

**Edward Snowden, Hero or Traitor?
An Analysis of News Media Framing**

A Senior Project presented to
the Faculty of the Communication Studies Department
California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Arts

by

Cole N. Caster
June, 2016

Dr. Richard Besel
Senior Project Advisor

Signature

Date

Dr. Bernard K. Duffy
Department Chair

Signature

Date

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	2
Introduction	3
Literature Review	5
Method	12
Results	13
Discussion / Conclusion	16
Works Cited	18
Appendix.....	20
Video Link.....	27

Introduction

Throughout history, the methods and motivations behind communication have continuously evolved. There has been a constant move towards developing ways to communicate with one another over longer distances, using less effort, fewer resources, and increasing the amount of data we can send at once. What has come with this trend is the explosion of communication opportunities. We are now able to communicate with one another with greater ease than ever before, and because of this, we communicate more often, regarding more things and with more people. If it be by telephone, e-mail, text-message, or social media, we are constantly sending one another information of varying importance, and this constant access to communication outlets has only made our lives more fulfilling and involved. Yet, when it comes to our correspondence with others, what is equally important to us as convenience is our privacy. No matter what form of communication we are using, we want to be confident that the information we are relaying is secure from those we do not wish to see it. Many measures have been developed in attempts to provide this privacy we all seek. Firewalls, encryptions, passwords and security questions are examples of just a few measures taken to lock down our communication pathways. It is our hope that these security features will protect our private information from hackers, identity thieves and the like, but what if the biggest threat to our privacy is someone we would never expect? What if it is a group of people we trust to represent our best interests and safeguard our most vital information? What if

the group that spends the most energy on, the most money on and is the most successful at monitoring our personal communication channels is our own government?

Government surveillance is one aspect of our national security that allows us to go about our lives with the knowledge that if a threat to our nation is imminent, there is a significant chance that our government will become aware of the threat and have the ability to neutralize the threat before it has a chance to be put into action. But where must we draw the line when it comes to this surveillance? Do those who have done nothing wrong in the past and are seen as stand up U.S. citizens deserve to be surveilled as much as those who are under investigation for terrorist activities? Does every e-mail, text, or phone call made by an American need to be analyzed and questioned for evidence of threats to national security? The National Security Agency (NSA) alone “is reported to have five zettabytes of data” at its disposal; that’s equal to five trillion gigabytes (Qin 171). How much of that information is vital to our nation’s safety?

This project will examine the discourse surrounding a man who has been asking these questions and revealing just how thorough our government is when it comes to monitoring its citizens’ and foreign communications. This man goes by the name of Edward Snowden, an ex NSA agent who leaked information concerning the government’s unlawful surveillance of Americans’ private communication. Many news outlets have presented Snowden in different ways: a traitor, a hero, a whistleblower, a spy, the list goes on. Before we begin our analysis of these specific

frames, we must discuss framing in a more general sense by citing some of the most prominent media-framing scholars.

Literature Review

According to frame studies scholar Robert Entman, “frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions” (Entman 55). For instance, a news outlet may broadcast a segment discussing a recent liquor store robbery. The news outlet might employ an episodic frame, or a frame that “depicts concrete events that illustrate issues,” rather than using a thematic frame, which “presents collective or general evidence” placing “political issues and events in some general context” (London). Using this episodic frame, the news outlet may comment on the fact that the robbers were Hispanic, that they stole stereo equipment and that they used violence in the process. Subject presented with an episodic frame like this will be “less likely to consider society responsible for the event,” instead they will blame the individuals and whatever group they are affiliated with (London). In this examples case audiences would affiliate thievery and violence to the individuals involved and the Hispanic population at large. This may be an unconscious affiliation in the viewers mind, but at times news outlets purposefully exercise this framing technique to please their intended audience. One of the first scholars to put forth ideas about framing, Erving Goffman, said that people interpret their world through a “primary framework” (Goffman 21). We do not consciously observe this framework; rather, it

is an unconscious lens through which we view our world. Goffman breaks this primary framework into two pieces, natural frameworks and social frameworks. Natural frameworks “identify occurrences seen as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, ‘purely physical.’” This means that an event that is being observed, from start to finish, is completely unaltered. There is “no actor that continuously guides the outcome ... no negative or positive sanctions are involved.” Social frameworks on the other hand are the exact opposite. They “provide background understanding for events that that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence” (Goffman 22). This is the type of framing that news outlets utilize. Many news stations, especially those broadcasted nationally, have a dedicated viewership. They know what kinds of stories their viewers want to see and they know what kind of stance their viewers have when it comes to certain issues. News outlets will use this knowledge to their advantage, tailoring their stories to resonate well with their dominant audience.

A great way to exemplify the use of framing by news outlets to resonate with their desired audience is to look at the use of a hero or traitor frame. When it comes to covering an individual and their behaviors in the news, news outlets must make a decision on whether to support or oppose those behaviors or that person. One way to achieve this is to present the individual as a hero or a traitor. Consider Mordechai Vanunu. In 1986, Vanunu revealed to the world through British press that Israel in fact did have an operational nuclear weapon development program in their country. With this information being amongst Israel’s most classified at the time, the country

was outraged with Vanunu's actions. Because of this, Israeli news outlets whose audience is made up of highly conservative people would be smart to present Vanunu as a traitor who betrayed his country's trust. *The Jerusalem Post* did exactly this when declaring that the harsh treatment of Vanunu while in Israeli captivity was "a fair payback for his betrayal" (Barak). They highlighted that "bit of information about [Vanunu] ... thereby elevating [it] in salience," or in other words they "[made] a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" (Entman 53, 54). On the other hand, United States news outlets, whose audience would see Vanunu as a hero who revealed the deceiving actions of Israel and provided information that increased the safety of their country, would present Vanunu in a heroic light. For example, CNN commented on Vanunu being "embraced by the anti-nuclear movement" and "repeatedly ... nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize" (*Israeli Nuke Whistleblower*).

In recent years, one of the more monumental and controversial stories to surface in news media has also revolved around hero and traitor frames. That is the story of a man named Edward Snowden. In 2013, Snowden, a former employee of both the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and NSA, leaked thousands of documents to the press regarding United States government surveillance. Following these leaks Secretary of State John Kerry denounced Snowden saying he "is a man who betrayed his country" and "should man up and come back to the United States" to "stand in our system of justice and make his case" (Secretary of State John Kerry). Former United State military analyst Daniel Ellsberg praised

Snowden saying, “In [his] estimation, there has not been in American history a more important leak than Edward Snowden’s release of NSA material – and that definitely includes the Pentagon Papers forty years ago” (Ellsberg). President Barack Obama commented that the actions of Snowden were “damaging to the United States and damaging to our intelligence capabilities,” but that the conversation inspired by Snowden’s actions is “an important [one] that we needed to have” (President Obama on Snowden). As you can see, there has been very mixed reactions when it comes to the actions Snowden has made. Even in the public, American citizens have taken sides labeling Snowden as someone who has betrayed his country’s trust and put us at risk, while others say he has enlightened the American people to the wrongdoings of our own government. This dual sided stance that emerged in response to this story has presented a unique decision for United States news outlets. They could either side with those like Ellsberg who believe Snowden’s actions were right and frame him as a hero, agree with those like Secretary Kerry who say Snowden betrayed his country and frame him as a traitor, or provide a balance of each side like President Obama and take a neutral stance. These three possibilities lead me to develop the following research question:

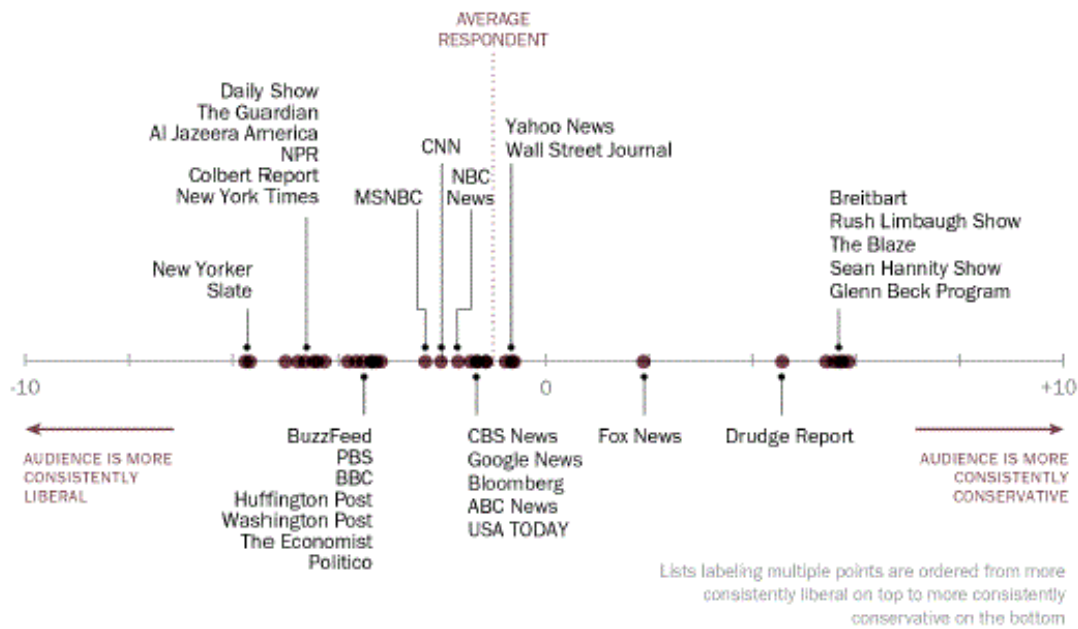
Research Question 1: What types of news stations are most likely to present the heroic, traitor and neutral frames when covering the Edward Snowden controversy?

To begin answering this question we must first consider what differentiates the type of material each news outlet broadcasts. When it comes to stories like Snowden’s

that revolve around claims of government policy and action, it is warranted to consider major political news outlets and the political stance they claim to have. In October of 2014 Aaron Blake of *The Washington Post* published an article ranking news media outlets from liberal to conservative based off of the dominant audience each one claimed. In this article a diagram was included, placing each news outlet on a spectrum that can be seen here:

Ideological Placement of Each Source's Audience

Average ideological placement on a 10-point scale of ideological consistency of those who got news from each source in the past week...



American Trends Panel (wave 1). Survey conducted March 19-April 29, 2014. Q22. Based on all web respondents. Ideological consistency based on a scale of 10 political values questions (see About the Survey for more details.) ThinkProgress, DailyKos, Mother Jones, and The Ed Schultz Show are not included in this graphic because audience sample sizes are too small to analyze.

As you can see, each major news outlet falls on a different area of the spectrum according to their audience, and because of this, each of these news outlets may choose to cover the Snowden story in a different way in order to appeal to their audience. For the sake of keeping our research somewhat focused, we will select three news stations one to represent each stance: liberal, conservative and neutral. For the conservative position we will select Fox News. Placed solidly beyond the liberal side of the spectrum Fox News will provide us with a conservative view without being too radical. As for the liberal position we will select MSNBC. Like Fox News, MSNBC is placed comfortably away from the middle without being seen as radical, only this time on the liberal side. And for our neutral news outlet we will select CNN. Less liberal than most of the news outlets on the liberal side, CNN is expected to provide a balanced view of the Snowden story and, being one of the largest news broadcasters in the country, will supply us with ample amounts of material to analyze.

But how will each of these three news outlets choose to present the Snowden story? Will Fox News choose to frame Snowden as a hero, traitor or leave the choice to the audience? What about MSNBC and CNN? A survey by the Pew Research Center addressed this question by asking individuals whether Snowden's actions served or harmed the public interest, as well as if Snowden should be prosecuted. The results showed an even spread among Republicans and Democrats. Forty-five percent of Republicans and forty-four percent of Democrats believed that the information Snowden released harmed the public interest, leaving forty-nine percent

of Republicans and fifty percent of Democrats to say that it served the public interest. The Democrats and Republicans see almost eye to eye when it comes to the impacts of Snowden's actions and how he should be dealt with. Another survey though, also done by the Pew Research Center, does not show such an even playing field. When asked about the NSA collecting phone and Internet data as part of anti-terrorism efforts, the liberals' approvals were considerably higher than the conservatives'. While only forty-five percent of republicans approve of the NSA's data collection, fifty-eight percent of democrats do. Because more liberals approve of the actions of the NSA than do conservatives, it would make more sense that more liberals would see Snowden as a traitor who ruined the NSA programs, and in turn that liberal news outlets would tailor their coverage to align with this view. On the other hand, conservatives who do not approve of the NSA surveillance would applaud Snowden as the hero who revealed what is going on behind closed doors, and conservative news outlets would follow this trend and frame Snowden as a hero in their broadcasts. With this information in mind, I propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): Each video clip's classification will fall in line with the news station it originated from. That is, key words and phrases in videos stemming from Fox News will mostly be from the hero frame, videos from MSNBC will feature words and phrases promoting a traitor frame, and CNN will provide videos who's words and phrases don't stress a hero or traitor frame, but rather a mixture of the two.

Method

Design

The artifacts used in this analysis stem from three separate news outlets, each with a differing political stance than the other. These three news outlets are Fox News, a right leaning news station, MSNBC, a left leaning news station, and CNN, a somewhat neutral news station. I have collected six video clips from each of these news outlets, eighteen total, for this analysis. Each of the videos discusses various Snowden issues, and were released within the year that he first leaked classified documents, 2013. Each of these videos will be analyzed individually according to a specific coding scheme. This coding scheme will include key words and phrases, all of which will fall under a hero or traitor designation. Depending on the frequency of hero or traitor related words or phrases in a particular video clip, the clip will be classified as a hero or traitor framed news clip.

Procedure

While analyzing each video clip, a tally will be kept of any use of words or phrases that affiliates itself with a hero or traitor connotation. Words or phrases that will be considered to represent the hero frame include those that present grammar affiliated with a positive valence. A few examples could include describing Snowden or his actions as extraordinary, or increasing transparency and freedom. Comparing Snowden with any existing heroic figures would also be considered support for the heroic frame. Words or phrases that will be considered to represent the traitor frame include those that present grammar affiliated with a negative

valence. Examples for these could include describing Snowden or his actions as damaging, harmful, or criminal, or that Snowden should be prosecuted. Each of the artifacts will be analyzed through these coding schemes. Depending on what words and phrases are included in each video clip, they will be designated as being set in a hero, traitor or neutral frame. If more words or phrases that are affiliated with a hero frame are present, for examples phrases like: Civil liberty groups have called him a hero, or Snowden's noble act, the video clip will be labeled as in the hero frame. If more words or phrases that are affiliated with a traitor frame are present, for example phrases like: he did harm to the nation and our safety, or words like criminality, the video clip will be labeled as in the traitor frame. An lastly, if there is an equal amount of hero a traitor rhetoric present in the video, it will be labeled as neutral.

Results

Hypothesis one predicted that each news clip's frame classification, that is hero, traitor or neutral, would be dependant on the political views of the dominant audience of the broadcasting news station. That is, Fox News, whose viewership is dominated by conservatives who dislike government surveillance, would frame Snowden as a hero; CNN, whose viewers fall between conservative and liberal would present Snowden neutrally; and MSNBC, whose viewership consists mostly of liberals who support government surveillance, would frame Snowden as a traitor.

Following the analysis of six video news clips from each of the three news outlets, the following results emerged:

Fox News	MSNBC	CNN
<p>Clip 1: <i>Reaction to Latest NSA Surveillance Allegations</i> Hero – 1 Traitor – 4 Frame – Traitor</p>	<p>Clip 1: <i>Edward Snowden Charged With Spying</i> Hero – 5 Traitor – 7 Frame – Traitor</p>	<p>Clip 1: <i>Snowden's Situation</i> Hero – 1 Traitor – 3 Frame – Traitor</p>
<p>Clip 2: <i>US Mishandling Edward Snowden Case?</i> Hero – 1 Traitor – 1 Frame – Neutral</p>	<p>Clip 2: <i>New Details On NSA Leaker</i> Hero – 1 Traitor – 4 Frame – Traitor</p>	<p>Clip 2: <i>Charges Being Sought Against NSA Leaker</i> Hero – 1 Traitor – 1 Frame – Neutral</p>
<p>Clip 3: <i>Wikileaks Founder Encourages Edward Snowden to Keep Running</i> Hero – 3 Traitor – 1 Frame – Hero</p>	<p>Clip 3: <i>What Sets Snowden apart From Wikileaker Bradley Manning?</i> Hero – 1 Traitor – 4 Frame – Traitor</p>	<p>Clip 3: <i>Rep. King: NSA Leaker Put Lives at Risk</i> Hero – 0 Traitor – 9 Frame – Traitor</p>
<p>Clip 4: <i>Mixed Messages On How to Handle Edward Snowden</i> Hero – 0 Traitor – 5 Frame – Traitor</p>	<p>Clip 4: <i>Rep. Clyburn: Snowden is No Hero – He's a Lawbreaker</i> Hero – 5 Traitor – 5 Frame – Neutral</p>	<p>Clip 4: <i>Secretary Kerry Sits Down With CNN</i> Hero – 2 Traitor – 3 Frame – Traitor</p>
<p>Clip 5: <i>Does Edward Snowden Pose a Threat to National Security?</i> Hero – 2 Traitor – 6 Frame – Traitor</p>	<p>Clips 5: <i>How Edward Snowden Split the Right and Left</i> Hero – 11 Traitor – 8 Frame – Hero</p>	<p>Clip 5: <i>Snowden: Mission Accomplished</i> Hero – 3 Traitor – 0 Frame – Hero</p>
<p>Clip 6: <i>Edward Snowden Vows to Fight Possible US Extradition</i> Hero – 2 Traitor – 1 Frame – Hero</p>	<p>Clip 6: <i>Snowden Claims Spying Among Nations at 2009 Summits</i> Hero – 4 Traitor – 2 Frame – Hero</p>	<p>Clip 6: <i>NSA Leaker Reveals Identity</i> Hero – 3 Traitor – 2 Frame – Hero</p>

Unfortunately, as can be seen from the above results, the video news clip analysis did not confirm the hypothesis. Rather than the hero, traitor and neutral framing of the Snowden story being spread over the three different news outlets, all three appear to use grammar and phrasing in their coverage of Snowden that reinforces a traitor frame. Of the six videos analyzed for Fox News, three employed a traitor frame, two employed a hero frame and one had a balance of hero and traitor rhetoric and came back as neutral, resulting in Fox News' coverage of Snowden being dominated by a traitor frame. Some of the rhetoric used by Fox News that supported a traitor frame includes words like betrayal and damage, and phrases like "grave threat to our national security" and "must be prosecuted." CNN's analysis results were the same as Fox News', with three of the six videos employing a traitor frame, two employing a hero frame and one, having a balance of hero and traitor rhetoric, being labeled as neutral. CNN used phrases like "violation of the law" and "charged with theft of government property" which framed Snowden as a traitor. The only news station that did end up supporting the hypothesis was MSNBC, with three of the six videos analyzed being heavy in traitor frame related rhetoric, two with a hero frame rhetoric and one neutral. MSNBC used terms like espionage and criminality when talking about Snowden, placing him in a traitor frame. Although each news outlet did produce video clips that framed Snowden in all three ways; that is, Fox News, MSNBC and CNN all had videos that frame Snowden as a hero, a traitor and neutrally, this analysis shows that the majority of videos concerning Snowden

that were released by Fox News, MSNBC and CNN in 2013, employ traitor frame related rhetoric most often.

Discussion / Conclusion:

Although the original hypothesis was not confirmed after analyzing video clips from each news station, this study still shows that the framing of news stories exists and is exercised by major news outlets in the United States such as Fox News, MSNBC and CNN. If this study were to be conducted on other major news outlets I believe the same evidence of framing would be present, especially when it comes to news outlets that support audiences with more extreme political views.

Due to constraints on time and manpower, there were ample limitations when it came to this analysis. One of these limitations was the amount of artifacts that could be analyzed. It takes a considerable amount of time to comb each video clip for every instance of frame related rhetoric. Without a larger team of people to do so, or the ability to dedicate more time to analysis, only a limited number of artifacts can be chosen and analyzed, in this case that number was eighteen. This study could be built upon by analyzing forty or fifty artifacts per news outlet. This would allow more opportunities for each frame to become dominant.

Another limitation to this study was the reliability of the coding scheme. It may be that the coding scheme used for this study was not ideal, and a superior one could be developed to better identify hero and traitor related rhetoric in news

media. Additional studies of hero and traitor related framing in news media could contribute to a more appropriate coding scheme if one exists.

Framing in news media has the ability to change the dominant view of any news story. People look to the news not only to obtain information on what is happening around the world, they also use it to form opinions. Framing has a major impact on how these opinions are formed. Without the ability to recognize when a news outlet is advocating for one view over another, individuals can unconsciously be forced into a frame of mind that may be unwarranted. At this point, it is my hope that the reader of this report has begun to understand how framing in news media works, is better equipped to recognize when it is present in other news stories, and that these abilities will allow them to resist falling into a state of mind that is purely a consequence of the frame based rhetoric used by mainstream news media.

Works Cited

- Barak, Jeff. Reality Check: A Tale of Two Traitors. *The Jerusalem Post*. The Jerusalem Post, 22 Nov. 2015. Web. 25 May 2016.
- Blake, Aaron. Ranking the Media from Liberal to Conservative, Based on Their Audiences. *The Washington Post*. The Washington Post, 21 Oct. 2014. Web. 25 May 2016.
- Citizenfour*. Dir. Laura Poitras. Prod. Mathilde Bonnefoy, Laura Poitras, Dirk Wilutzky, and Steven Soderbergh. Perf. Edward Snowden. Radius-TWC, 2014. DVD.
- Dimock, Michael, and Carroll Doherty. Public Split over Impact of NSA Leak, But Most Want Snowden Prosecuted. *Pew Research Center*. Pew Research Center/USA Today Survey, 17 June 2013. Web. 25 May 2016.
- Dinev, Tamara, Paul Hart, and Michael R. Mullen. "Internet Privacy Concerns and Beliefs about Government Surveillance – An Empirical Investigation." *The Journal of Strategic Information Systems* 17.3 (2008): 214-33. Web. 8 Feb. 2016.
- Ellsberg, Daniel. Edward Snowden: Saving Us from the United Stasi of America. *The Guardian*. The Guardian, 10 June 2013. Web. 25 May 2016.
- Entman, Robert M. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *J Communication Journal of Communication* 43.4 (1993): 51-58. Web. 15 Apr. 2016.
- Gamson, William A., and Andre Modigliani. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on

- Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 95.1 (1989): 1-37. Web. 15 Apr. 2016.
- Greenwald, Glenn. *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, The NSA, and the U.S. Surveillance State*. New York: Metropolitan, 2014. Print.
- Israeli Nuke Whistleblower Vanunu Set for Release. *Fox News*. FOX News Network, 20 Apr. 2004. Web. 25 May 2016.
- Kerr, Orin S. "Internet Surveillance Law After the USA Patriot Act: The Big Brother That Isn't." *SSRN Electronic Journal SSRN Journal* 97.607 (2003). Web. 8 Feb. 2016.
- President Obama on Edward Snowden. Interview by Major Gerrett. *YouTube*. The Daily Conversation, 20 Dec. 2013. Web. 25 May 2016.
- Qin, Jie. Hero on Twitter, Traitor on News: How Social Media and Legacy News Frame Snowden. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 20.2 (2015): 166-84. Web.
- Scheufele, D. "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects." *Journal of Communication* 49.1 (1999): 103-22. Web. 15 Apr. 2016.
- London, Scott. How the Media Frames Political Issues. *Scott London*. N.p., 1993. Web. 25 May 2016.
- Secretary of State John Kerry Says Edward Snowden Should man Up Interview by Norah O'Donnell. *CBS News*. CBS, 28 May 2014. Web. 25 May 2016.

Appendix

Fox News:

- Clip 1: Reaction to Latest NSA Surveillance Allegations **(TRAITOR)**
 - Released – October 31st, 2013
 - Length – 5:27
 - Hero Frame
 - Whistleblower
 - **Traitor Frame**
 - “Somewhere on the spectrum to traitor”
 - “I’ve never had any doubt that he’s a traitor”
 - Betrayal
 - “Damage other intelligence agencies”
- Clip 2: US Mishandling Edward Snowden Case? **(NEUTRAL)**
 - Released – July 5th, 2013
 - Length – 3:30
 - Hero Frame
 - Support from Iceland
 - Traitor Frame
 - “Most wanted fugitive we have in this country right now”
- Clip 3: Wikileaks Founder Encourages Edward Snowden to Keep Running **(HERO)**
 - Released – July 1st, 2013
 - Length – 5:07
 - **Hero Frame**
 - Compares Snowden to Senator Mike Gravel who released the Pentagon Papers
 - “In a republic, the people censor the government. The government do not censor the people”
 - “Congress was irresponsible”
 - Traitor Frame
 - “Accused of espionage”

- Clip 4: Mixed Messages On How to Handle Edward Snowden (**TRAITOR**)
 - Released – June 28th, 2013
 - Length – 3:49
 - Hero Frame
 - N/A
 - **Traitor Frame**
 - “The state department warns other countries of what it calls grave consequences if they help the accused NSA leaker”
 - Compared to Aldrich Ames, a CIA analyst turned KGB mole
 - “Grave threat to our national security”
 - “Don’t want to elevate him hero speaking truth to power”
 - Damage

- Clip 5: Does Edward Snowden Pose a Threat to National Security? (**TRAITOR**)
 - Released – June 14th, 2013
 - Length – 2:47
 - Hero Frame
 - “Disclosures of last week ... made it clear ... damages their civil liberties”
 - “Keep American unaware of intrusion”
 - **Traitor Frame**
 - Did damage to national security
 - Significant harm
 - Safety at risk
 - Damage
 - Credible threat
 - FBI says keep Snowden out of your country

- Clip 6: Edward Snowden Vows to Fight Possible US Extradition (**HERO**)
 - Released – June 12th, 2013
 - Length – 2:09
 - **Hero Frame**
 - “Civil liberty groups have called him a hero”
 - Positioning himself as a hero willing to stand and fight
 - **Traitor Frame**
 - Must prosecute

MSNBC:

- Clip 1: Edward Snowden Charged With Spying (**TRAITOR**)
 - Released – June 21st, 2013
 - Length – 10:12
 - Hero Frame
 - Made sure not to harm national security
 - Inform fellow citizens
 - Noble act
 - Civil disobedience
 - Compared to other heroic whistleblowers
 - **Traitor Frame**
 - Criminal charges
 - Espionage
 - Theft
 - Stealing government property
 - Arrest him
 - Criminal complaint
 - Violates norms of institution
- Clip 2: New Details On NSA Leaker (**TRAITOR**)
 - Released – June 11th, 2013
 - Length – 16:16
 - Hero Frame
 - “Ron Paul calls him a hero”
 - **Traitor Frame**
 - “John Boehner call him a traitor”
 - Criminal investigation
 - Traitor
 - “I feel unthreatened by anything the NSA has decided to do so far”
- Clip 3: What Sets Snowden apart From Wikileaker Bradley Manning? (**TRAITOR**)
 - Released – June 12th, 2013
 - Length – 22:23
 - Hero Frame
 - Senator Feinstein supportive of recent leaks
 - **Traitor Frame**
 - Grandiosity
 - Snowden being a hero is dead wrong
 - Criminality
 - “They’re just criminals”

- Clip 4: Rep. Clyburn: Snowden is No Hero – He’s a Lawbreaker (**NEUTRAL**)
 - Released – June 12th, 2013
 - Length – 9:26
 - Hero Frame
 - “I welcome this debate”
 - “The Obama Administrated has demonstrated a strong commitment to protecting whistleblowers”
 - Ron Paul shows concern for Snowden
 - Senator Mark Udall agrees with Snowden
 - Rep. Keith Ellison agrees with Snowden
 - Traitor Frame
 - Traitor
 - “Should be prosecuted at the full extent of the law”
 - Attempted to embarrass the administration
 - Not a whistleblower
 - “He is the one who broke the law”
- Clip 5: How Edward Snowden Split the Right and Left (**HERO**)
 - Released – June 15th, 2013
 - Length – 11:16
 - **Hero Frame**
 - “Makes him a patriot”
 - Hundreds rally in Hong Kong to urge city’s government to protect Snowden
 - Heroic effort
 - Doesn’t compromise security of this nation
 - People are throwing traitor around very loosely
 - Calling Snowden traitor is a discrediting tactic
 - Takes confidence to leak confidential information
 - Snowden is reacting to massive expansion of secrecy that has gone unfixed
 - Compared to Daniel Ellsberg
 - We’re only having this debate because of Snowden
 - Obama supports this debate
 - Traitor Frame
 - “Unless it makes him a traitor”
 - “He is the subject of an ongoing criminal investigation”
 - Harm to nation and our safety
 - Traitor
 - Puts Americans at risk
 - He should be extradited, arrested and prosecuted (x2)
 - Grandiose criminal
 - Cleary broke the law

- Clip 6: Snowden Claims Spying Among Nations at 2009 Summits (**HERO**)
 - o Released – June 17th, 2013
 - o Length – 14:26
 - o **Hero Frame**
 - “His story was legitimate”
 - Things Snowden leaked are in the national interest
 - You have to have an intense passion to leave your country and know you won’t be able to go back
 - Graphic: Snowden wins unusual sympathizers in Latin America
 - o Traitor Frame
 - “I think he’s a traitor”
 - “Enormous damage to the natural security interests of the United States”

CNN: Traitor frame dominates selected news clips

- Clip 1: Snowden’s Situation (**TRAITOR**)
 - o Released – 2013
 - o Length – 2:37
 - o Hero Frame
 - “A hero to some”
 - o **Traitor Frame**
 - Traitor (x2)
 - Violation of the law
- Clip 2: Charges Being Sought Against NSA Leaker (**NEUTRAL**)
 - o Released – 2013
 - o Length – 2:36
 - o Hero Frame
 - “Political dissenter entitled to protection”
 - o Traitor Frame
 - Charged with theft of government property
- Clip 3: Rep. King: NSA Leaker Put Lives at Risk (**TRAITOR**)
 - o Released – 2013
 - o Length – 3:30
 - o Hero Frame
 - N/A
 - o **Traitor Frame**
 - Traitor (x4)
 - Damaging (x2)
 - American lives at risk (x2)
 - Violated espionage act

- Clip 4: Secretary Kerry Sits Down With CNN (**TRAITOR**)
 - Released – 2013
 - Length – 3:27
 - Hero Frame
 - Interviewer defends Snowden
 - Exercising free speech
 - **Traitor Frame**
 - “An individual who threatened his country”
 - People may die because of what he did
 - “Anyone who wants to make him a hero is misjudging how they stay safe day to day”
- Clip 5: Snowden: Mission Accomplished (**HERO**)
 - Released – 2013
 - Length – 2:38
 - **Hero Frame**
 - No evidence of becoming a defector
 - “Zero evidence that he has shifted his loyalty to another country”
 - “He’s loyal to his own government and even to its own ability to defend the country”
 - Traitor Frame
 - N/A
- Clip 6: NSA Leaker Reveals Identity (**HERO**)
 - Released – 2013
 - Length – 3:41
 - **Hero Frame**
 - Conscientious objector
 - Not a terrorist
 - True concern for the direction of this country
 - Traitor Frame
 - Criminal case
 - He’s a traitor

Video Links:

MSNBC:

- Clip 1:
 - o <http://www.msnbc.com/all-in/watch/edward-snowden-charged-with-espionage-34459715575>
- Clip 2:
 - o <http://www.msnbc.com/the-last-word/watch/new-details-on-nsa-leaker-33164355618>
- Clip 3:
 - o <http://www.msnbc.com/the-cycle/watch/what-sets-snowden-apart-from-wikileaker-bradley-manning-33251395506>
- Clip 4:
 - o <http://www.msnbc.com/martin-bashir/watch/rep-clyburn-snowden-is-no-hero-hes-a-lawbreaker-33253443686>
- Clip 5:
 - o <http://www.msnbc.com/up/watch/how-edward-snowden-split-the-right-and-left-44322371573>
- Clip 6:
 - o <http://www.msnbc.com/now-with-alex-wagner/watch/snowden-claims-spying-among-nations-at-2009-summits-33773635716>

CNN:

- Clip 1:
 - o <http://www.cnn.com/videos/crime/2013/06/09/nsa-leaker-revealed-3.cnn>
- Clip 2:
 - o <http://www.cnn.com/videos/us/2013/06/12/tsr-johns-going-after-nsa-leaker.cnn>
- Clip 3:
 - o <http://www.cnn.com/videos/us/2013/06/12/ac-intv-peter-king-nsa-leaker.cnn>
- Clip 4:
 - o <http://www.cnn.com/videos/bestoftv/2013/06/24/kerry-labott-interview.cnn>
- Clip 5:
 - o <http://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2013/08/01/tsr-dnt-acosta-will-obama-make-putin-pay.cnn>
- Clip 6:
 - o <http://www.cnn.com/videos/world/2013/06/10/desjardins-nsa-leak-snowden.cnn>

Fox News:

- Clip 1:
 - o <http://video.foxnews.com/v/2790615888001/reaction-to-latest-nsa-surveillance-allegations/?#sp=show-clips>
- Clip 2:

- <http://video.foxnews.com/v/2527827889001/us-mishandling-edward-snowden-case/?#sp=show-clips>
- Clip 3:
 - <http://video.foxnews.com/v/2519352168001/wikileaks-founder-encourages-edward-snowden-to-keep-running/?#sp=show-clips>
- Clip 4:
 - <http://video.foxnews.com/v/2515759154001/mixed-messages-on-how-to-handle-edward-snowden/?#sp=show-clips>
- Clip 5:
 - <http://video.foxnews.com/v/2480168623001/does-edward-snowden-pose-a-threat-to-national-security/?#sp=show-clips>
- Clip 6:
 - <http://video.foxnews.com/v/2474867072001/edward-snowden-vows-to-fight-possible-us-extradition/?#sp=show-clips>