuine concerns that are in the public interest, then they are duty-bound to raise them. If you're a nurse, especially, it's part of your professional code of conduct to speak up if you see things that are not right." (2013, June 11, *The Guardian*).
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The second frame covered by *The Guardian* is protectionism of Snowden. It legitimises Snowden's disclosures, calling him a national hero and delegitimises the US reaction towards him. The newspaper also normalises his actions by claiming that it is a right of a worker to disclose unjust and immoral actions in their workplace. Instead of calling him a traitor or a criminal, he is framed as a public servant, loyal ex-soldier and someone acting in favour of morality, lawfulness and good democracy.

This frame fits with (2) rationalisation and (4) mythopoesis. Snowden's actions are rationalised and legitimised to make the readership think that his actions were thoughtful and intelligent, which automatically increases his authority during the scandal. The 'whistleblower's leaks are also declared as a normal and natural thing to do (Van Leeuwen, 2007). Quotes 1, 2 and 4 state that Snowden protected his country and his friends and that it was his 'duty' and a 'public service' to reveal the lies told to the world about the NSA operations by his bosses. Quote 4 compares Snowden's actions to a story of a nurse working for the Stafford Hospital normalising them by claiming that it is in line with the 'code of conduct', which makes an employee 'duty-bound' to raise concerns about corrupted workforce.

Furthermore, Quote 3 refers to the charges against Snowden and pushes Americans to help protect the life that he sacrificed for his nation and for the world. *The Guardian* compares the gravity of Snowden's disclosures to the surveillance operations carried out by government intelligence services and makes the public deliberate on what really is worse: the surveillance or alleged wrongdoing of Snowden.

c. Power abuse and morality

Table 4: Illustration of 'power abuse and morality'

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1. "It's the stuff of conspiracy theorist fantasies. But these abuses of power are real and are playing out on the front pages of America's papers every day." (June 15, 2013, *The Guardian*),

 2. "US intelligence chiefs conceded in a heated Senate hearing yesterday that their programme to collect phone records of millions of Americans was not their "most important tool" in countering terrorism, as they had previously claimed" (August 1, 2013, *The Guardian*),

 3. "XKeyscore, the documents say, is the NSA's widest reaching system developing intelligence from computer networks (...) One presentation claims the program covers "nearly everything a typical user does on the internet", including the content of emails, websites visited, and searches, as well as their metadata. (...) Analysts can also use XKeyscore and other NSA systems to obtain real-time interception of an individual's internet activity" (2013, August 1, *The Guardian*),

 4. "The surveillance both described took place in an environment where the legal framework was ill-defined, the targets nebulous and accountability inadequate. They were fishing expeditions, anticipating wrongdoing regardless of the evidence, and an invasion of privacy entirely disproportionate to the threat" (2013, June 24, *The Guardian*).
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Through power abuse and morality, *The Guardian* aims to show that the programs used for the NSA operations were too extensive, intrusive and able to track back anyone's traces left on the internet. Quote 1 indicates that the surveillance programs are actually the fantasies of the conspiracy theorists come true, featuring on the front pages of all American papers. In this way, *The Guardian* emphasises the importance of the problem and demonstrates its scale. Quote 2 shows that the US intelligence abused their powers and acted disproportionately to the threat. They collected phone records and internet data from millions of Americans and beyond. While on one hand, the intelligence officials claimed that the surveillance activities were the main tool for counterterrorism, on the other hand they diminished their importance. Quote 3 extends the previous argument by providing insights into what was monitored by XKeyscore and other NSA programs including emails, websites, search history and metadata. This narrative again aims at informing the audience about the risk of the government interfering with people's privacy in an unethical and abusive way. Furthermore, the words used by *The*

Guardian in quote 4, such as: ill-defined, nebulous, inadequate, wrongdoing and disproportionate show how the newspaper wants to discredit the American legal framework that it operates within.

The (de)legitimation techniques applicable to this frame are (1) authorisation, (3) moral evaluation and (4) mythopoesis. *The Guardian* delegitimises surveillance by referring to the abuse of power by the intelligence authorities and the US government by making a reference to the authority of persons vested with institutional powers. Furthermore, it uses moral evaluation to trigger the reader's mind to believe that it is wrong to have their privacy extensively interfered with, without prior authorisation. Lastly, mythopoesis is used to "punish non-legitimate actions" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 92), which in this case are the surveillance programs (XKeyscore and Prism).

5.2. Daily Mail

The *Daily Mail* is a middle-market, tabloid newspaper (compact page size) with focus on entertainment. The corpus selected for the analysis consists of thirty articles, written by twenty-nine different journalists. Most of the topics include: insights into Snowden's personal life, his love life and family, his political asylum, WikiLeaks, negative opinions about other newspapers, surveillance and stories about people involved in the NSA revelations.

The identified frames include: minimalizing the impact of Snowden's disclosures, justification of surveillance, personal life of Snowden and discrediting other newspapers. The (de)legitimising techniques that are visible through the frames are (1) authorisation, (2) rationalisation, (3) moral evaluation and (4) mythopoesis.

a. Minimalizing the impact of Snowden's disclosures

Table 5: Illustration of 'minimalizing the impact of Snowden's disclosures'

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1. "I'm afraid his choice of friends has shaken my confidence. And I also have to confess that his notably undetailed revelations, so sensationally presented by The Guardian newspaper, have often left me unmoved. Many of them seem so unsurprising that it is hard to understand what General Keith Alexander, director of America's National Security Agency, can have meant when he said that Snowden's disclosures have caused irreversible and significant damage to our country and its allies'. Really?" (2013, July 4, *Daily Mail*),

 2. "Mr Snowden is guilty of having betrayed his country, even if his revelations are much less spectacular than The Guardian has claimed. Mr Assange's generally more explosive revelations have almost certainly done the United States much more damage." (2013, July 4, *Daily Mail*),

 3. "Because so many of Snowden's allegations are both generalised and not very shocking, he is unlike Julian Assange in this regard I find it difficult to believe that he has caused the U.S. untold harm. All the time, as an ex-CIA employee he is undoubtedly guilty of a breach of trust" (2013, July 4, *Daily Mail*),
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4. "His next barrage of revelations induced a 'So what?'" response in me, and I suspect many others. Nonetheless, The Guardian worked itself into a high old frenzy over his suggestion that the British Government has monitored some friendly countries before international summits which it hosted in 2009" (2013, July 4, *Daily Mail*).
-

The first frame used by the *Daily Mail* is used to minimize the impact of Snowden's disclosures, making them seem unimportant and unsurprising. The words used in the quotes presented in Table 5, such as: undetailed revelations, unsurprising, 'Really?', less spectacular, damage, not very shocking and 'So What?' undermine the importance of what Snowden revealed to the world. The newspaper tries to make the audience believe that what the NSA and the 'Five Eyes' Intelligence Alliance did is insignificant and they should not be shocked or affected by it, because it is 'normal'.

The authors try to emphasise the fact that Snowden caused an irreversible damage to the US and its allies resulting in less trust and transparency among them. *Daily Mail* highlights that Snowden has betrayed his nation and his workplace, breached their trust and caused unnecessary damage. This evokes feelings of patriotism, loyalty and disbelief in the readers' eyes due to the fact that Snowden acted against America and disregarded the code of conduct of NSA in his work.

The *Daily Mail* uses mythopoesis technique according to Van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) classification. The journalists try to delegitimise and punish Snowden's actions claiming that they betrayed America and his workplace and caused unnecessary harm. Furthermore, the tabloid legitimises and normalises surveillance by making it sound unimportant and minimises its shock-value. This can be explained by the conservative ideology of the newspaper. Throughout all articles, the surveillance is viewed as an act in favour of the citizens, protecting them and the country from terrorism and harmful actions. This is further explained in the next chapter.

b. Justifying surveillance

Table 6: Illustration of 'justifying surveillance'

1. "We have experienced an extremely busy period in intelligence and diplomacy in the last three years. The growing and diffuse nature of threats from terrorists, criminals or espionage has only increased the importance of the intelligence relationship with the United States. This was particularly the case in the run to the Olympics. Our activity to counter terrorism intensified and rose to a peak in the summer of last year" (2013, June 11, *Daily Mail*),
 2. "Intelligence obtained from a secret US eavesdropping operation helped prevent terror attacks at the 2012 Olympics, it was revealed yesterday" (2013, June 11, *Daily Mail*),
 3. "I am relieved that we have had the nous to do to others what they are undoubtedly doing to us. If our security services weren't trying to find out the private thoughts of other key governments before important international meetings, they would be failing in their duty" (2013, June 18, *Daily Mail*),
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4. "We should have nothing but pride in the unique and indispensable intelligence-sharing relationship between Britain and the United States. In some countries secret intelligence is used to control people – in ours, it only exists to protect their freedoms. We should remember that terrorists plan to harm us in secret, criminal networks plan to steal from us in secret, foreign intelligence agencies plot to spy on us in secret and new weapons systems are devised in secret" (2013, June 28, *Daily Mail*).
-

The second frame justifies surveillance and stresses its importance to the target audience. The newspaper triggers the imagination of the public by recalling the growing threat of terrorism, criminal activities and espionage (quote 1). It emphasises that powerful intelligence agencies are necessary to prevent terrorism. The 2012 Olympics are shown as an example of how the US intelligence services helped counteract terrorism (quotes 1 and 2).

In quote 3, the author tries to provoke the reader by saying that other countries also spy and act unjust to America, thus it is important to monitor other governments and beware of their intentions and plans. Quote 4 stresses that Americans should be proud of the surveillance systems used by the US and the UK, as they are unique and indispensable. The author claims that it is done for the protection of people's fundamental freedoms, counterterrorism, preventing foreign intelligence from spying and identifying new weapon systems.

Here, two techniques are used: (1) authorisation and (2) rationalisation. The *Daily Mail* legitimises surveillance by referring to the US and British intelligence services as authoritative, rational and acting in the public's interest to minimise harm and external threats. Furthermore, it rationalises NSA's surveillance programs by showing that they were carefully calculated and thought-through.

c. Personal life of Snowden

Table 7: Illustration of 'personal life of Snowden'

1. "Holed up in a luxury Hong Kong hotel room but happy to brag about how he delivered one of the biggest intelligence leaks in US history, Edward Snowden is one of a new breed of whistleblower (2013, June 11, *Daily Mail*),
 2. "Young, naïve, idealistic and not short on self-righteousness, like Manning he clearly believes that government misbehaviour is sufficient justification to break the law and intelligence world codes of conduct" (2013, June 11, *Daily Mail*),
 3. "In case anyone questions his motives – and there are many doing that in the US – he insists he has given up a very comfortable life including a salary of around 130, 000 pounds, a blonde girlfriend with whom he shared a house in Hawaii, a promising career and a family he loves" (2013, June 11, *Daily Mail*),
 4. "On her blog, Miss Mills, a 28-year-old former ballerina, writes: My world has opened and closed
-

all at once. Leaving me lost at sea without a compass" (2013, June 12, *Daily Mail*),

5. Title "The pole dancer left behind" (2013, June 12, *Daily Mail*).

The third frame focuses on emphasising Snowden's personal life, dwelling on his past, present and future. The journalists mention his girlfriend, Lindsay Mills, and her sentiments over her boyfriend's disclosures. Her blog, profession and hobbies are featured and her character seems to be used in the stories to invoke feelings of sensitivity and empathy. It is because Snowden kept his plans secretive and left her alone once the revelations were published by *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post* to escape and seek asylum. She is framed as a ballerina, pole dancer and blond girlfriend who was abandoned by her loved one.

Quotes 1 and 3 present Snowden's 'lavish lifestyle' and luxury, mentioning the hotels he stayed at, the places he travelled to and his salary. This creates an imagery of hypocrisy that Snowden cares more about his personal comfort than the impact of his disclosures. The newspaper calls Snowden "young, naïve, idealistic and not short on self-righteousness" (quote 2), which undermines him, questions his reliability, credibility and authority. Personalisation is a key element of this frame, as the news source focuses more extensively on Snowden's privacy rather than the context of the revelations, recommendations and implications.

Here, (3) moral evaluation and (2) rationalisation are used. Moral evaluation is evident when looking at the narrative about Snowden's girlfriend. His revelations are delegitimised because he disregarded Lindsay leaving her "lost at sea without a compass" (quote 4). Furthermore, the newspaper stresses that Snowden should not "break the law and intelligence world codes of conduct" (quote 1) just because of government misbehaviour. Moreover, Snowden's actions are delegitimised through reference to his self-righteous and naïve personality.

d. Discrediting other newspapers

Table 8: Illustration of 'discrediting other newspapers'

1. "But The Guardian believes it always knows better as in the case of the ex-CIA operative, Edward Snowden, another former employee of the American government who feels justified in shouting official secrets from the rooftops, though most of his revelations' are either unsurprising or exaggerated" (2013, August 1, *Daily Mail*),

2. Title "Shock horror! Britain spies on other nations: The Guardian, which rightly attacks the hacking of private phones – but glories in betraying Britain" (2013, June 18, *Daily Mail*),

3. "Whatever The Guardian, with its head in the clouds, may believe, the British government has an obligation to protect this country's strategic and economic interests in a world in which foreign governments are ruthlessly pursuing theirs" (2013, June 18, *Daily Mail*),

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4. "Even the BBC, which normally treats *The Guardian* as its house journal and guiding star, has so far not followed up the paper's latest overblown revelations with as much enthusiasm as might have been expected. Perhaps the Corporation can see that this is a story which tells us far more about *The Guardian* than anything else" (2013, June 18, *Daily Mail*).
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The *Daily Mail's* narrative also focuses on discrediting other newspapers, especially *The Guardian*. Words and phrases used to describe *The Guardian* are: "head in the clouds", "it always knows better" and "glories in betraying Britain" (quote 1, 2 and 3). The *Daily Mail* tries to impose its ideology and values on the audience. It inflicts their view that *The Guardian* betrayed Britain, by revealing the surveillance operations carried out by the US and other countries to the world. For example, quote 2 presents a title of an article, which frames *The Guardian* as a traitor to Britain, who glories in their victory of disclosing official secrets to the public.

The *Daily Mail* deliberately refers to *The Guardian* as a delusional news source and claims that the British government has a duty to be a guardian of its country's "strategic and economic interests" (quote 3), especially when other countries act selfishly and ruthlessly protect their own interests. Furthermore, a reference to the BBC is made, which supposedly considers *The Guardian* as "its house journal and guiding star" (quote 4). The *Daily Mail* emphasises that "even" the BBC did not react enthusiastically about *The Guardian* revealing the NSA secrets, as was expected of the broadcasting station. This was done to criticise its decision to publish the incriminating information and support the 'whistleblower'.

The (de)legitimation techniques used are (1) authorisation and (4) mythopoesis. The *Daily Mail* legitimises surveillance through authorisation by saying that even though *The Guardian* can be viewed as a reliable newspaper, they should not have published the information about the revelations, as it betrays Britain. This shows the newspaper's ideology, which is in support of intelligence operations, because it is seen as an action favourable to the country's security. Furthermore, mythopoesis is used to punish *The Guardian's* non-legitimate action through language. The *Daily Mail* writes that publishing such sensitive information is unjust and wrong, therefore it emphasises it by referring to what other news sources think.

5.3. The Independent

The corpus from *The Independent*, a politically autonomous online tabloid consists of 30 articles written by eighteen different authors. It is evident that the newspaper tries to be impartial and contextualise the stories that it covers. It focuses on the representation of accurate facts, quotes and the course of events. The main topics covered in the corpus are: the political asylum of Snowden, descriptive narrative of what happened, explanation of what the NSA is, the impact of the revelations on other countries, trade, negotiations and external relations. The newspaper aims to inform the public about Snowden's possibilities and quotes officials and other involved authorities.

The main frames identified are: an informative narrative, impartiality and protectionism of Snowden. The (de)legitimation techniques that can be applied are (1) authorisation and (2) rationalisation.

a. Informative narrative

Table 9: Illustration of 'informative narrative'

1. "NSA's sheer size, the vast financial resources at its disposal, and its capacity to surreptitiously gain access to the most sensitive and heavily protected electronic communications of friends and foes alike is both breath-taking and frightening. With more than 30,000 military and civilian personnel, half of them military servicemen, and an annual budget now estimated by intelligence community insiders at more than \$10bn, NSA is by far the largest, and arguably the most powerful, agency in the US intelligence community" (2013, June 14, *The Independent*),

2. "The EU and the US began talks yesterday that could lead to the biggest trade agreement in history, covering half of world economic output and 20 per cent of foreign direct investment. It is vital the undertaking is not undermined by the row over revelations that the National Security Agency, America's electronic surveillance operation, has been spying in Europe" (2013, July 9, *The Independent*),

3. "The potential rewards of a transatlantic trade deal are huge. The talks – which both sides over-optimistically believe can be wrapped up in 18 months – seek to eliminate remaining barriers currently imposed by both the US and the EU, and to recognise each side's industrial standards. An agreement could add \$100bn to annual growth and lead to millions of new jobs on both sides of the Atlantic" (2013, July 9, *The Independent*).

The Independent tends to raise awareness about the problem or crisis and aims to inform the target audience about the necessary facts and figures. For example, in quote 1, the author of the article describes what the NSA is, how powerful it is, what resources it has (financial and military). This allows the readers to formulate their opinion about what kind of organisation they are dealing with. Quote 2 refers to the EU-US talks about the trade agreement and mentions that if successful, it could be "the biggest trade agreement in history, covering half of the world economic output and 20 per cent of foreign direct investment". This shows that *The Independent* tries to inform its audience how the leakages could affect the US' external relations and agreements with other countries, which again contributes to the informative narrative of the newspaper. Quote 3 further describes the benefits of the transatlantic trade deal and mentions how it would bring \$100 billion to the annual growth of the country and create new employment possibilities. Such a descriptive narrative allows the readers to shape their own opinion about the issue.

b. Impartiality

Table 10: Illustration of 'impartiality'

1. "The European Union signalled its own disquiet at some of what has been learned from Mr

Snowden, notably at the Prism programme that monitors traffic such as chat, emails and photos that pass through giant US internet firms like Google and Apple, popular with European users. But an opinion poll by the Pew Research Centre found 62 per cent of Americans think it's more important for the US government to do all it can to prevent terror attacks than worry about personal privacy" (2013, June 12, *The Independent*),

2. "Edward Snowden presents Moscow with an intriguing dilemma. On the one hand, his subversion of surveillance techniques and his role as a whistleblower go against everything that Russian President Vladimir Putin and the clique of former KGB officers around him stand for. On the other hand, of course, his leaks are aimed against the US, and thus a chorus of Russian officials who would find a Russian whistleblower doing the same thing repulsive has been lining up to praise Mr Snowden" (2013, July 2, *The Independent*),

3. "Mr Snowden's whereabouts have created diplomatic tension alongside the intrigue, after Washington revoked his passport after he left Hong Kong. A White House spokesman said the US expected Russia to send him back, and registered strong objections with China and Hong Kong for letting him go." (2013, June 25, *The Independent*).

Throughout almost all articles, it is evident that *The Independent* does not take sides and tries to present the story as it really is showing it from different perspectives. Such a linguistic tactic allows the readers to formulate their own opinions about the issue. For example, quote 1 refers to the discontent of the EU about the Prism programme, which monitors the internet activities of users of Google and Apple. However, it also mentions an opinion poll, wherein "62 per cent of Americans" believe that surveillance is just and effective in preventing terrorist attacks. Quote 2 also shows two sides of a story through the use of phrases such as "an intriguing dilemma", "on the one hand" and "on the other hand". The aforementioned quote refers to what impact Snowden's disclosures had on Russia. Furthermore, quote 3 shows that *The Independent* tries to avoid presenting its own opinion, imposing their ideology and views on the reader and instead, aims at quoting what other people said. This is done to allow the reader to have an interpretative freedom for the news item.

In this frame, none of the (de)legitimation techniques can be applied. It is because impartiality of *The Independent* is a technique of the editorial in itself, which aims at reinforcing its goal of being politically autonomous and unbiased.

c. Protectionism of Snowden

Table 11: Illustration of 'protectionism of Snowden'

1. "In 2003 he enlisted in the US Army, intending to fight in the Iraq War, but was discharged after breaking both legs in an accident during a Special Forces training programme. Snowden said he wanted to fight in Iraq because he felt an obligation to "help free people from oppression", but that "most of the people training us seemed pumped up about killing Arabs, not helping anyone" (2013, June 10, *The Independent*),

2. "As Mr Snowden, 30, prepared to spend his 10th night at the airport yesterday, he was dealing with outright rejections from Brazil and India. Finland, Ireland, Austria, Norway and Spain said requests for asylum have to be made in person on their territories to be considered." (2013, July 3, *The Independent*),

3. "Whistleblowers might be thought to be in a different category: how can their presence "be detrimental to the public good" unless that means (which it doesn't) causing embarrassment to America?" (2013, June 25, *The Independent*),

The Independent paints Snowden in a good light and focuses on his political asylum. Quote 1 mentions Snowden's history in the US Army and his good faith to "help free people from oppression" during the Iraq War. This creates a positive imagery of Snowden and indicates that he always tried to be righteous, helpful and moral, but was often surrounded by others, who broke the rules or misbehaved. This is suggested in the sentence "most of the people training us seemed pumped up about killing Arabs, not helping anyone" (quote 1). Quotes 2 and 3 focus on Snowden's asylum and extradition. Quote 2 stresses the 'whistleblower's' struggles in being rejected from Brazil and India and his difficulty in obtaining the asylum from Austria, Spain, Finland, Ireland and Norway. It also highlights that Snowden spent ten nights at the airport waiting for asylum, which invokes feelings of pity and sympathy in the reader's mind. In quote 3, *The Independent* tries to prove that 'whistleblowers' are not detrimental to the public good and should not be considered an embarrassment for their country. This frame has a different effect than the previous two frames because it intends to show that 'whistleblowers' should not be treated as outcasts in the society, that their disclosures should be valued or learned from and that they should obtain a certain level of protection to reduce their struggles, for example, in seeking asylum.

Here, the surveillance is delegitimised by legitimising Snowden's revelations and showing that he should not be mistreated because of his actions. Snowden's disclosures are rationalised and normalised by the newspaper, which notes that 'whistleblowers' should not be punished for disclosing secretive information to the public. Furthermore, Snowden's revelations are legitimised through mythopoesis, because *The Independent* tries to show his struggles of finding asylum.

6. Discussion

The results of this research show that the newspapers (de)legitimise the NSA revelations using different framing techniques. *The Guardian* uses: lawfulness and public interest, protectionism of Edward Snowden and power abuse and morality. In case of the *Daily Mail*, minimalizing the impact of Snowden's disclosures, justifying surveillance, Snowden's personal life and discrediting other newspapers serve as leading tactics. Conversely, *The Independent* incorporates an informative narrative, impartiality and protectionism of Snowden to form its narrative and influence the public.

The findings from this study show a noteworthy overlap with the results from earlier research on the topic of surveillance. Parallel frames and (de)legitimation techniques were used across studies which scrutinised the reactions of the different countries to the NSA operations including Germany (Schulze, 2015), Finland (Tiainen, 2017) and NZ (Kuehn, 2018). Similarly, these frames feature in the

research of distinctive media sources such as Twitter and UK broadcasting news (Qin, 2015; Lischka, 2017).

The study resonates with the Habermasian (1989) claim that media should encourage public debate, as it functions as a fourth estate in democracy. It also proves that the public has to be cautious in understanding and constructing the meaning based on the interpretations given by the media, as they may be biased, which is highlighted by Klein and Maccoby (1954) and Hackett (1984). Echoing Hefroy-Milscher (2015) it seems that the content of the media coverage illustrated by the excerpts from the newspapers proves that in many cases the media communicate silence, hiding important facts, which is comfortable to the state. Instead, they publicize substitute, less important, often private information to stimulate public interest and attract the target audience. It is in line with what O'Neill and Harcup (2010) say, that newspapers present stories centered around polarized eye-catching topics, important personalities and their lives, instead of focusing on what really matters.

Ideologies, values and beliefs of newspapers play a substantial role in their discursive narratives. The study seems to prove that each newspaper tells the same story through a different lens, focusing on distinctive aspects of it and narrating it with varying political angles. The results of this study are in line with Fowler (1991) who confirms that the linguistic discursive of editorials is affected not only by their ideologies, but also by access to reliable sources (p. 10-13). Since journalists rely on official sources for their storylines, "those in positions of social and political power have considerable ability to influence what is covered in the news" (McChesney, 2000, p. 49 in Harcup, 2003, p. 361) which is reflected in this analysis. *The Guardian* cooperated with Snowden, hence it obtained the richest corpus of information from the official documents. *The Daily Mail* focused on Snowden's private life, 'gossip' and demeaning other media, which indicates its lack of access to reliable sources. *The Independent* collected data from diverse sources to form a holistic perspective on the topic. Consequently, a reader with no prior knowledge about the problem could interpret the storyline substantially differently depending on what newspaper they read. Entman's (1993) definition of framing is useful, because the frames provide the context to the scandal, offer an interpretation and propose a way to cope with it.

The (de)legitimation techniques by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) prove to be an effective instrument to explain how the NSA revelations were framed by the newspapers and to understand the arguments of the journalists. It is worth noting that the legitimising arguments which rationalise surveillance as a means for counterterrorism are also linked to "moral evaluation of public security", as stated by Lischka (2017, p. 678). This reasoning is also in line with Foucault (2007) who claims that surveillance is a tool of the state to protect its citizens. The delegitimising arguments highlighted in this study centre around the moral evaluation of core values such as: democracy, freedom of press, transparency, public interest and liberty which are important for the wellbeing of the citizens in democratic states.

Although this research is informative, there are several limitations to this study. While aiming at assuring triangulation of different analytical techniques by combining two analytical frameworks, media framing and (de)legitimation techniques, a balance between an in-depth analysis of the corpus of the articles and understanding the debates about the use of the frameworks constituted a challenge. Furthermore, the analysis identified more frames and themes, which would be interesting additions to the results, however, the content would be less concise, less structured and longer. Other themes visible in all three newspapers involved referring to the worldwide reactions to the scandal, quoting responses of individual countries and focusing on individual politicians or supranational bodies, such as the EU or

the UN. It would be interesting to analyse the US-EU relations post-Snowden or examine the government reactions to the crisis, as done for Germany by Schulze (2015). Furthermore, using a different database for the article search, for example Factiva⁴, might have disclosed other or more articles than LexisNexis.

7. Conclusion

While this study attempts to propose the explanation of how and why the Snowden revelations were (de)legitimised by the British newspapers, the question still remains how this scandal was presented and discussed by leading media in other countries. To expand this field, more news sources such as radio, television and other newspapers could be analysed, and the reactions of other countries to the disclosures could be studied. Blogs could give insights from a wider authorship than solely journalists and editors, and a social media analysis, although not representative of the whole population, could present the public discourse on the scandal.

This research sheds light on how newspapers narrate and frame surveillance, in the context of the NSA revelations of 2013. The Snowden's case can serve as a precedent to understand and interpret future scandals and their representation in the media. Nevertheless, the discourse about surveillance should be expanded and more informative. On the one hand, it should present information on how surveillance poses threats to democracy, interferes with people's fundamental freedoms and challenges interstate relations. On the other hand, it should provide arguments on why surveillance may be beneficial for security and protectionist purposes. Through an informative and explanatory narrative, the reader can form an independent opinion and perspective on the issue.

In conclusion, the analytical framework and methodology employed in this study can be used by other researchers investigating the power of media in shaping the understanding of contemporary events and phenomena. Furthermore, the results can be used as a way to comparatively examine the responses of other countries to the NSA scandal with the reactions of the British press.

⁴ See the database at: <https://www.dowjones.com/products/factiva/>.

8. Annex

Table 12: List of newspaper articles from *The Guardian*

Author(s)	Publication Date	Title and URL
Dan Roberts and Spencer Ackermans	June 10, 2013	"US lawmakers call for review of Patriot Act after NSA surveillance revelations" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/10/patriot-act-nsa-surveillance-review
Alan Travis and Dan Roberts	June 11, 2013	"Europe demands answers from Obama over surveillance by US" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/11/real-victims-nsa-surveillance
Leo Benedictus, Leo Hickman and Richard Norton-Taylor	June 11, 2013	"Edward Snowden and whistleblowers: 'The truth sets you free'" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/10/whistle-blowers-snowden-truth-sets-free
Ewen MacAskill, Tania Branigan	June 12, 2013	"Edward Snowden vows not to 'hide from justice' amid new hacking claims" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/12/edward-snowden-us-extradition-fight
Alan Travis, Spencer Ackerman, Paul Lewis	June 12, 2013	"Europe warns US: you must respect the privacy of our citizens" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/11/europe-us-privacy
Seumas Milne	June 12, 2013	"NSA and GCHQ: mass surveillance is about power as much as privacy" https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/11/surveillance-about-power-as-much-as-privacy
Stuart Jeffries	June 12, 2013	"Internet anonymity is the height of chic" https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2013/jun/12/internet-anonymity-chic-google-hidden
Paul Lewis	June 12, 2013	"Edward Snowden's girlfriend Lindsay Mills: At the moment I feel alone" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/11/edward-snowden-lindsay-mills-guardian
Glenn Greenwald	June 14, 2013	"Edward Snowden's worst fear has not been realised – thankfully"

		https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/14/edward-snowden-worst-fear-not-realised
Paul Harris	June 15, 2013	"I have watched Barack Obama transform into the security president" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/15/broken-promise-barack-obama
Ewen MacAskill, Nick Davies, Nick Hopkins, Julian Borger and James Ball	June 16, 2013	"UK intelligence agencies planned to spy on Commonwealth summit delegates" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/16/uk-intelligence-agencies-spy-commonwealth-delegates
Ewen MacAskill, Nick Davies, Nick Hopkins, Julian Borger and James Ball	June 17, 2013	"GCHQ intercepted foreign politicians' communications at G20 summits" https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/jun/16/gchq-intercepted-communications-g20-summits
Ewen MacAskill, Nick Davies, Nick Hopkins, Julian Borger and James Ball	June 17, 2013	"G20 summit: NSA targeted Russian president Medvedev in London" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/16/nsa-dmitry-medvedev-g20-summit
Tania Branigan	June 18, 2013	"Edward Snowden flatly denies Chinese spy claims" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/17/edward-snowden-rubbishes-chinese-spy
Josh Halliday	June 18, 2013	"MoD serves news outlets with D notice over surveillance leaks" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/17/defence-d-bbc-media-censor-surveillance-security
Julian Borger, Luke Harding, Miriam Elder, David Smith	June 18, 2013	"G20 summits: Russia and Turkey react with fury to spying revelations" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/17/turkey-russia-g20-spying-gchq
Kate Connolly	June 19, 2013	"Barack Obama: NSA is not rifling through ordinary people's emails" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/19/barack-obama-nsa-people-emails

Simon Jenkins	June 19, 2013	"Britain's response to the NSA story? Back off and shut up" https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/19/uk-response-to-nsa-story-back-off-shut-up
Tania Branigan, Miriam Elder and Nick Hopkins	June 24, 2013	"Whistleblower Snowden escapes arrest in Hong Kong thanks to US errors" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/23/edward-snowden-gchq
Tania Branigan, Miriam Elder and Nick Hopkins	June 24, 2013	"Edward Snowden: diplomatic storm swirls as whistleblower seeks asylum in Ecuador" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/23/edward-snowden-escape-moscow-ecuador
Editorial	June 24, 2013	"GCHQ taps fibre-optic cables for secret access to world's communications" https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/jun/21/gchq-cables-secret-world-communications-nsa
Ian Traynor	June 30, 2013	"Berlin accuses Washington of cold war tactics over snooping" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/30/berlin-washington-cold-war
Ewen MacAskill and Julian Borger	June 30, 2013	"New NSA leaks show how US is bugging its European allies" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/30/nsa-leaks-us-bugging-european-allies
Jürgen Trittin	July 2, 2013	"Edward Snowden deserves shelter in Germany" https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/02/edward-snowden-shelter-in-germany
Ian Traynor and Dan Roberts	July 2, 2013	"Barack Obama seeks to limit EU fallout over US spying claims" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/01/barack-obama-eu-fallout-us-spying-claims
Dan Roberts	July 3, 2013	"Bolivian president's jet rerouted amid suspicions Edward Snowden on board"

		https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/03/edward-snowden-bolivia-plane-vienna
Editorial	July 3, 2013	"Edward Snowden: A whistleblower, not a spy" https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/02/edward-snowden-whistleblower-not-spy
Simon Jenkins	July 10, 2013	"Even La Carré's latest fiction can't do justice to Snowden" https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/09/le-carre-snowden-fiction-truth
Glenn Greenwald	July 31, 2013	"XKeyscore: NSA tool collects 'nearly everything a user does on the internet' https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/31/nsa-top-secret-program-online-data
Spencer Ackerman and Paul Lewis	July 31, 2013	"US senators rail against intelligence disclosures over NSA practices" https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/31/us-senate-intelligence-officials-nsa

Table 13: List of newspaper articles from the *Daily Mail*

Author(s)	Publication Date	Title and URL
Steve Nolan	June 8, 2013	"Revealed: Google and Facebook DID allow NSA access to data and were in talks to set up 'spying rooms' despite denials by Zuckerberg and Page over PRISM project" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2337863/PRISM-Google-Facebook-DID-allow-NSA-access-data-talks-set-spying-rooms-despite-denials-Zuckerberg-Page-controversial-project.html
Ian Drury and Martin Robinson	June 9, 2013	"US senators demand 'traitor' NSA whistleblower be extradited from Hong Kong to face trial in America after he reveals why he exposed online spy scandal" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2338534/Edward-Snowden-speaks-NSA-contractor-leaked-details-surveillance-scheme-reveals-himself.html
Matt Blake, Martin Robinson and Ian Drury	June 10, 2013	"Paranoid worker who blew whistle on US internet snooping flees his Hong Kong hotel room: America's most wanted on the run as he reveals how he lined the door

		with pillows for fear of eavesdroppers” https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2338817/NSA-whistle-blower-Edward-Snowden-reveals-lines-door-pillows-fear-eavesdroppers.html
Hayley Peterson	June 10, 2013	“NSA whistleblower first approached the Washington Post with his leaks but the newspaper refused to comply with his publishing demands” https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2338944/NSA-whistleblower-Edward-Snowden-approached-Washington-Post-leaks-newspaper-refused-comply-publishing-demands.html
Ian Drury and Martin Robinson	June 10, 2013	“FBI visits Edward Snowden’s parents in Pennsylvania as NSA whistleblower flees 5-star hotel and goes on run in Hong Kong” https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2338917/Edward-Snowden-Lawmakers-demand-NSA-whistleblower-extradited-Hong-Kong-face-trial-U-S.html
Lydia Warren	June 10, 2013	“How did a high school drop-out become entrusted with the government’s biggest secrets?” https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2338884/Edward-Snowden-How-did-high-school-drop-entrusted-governments-biggest-secrets.html
Daily Mail Reporter	June 10, 2013	“‘He can blow my whistle!’ NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden becomes overnight sex symbol as the internet brands him ‘geek hot’” https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2339054/He-blow-whistle-NSA-whistleblower-Edward-Snowden-overnight-sex-symbol-internet-brands-geek-hot.html
Ian Drury and Jill Reilly	June 11, 2013	“Now Russia set to offer whistleblower asylum: Putin considers giving Edward Snowden refuge as NSA leaker vanishes in Hong Kong” https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2339329/Russia-hints-Putin-grant-political-asylum-whistleblower-Edward-Snowden-NSA-leaker-vanishes-Hong-Kong.html
David Martosko	June 11, 2013	“Poll: Massive opinion swing shows most Democrats criticized Bush-era NSA surveillance, but now love Obama’s version” https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2339514/Poll-

		Massive-opinion-swing-shows-Democrats-criticized-Bush-era-NSA-surveillance-love-Obamas-version.html
Tim Shipman	June 11, 2013	<p>"Our online spying deal with US 'prevented Olympic terror strike"</p> <p>https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2338886/Our-online-spying-deal-US-prevented-Olympic-terror-strike-says-Hague-defends-collaboration-GCHQ-NSA.html</p>
Tom Leonard	June 11, 2013	<p>"College drop-out who gave away his country's secrets"</p> <p>https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2339268/Edward-Snowden-IT-geek-Americas-wanted.html</p>
Keith Gladdis and Will Stewart	June 11, 2013	<p>"Boehner brands Edward snowden 'a traitor' as the U.S. government 'prepares to charge whistleblower for leaking secrets'"</p> <p>https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2339563/Boehner-brands-Edward-Snowden-traitor-U-S-government-prepares-charge-whistleblower-leaking-secrets.html</p>
Jill Reilly	June 14, 2013	<p>"Whistleblower Edward Snowden smuggled out secrets with an everyday thumb drive banned from NSA offices"</p> <p>https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2341451/Whistleblower-Edward-Snowden-smuggled-secrets-everyday-thumb-drive-banned-NSA-offices.html</p>
Stephen Glover	June 18, 2013	<p>"Shock horror! Britain spies on other nations: The Guardian rightly attacks the hacking of private phones but glories in betraying Britain by revealing our state secrets"</p> <p>https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2343416/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Shock-horror-Britain-spies-nations-The-Guardian-rightly-attacks-hacking-private-phones--glories-betraying-Britain-revealing-State-secrets.html</p>
Keith Gladdis and Will Stewart	June 23, 2013	<p>"Fugitive U.S spy heads to Ecuador with Assange's ex: CIA whistleblower seeks asylum after fleeing Hong Kong for Russia"</p> <p>https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2347057/Edward-Snowden-seeks-asylum-Ecuador-Assanges-ex-fleeing-Hong-Kong-Russia.html</p>
Tom Leonard	June 26, 2013	<p>"He wouldn't want her with him, knowing he will always be an outcast: Father of Edward Snowden's pole-dancer girlfriend says she 'is hiding out with friends' and not with NSA whistleblower"</p>

		https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2348763/Father-Edward-Snowdens-pole-dancer-girlfriend-says-hiding-friends.html
Gerri Peev	June 27, 2013	"Hague defends spies who 'protect us' after Germany's attack on surveillance techniques follows leak by Edward Snowden" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2349267/Hague-defends-spies-protect-Germanys-attack-surveillance-techniques-follows-leak-Edward-Snowden.html
Geoffrey Levy	June 28, 2013	"The public school girl who fell for Assange then went on the run with the world's most wanted man" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2351364/The-public-school-girl-fell-Julian-Assange-went-run-world-s-wanted-man.html
Richard Littlejohn	June 28, 2013	"World War II Wikileaks style" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2350217/RICHARD-LITTLEJOHN-World-War-II--WikiLeaks-style.html
Mail Foreign Service	July 1, 2013	"German fury over U.S. spies after it's revealed that American agency bugs HALF A BILLION calls and emails every month" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2352114/German-fury-US-snooping-half-billion-calls-emails-month.html
Tom Leonard and Jason Groves	July 1, 2013	"So the US is spying on France...Quelle Surprise!" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2353182/So-US-spying-France--quelle-surprise-Holland-threatens-torpedo-vital-trade-talks-snooping-revelations.html
Stephen Glover	July 3, 2013	"Assange and Snowden heroes? No, they're just hypocrites and moral cowards" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2355132/STEPHEN-GLOVER-Assange-Snowden-heroes-No-theyre-just-hypocrites-moral-cowards.html
Peter Allen	July 4, 2013	"Hypocrisy of Hollande's fury over Snowden revelations as it's revealed French intelligence services spy on public's phone calls, emails and social media" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-

		2356178/Hollandes-hypocrisy-Edward-Snowden-revelations-revealed-French-intelligence-services-spy-illegally.html
Laurie Kamens and AP Reporter	July 7, 2013	"Venezuela is Snowden's last chance warns Russia as Kremlin grows increasingly anxious to get rid of NSA whistleblower" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2357814/Venezuela-Edward-Snowdens-LAST-CHANCE-warns-Russia.html
Reuters Reporter and Daily Mail Reporter	July 8, 2013	"Snowden says NSA 'in bed' with most Western states as Brasil also complains about surveillance by U.S. spy agencies" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2358002/Edward-Snowden-says-NSA-bed-Western-states.html
Anna Edwards, Sean O'Hare and Anthony Bond	July 9, 2013	"Runaway spy Edward Snowden 'has not yet formally accepted asylum in Venezuela' WikiLeaks reveals" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2358872/Runaway-spy-Edward-Snowden-formally-accepted-asylum-Venezuela-WikiLeaks-reveals.html
Matt Chorley	July 17, 2013	"British spies did not use US Prism programme to get round UK law, intelligence watchdog rules" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2366726/British-spies-did-NOT-use-US-Prism-programme-round-UK-law-intelligence-watchdog-rules.html
Matt Chorley	July 17, 2013	"British spies did NOT use US Prism programme to get round UK law, intelligence watchdog rules" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2366726/British-spies-did-NOT-use-US-Prism-programme-round-UK-law-intelligence-watchdog-rules.html
Hugo Gye	August 1, 2013	"Snowden finally leaves Moscow airport after Russia grants him asylum in the country for one year" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2382495/Snowden-finally-leaves-Moscow-airport-Russia-grants-asylum-country-year.html
Stephen Glover	August 1, 2013	"As Bradley Manning is sent t jail, I'm sure his left-qing puppet masters won't lose a wink of sleep" https://www.dailymail.co.uk/columnists/article-2382130/STEPHEN-GLOVER-As-Bradley-Manning-sent-jail-Im-sure-left-wing-puppet-masters-wont-lose-wink-sleep.html

Table 14: List of newspaper articles from *The Independent*

Author(s)	Publication Date	Title and URL
Charlotte Philby	June 10, 2013	"The Tor system: Welcome to the dark internet where you can search in secret" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/online/the-tor-system-welcome-to-the-dark-internet-where-you-can-search-in-secret-8651364.html
Tim Walker	June 10, 2013	"NSA contractor Edward Snowden braces for backlash after turning whistleblower on US data-mining operation" https://tmq2.wordpress.com/2013/06/09/nsa-prism-gate-whistleblower-revealed/
Kim Sengupta	June 11, 2013	"'We try to collect everything and hang on to it forever': US intelligence agencies' cosy relationship with academia and business may be hard to unwind" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/we-try-to-collect-everything-and-hang-on-to-it-forever-us-intelligence-agencies-cosy-relationship-8652934.html
Sofia Mitra-Thakur and Tim Walker	June 11, 2013	"Julian Assange praises whistleblower Edward Snowden who faces extradition from Hong Kong back to US over NSA Prism revelations" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/julian-assange-praises-whistleblower-edward-snowden-who-faces-extradition-from-hong-kong-back-to-us-8651375.html
David Usborne	June 11, 2013	"Washington rages at 'traitor' Edward Snowden as NSA faces fire over protection of secrets" https://www.independent.co.uk/independentplus/washington-rages-at-traitor-edward-snowden-as-nsa-faces-fire-over-protection-of-secrets-8654455.html
Nikhil Kumar	June 11, 2013	"Edward Snowden profile: The secretive life of America's most wanted man" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/flight-su150-from-moscow-arrives-in-cuba-without-edward-snowden-but-ecuador-confirms-nsa-8670308.html
David Usborne	June 13, 2013	"Russia grants NSA PRISM whistleblower Edward Snowden a year's asylum" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/russia-grants-nsa-prism-whistleblower-edward-snowden-a-years-asylum-8741940.html
Matthew M Aid	June 14, 2013	"Inside the NSA: Peeling back the curtain on America's

		intelligence agency” https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/inside-the-nsa-peeling-back-the-curtain-on-americas-intelligence-agency-8658016.html
Geoffrey Robertson	June 15, 2013	“Theresa May wants to avoid embarrassment over Edward Snowden rather than uphold the law” https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/theresa-may-wants-to-avoid-embarrassment-over-edward-snowden-rather-than-uphold-the-law-8659783.html
Nigel Morris	June 15, 2013	“Prism revelations: Home Office warns airlines not to fly NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden to Britain” https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/prism-revelations-home-office-warns-airlines-not-to-fly-nsa-whistleblower-edward-snowden-to-britain-8658633.html
Sanchez Manning	June 17, 2013	“‘More leaks are on the way’ says Prism programme whistleblower Edward Snowden” https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/more-leaks-are-on-the-way-says-prism-programme-whistleblower-edward-snowden-8662595.html
Nigel Morris	June 22, 2013	“Operation Tempora: GCHQ in fresh snooping row as it eavesdrops on phones and the internet” https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/operation-tempora-gchq-in-fresh-snooping-row-as-it-eavesdrops-on-phones-and-the-internet-8669137.html
David Osborne	June 24, 2013	“Hong Kong risks US anger by giving Snowden clean exit” https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/hong-kong-risks-us-anger-by-giving-snowden-clean-exit-8670260.html
James Cusick	June 25, 2013	“Prism, privacy, and the tragic triumph of the Nixon doctrine” https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/prism-privacy-and-the-tragic-triumph-of-the-nixon-doctrine-8672988.html
Shaun Walker	June 25, 2013	“Flight SUI50 from Moscow arrives in Cuba without Edward Snowden – but Ecuador confirms NSA whistleblower is seeking asylum” https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/flight-su150-from-moscow-arrives-in-cuba-without-edward-snowden-but-ecuador-confirms-nsa-8670308.html

Shaun Walker	June 26, 2013	<p>"Vladimir Putin confirms Edward Snowden is still in Moscow airport and blocks US extradition demands as Venezuela says it would consider asylum request"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/vladimir-putin-confirms-edward-snowden-is-still-in-moscow-airport-and-blocks-us-extradition-demands-8672580.html</p>
Shaun Walker	July 1, 2013	<p>"NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden is a gift to Russia"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/nsa-whistleblower-edward-snowden-is-a-gift-to-russia-8682472.html</p>
Tony Paterson	July 1, 2013	<p>"Germany prepares to charge UK and US intelligence over fresh bugging allegations"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-prepares-to-charge-uk-and-us-intelligence-over-fresh-bugging-allegations-8680249.html</p>
Shaun Walker and Heather Saul	July 3, 2013	<p>"Edward Snowden saga: Bolivia accuses Europe of 'kidnapping' Bolivian President in forcing Evo Morales' plane to land in Vienna"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/edward-snowden-saga-bolivia-accuses-europe-of-kidnapping-bolivian-president-in-forcing-evo-morales-8682610.html</p>
Charlotte McDonald-Gibson	July 4, 2013	<p>"Bolivia says European nations 'kidnapped' Evo Morales in hunt for NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/bolivia-says-european-nations-kidnapped-evo-morales-in-hunt-for-nsa-whistleblower-edward-snowden-8686124.html</p>
Mary Dejevsky	July 5, 2013	<p>"Britain should not share its intelligence with the US"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/britain-should-not-share-its-intelligence-with-the-us-8687739.html</p>
Charlotte McDonald-Gibson	July 5, 2013	<p>"Latin America in row over Bolivia jet"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/latin-america-in-row-over-bolivia-jet-8691181.html</p>
Charlotte McDonald-Gibson	July 5, 2013	<p>"Bolivian president, Evo Morales, rails against 'North American imperialism'"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/independentplus/bolivian-president-evo-morales-rails-against-north-american-imperialism-8686004.html</p>
Tony Paterson	July 7, 2013	<p>"NSA 'in bed' with German intelligence says US whistleblower Edward Snowden – and GCHQ operates a 'full take' data monitoring system"</p> <p>https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/nsa-in-</p>

		bed-with-german-intelligence-says-us-whistleblower-edward-snowden-and-gchq-operates-a-full-8693793.html
Editorial	July 9, 2013	"Trade trumps the Snowden row: the potential rewards of transatlantic trade deal are huge" https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/editorials/trade-trumps-the-snowden-row-8695910.html
Shaun Walker	July 13, 2013	"Edward Snowden 'yet to seek' Russia asylum as NSA whistleblower emerges from hiding" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/edward-snowden-yet-to-seek-russia-asylum-as-nsa-whistleblower-emerges-from-hiding-8706199.html
James Cusick	July 15, 2013	"GCHQ spying programme: Spy watchdog 'is understaffed and totally ineffective" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/gchq-spying-programme-spy-watchdog-is-understaffed-and-totally-ineffective-8708231.html
David Osborne	July 19, 2013	"Judge refuses motion to drop Bradley Manning 'aiding enemy' charges" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/judge-refuses-motion-to-drop-bradley-manning-aiding-enemy-charges-8717573.html
David Osborne	July 25, 2013	"Bradley Manning trial: Wikileaks whistleblower is a 'gleeful, grinning' traitor, says prosecutor" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/bradley-manning-trial-wikileaks-whistleblower-is-a-gleeful-grinning-traitor-says-prosecutor-8732541.html
Shaun Walker	July 25, 2013	"Edward Snowden latest: NSA whistleblower will stay in Moscow airport, says lawyer" https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/edward-snowden-latest-nsa-whistleblower-will-stay-in-moscow-airport-says-lawyer-8730004.html

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