

Seminarkurs Die Welt 2017

# **Biased media**

**How does the US media shape public opinion?**

**Copernicus Gymnasium Philippsburg**

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# 1. Introduction

We cannot imagine a life without the continuous flow of information anymore. Knowing about the latest political, social and economic developments around the globe within the first 24 to 48 hours after they have happened, has become part of our reality. We learn from current events through various sources and devices such as electronics, the newspaper and interactions with people in our social sphere. Attaining awareness about key events helps us improve our understanding of the complex world around us. But, the same story can be conveyed in various ways, depending on the intention of the news outlet. Therefore, mass media is a tool that has the power to polarize an entire population. Acrimonious political debates between family members around the dining table are all-too-common in societies and these conflicts which find their offspring in a significant difference between opinions have existed for centuries of democracy. The sources that people get their news from have seen a rapid growth over time and continue to expand. Many turn toward the same channel, newspaper or internet platform without acknowledging that their trusted supplier of news may follow an agenda that influences their very own perception of political issues and view of the world around them.

This research paper will target the process of opinion-shaping that is executed by mass media in order to influence its consumers in the desired way. Many of the later assessed theories and studies were created based on the media environment in the United States which makes this country's media a suitable subject that helps to exemplify the bias that occurs when using the presented theories to serve one's own interest. As of 2017, the media in the US was the most polarized media in the Western world<sup>1</sup>, it therefore has a high relevance to the assigned theme of this project which is "The World 2017". Media bias is a broad topic which covers aspects of political sciences, social sciences as well as psychology. Due to the limited space, this research paper will put an emphasis on the process of opinion shaping that is executed by the US media through various ways which will be analyzed.

To obtain a better understanding of the different methods used to manipulate audiences by injecting bias, one must first take a look at the process of reporting a news story and the factors that have influence on its publication. Afterwards, US cable news and the two main news networks participating in bias will be evaluated. In the following, a definition for media bias has to be provided and the

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.forbes.com/forbes/welcome/?toURL=https://www.forbes.com/sites/brettedkins/2017/06/27/u-s-media-among-most-polarized-in-the-world-study-finds/&refURL=&referrer=> last accessed 05/10/18

motivations of its creators have to be clarified. Leading up to the conclusion will be the presentation of various ways news outlets and personalities instill bias into their reporting in order to achieve the desired outcome.

## 2. The process of reporting

### 2.1. What Makes a Story Newsworthy?

With countless events happening every day, selectivity regarding what topic to report on is inevitable which causes news content to already start off with bias by simply selecting the stories that will be covered<sup>2</sup>. There are various factors that decide whether a story is newsworthy or not.

The impact that a story will have on its audience is decisive for the story's publication<sup>3</sup>. Therefore a story which will affect a notable number of people has a higher likelihood to be published. Timeliness and prominence are two other factors determining the likelihood of a story's publication.<sup>4</sup> If the story is current, its relevance increases. When a person of interest such as a political authority appears in the story, it will spark interest in the audience.

Media outlets that are known to cater a certain political ideology will select stories that will reflect the desires of their audience. In doing so, they hope to get better ratings and improve their advertising revenue<sup>5</sup>. From this point of view, the story choice can therefore be seen as simply a business-decision. But the selection of a story may also be influenced by the personal political preference of the media outlets owner in charge who may have no regard for the audience consuming the media.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.2. The Creation of a Story

Reporters of a news outlet usually get assignments by editors to cover a particular event. The reporters are expected to always verify the information that they are collecting<sup>7</sup> through multiple and balanced sources as well as to use clear, concise language<sup>8</sup> in order to make content relatable to the broad population. While the reporter does the research and writes the article, the power to judge about how much screen time or relevance should be assigned to the story is given to the editor. The editor polishes the draft, brings to light some facts while leaving out others and makes the story more suitable for

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<sup>2</sup> Rosell, *Bias in election coverage*, p.34-37

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.axiapr.com/blog/elements-of-news>. Last accessed 04/26/18.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> Larry Atkins, *Skewed-a critical thinker's guide to media bias*, p.28

<sup>6</sup> Rosell, p. 28

<sup>7</sup> Larry Atkins, p.191

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/schoolreport/27697544>. Last accessed 04/19/18.

publication<sup>9</sup> depending on the media organization's policy. The owner of the media outlet exercises his or her power in appointing the editor and making him or her become "the owner's 'voice' within the newsroom, ensuring that journalistic independence conforms to the preferred editorial line"<sup>10</sup>. (see *McNair*). This quote indicates that although journalists may use their own individual approach to writing a story, the power of the editor and the superior owner of the news outlet will still be exercised to alter the draft and make it fit their own interest. The same applies to the creation of scripts for a telecasted news show.

### 2.3. Media Credibility

While not being bound to any legal code but simply following the demands of editors and target audiences, the media has an obligation to report facts as they are<sup>11</sup>. The Society of Professional Journalism Code of Ethics is a set of guidelines that -while not legally enforceable, promote ethical decision-making when reporting. The code is taught at journalism schools across the US. It states that journalists should always "seek truth and report it, act independently, and be accountable and transparent(...)" when reporting a story<sup>12</sup>. Although these guidelines promote clear reporting, it is notable that objectivity is no longer a factor in the SPJ Code of Ethics<sup>13</sup>.

A recent Pew study shows that 56% of US citizens think that their news media is doing very/somewhat well at reporting news accurately while 47% think it treats the different positions on political issues fairly<sup>14</sup>. This indicates that despite such safeguards as the SPJ Code of Ethics that are in place to steer journalists in the appropriate direction of objectivity and balance, they are not enough to prevent bias from seeping into news coverage.

## 3. Cable News

### 3.1. A New Approach to Reporting

Cable television was established in the late 1940's. The use of this system increased throughout the years as more and more families had private television sets in their homes and consumed more television.<sup>15</sup> The trust that television news gained from the audience came with the visibility of

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> Sharon Beder, *moulding & manipulating the news*

<sup>11</sup> Rosell, p.15

<sup>12</sup> SPJ Code of Ethics-<https://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp>. Last accessed 04/21/18.

<sup>13</sup> Larry Atkins, p. 138

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/01/11/global-publics-want-politically-balanced-news-but-do-not-think-their-news-media-are-doing-very-well-in-this-area/>. Last accessed 04/21/18.

<sup>15</sup> Rosell, p.13

pictures. Television created a new way of reporting. The plain presentation of the daily happenings was no longer the only factor to focus on. The news quickly turned into an entertainment spectacle with attractive news anchors reading scripted content at a rapid pace combined with images and video leaving little time and space for the comprehensive dialogue about an issue.<sup>16</sup> Instead of simply reporting, the programs now also added background information, significance and a differentiating interpretation to what was reported on.

This new approach to reporting on news and politics in a 24-hour news cycle brought about the debate on biased news sources.

### 3.2. Fox News

Fox News was launched in 1996. Its establishment was the response to what conservatives believed to be the overwhelmingly liberal media.<sup>17</sup> Its tagline is 'Fair and Balanced' which is contradicting to its strong links to the Republican party and mainly pro-conservative reporting. It quickly became the cable news network of choice for many conservatives who felt like it was the only news source they could trust. Fox News knows it caters to a conservative audience and therefore gives them a view of their nation and the world that fits their perspective and ideology.<sup>18</sup> Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), an organization that exposes media bias and censorship, called Fox News "a network of fiercely partisan outlets (...) that forms a highly effective right-wing echo chamber where GOP-friendly news stories can be promoted, repeated and amplified."<sup>19</sup>

### 3.3. MSNBC

MSNBC was created in 1996 by Microsoft and the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) which make up its initials. Its slogan is "lean forward" which promotes its progressive viewpoint on many issues<sup>20</sup> and indicates its liberal leaning agenda. The network is known to give a voice to groups that are often marginalized in society like women, minority groups and socially disadvantaged people. Many liberals see MSNBC as a valuable source of news while it also serves as a check and balance to Fox News' conservative agenda.

Although those two names in mass media continue to officially claim objectivity via their slogans, they have developed into the main cable television networks primarily engaged in reporting and

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<sup>16</sup> Rosell, p.27

<sup>17</sup> Larry Atkins, p. 94

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> <https://fair.org/press-release/the-most-biased-name-in-news-2/>. Last accessed 05/01/18.

<sup>20</sup> Larry Atkins, p.98

commentary with a clear bias<sup>21</sup>.

## 4. Shaping Public Opinion

### 4.1. Bias - a Definition

The Oxford Dictionary defines bias as: *“Inclination or prejudice for or against one person or group, especially in a way considered to be unfair.”*<sup>22</sup> It adds bias can be defined as *“a concentration on or interest in one particular area or subject.”* However, the definition that Robert M. Entman explicitly provides for media bias better defines the research parameter: *“Biased content assists such entities as political parties or interest groups in consistently persuading people to accept interpretations helpful to the favored actor for some significant period.”*<sup>23</sup>

This will be the definition used in this research paper when referring to media bias.

### 4.2. The Goal of Advocacy Journalism

Advocacy journalism is a genre of journalism that intentionally provides information with a non-objective point of view. It is mostly used in social and political spheres.<sup>24</sup> Its content is intended to convince the news consumer of a certain viewpoint that may reflect the individual interest of the news anchor or his or her superiors. Use of advocacy journalism can also be made to achieve higher TV ratings that result in more profit for the network. Younger people like to see news presented to them in a passionate and entertaining way. This leads to the establishment of many similar advocacy shows due to the increasing number of people watching them.<sup>25</sup> A highly competitive market causes media outlets, especially cable news, to differentiate from the mass and create their own identity while catering to a specific target audience. This can be observed in the way Fox caters to conservatives and MSNBC knows its progressive viewpoints attract liberals.

Advocacy journalism is a tool used by both sides of the political spectrum to act as a counterbalance to what the advocates consider the opposition's point of view (*see Larry Atkins*)<sup>26</sup>. In order to alter the public's attitude toward an issue in the desired way, reporters and news outlets make use of various

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.106

<sup>22</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/bias>. Last accessed 04/16/18.

<sup>23</sup> Robert M Entman, *Media framing biases and political power: Explaining slant in news of Campaign 2008*, p.393

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.openschoolofjournalism.com/distance-education-program/courses/advocacy-journalism-jg010>. Last accessed 04/21/18.

<sup>25</sup> Larry Atkins, p.28

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 27

strategies that will be discussed in the following.

#### 4.3. Agenda-Setting Theory

*“Agenda-setting can thus be seen as another name for successfully performing the first function of framing-defining problems worthy of public and government attention.”<sup>27</sup>*

##### 4.3.1. First-Level-Agenda-Setting

Agenda-setting describes the process whereby the media determines what the public shall think and worry about<sup>28</sup>, in other words, the process of influencing the masses. Whatever elements are prominent in the media become prominent in the public mind as well<sup>29</sup>. The agenda of a media outlet is found in the pattern of coverage on certain issues over some period of time. While a few issues are emphasized and some receive light coverage, many issues are seldom or never mentioned<sup>30</sup>. This importance assigned to certain issues and the public repeatedly being exposed to them leads to the public perceiving them as relevant which allows the issues to transfer from the media agenda to the public agenda. The media agenda of a news outlet results of daily decisions by the news outlet on what current stories to highlight. These decisions may be caused by the interest of an individual or an organization that is motivated by a personal bias.

Bias in agenda setting could for example be seen in a study that counted the amount that certain issue-related words and names were mentioned by different cable news networks and their news anchors. The study concluded that while the reporting of the Russia Investigation and its ties in the 2016 presidential election had been going on since Trump got elected President, MSNBC was the network to use words like ‘Putin’, ‘Flynn’ and ‘Russia’, words strongly linked to the issue, up to four times more than Fox News did. In turn, Fox News continued with its extensive coverage of controversies concerning democrat Hillary Clinton and her family even after the 2016 election<sup>31</sup>. Fox News as well as MSNBC have only seen their ratings increase after Trump’s election<sup>32</sup> which indicates that the repeated and extensive coverage of the issues that seem to have a high priority on their agenda, attracts their individual audience niche and therefore may be seen as a business decision. Fox News is also

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<sup>27</sup> Entman, *Framing*, 163-173

<sup>28</sup> Rosell, p.45

<sup>29</sup> Maxwell McCombs, *The Agenda Setting Role of the Mass Media in the Shaping of Public Opinion*, p.2

<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup> <https://pudding.cool/2018/01/chyrons/>. Last accessed 05/13/18.

<sup>32</sup> <http://variety.com/2017/tv/news/cable-news-ratings-cnn-fox-news-msnbc-q2-1202479416/>. Last accessed 05/13/18.



known to particularly seek storylines and themes that reflect and further stoke a sense of grievance among cultural conservatives against coastal elites<sup>33</sup> which have a reputation of being more liberal. It is that concept of agenda-setting that established their image as the trustworthy Republican news source in the first place. First level agenda-setting goes concurrently with the in Entman's quote mentioned 'framing', also known as *second level agenda-setting*, which will be explained in the following.

#### 4.3.2. Second Level Agenda-Setting

##### 4.3.2.1. Framing

*"Framing involves selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation."*<sup>34</sup>

While first level agenda-setting focuses on what is being communicated to the public, second-level agenda setting focuses on how it is being communicated<sup>35</sup>. This process will be referred to as framing. The method of framing forms the public opinion as well as their understanding and perspective on various topics by selecting and evaluating information strategically and emphasizing some elements of a topic above others. It is the media outlet's choice, how to construct and tell a story.

McCombs connected framing to first-level-agenda-setting by referring to the news items which define a news outlets' agenda as so-called objects. These are the things that the public attention is focused on. Now, by applying framework in a process called frame building, the objects are given numerous attributes. The attributes are the characteristics and traits with which the media presents the objects.<sup>36</sup> A political actor or a current event for example can be portrayed in various ways that depend on social norms, institutional factors of the media outlet like organizational pressures or the reporters' very own political bias.

The earlier presented networks Fox News and MSNBC take different approaches to reporting the same stories. They both have individual business interests and different political sources which result in different evaluations of events and contradictory reporting<sup>37</sup>. There are numerous ways framing is executed and if a story is intended to bring across a certain opinion or ideology, the framing mechanisms can be used strategically.

The source that a reporter relies on acts as a framing mechanism and can display bias at the same time.

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<sup>33</sup> [https://www.salon.com/2013/10/19/the\\_birth\\_of\\_fox\\_news/](https://www.salon.com/2013/10/19/the_birth_of_fox_news/). Last accessed 05/06/18.

<sup>34</sup> Entman, p.391

<sup>35</sup> Rosell, p.36

<sup>36</sup> McCombs, p.5

<sup>37</sup> Rosell, p.37

After the Parkland School Shooting in Florida, Fox News interviewed NRA-spokeswoman Dana Loesch about a gun control debate in which her defense of her pro-gun viewpoint was allegedly treated disrespectfully. This source choice by Fox News guaranteed a reporting that focused on the victimization of Loesch in the gun debate.

The choice of headlines for a story can also act as a framing mechanism that supports biased reporting. After Trump nominated Ronny Jackson for a position in the White House based on his sympathy for him, MSNBC's liberal news personality Rachel Maddow reported on it with the headline "President Trump Burned Again By Failure To Vet Nominee"<sup>38</sup>. This headline makes judgements that the President embarrassed himself and already indicates the disapproval with which the news personality will treat him in the story.

Personality programs in which the host reports the weekly news and makes assessments about current political and public situations tend to frame their news in a manner that presents the facts that are relevant to the reporter and makes them fit the tone of the program. Rachel Maddow who is a liberal, homosexual host, tends to emphasize stories like feminism and homosexuality and treats them with a known progressive manner while they are often not treated with the same level of relevance by conservative outlets' personalities like Sean Hannity of Fox News who has a history of making homophobic comments on air<sup>39</sup>.

The use of pictures to portray a person in a certain light is another framing mechanism that supports the case a news personality is trying to make. By showing political actors laughing when they should be serious, an image of cold heartedness and indifference is being created by the media outlet.<sup>40</sup>

Using sentences that provide "thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements"<sup>41</sup> (see *DeVreese*) can also portray framing bias. A study by Pew Research Center on the polarized media environment's coverage of President Trump showed that right-leaning media outlets like Fox News featured far more positive assessments of the US President than left-leaning outlets like MSNBC did.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> MSNBC-<http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow/watch/trump-burned-again-by-failure-to-vet-nominee-as-va-pick-surprises-1218502211679?v=b>. Last accessed 05/15/18.

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2017/10/11/fox-news-host-sean-hannity-called-aids-a-gay-disease-and-lashed-out-at-gay-brainwashing/>. Last accessed 05/06/18

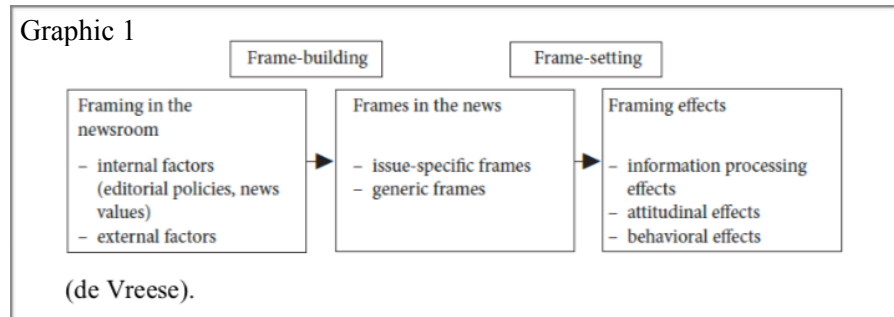
<sup>40</sup> Larry Atkins, p.175

<sup>41</sup> De Vreese, News Framing Theory & Typology, p.55

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.journalism.org/2017/10/02/covering-president-trump-in-a-polarized-media-environment/>. Last accessed 05/10/18.

Framing is a powerful tool in a democracy like the US as it has the ability to influence what people think about in order to create the attitudes that will shape their behavior.<sup>43</sup>

Its effects can go as far as manipulating the media outlet's audiences' decision-making on important occasions like election day because of their altered attitudes toward personalities and issues that were created by the use of various framing mechanisms. Determining the way an issue is framed can significantly influence the ultimate outcome and therefore acts as the news media's epitome of political power.<sup>44</sup>



#### 4.3.2.2. Visual Framing

Visual frames are a subcategory of framing that are significant for cable news because of their non-verbal cues and the strong reaction that they can create. Visual frames are used by news personalities to support the argument which they are trying to make. Through the use of pictures, ideas become easier understandable and more memorable because people tend to believe what they see and perceive it as the reality while being less likely to question what they've witnessed through their news network. The visuals can capture the essence of an issue or an event graphically which provides a stronger stimuli for the audience that reflects in an immediate and oftentimes more emotional reaction.<sup>45</sup> A bias in visual framing can be detected through the interpretation of facial expressions, body language or choice of supporting visual aids<sup>46</sup> when a news personality is trying to make a case. The photographs and videos used in a news show may be misleading to the viewer who usually doesn't acknowledge the potential that the visual content presented to him could be staged or manipulated.

When it comes to covering controversial events like the conservative Tea Party rally, which was organized to protest against former President Obama's healthcare plan, Fox News used footage to show

<sup>43</sup> Entman, p.392

<sup>44</sup> McCombs, p.8

<sup>45</sup> Rodriguez & Dimitrova *The levels of visual framing*, p.4

<sup>46</sup> Rosell, p.39

happy patriotic citizens proudly exercising their First Amendment rights to gather and protest against their government while MSNBC's coverage focused on ostensibly racist signs and comments from the crowd such as "Obama, go back to Kenya."<sup>47</sup> By understanding that framing consists of different methods and subcategories it becomes clear how those can strategically be used to influence consumers of broadcast cable news programs.

#### 4.4. Argumentation Theory

The concept of framing is only part of what is needed to produce a convincing line of reasoning for an audience to accept truth in what a news personality says.<sup>48</sup> Another common method used to persuade the audience to follow a media personality's views and beliefs on an issue or an ideology is explained in the Argumentation Theory. An argument is a spoken discourse made up of premise, interference and conclusion.<sup>49</sup> Its author seeks to persuade an intended audience to accept a thesis by producing reasons in support of it.<sup>50</sup> Due to politically different leaning media outlets having a specific line of logic, they make strategic moves to convince their audience of a point of view that serves their interest best. That interest may be financial, because share holders and advertisers of a network have a certain viewpoint on issues that they wish to see represented on news shows, while it may also be in the interest of the individual news personality who makes the argument. The news personality may not be after the truth but merely seeks to affirm his or her views instead by supporting them with arguments.<sup>51</sup> When the only motivation for the news personality is to affirm her beliefs and make others follow them, it gives rise to the debate of bias. The news personality presents arguments with a confident air using persuading language in favor of one point of view. While the audience is free to choose which programs to watch and may already agree with the general tone that a news personality treats a certain issue with, they may be influenced to agree with a specific point of view. The power of persuasion makes it hard for the viewer to refute what they are witnessing on the programs that they have selected to watch<sup>52</sup>. They may have built up trust in the media personality and concluded that he or she wouldn't be hosting the show if they weren't experts in their fields of reporting, therefore giving them the benefit

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<sup>47</sup> Larry Atkins, p.24

<sup>48</sup> Rosell, p. 40

<sup>49</sup> Doug Walton, Argumentation Theory: A very short introduction, p.2

<sup>50</sup> Hitchcock, The concept of argument, and informal logic, p.17

<sup>51</sup> Hugo Mereier, Dan Sperber, "Why Do Humans Reason? Arguments for an Argumentative Theory," Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 34, no. 2 (2010)

<sup>52</sup> Rosell, p.42

of the doubt<sup>53</sup> to be reasonable and considering their arguments to be valuable. The existing freedom of the press in democracies like the United States promotes dialog through arguments and can initiate the exchange of ideas and opinions in a debate format, as it is often seen on cable news networks. This enables the viewer to witness different personal opinions on screen and hear varying points of view. But this perceived balance of opinions may be manipulated by the media outlet's bias and desired outcome of the debate. Many times, the guests that are invited to participate in a debate on a network that is known to cater a specific ideology quickly agree with the host's arguments and the debate turns into a repetition of opinions and ends in complete agreement. If a host disagrees with his guest, he or she quickly dominates the debate by usually presenting a perspective that is agreeable and convincing to her target audience. An emotional intensity develops as the host uses hostile questioning and criticism to make his or her arguments and the following conclusion dominant without considering the other side of the argument.

MSNBC's Rachel Maddow is known for her at times aggressive approach to debates with conservatives which causes them to shy away from her news show<sup>54</sup>. MSNBC's audience will therefore not often be exposed to conservatives' points of view on her show which results in the formation of an echo chamber in which the same opinions are continuously repeated over and over again. This reinforces the audience's beliefs that their opinions, if they share the same ones as the hosts, are completely justified.

The same applies to Fox News, as Larry Atkins remarked in his book *Skewed* targeting the echo chambers of the right wing media reporting on former US President Obama: "If you watch Fox News long enough, you will believe that President Obama is an incompetent elitist and a socialist."<sup>55</sup> Many news personalities in cable television make use of the earlier mentioned visual framing to support their arguments. Combining the different methods of agenda-setting and argumentation with each other makes the injection of bias even more effective.

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid

<sup>54</sup> Larry Atkins, p.172

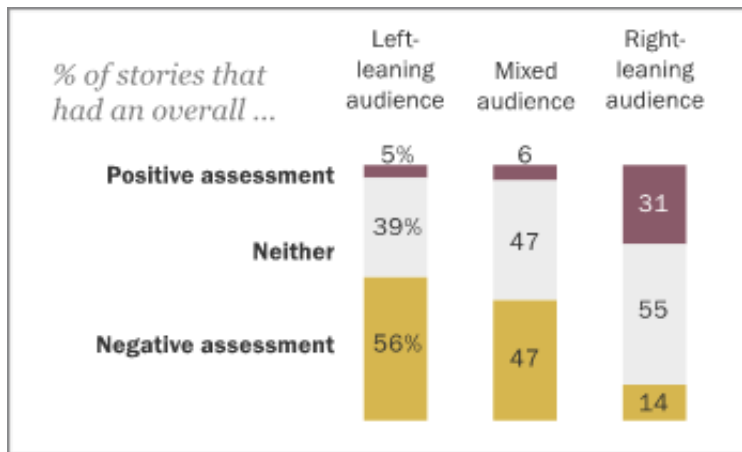
<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p 19

## 5. Conclusion

Cable news networks not only report on news-due to their power to set an agenda and frame an issue in the intended way they literally make the news. What the US public considers to be the key issues of the moment and how it thinks about them is heavily influenced by the concentrated media coverage of their trusted network. Whether it is Fox News or MSNBC, the public will be exposed to biased content that causes them to have a misconception of what really happened. The audience may think that it receives factual and balanced news while its views on social and political issues actually get altered in favor of the news network's agenda-setters, financial or political actors and news personalities. Even in case of a journalist seeking to be balanced and objective, his or her superiors are the ones to set the rules and revise the raw content. Through the combination of manipulative and biased agendas set by confident, well known news personalities, audiences can be persuaded into altering their attitudes toward issues and political actors which has the potential affect their behavior in everyday life, for example on voting day. The media largely consists of money making entities which reflect in the network's interest to cater to a target audience in order to achieve more profit. The public tends to favor news organizations and their subsequent news coverage if the content is consistent with the publics' preconceived convictions and beliefs which makes Fox News eligible to strive for a steady reputation as the news outlet of choice to conservatives while MSNBC's liberal bias acts as the progressive counterbalance. This results in the networks' audiences getting confirmation that what they think is correct and prevents them from being exposed to anything but the repeated ideology of the biased network. The US society continues to become more polarized while opinions remain shaped through the manipulative use of sophisticated media strategies.

## 6. Supporting Material

**Graphic 2: Coverage of President Trump during the first 100 days of his Presidency**



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### Graphics:

- Graphic 1: Claes H. de Vreese, News framing: Theory and Typology, p.3
- Graphic 2: Pew Research Center, Covering President Trump in a Polarized Media Environment, [http://www.journalism.org/2017/10/02/covering-president-trump-in-a-polarized-media-environment/pj\\_2017-10-02\\_trump-first-100-days\\_0-01/](http://www.journalism.org/2017/10/02/covering-president-trump-in-a-polarized-media-environment/pj_2017-10-02_trump-first-100-days_0-01/)