

What Does the Media Say About Social Media?

A comparison of *The Social Dilemma* press coverage with regards to social media surveillance and privacy.

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ABSTRACT

Journalists are considered the gatekeepers of selecting news, who inform the public of current issues around the world. By using framing, journalists try to influence how the reader will interpret a topic or issue in a certain way. It is widely known that the use of social media has increased over the years, but so has the power of tech companies. *The Social Dilemma* is a Netflix documentary that reveals the multiple ways human beings are being manipulated by social platforms. When it comes to *The Social Dilemma*, it is uncertain how journalists portray the documentary regarding surveillance and privacy. Many social media users are unaware of the extent tech companies have over their data. Both surveillance and privacy are sensitive topics that people can have a different opinion on. How journalists portray the documentary can influence how readers perceive surveillance and privacy. The purpose of the study was to uncover and understand how American journalists portray the documentary, with regards to surveillance and privacy, by answering the following research question: *How do journalists represent The Social Dilemma with regards to privacy and surveillance?* Using a qualitative critical discourse analysis, a total of 22 liberal and conservative news platform articles were examined by looking at the linguistics and visuals used to frame the topics of surveillance and privacy. The results showed that journalists reported more about surveillance issues compared to privacy violations. The majority of the portrayals of both issues were negative, although some articles also mentioned positive outcomes from tech companies and were optimistic about taking responsibility to protect user's data. The visuals included in the articles did not provide meaning-making to a text, as most of the images were shots taken from the documentary. Only one image hinted towards surveillance and privacy invasions. Both the liberal and conservative articles had similar ways of reporting about surveillance and privacy. Liberal articles tended to be slightly more objective compared to conservative ones. On the other hand, liberal articles expressed more concern towards the issues by portraying users as victims, whereas conservative articles did not put all of the blame on tech companies and acknowledged users to take more responsibility.

KEYWORDS: *Social media, privacy, surveillance, news platforms, The Social Dilemma*

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1.0 Introduction

Surveillance is not a new phenomenon. Humans are constantly aware of their surroundings by watching the behaviour and actions of others. When social media came into the picture, surveillance was shaped into a more deliberate monitoring process of users, where their information was collected for the use of advertisers. Surveillance online reduced user's control over their personal information and that of their social networks (Brown, 2015). According to Netchitailova (2012), users find social and institutional privacy important. Although they are aware of the fact that they are being monitored, users believe privacy does not outweigh the benefits provided by the platform, to stop them from using it or switch to an alternative (Netchitailova, 2012).

Users are conscious of their online activities being watched by the platforms themselves. But are they aware of what precisely happens behind their screens when they are online? This question is addressed in Netflix's documentary-drama *The Social Dilemma*, directed by Jeff Orlowski, produced by the Exposure Labs, and released on September 9th, 2020 (IMDb, 2021). By combining scripted scenarios to illustrate the dangerous situation social media has brought us in, with interviews of Silicon Valley developers and C-level engineers, the film exposes the different ways human beings are manipulated and violated when social networking (Orlowski, 2020). Tristan Harris is a former Google Design Ethicist and one of the developers included in the documentary. He suggests that one of the biggest issues is that social media companies are aware they are stimulating users to go online and share their information, to sell this data to third parties, yet no one is doing anything about it (Sledge, 2020). Essentially there is a dilemma between social media companies surveilling their users by gathering data, and the risks of violating users' privacy. A critical dilemma to discuss, as it concerns users' personal information that is accessed without their permission nor awareness.

After the release of the documentary, many people shared their thoughts of it online. Facebook put out an official statement to express their concern about the documentary, as it "buries the substance in sensationalism," (Facebook, 2020). Journalists of news platforms also reported about the documentary. Their decision to write about the movie and how they framed it, could possibly shape readers' perspectives on the issues of privacy and surveillance. Journalists are gatekeepers of information that ultimately use their autonomy to choose what will become news (Shoemaker et al., 2009). They have, to some extent, the power to control readers' ideologies on matters (Van Dijck, 1995).

1.1 Research Problem

A study by Madden and Rainie (2015) on the American attitudes towards surveillance and privacy showed that 93% of adults find it important to be in control of who gets their data and 90% of adults think it is important to control what kind of information is collected about them. Based on an in-depth study by Pew Research Center (2016) on American citizen's views and behaviours towards privacy, it showed that information such as social security numbers, health information, and content of phone conversations were considered to be highly sensitive data. Additionally, 69% of American adults are not confident that social media sites keep their online data and activity records private and secure (Madden & Rainie, 2015). Privacy concerns have increased over the years as the number of data breaches grew. In 2020, there were 1,001 data breaches in the United States (Johnson, 2021). Essentially, the monitoring and collecting of data without user's permission have increased over the years, and people have less confidence in tech companies keeping their data private.

There is no research found on how American news platforms portray the documentary concerning surveillance and privacy, two concepts that are extensively covered within the film. In 2020, America had 223.03 million social media users (Tankovska, 2021). Meaning, all these users provide their information to these social platforms, which can be taken by tech companies without their permission and violating their privacy. The news platform articles cover these issues by discussing the documentary as a case. Therefore, this thesis explores how American news platforms portray the documentary by answering the research question: *How do journalists represent The Social Dilemma with regards to privacy and surveillance?*

The following sub-questions will help lead the research analysis:

Sub-question 1: What linguistics and visuals are used to portray the documentary with regards to the issue of privacy and social media surveillance?

Sub-question 2: Is there a difference in how liberal (left) and conservative (right) journalists portray privacy and surveillance?

1.2 Scientific and Social Relevance

It is important to acknowledge the roles journalists play in framing news as they bring social discussions in the news (Von Pape et al., 2017). Past studies have looked at how

the media communicate about surveillance and privacy. However, there is no prior research on how journalists portray *The Social Dilemma*, specifically when discussing the issues of surveillance and privacy. It is important to study as journalists have the power to control the reader's perception on matters (Van Dijck, 1995). The journalists that write about the documentary have the power to control how the readers perceive the topics of surveillance and privacy, and how they might act on these beliefs.

Online surveillance has made it harder for users to notice or understand that they are being monitored. Not knowing who is watching us nor why, can reduce personal freedom and quality of life (Zedner, 2003). According to Rachels' (1975) theory on the importance of privacy, it is considered meaningful because people can choose to disclose personal information and participate in behaviours that are regarded as necessary for creating personal relationships. If people did not have control over their personal information, then the multiplicity of these relationships would reduce and the relationships would essentially weaken (Rachels, 1975). By watching *The Social Dilemma* or reading about it in news platform articles, users and readers may reflect on their own social media usage and the amount of personal information that is provided online. By reflecting on this, people can take measures to seize back control over their profiles and exercise "self-limiting common sense" (Rosenblum, 2007, p.48). This will allow more people to be informed about the consequences of social media and surveillance, prevent further privacy violations and raise their quality of life.

1.3 Thesis Outline

Following this introduction of the research topic, the subsequent chapter will provide a theoretical background of the topic and previous studies on press coverage of surveillance and privacy. After that, the methodology of the thesis study will be explained, by including the research method, the operationalization, and ethical concerns. Next, the results of the analysis will be examined. Finally, the conclusion of the research study will be drawn, including the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

2.0 Theory and previous research

To answer the research question on how the press reports about *The Social Dilemma*, certain concepts and theories need to be addressed. In the following sections, the *role of journalists in society* will be explained to discover the importance of this role within society. Following, the concepts of *social media surveillance* and *privacy* will be defined to provide clarity on which definitions will be used for this research. The general usage of social media and the issues of addictions will be briefly covered, to offer an overview of today's social media usage and the addicting effect social media has on humans. Finally, the extent of previous research of press coverage on *social media surveillance and privacy* will be examined.

2.1 Role of Journalists in Society

2.1.1 Journalist Framing

It is considered normal for journalists to make sense of the world and communicate these thoughts to the readers. The process of formulating ideas to others, in order to decide what is the central issue, is called framing. Journalist frames are “cognitive patterns of interpretation of individual journalists” (Brüggemann, 2014, p.63). There are three types of framing practices. *Filtered accounts* are reports that are consistent with the journalist's point of view and considered dominant in a text. *Interpretive accounts* present different perspectives of a topic, but it is clear which interpretation is preferred by the journalist. Lastly, *conduit accounts* give multiple frames of a topic but are more ‘neutral’ by not hinting at certain perspectives (Brüggemann, 2014).

Herzog (2021) sees journalist framing as “selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation,” (p.2). The way journalists frame their articles, can influence how readers organize the information given and create a perception of that issue. Especially in the online world, framing is an essential job (Herzog, 2021). According to Herzog (2021), several factors can influence the framing of an article: choice of headlines, keywords, and teasers can be important factors for grabbing audience's attention and steering their direction towards certain information (Herzog, 2021). Therefore, the title, headlines, keywords, and first paragraph of the articles are closely examined and taken into account with the analysis.

2.1.2 Journalists' Role Perception

Role perceptions can be acknowledged as having a strong effect on journalists' professional behaviour. They are certain expectations that journalists hold to be true and believe to exist within society, which they accept, and consequently affect their professional behaviour (Donsbach, 2012).

There are different theories and concepts to define the journalist role perception. Two common types of perceptions as identified by Janowitz (1975) are *advocates* and *gatekeepers*. Journalists as advocates presume audiences do not know what interests them in society and therefore take it upon them to act on their behalf. Journalists as gatekeepers see audiences as able to follow their desires, hence they select news using professional criteria (Janowitz, 1975). Patterson (1995) perceives the role of journalists more specifically by discussing three social tasks that audiences expect from journalists. The *signaller* journalists act as a warning system to society. The common carriers pass information from the government to its people, and vice versa. *Watchdogs* are quite the opposite. These journalists represent the public opinion by monitoring and providing alarm, as they observe institutions and pass on warnings to people in power. Finally, *public representatives* are considered spokespeople on behalf of the public (Patterson, 1995).

The way journalists understand their role is dependent on several factors, including the influence of the culture of a country or influences from other journalists, professional standards and new social technology (Donsbach, 2012). According to Shoemaker (1991), societal factors and dominant ideologies have more influence on journalism compared to individual or organisational characteristics. At the core, the role perceptions of journalists and consequently their behaviours, vary per country and culture (Donsbach, 2012).

With regards to American perception of journalist's roles, Willnat and his colleagues (2019) discovered in their study how the journalists and citizens tend to have different role perceptions. American journalists found it more important to investigate government assentation, analyse issues and discuss both international and national policies. Moreover, journalists found it important to make a personal interpretation of the news. Citizens, on the other hand, valued neutrality over interpretation more. Additionally, they thought journalists should get the news to the public as soon as possible, allow people to express their views, focus on a wide audience range, and avoid publishing stories that include content which has not been verified yet. What was also one of their interesting findings, was the positive effect on how citizens or audiences recognize traditional journalistic roles, as the number for using social media to consume news is growing (Willnat et al., 2019).

As suggested by Gil de Zúñiga and Hinsley (2013), American journalists have a more positive perception regarding their work, compared to citizens. As journalists see themselves as ‘watchdogs’ that analyse different issues, citizens focus more on the bias present in the content. When it comes to ‘good journalism,’ American citizens find it important that journalists perform their role with accuracy, neutrality or objectivity and quick reporting. Essentially, a bias news article is not objective and tries to influence public opinion. For more than a decade, there has even been a decline in credibility of news organizations, because citizens find the news to get too biased (Gil de Zúñiga & Hinsley, 2013).

2.2 The Concepts of Surveillance and Privacy

2.2.1 Defining (Social Media) Surveillance

Originally, the word ‘*surveillance*’ was translated from the French meaning ‘watch over’, which was used by officers to suggest social hierarchy (Brown, 2015). Foucault (1995) compared the notion of surveillance to the panopticon, an architectural form which was often used in prisons for supervisors to watch over the prisoners and workers without being seen. It was a way for people to be conscious and aware that they were being watched (Foucault, 1995). Lyon (1998) builds on this comparison, by arguing that surveillance has evolved due to new technologies and the Internet. He suggests there are three types of *cyberspace surveillance* that relate to: employment by supervising and monitoring workers, security and policing by privately or publicly checking what others are doing for safety measures and marketing by commercially monitoring or surveilling users. With employment and security, surveillance is more on a small scale, yet the Internet provides more opportunities to watch others (Lyon, 1998). Lyon (1998) points to two concerns as a result of surveillance: social participation, so the division and social exclusion, and personhood which is about invading people’s privacy. According to Van der Schyff and his colleagues (2020), social media surveillance is “a techno-social process in which human actors make use of surveillance technologies for monitoring human activities on social media,” (p.1).

For this research analysis, two interpretations will be used. Firstly, the definition of social media surveillance, as this broadly describes the act of monitoring or surveilling activity online (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). Lyon’s (1998) concern with the invasion of people’s privacy is also included, as this relates to the idea of monitoring people’s online activities without their permission. Media platforms are accessing user’s data and invading

people's privacy all at the same time. This phenomenon is linked to the next sub-section on defining privacy.

2.2.2 Defining Privacy

When it comes to 'privacy', this term is considered harder to define due to cultural relativism (Moore, 2008). Moore (2008) came up with the following definition: "A right to privacy is a right to control access to and uses of – places, bodies, and personal information" (p. 421). On the other hand, Macnish (2018) compared two popular definitions that previous scholars have presented. The first proposes a loss of control over one's personal information or data, is considered a loss of privacy. The second asserts that if one's information is officially accessed by another, then it is considered a loss of privacy. Macnish (2018) argues that a loss of control is not sufficient enough to define privacy, and therefore he defends the latter definition. On their research on privacy risks of IoT (Internet of Things) apps, Babun and his colleagues (2021) included the term 'privacy leaks', which is when data is conveyed to third or external parties, without informing the user of this.

To conceptualize the term, Solove (2008), created a taxonomy of four privacy problems, including information collection, information processing, information dissemination, and invasions. Information collection is the process of surveillance and investigation. Information processing centres on the collection of personal data and how this is saved, used and exploited. Information dissemination is the act or risk of dispersing this data to third parties. Finally, invasions focus on the intrusion of a person's physical or mental state (Solove, 2008).

In the frame of this analysis, a mix of privacy definitions will be used. Macnish's (2018) first definition will be taken into account, so a loss of control over one's personal information is a loss of privacy. His definition is in line with Moore's (2008) definition of having a right to control one's information, is having the right to privacy. Furthermore, Babun and his team (2021) simply explain how a privacy leak leads to personal information being conveyed to third parties, just as explained in *The Social Dilemma*. Solove's (2008) concern of information dissemination, whereby data is 'leaked' to third parties, falls in line with Babun and his team's (2021) idea. Once this data has been shared, the individuals can experience an invasion and loss of privacy.

2.3 Social Media Usage & Addictions

As stated in the Digital 2020 July Global Statshot report (Kemp, 2020a), the digital environment worldwide is continuing to evolve, especially during the Coronavirus pandemic. Statistics of the year 2020 show that worldwide 4.57 billion people use the Internet, of which 3.96 billion users are on social media (Kemp, 2020a). There was an increase in social media usage due to Covid-19, an average 43% increase in time spent online. In the United States, there was an increase in time spent on social media, of roughly 28%. Globally, the top three most popular social media platforms are Facebook, YouTube, and WhatsApp, with specifically Facebook being the most popular platform in America. Interestingly, around the world there are roughly 1.2 men for every woman using social media, suggesting a division within gender, which varies greatly per country. However, in America 55% of the social media users are women, suggesting that they use the platforms more often than men (Kemp, 2020b).

The average number of hours per day spent on social media is 2 hours and 22 minutes. The age group of 16 to 24 years old spends the most time online with an average of 2 hours and 53 minutes. Within this age group, females spend even more time online, specifically 3 hours and 12 minutes on average (Kemp, 2020b).

A social media user can be considered addicted if they have a compulsion or urge to use social media excessively. Studies have shown that around 12% of users are addicted to social media and that with time, social media usage can affect people's mental health. Results show the positive association between social media addiction and declining mental health with lowering self-esteem (Hou et al., 2019).

It is important to discuss social media usage and addictions, as the statistics on social media usage show how many users are online and what platforms they use. Consequently, these same platforms are the ones that collect data from their users without their awareness nor consent. Marwick (2012) argues that users are less worried about businesses surveilling their online networking, compared with their social network (Marwick, 2012). Yet, the more people use and engage with social media, the more data that can be monitored and saved, and "surveillance becomes the norm," (Van der Schyff et al. 2020, p.2).

2.4 Surveillance, Privacy & the Media

2.4.1 Positive Effects of Surveillance

Data surveillance is a phenomenon that is often used across different sectors, including public health, government security and commercial businesses. The former two

are for the greater good of the public to keep everyone healthy and safe, whereas the latter focuses more on gaining a competitive advantage. The following paragraphs explain the positive effects and importance of surveillance within these sectors.

Public health surveillance is when experts collect and analyse health-related data to plan, implement and evaluate public health practices. It helps recognize disease trends or concerns and assists by identifying possible intervention measures that can be taken to prevent further contamination. Since the beginning of the 2000s, there have been three types of online activity that have been monitored: a calculated trend from Google searches, social media posts such as Tweets, and participatory monitoring attempts. Conducting a random Google search of symptoms can complement electronic health records and is seen as more passive information. On the other hand, a social media post describing symptoms is seen as more active information. Other digital surveillance systems have also been used in the past to track influenza incidents in specific regions, such as Google Flu Trends or Influenzanet. Through the means of these types of surveillance, the Internet and social media platforms have been used to complement data of existing patients, or data from hospitals and labs (Aiello et al., 2020).

Social media plays an important role in people's lives, so government officials and law enforcements progressively use the platforms to monitor the activity of citizens, for different purposes (Levinson-Waldman, 2018). According to Levinson-Waldman (2018), the surveillance of social media by law enforcements can be categorized in 1) following people online, groups or affiliations, 2) using someone else, a friend, or an undercover account to view otherwise private information, and 3) using analytical software to produce data about people, groups, associations or locations. Generally, law enforcements use social media to detect criminal activity or offenses and can even predict where possible crimes could occur. Nowadays it is easy to create an Instagram or Twitter account and gather information on someone who posts publicly. Any posts, images or videos that are posted online can be traced and used against someone later on (Levinson-Waldman, 2018).

Cayford's and Pieters' (2018) study on the effectiveness of surveillance technology complements Levinson-Waldman's (2018) research. By analysing statements of intelligence practitioners, they found seven measures of effectiveness with regards to surveillance programmes, including thwarted attacks, lives saved, terrorist (and criminal) organizations destroyed, output, context, support, and informed policymaker. These measures fell under three categories: counting, documents/cases, and organizations. The most obvious category with effectiveness is counting, consisting of thwarted attacks, lives saved and terrorist

organizations destroyed. Intelligence officers can use surveillance programmes to monitor suspicious activity that they could otherwise not have detected, and prevent attacks from occurring. This, in turn, saves many innocent lives, as communication of potential terrorists is detected and thus prevented from attacking people. Criminal or terrorist organizations can also be stopped by using surveillance programmes (Cayford & Pieters, 2018).

Besides health and safety, commercial businesses can use surveillance to gain insights into customer behaviour. Tracking their needs, characteristics, behaviours, and preferences can have a positive effect on firms' competitiveness within the market. This allows businesses to strategically market their products and services to target their audiences. There are simple ways to acquire personal data from customers, such as tracking loyalty programmes, recording customer interplay or use location-based technologies. These methods help businesses target their customers better (Plangger & Montecchi, 2020).

There is an increased awareness from social media users of governmental surveillance on platforms (Marthews & Tucket, 2015). Cayford and her team (2020) mentioned in their article that the responses of social media users towards surveillance are divided. Some users argue that it is necessary to stop crime and do not mind it, whereas others are concerned because it violates their privacy rights (Cayford et al., 2020). As Van den Broek and his colleagues (2017) say, "security comes with a price, namely at the expensive of privacy," (p.15).

2.4.2 Negative Effects of Surveillance

Besides the benefits experienced from surveillance, there are also negative aspects associated with the phenomenon. Although social media businesses advertise their platforms as opportunities for users to share content and connect with each other, they have evolved into great assets for gathering data for corporations and governmental organizations (Van der Schyff et al., 2018). The former strives for capital growth and success, the latter aims to fight crime and create security, and this is all done through, what Van der Schyff and his colleagues (2018) call, 'dataveillance'. Here, everything that can be found on social media platforms can be monitored and commodified, to gain as much information from users as possible. In turn, this helps the platforms obtain data that can be sold to third parties such as advertisers, yet this often comes at the expense of the platform users (Van der Schyff et al., 2018).

Van der Schyff and his colleagues (2020) researched how surveillance has evolved from a phenomenon that was benefitting society, into a matter of control. Using Facebook as

an example, they uncover to what extent social media watches its users and what risks these actions bring. The authors define three main enablers that contributed to the rise of data surveillance. First, due to technological advances, technology started to unite and data was stored at a central place. Second is technological profiling, which helped monitor the online activity of people to create profiles. Finally, the lack of adequate privacy legislation was a reduction in significance of privacy with primitive legislations (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). Furthermore, both negative and positive outcomes of data surveillance are proposed in their study. Two positive outcomes are administrative efficiency, when governments can allocate illegal activities, or marketers can target the right customers. An initial increase in information security awareness is also positive as this allows lawyers and engineers to question surveillance and the loss of control over privacy (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). Two negative outcomes are misuse of personal information, so the misinterpretation of data or unawareness of collection of data, and social control, by losing control over personal information and data surveillance becoming a natural phenomenon (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). They conclude that social media are in fact, collecting users' data to control and predict their behaviours and that users are unaware of what risks this brings, especially in a world that highly depends on social technologies (Van der Schyff et al., 2020).

Misinformation can be regarded a negative effect of social media, as it includes "all false or inaccurate information that is spread in social media," (Wu et al. 2019, p.81). Misinformation can be very hard to detect, as the different types include: unintentionally-spread misinformation, intentionally-spread misinformation, urban legend, fake news, unverified information, rumour, crowdturfing, spam, troll, hate speech and cyberbullying (Wu et al., 2019).

Besides misinformation, there is the notion of media manipulation. Media manipulation can be defined as developing an idea or representation which favours a certain appeal, by using misconceptions, oppressions of ideas, or redirecting attention on another idea (Fitzpatrick, 2018). Kramer and his team (2014) tested the transfer of emotional contagion online, by manipulating the emotional exposure on user's Facebook feeds. The scholars wanted to discover if this manipulation would lead people to adapt their posting behaviours. Their results concur with their hypothesis: when the News Feed was manipulated with increased positive content, users were more positive with their posting behaviour. When there was increased negative content, users were more negative (Kramer et al., 2014). Their study is not the only one where user's behaviours are monitored,

manipulated or predicted. It is commonly known that social media platforms observe users without their knowledge nor consent, violating user's privacy (Paasonen, 2018).

Ever since 9/11, the American surveillance culture has become more visible. Due to technological innovations and the growth of social media, surveillance has taken on a whole new level in people's lives. The world has internalized surveillance, and it has become part of our everyday routine (Lyon, 2018). Zuboff (2015) believes humans live in a time period where 'surveillance capitalism' is prominent, which she defines as a "new form of information capitalism [which] aims to predict and modify human behaviour as a means to produce revenue and market control," (p.75).

The Cambridge Analytica scandal is a good example of the concept of surveillance capitalism, where the British consulting company had gathered private information of millions of Facebook users without their consent, and therefore violating their privacy rights (Manokha, 2018). As Manokha (2018) argues in his article, when people judge Cambridge Analytica for covertly collecting user's data, they indirectly contribute to the normalization of data collection that is done overtly, when users accept the Terms of Service of social media platforms. Data has evolved into a commodity where it has become almost a natural phenomenon for companies to buy or sell data for profit. As a result, the threat of violating privacy rights has become even greater than before. Cambridge Analytica was only one of many companies that monetize users by gathering their data (Manokha, 2018).

As Plangger and Montecchi (2020) state in their article, "the more private an individual, firm or organization is, the more others desire surveillance of that individual," (p.33). Surveillance is usually considered a negative phenomenon because of the privacy and security risks that come along with this, regardless of the potential advantages that surveillance could bring. Businesses tend to collect customer data in order to gain a competitive advantage and consumer insights. However, there is always the risk of losing trust from customers or staining the relationship if they find out their data is being misused (Plangger & Montecchi, 2020).

2.4.3 Press Coverage of Surveillance, Privacy and Social Media

Surveillance has become part of our lives in 'control societies', where users are unconcerned about surveillance as they accept having less control over their data, in return for higher usability (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017). Although journalists strive for objectivity within their articles, media coverage on the issue of surveillance is formed by professional routines or opinions that contain the facts. These sources act as "primary definers who set

the framework of interpretation against which all subsequent voices are forced to insert themselves,” (Wahl-Jorgensen et al. 2017, p.389).

Using the Snowden case, when a former NSA contractor leaked information about US and UK intelligence agencies’ suspicious surveilling activities, as an example, Wahl-Jorgensen and her team (2017) examined news coverage in the UK on the topic of surveillance. Their findings suggest a paradox between two different occurrences: contributing to the normalization of surveillance and being critical of mass surveillance. First, there are journalists that make it seem as if surveillance is necessary, to have national security. Contrarily, there are journalists who portray their criticism towards mass surveillance and believe the public are unaware of the extent of surveillance that is communicated by Snowden. Yet, even though the journalists are aware of the surveillance issues, they are reluctant to express this criticism and tend to normalize surveillance. As journalists rely on important sources to gather factual information, these sources can frame discussions on surveillance as they please (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017).

Johnson (2016) compared three government surveillance scandals by examining how American journalists wrote about them. The three scandals included: Associated Press (AP) reporting how the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) summoned phone records from more than 100 AP journalists without their knowledge, the Washington Post discovering that the DOJ had been monitoring James Rosen, the Fox News’s chief Washington correspondent without his consent, and finally the Snowden case with the government collecting phone data from citizens. The journalistic discourse covering the three stories differed. As the AP and Rosen cases had similar targets, their discourses were similar to each other. Although it had been said that the government was using surveillance for security reasons, the journalists covering those two stories regarded it to be unnecessary and a serious violation. They were only negative about the surveillance and could not understand nor justify the behaviour. With regards to the Snowden case, journalists were a lot more open to the idea that the government needed to monitor people for national security. These results suggest a distinction between journalists and citizens. Journalists consider their autonomy, their work, and their privacy to be more blessed as it is for the greater good, compared with citizens (Johnson, 2016).

Connor and Doan (2019) compared two big American newspapers and technology blogs that covered two cases of privacy invasion, to examine how the media portrays the issue. The scholars compared surveillance of the state versus private corporations, and their findings suggest that the media pay more attention to governmental surveillance

programmes, compared to ‘supercookies’, or the “network-level trackers that can be used to target advertising to users,” (Connor & Doan 2019, p.53). Their findings show how people are more comfortable with privacy invasions of corporations rather than by the state because it is regarded as less threatening to society (Connor & Doan, 2019).

Aripova and Bashmakova (2019) explored the representation of social roles that are involved in processes that have to do with Internet privacy violations in American news articles. They discovered that news on privacy violations and concerns is broken up into actions and reactions of users or consumers, social media platforms or commercial companies, and privacy regulators, each represented distinctly. Users or consumers of the Internet were portrayed as victims who suffered from the unethical measures of Internet companies who violated their privacy. Moreover, these commercial Internet companies were often criticized for violating privacy laws. Finally, privacy regulators were reported as having authority over these measures, yet not doing what is expected of them and therefore disappointing the public (Aripova & Bashmakova, 2019).

2.5 Conservative versus Liberal Ideology

American politics and media are divided into two distinct ideological groups: liberals and conservatives. According to Ellis and Stimson (2012), the terms ‘liberalism’ and ‘conservatism’ are not unchangeable and can depend on a variety of things, such as labelling political actors and the time dimension that can adapt its meaning. However, there are common beliefs that define each group individually. Liberalism concerns the equality of opportunity, so is believed that successes in life come from working hard, determination and education, and not from birth. The government is regarded as a tool that helps create equality within society, and that determines the rules. Finally, liberals promote freedom from invasions of privacy or private decisions (Ellis & Stimson, 2012).

On the other hand, conservatives believe that individuals and communities create a successful society and not the government. Often the government’s ability is questioned and there is a preference on stimulating private businesses for innovation and growth, with no governmental actions taken that could hinder this process. Conservatives are strongly against efforts made by the government to provide benefits to people who, in their view, do not deserve them. They regard the government to be in charge of keeping a safe community and creating market freedoms. When discussing cultural matters, conservatives can have different perspectives. The more modern conservatives believe, that the government plays a

large part in encouraging and nurturing traditional values. Others believe the government should not regulate cultural freedoms or behaviours of people (Ellis & Stimson, 2012).

It is interesting to compare the ideologies of these groups when it comes to surveillance and privacy. According to Nam (2017), there are ideological differences between liberals and conservatives when it comes to surveillance and privacy concerns, as well as when it is an interference from the government in the personal sphere or the economic sphere. Conservatives find it acceptable for the American government to monitor communications from citizens, whereas liberals find this unacceptable. Additionally, when asked whether the government should interfere and regulate more what advertisers do with data collected from customers, conservatives answered that they did not want more involvement, and liberals agreed the government should regulate more. Generally, conservatives experienced less concern and liberals more concern with surveillance (Nam, 2017).

Privacy concerns are also experienced differently. Results from Nam (2017) show that liberals revealed to have higher levels of actual control efforts, by adapting the way they use technology based on their learning of governmental monitoring programmes. Liberals also have higher information sensitivity, so they consider more kinds of information to be sensitive, compared to conservatives. On the other hand, liberals had lower perceived confidentiality, considering how private personal records will last in the hands of government agencies, and perceived transparency, by believing that government agencies should only retain records of people's activities for a short period of time, compared to conservatives. Meaning, liberals are less confident in government agencies keeping personal records private and believing they should not be kept for a long period of time. To prevent further surveillance, liberals take more control to adapt their activity, as they consider more types of information to be more sensitive (Nam, 2017).

Boyer and Wallace (2017) conducted a content analysis on how American newspaper articles wrote about the new French surveillance legislation that had been passed in 2015. The new law allowed the French government to collect and reserve citizen's personal data, to help solve terrorism inquiries. The PATRIOT Act is considered very similar to the new French law, which authorizes the government to obtain personal data and material from citizens, by filing a National Security Letter (NSL). In their analysis, Boyer and Wallace (2017) examined illustrations, themes, sources quoted or direct references, tone, terminology used, law references and political leanings within the newspaper articles. Their results indicated that, generally, the articles had a neutral tone in the texts when referring to the

French surveillance law, which might have had to do with the fact that it was a law that involved a foreign government and could not impact American people. Many articles discussed the lack of regulations and oversight on data collections, which was argued to be because of the Snowden case, where the National Security Agency monitored citizens and governments without their permission. It shows that the Snowden's case continues to remain a topic of interest amongst journalists. A final interesting finding was the tendency for liberal leaning articles to present critical references to either the French or American surveillance laws (Boyer & Wallace, 2017). These critical reporting's of the surveillance law could have had an effect on how the public supported the legislation (Druckman & Parkin, 2005).

3.0 Research Design

The subsequent section will centre around the research design and selected approach. First, a general introduction of the method will be presented, followed by data collection and operationalization of the concepts previously discussed. Next, the data analysis will be explained, and finally, the ethical side of the method is reviewed, with regards to validity and reliability.

3.1 Research Method

To examine how journalists portray *The Social Dilemma* in news platform articles, a qualitative research method was used. A qualitative method dives deeper into latent meaning and context, whereas a quantitative method is often to test hypotheses (Schreier, 2013). According to Boeije (2010), qualitative analysis is about dividing data into categories and comparing them with each other to understand the social phenomenon which is being studied. It is often considered functional when examining smaller samples of data in great detail (Patton, 1987). This study aimed to uncover how journalists write about the documentary and compare this to the discourse of social media, privacy, and surveillance in the news. The data for this study was to be looked at in great detail. This method was viewed suitable for this study because the articles about the documentary were examined in detail and the discourses were divided into distinct categories to fully grasp journalists' opinions. A qualitative research method was preferred as it reduces data into smaller parts, it is systematic and flexible to conduct (Schreier, 2013).

More specifically, this study was conducted using critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis investigates texts and spoken language to see if they include certain representations or discourses on particular topics (Machin & Mayr, 2012). It allows a researcher to uncover how the author of the text uses language and grammatical features to write a certain way and convince the reader to think a particular way (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In the case of *The Social Dilemma*, the journalists could have used language in an approach that tries to knowingly persuade the reader to think about the documentary, privacy, and surveillance, in a particular manner.

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Approach to Sampling

For the study, articles from online American news platforms were considered. News platforms included internet portals of newspapers, magazines, broadcasting programmes or

cable news TV channels, radio, blogs, and general news publication sites. The United States of America as a country for analysis was chosen based on the statistics of social media usage within the country. America has around 223 million users (Clement, 2020b) and 85.5% internet user penetration (Clement, 2020a). Around 86% of American adults prefer to get their news from online news sources, by using their computers or tablets, compared to traditional TV, radio, or print publications (Shearer, 2021). These numbers are relatively high compared to the second Western country with the highest number of social media users in 2020, namely the United Kingdom with roughly 48 million users. Additionally, the documentary features Silicon Valley engineers and developers who, besides having worked for Silicon Valley-based platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, debate about surveillance and privacy. Therefore, it was considered interesting to discover how local journalists perceived this information.

3.2.2 Sampling

The articles used for the analysis were sampled according to the chart and scale as shown below. American news providers are divided on their views, as well as their (political) bias. AllSides (2021b) is a balanced news source that provides news from all areas on the political spectrum, to better inform citizens. One of their expertise is creating ratings of media bias by using multi-partisan, scientific analysis, to create overviews and charts of the different news sources, as shown in Figure 1. On the other hand, there is the Pew Research Center (2014), a nonpartisan fact source that informs the public on issues and trends, that shape America and the world. They conducted a survey on web respondents using 10 political value questions, to create a scale with news sources from the more liberal and more conservative spectrum (Pew Research Center, 2014). Their scale is shown in Figure 2.

AllSides™ Media Bias Chart™

All ratings are based on online content only — not TV, print, or radio content.
Ratings do not reflect accuracy or credibility; they reflect perspective only.

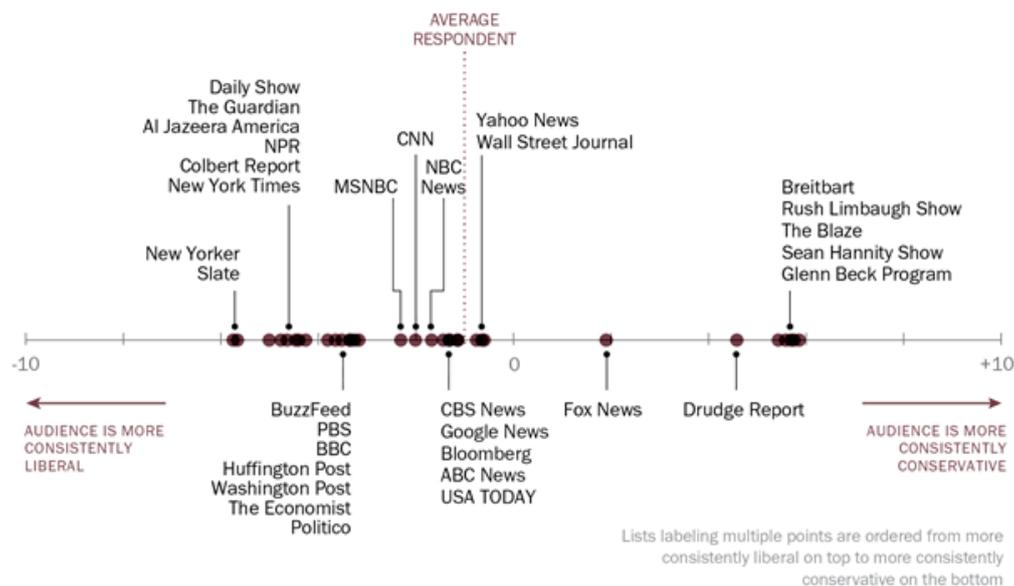


AllSides Media Bias Ratings™ are based on multi-partisan, scientific analysis. Visit AllSides.com to view hundreds of media bias ratings. Version 4 | AllSides 2021

Figure 1. American News Media Bias Chart (AllSides, 2021a).

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.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 2. News Source on Political Spectrum (Pew Research Center, 2014).

Based on the chart and scale, both liberal and conservative news sources were chosen, starting from the outer spectrum (highly biased liberal or conservative) towards the centre (the least biased). The news platform portals were checked to see if they had articles about *The Social Dilemma*.

The articles were sampled from January 1st, 2020 till April 13th, 2021. Data collection took place on April 14th, 2021. The release date of the documentary was September 9th, 2020, but because there were pre-release news articles, it was regarded beneficial to include these articles as well. The average article lifespan is 2.6 days (Carr, 2015), so it was expected to find the majority of the published articles around September 9th and within 2-3 days after the release of the documentary.

When collecting the articles, the considered platforms' sites were checked to see if they included any articles on *The Social Dilemma*. The following search terms were used: "the social dilemma," "the social dilemma documentary," "the social dilemma Jeff Orlowski," "Jeff Orlowski," "documentary," "surveillance" and "privacy". The release date

of the article was taken into account, as well as the subject of the article. To check if the articles were of relevance for the analysis, they had to meet the following criteria: include “The Social Dilemma” in their headline or first paragraph of the article, talk about privacy, surveillance, control of data, monitoring or manipulating of users, or monetizing users. Visuals within the articles were not a mandatory sampling criterion but were included in the analysis. News articles that were not included due to irrelevance were the following: articles that only briefly mentioned the documentary, articles discussing new movies from 2020, articles that talked about the documentary but did not dive deeper into the issues, articles that discussed issues mentioned in the documentary (e.g. misinformation or negative health impact of social media) but not about privacy or surveillance, articles published by University news platforms and articles featured on international news platforms (e.g. *The Guardian* or *Daily Mail*), that are not originally American platforms.

There were quite a number of news platforms from the media bias chart and scale that did not include articles relating to the documentary, including newspapers (e.g. *The New Yorker* and *The Epoch Times*), news-based TV channels (e.g. *CNN* and *CBN*), and magazines (e.g. *Newsweek* and *The American Conservative*). As not a lot of the news platforms from the media bias chart and scale included articles relating to the documentary, an advanced Google search was conducted for additional articles, with the search terms “the social dilemma Jeff Orlowski privacy surveillance monitoring OR control.” The time span of the search was again from January 1st, 2020 till April 13th, 2021. The articles that appeared in Google were chosen according to the chronological order they appeared. Just as before, the news platform’s sites were checked for relevant articles. Additionally, the news platform’s biases were checked using Media Bias/Fact Check (2021) and AllSides’ media bias ratings (2021b). Once all of the articles had been collected, a Word document was created to report all of the different documents, as well as an Excel sheet with an overview of all of the liberal and conservative platforms and the number of articles collected from each platform, as shown in Table 2 in Appendix A.

For a qualitative critical discourse analysis, the dataset should include the number of articles necessary to reach saturation, when no additional information is provided (Schreier, 2013). At first, the sample included 25 news platform articles. However, due to irrelevance, 3 articles had to be removed from the study. In total, there were 22 news platform articles included in this research study. 14 articles from liberal news platforms and 8 articles from conservative platforms. It was more difficult to gather conservative articles on the topic, because many conservative platforms did not discuss the documentary or did not meet the

sampling criteria of reporting about surveillance and/or privacy, therefore the analysis included more liberal articles.

3.3 Operationalization

3.3.1 Data Surveillance

For the operationalization of *surveillance*, Van der Schyff and his team's (2020) key enablers of data surveillance were taken into account: technological advances, technological profiling, and lack of adequate privacy legislation (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). These terms coincide with Lyon's (1998) theory on cyberspace surveillance and invading people's privacy and were therefore used to examine the language that describes surveillance.

Surveillance can be regarded as either positive or negative, thus it was important to include both in the study. Although *The Social Dilemma* mainly focuses on commercial businesses targeting online consumers, the positive effects of surveillance on health care and public safety were also taken into account as journalists could use these arguments to portray a certain side of the concept.

As Plangger and Montecchi (2020) mention in their article, commercial businesses use surveillance to gain insights into their customer behaviours and use this to their advantage to improve strategy and target the audience more effectively. *The Social Dilemma* discusses this issue a lot, therefore it was highly likely for news platforms to report this issue with regards to the documentary. Any referral to businesses using data from customers for their own commercial gain was recorded and analysed.

Besides commercial businesses, the government and intelligence practitioners also have a duty to monitor people, for the good of humanity. Cayford and Pieter (2018) came up with a list of seven measures of effectiveness with surveillance programmes, including thwarted attacks, lives saved, terrorist (and criminal) organizations destroyed, output, context, support, and informed policymaker. These aligned with Van der Schyff and his team's (2020) positive outcomes of data surveillance, including: 'administrative efficiency' and 'initial increase in information security awareness.' Both the seven measures and two outcomes were used to examine the language that described surveillance.

3.3.2 Privacy

For the operationalization of *privacy*, Van der Schyff and his team's (2020) description of two negative outcomes of data surveillance within a historical context were used. The negative outcomes were 'misuse of personal information' or violating privacy,

and ‘social control,’ (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). These terms were taken into account when critically analysing the texts on how journalists portray the documentary, with regards to surveillance and privacy risks.

3.4 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

After collecting the data, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was conducted by examining both the texts and the visuals included in the articles. CDA “concerns with how language and/or semiosis interconnect with other elements of social life, and especially a concern with language and/or semiosis figure in unequal relations of power, in processes of exploitation and domination of some people by others,” (McHoul & Rapley 2001, p.25). Therefore, the research aimed to discover how semiosis connects with other issues, by critically analysing obscure connections between the significance of language, and other elements, such as the different power relations. How power is exercised through language (McHoul & Rapley, 2001).

3.4.2 Fairclough’s (1995) CDA Model

There are many different ways to approach CDA. Fairclough’s (1995) dialectical-relational approach examines how language reflects social conflict in discourse, through the means of three dimensions: textual analysis that examines the object of analysis, the processing or discourse analysis which looks at the process in which the object is produced and/or received, and finally the social analysis, where the socio-historical conditions that control the process it is produced and received in, are looked at (Janks, 1997).

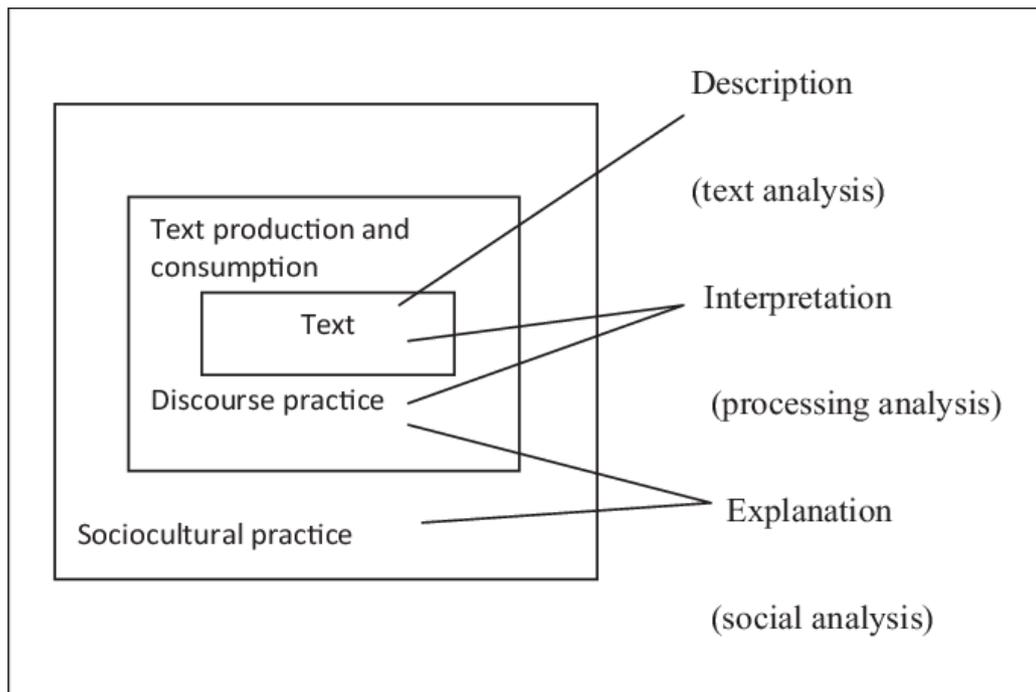


Figure 3. Fairclough's Framework for CDA (Dahl et al., 2014)

The first dimension of analysis involved the textual analysis, by essentially looking at the linguistics used to describe *The Social Dilemma*, with regards to privacy and surveillance. Here, it was important to consider both verbal and visual signs. The analysis considered how the different lexical choices produced meaning (Machin & Mayr, 2012), by looking at the five lexical choices in language from Machin and Mayr (2012): word connotations, overlexicalization, suppression or lexical absence, structural oppositions, lexical choices and genre of communication. *Word connotations* look at the words used in the text and what idea or emotion they bring. *Overlexicalization* is the repetition, overemphasis or use of synonyms with words to persuade the reader. *Suppression* uncovers what words are present or not in the text. *Structural oppositions* suggest differences by proposing opposites. Finally, *lexical choices and genre of communication* are about the type of language used to show authority or power over the reader (Machin & Mayr, 2012). These five lexical choices were coded in Atlas.ti, a computer programme that helps analyse texts or visuals better.

The second dimension examines the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of the text, by regarding the context or the relationship between texts and how the discourse of the text relates to other discourses (Fairclough, 1995). Intertextuality focuses on how elements (e.g. words, subjects, arguments) from other texts are used within the text that is being analysed, such as referencing or using information from another text. On the other hand,

interdiscursivity looks at the combination of different genres, discourses, and styles that distinguish the text and look for hidden meanings (Wodak, 2011). Again, the intertextuality and interdiscursivity were coded within Atlas.ti, to be able to see the connections between the textual analysis and discourse analysis.

Finally, the last dimension in CDA is the socio-historical practices, which examines the history of how writers or in this case journalists, write about a certain topic and how the text that is being studied fits into this wider sense (Fairclough, 1995). For this study, the history of press coverage on issues like privacy and surveillance was compared with the articles on *The Social Dilemma*, and how they related to or have evolved from these socio-historical discourses. These comparisons were not coded within Atlas.ti, as this would take up too many codes and create a confusing overview. Instead, the socio-historical practices were written down in the comments of each article. If any article included an interesting comparison with previous press coverage, it was noted down.

After having read and analysed the different articles, there was a total of 347 codes. As this was a very large amount, each code was re-examined, to consider its relevance to the study. The re-examination led to the reduction from 347 codes to 217 codes in total. 104 codes were removed entirely, due to irrelevance, and 26 codes were merged with other codes. There were many codes included that discussed the praise or criticism towards the documentary, as well as the critique on the political bias of the film. As these codes did not have anything specifically to do with surveillance or privacy, they were removed from Atlas.ti and the study as a whole.

3.4.2 Visual Social Semiotics

Besides looking at a text, this study also included visual social semiotics, as it can persuade the reader of a certain perspective by helping with the meaning-making of an image in a text (Harrison, 2003). It should be noted that CDA was the main focus of analysis, and visual social semiotics was part of analysis but not the main focus. Therefore, the visuals included in the news articles were not studied in great depth.

According to Jewitt and Oyama (2001), visual social semiotics is “the description of semiotic resources, what can be said and done with images (and other visual means of communication) and how the things people say and do with images can be interpreted,” (p.136). Images can be categorized into three different types. An *icon* can resemble what already exists or what humans already know about a certain person or object. An *index* is a

recognizable image because of the relationship it has with the idea it stands for. Finally, a *symbol* has no conceptual relationship to a certain person or object (Harrison, 2003).

Table 1. Metafunctional Framework (Harrison, 2003).

Metafunctional Framework		
Representational metafunction	Narrative	Action
		Reactional
	Conceptual	Classificatory
		Analytical
		Symbolic
Interpersonal metafunction	Image act & gaze	
	Social distance and intimacy	
	Perspective	Horizontal angle and involvement
	Perspective	Vertical angle and power
Compositional metafunction	Information value	
	Saliency	
	Framing	
	Modality	

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) created a framework to explain how an image can create meaning by implement three types of tasks: representational metafunction, interpersonal metafunction, and compositional metafunction. Representational metafunction describes what the image is about by looking at what is present (e.g. the people, places and objects). The interpersonal metafunction examines the actions involved with the different participants from either production or consumption, so the person who views the image, and how they engage everyone. Lastly, the compositional metafunction looks at the whole, by combining the previous metafunctions, to see how it becomes a meaningful image (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). Each visual included in *The Social Dilemma* news articles was analysed using the three image categories and three metafunctions.

3.4.3 Atlas.ti

To make the data analysis process more convenient, the computer programme Atlas.ti was used. The articles were uploaded into the programme and grouped according to their media bias. The first step was to get familiar with the data, by reading it a couple of times. Next, CDA was performed. The software was useful when working with large qualitative data sets, to make it easier to organize the work. Moreover, it saved time and argued to enhance credibility by being transparent and able to reproduce the findings (Hwang, 2008).

3.5 Validity and Reliability

3.5.1 Validity

It was important to consider the credibility of the study, by looking at the validity and reliability. According to Leung (2015), validity is the “‘appropriateness’ of the tools, processes and data,” (p.4). Silverman (2011) offers five tools to validate qualitative studies, including analytic induction, constant comparison, deviant-case analysis, comprehensive data treatment and using appropriate tabulation. With analytic induction, the researcher tries to achieve the most suitable theoretical structure for the research and data. Constant comparison helps a researcher describe the difference of a certain phenomenon by constantly comparing his or her findings from previous cycles. Deviant-case analysis looks for cases or data that does not fit the expectation. Comprehensive data treatment holds the belief that the researcher should not end the analysis until all of the applicable data is considered. Finally, using appropriate tabulation is the technique whereby quantity or counting helps the researcher understand the commonness of data (Silverman, 2011).

For this study, two of Silverman’s (2011) tools for validation were applicable: constantly comparing and using appropriate tabulation. By constantly comparing findings or codes from the news platform articles, the data could be checked to see if it measured what it was supposed to measure (Silverman, 2011). If there were deviant cases or codes, such as the news platform articles that were removed from the study, then the articles had to be re-examined to measure the validity to the research.

Moreover, by using appropriate tabulation the researcher could identify the commonness of the codes that applied to surveillance and to privacy. Appropriate tabulation even helped to identify similarities and differences between conservative and liberal articles, in order to answer the second sub-question.

3.5.2 Reliability

Reliability is the “exact replicability of the processes and the results,” (Leung 2015, p.5). Analysing a text is seen as quite reliable as it is already available in its raw form. To increase reliability for this research, the categories and codes that were used to analyse the texts were used the same way throughout the research analysis, so any observer could replicate the study (Silverman, 2011). Using tools can help increase reliability. By using Atlas.ti and writing out comments or memos, the reliability of the research was increased as this made it easier for other researchers to understand the analysis and conduct the research themselves.

4.0 Results & Discussion

The following section includes the results of the analysis, with a discussion of the theory. First, some of the general findings will be reported to create an overview of the process. Following, are the main findings. As the aim of the study is to uncover how journalists portray the documentary with regards to surveillance and privacy, these concepts were separately discussed using Fairclough's (1995) CDA model. Next, the visual social semiotics will be reviewed, to see if the images in the articles created meaning for the texts. Finally, a comparison is made between liberal and conservative news platform articles.

4.1 General Findings

The critical discourse analysis created a total of 217 codes, as shown in Table 2 in Appendix B. This could be regarded as a large number of codes, yet the majority of the codes were coded for *word connotation*, during textual analysis. A total of 97 codes were dedicated to different words and sentences that brought a certain idea or emotion in the article.

In total, the 22 different articles contained an average of 52.77 different codes per article. 15 out of the 22 articles coded below the average, so merely 7 articles had more codes. One article in particular, namely a liberal article by *Jacobin*, turned out to be very relevant to the study and contained the highest number of codes, a total of 95 different codes. The platforms articles with the lowest number of codes were *The New York Times* (liberal), *The Washington Post* (liberal), *Daily Wire* (conservative), *The Wall Street Journal* (conservative) and *Washington Examiner* (conservative).

The majority of the articles from the sample did not directly discuss the matter of privacy with regards to *The Social Dilemma*. The word 'privacy' was only coded 7 times in total. Of course, different codes were associated with or indicated to privacy, yet the actual word was only present 7 times. On the other hand, the word 'surveillance' was present 9 times in total. Again, this is not a large amount and there were other codes associated with surveillance. Nevertheless, the news platform articles discussed the notion of 'surveillance' more often than 'privacy'.

4.2 Main Findings

Besides the general findings, the study focused on the representations of both surveillance and privacy with regards to *The Social Dilemma*. As it was examined how journalists portrayed the discourses of surveillance and privacy, the main findings include

the further dissecting of both concepts. Firstly, the codes and discourses about surveillance will be discussed. Afterwards, the codes and discourses of privacy are examined. The codes from Fairclough’s (1995) three-dimensional CDA framework have been separately analysed for surveillance and privacy. The code forests made for the textual and discourse analysis can be found in Appendix B, sections 1-4.

4.2.1 Surveillance

The results show that surveillance was a highly reported topic amongst the news platform articles. Figures 8-12 present the textual analysis of surveillance, including many codes that were associated with the concept. Figures 13 and 14 present the discourse analysis with surveillance. Even though all of the codes were equally important and all added value to the study, not all of the codes could be discussed in great detail. As a solution, the most interrelated and relevant textual and discourse analysis codes were merged into a flowchart, presented below in Figure 4.

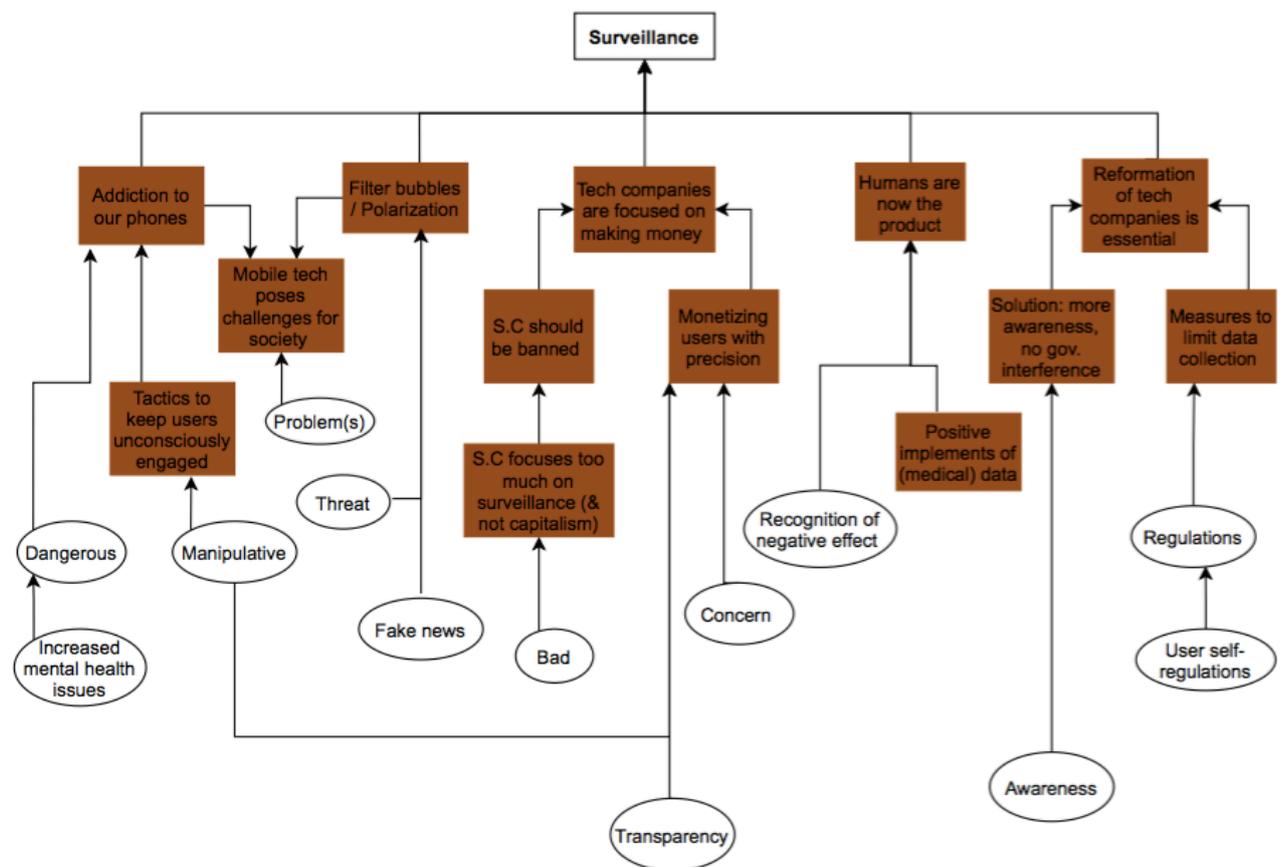


Figure 4. Most relevant textual and discourse analysis codes on surveillance.

The first dimension of Fairclough's (1995) CDA was the textual analysis, where the linguistics used in the articles to discuss the topic of surveillance, were examined. Through the textual analysis it became clear that a large part of the articles were negative when writing about surveillance. The most striking result was that majority of the words had a negative connotation or an alarming tone, especially when discussing data collection and manipulation on social media platforms. Therefore, the journalists were persuading the reader that surveillance is not a positive topic, but an important conversation to have.

There were many word connotations found within the articles that represented the issue of surveillance, as shown in Figure 8 in Appendix B. A few examples of these codes presented there are 'addiction', 'alarm', 'dangerous', and 'threats'. These were some of the most recurrent codes from the analysis and they could all be considered a 'negative' code, targeting negative emotions and ideas from the reader about surveillance. For example, the word 'dangerous' automatically connotes alarm for the reader, as it is a negative word that enlightens the idea that surveillance on social media platforms is bad. The journalists who used these negative words could be regarded as signallers, by warning the reader about the negative effects surveillance has (Patterson, 1995).

The overlexicalisation codes were words or sentences that were repeated and overemphasized throughout the articles. Again, many codes had a negative emotion or idea when discussing surveillance. Codes such as 'concern', 'collecting data', or 'predict/manipulate your behaviour' were repeated multiple times within the articles, and this could allow the reader to become afraid and worry about what surveillance does to users. It is widely known that users' data are collected and manipulated on social media platforms (Paasonen, 2018), yet there has not been a lot of actions taken to prevent this. As many journalists reported the 'facts' of how these platforms collect and monetize users, it came across as a natural phenomenon (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017). By putting a lot of emphasis on words like 'collecting data' and 'predict/manipulate your behaviour', the journalists tried to persuade the reader that these issues are normalized in society, yet they are negative topics that are important to converse about. By writing about it often, and in a negative way, the reader might be convinced that surveillance should not be normalized and is a bad phenomenon.

There were several suppression or lexical absence codes present in the study that were associated with surveillance, such as 'behavioural tracking device', 'surveillance capitalism', and 'monetize their users.' These are presented in Figure 10 in Appendix B. All these codes directly or indirectly represented surveillance on social media platforms, with

many articles placing emphasis on prediction and manipulation of user's behaviour, and how this essentially controls users online. The journalists placed a large emphasis on the issue by discussing it often and acting as signallers to warn the reader of the negative consequences predicting and manipulating online behaviour can create (Patterson, 1995).

Words have an individual meaning, but can also be a part of a web of meanings when combined or opposed (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Structural opposition codes were not very common in the articles. The most recurrent oppositions were 'utopia and dystopia', to describe how social media started as a "utopian dream" (Pankova, *The New Republic*) but along the way created a dystopian world with addiction, polarization, and mental health issues. Journalists that used this opposition, framed social media descriptively as both utopian and dystopian by suggesting to the reader that it includes both negative and positive factors.

The last part of the textual analysis included the lexical choices and genres in communication (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The news platform journalists had multiple ways of framing information on surveillance to show their authority, as featured in Figure 12. The most common lexical choice was satirical speech, which was often used when the journalist was criticizing the documentary or when explaining manipulation of users. Satire is a form of ridicule, so essentially the journalist was ridiculing the reader for not understanding the issue with surveillance. The fact that journalists report about manipulation and ridicule readers for not recognizing the importance of the subject, contributes to the persuasion that surveillance is normalized in society and that it has to change. It makes the journalists seem like the ultimate signallers (Patterson, 1995), who want to wake up the readers and persuade them that surveillance is an issue that needs to be addressed more. However, when looking closely at the results, it did not seem as if the journalists were criticizing surveillance but merely stating the fact that it has become a natural phenomenon, and actually contributed to this normalization (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017).

The second dimension of CDA was the discourse analysis, which examined the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of the texts about surveillance (Fairclough, 1995). The intertextuality focused on the relationship between texts by examining elements used from other texts (Wodak, 2011). There were 3 different types of intertextuality used to discuss surveillance: citations, quotations, and references, as shown in Figure 13. The majority of the articles favoured using quotations from experts of tech companies and references to other texts about surveillance. These intertextuality types could help frame the articles in such a way that steered the audience's attention to that information (Herzog, 2021). As Wahl-

Jorgensen and her colleagues (2017) discovered, journalists strive for objectivity by using professional opinions to create a framework of interpretation. So the facts presented within the quotes and references on surveillance created a framework of interpretation where the reader could understand the issue a certain way, based on the information provided (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017). As it was discovered that many words and phrases had a negative connotation, it could be stated that the quotes and references were used to steer the audience towards a negative association with surveillance.

Throughout the analysis and within the articles, there were different discourses relating to surveillance. Due to the large amount, only the relevant discourses were included in Figure 4, and the total number of discourses in Figure 14 in Appendix B. As shown in Figure 4, there were roughly 5 main topics or discourses reported in relation to surveillance: the issue of addiction to our phones, filter bubbles or polarization, tech companies focusing too much on making money, human beings becoming a product that can be bought, and the essential call for reformation of tech companies.

The issue of addiction was a popular topic within the articles. Besides ‘addiction’ being an overlexicalisation code, there was also the discourse ‘Addiction to our phones,’ throughout the analysis. An example of this is in the following extract:

The spell is cast for the most part by smartphones like the one I just used to check Twitter out of a sudden desire to find out what was going on, meaning a need to relieve my anxiety while I figured out a transition from the previous paragraph to this one (Morgenstern, *The Wall Street Journal*).

The journalist wrote this passage in an informal way, a way to show authority over the reader. By explaining addiction to our phones in an easy way for the reader to understand it well, the journalist created authority over the reader (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The journalist portrayed his own addiction, by expressing how he feels a desire to use his phone and check his social media to “relieve [his] anxiety,” (Morgenstern, *The Wall Street Journal*). His description of phone and social media addiction correlated to Hou’s and his colleagues’ (2019) definition of addiction, where there is a compulsion, urge, or in this case, desire to use the platforms excessively. The journalist mentioned his negative mental health by explaining how anxious he feels when not checking his phone. By using social media excessively or checking his phone often, the journalist was experiencing a decline in his mental health, which is one of the negative effects social media addiction can have on users

(Hou et al., 2019). Hence, the code ‘increased mental health issues’ was coded in correlation to the discussion of addiction, as shown in Figure 4.

Another important discourse that was part of the issue of addiction, was that of ‘tactics to keep users unconsciously engaged.’ Using a reference to Chamath Palihapitiya, a previous Facebook executive, the journalist refers to tactics applied to keep users engaged with the content online.

...trying out minute tactics that would work below the radar of conscious awareness to keep them hooked and goad them into “engaging” more. Default settings, infinite scrolling, “read receipts,” and alerts that another user is typing, are all examples of such tactics (Seymour, *Jacobin*).

The tactics enhance user engagement and can contribute to user’s addiction. However, these tactics can also be considered a form of manipulation, as Facebook tries to gain insights into the behaviour of its users. By engaging more with them, they can use technological profiling to create personal profiles of users (Van der Schyff et al., 2020), which can be sold to advertisers who can use this information to target their customers better (Plangger & Montecchi, 2020). Essentially, the journalists negatively framed these tactics, by informing the reader of the consequences this has on potential addiction or manipulation on social platforms.

The second topic of discussion was that of filter bubbles or polarization amongst users. Here, the discourse tried to persuade the reader that social media is dividing users into separate groups, based on their interests, collected data, and online behaviours. The extract presented below is from Justice (*The Federalist*) and uses a quote from a Facebook expert who refers to the *Truman Show*, to discuss the topic of polarization.

“It’s 2.7 billion ‘Truman Shows,’” says Roger McNamee, an early investor in Facebook. “Each person has their own reality with their own facts,” where Facebook controls the newsfeeds of people who think they are being given the same information as their neighbors, and therefore failing to even comprehend opposing viewpoints. That is, of course, whether they can tolerate them (Justice, *The Federalist*).

The words “Facebook controls the newsfeed...” (Justice, *The Federalist*) explains how social media platforms control user’s information and manipulate the content provided on their feed in accordance with user behaviour and data that has been collected. It almost makes it seem like a natural phenomenon of having lost control over personal data (Van der Schyff et al., 2020).

The journalist reported the control and manipulation of content from users. It is regarded a form of manipulation because Facebook controls the newsfeed by favouring an idea and redirecting the attention to certain data (Fitzpatrick, 2018). The type of content a user receives can manipulate their behaviour online (Kramer et al., 2014). Therefore, if users are manipulated into certain filter bubbles, they only see what the platforms want them to see. Not everyone receives the same information, so many people are polarized into groups with opposing viewpoints, which can create friction or conflict.

Fake news was a code that was considered part of the discourse on polarization. It is a type of misinformation that includes false information on social media which can be hard to detect (Wu et al., 2019). It is a part of polarization, as fake news can be spread very quickly on social media, and create these filter bubbles with users who believe their news to be truth. The word does not have a positive connotation and is one of the many stimulations towards user polarization. The journalists did not write about these topics in a positive way, therefore they tried to convince the reader that monitoring their behaviour is concerning since it can cause polarization amongst users and eventually society.

The third discourse that was mentioned in the articles was that of tech companies being too focused on making money. This discourse also included: surveillance capitalism should be banned, surveillance capitalism focuses too much on surveillance and not on capitalism, and monetizing users with precision. These discourses fell under the interdiscursivity of tech companies focusing too much on making money, as the general idea behind collecting and monetizing user’s data, is to make a profit.

“I think we need to accept that it’s OK for companies to be focused on making money,” says Sandy Parakilas, former operations manager at Facebook and product manager at Uber (Pankova, *The New Republic*).

Above is a quotation from *The New Republic*, where Sandy Parakilas, a former Facebook employee, explains how users and society in general, have to accept the ideology that businesses exist to make a profit. Normally, commercial businesses monitor users in

order to gain insights into their behaviours, to market their products better. Their actions consist of targeting customers more efficiently to receive a higher profit in the end (Plangger & Montecchi, 2020). Although this is a common action, the journalist of this article intentionally used this quote to normalize surveillance. “We need to accept that it’s OK for companies to be focused on making money,” (Pankova, *The New Republic*) comes across as if society has to accept the phenomenon of surveillance. If users accept that companies are focused on making money, then they indirectly accept that companies monitor everyone, collect their data and monetize them. Pankova (*The New Republic*) was reluctant to criticize the concept of surveillance and used Sandy Parakilas as a source for information that framed the phenomenon of surveillance and monetization as normal (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017). People tend to be more comfortable with surveillance and privacy invasions from corporations because they regard it as less threatening (Connor & Doan, 2019). Yet many people are also unaware of the risks surveillance and data collection brings (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). The use of this quote within the article could be viewed as a bias towards normalizing surveillance and monetizing users, which influences public opinion (Gil de Zúñiga & Hinsley, 2013).

Adding to this discourse, were two discourses focused on surveillance capitalism. As previously mentioned, surveillance capitalism uses information to predict and manipulate user’s behaviours in order to make a profit (Zuboff, 2015). Multiple articles included quotes or references to Shoshana Zuboff, the creator of the term, yet only a few articles referred to her belief of banning surveillance capitalism. These articles showed some sort of critique towards the surveillance capitalism culture within tech companies, as the journalists portrayed her view on the concept. However, a great number of articles did not approach this topic critically. It was expected that surveillance capitalism would be mentioned more often throughout the articles in relation to manipulation and monetization of users, as Zuboff (2015) created the term to explain these issues happening in our online and offline world. However, majority of the journalists only briefly mentioned the term without criticizing it, and therefore indirectly contributed to the normalization of surveillance capitalism.

The fourth discourse of the study was of humans now being the product, the highest coded discourse in the articles on *The Social Dilemma*, with regards to surveillance. It often referred to Tristan Harris’ quote, “if the product is free, you’re the product,” (Crust, *Chicago Tribune*). As shown in Figure 4, there were both positive and negative outcomes from humans being the product, but it was interesting to discuss the positive implements as these

were not included often, yet they showed how some journalists tried to report more balanced by including both sides.

But the biggest point that Podnar feels the documentary left out was the fact that tech companies can align their business models to use AI and data for good. "You could use data to screen individuals for signs of impending suicide or mental event and prevent that or treat the individual," Podnar lists as an example. "Alignment is needed, rather than an all-or-nothing proposition that the documentary seems to present," (Wylde, *Bustle*).

Surveillance can have a positive effect when the user's data is used for medical purposes, such as portrayed in the example. By gathering all of this data, public health experts can identify possible signs of health issues and can take measures to prevent this from happening (Aiello et al., 2020). Instead of focusing on the negative side of surveillance, the journalist of *Bustle* reported a positive implementation of collected data and created a conduit account of framing (Brüggemann, 2014).

The last discourse of surveillance was the necessity of reformation with tech companies. It could be viewed as a positive and optimistic discourse that stimulated users and tech companies to take action. "According to Jaron Lanier, a computer scientist, VR pioneer and author, the stakes for reform could not be higher..." was an example from *Chicago Tribune* (Crust, *Chicago Tribune*). The journalist quoted an expert to address the importance of change. According to Van der Schyff and his colleagues (2020), three enablers contributed to the increase of surveillance: technological advances, technological profiling, and lack of adequate privacy laws. Due to these enablers, tech companies have been able to collect a lot of data from their users, without any consequences (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). What the documentary and some news platform articles were communicating, was the need for change and reformations. By reducing or destroying technological profiling, and increasing regulations and privacy laws, user's data would be much safer. Self-regulations are ways to prevent surveillance or at least minimize it. The journalists who reported these regulations raised awareness via their news platform articles and helped break the normalization of surveillance, by educating users and readers of the actions tech companies are taking.

The final dimension of CDA was the socio-historical practices, which examined the articles and topics discussed in the wider perspective, by comparing them with previous

press coverage (Fairclough, 1995). Surveillance was a largely covered topic throughout the news platform articles, through the means of different codes which were all related to the topic. A dominant focus was put on data collection from social media users or the prediction and manipulation of their behaviours.

The opinions towards surveillance differed between the news platform articles. Some articles were very objective when framing the issue of surveillance. For example, *The Verge*'s journalist acknowledged other factors influence what users see online, and not just an algorithm created by tech companies. She wrote, "we have to treat it as one part of a much bigger problem," (Robertson, *The Verge*). Additionally, there were journalists that portrayed the positive effects of social media, such as treating or preventing health issues (Aiello et al., 2020), catching criminals (Levinson-Waldman, 2018; Cayford & Pieters, 2018), and marketers being able to target the right customers (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). Essentially, the journalists that framed their articles more objectively, were using a conduit account by providing multiple frames to create more neutrality towards the topic (Brüggemann, 2014). Objectivity and neutrality are greatly appreciated, especially amongst American citizens. So from the reader's perspective, the journalists who framed their articles neutrally, achieved their role as a journalist (Willnat et al., 2019).

Furthermore, a larger part of the articles expressed criticism or concern towards the documentary and the negative effects of social media. Social media addiction was by far the most covered topic and related to Hou's and his colleagues' (2019) study, by discussing how the increase of social media usage, also increases mental health issues. Journalists also expressed their worry about data collection and the monetization of users without the awareness nor permission of users. As Van der Schyff and his team (2020) explain, the more people use social media, the higher the chance that their data can be observed and surveillance becomes normalized. Journalists who tended to focus more on the negative outcomes could be considered of having used a filtered account, as the journalist's perspectives were dominant throughout the articles (Brüggemann, 2014). Moreover, the way a journalist frames a certain topic can have a large influence on how the reader understands the topic and creates their own interpretation of it (Herzog, 2021). Since the journalists were rather negative towards social media and surveillance, the reader could have been persuaded to think similarly and create a negative framework towards the topics.

There were quite a number of journalists that indirectly contributed to the normalization of surveillance. Often the journalists would use quotes or certain words that would suggest that surveillance has become a natural phenomenon. For example, in *The New*

Republic, quoted the words, “I think we need to accept that it’s OK for companies to be focused on making money,” (Pankova, *The New Republic*). The journalist, just like many others from the study, contributed to the normalization of surveillance by accepting it as a necessary phenomenon. Users are unworried about losing control over their data because they receive high usability in return (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017). Businesses make money off of user’s data, so if users accept they want to make a profit and allow them to collect their data, users accept that they are the product. This correlates to what Connor and Doan (2019) discovered in their study, when users are more comfortable with surveillance and privacy invasions from corporations because they do not consider this a threat and have become used to it. Additionally, the journalists that overemphasized data collection, manipulation, and monetization, were fully aware of the fact that surveillance is occurring but lack sufficient criticism towards it, and therefore tended to normalize it (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017). As Marwick (2012) states, users are less worried about businesses observing their online behaviour, compared to their social networks. Surveillance has been internalized and become part of user’s everyday experience (Lyon, 2018). Multiple articles discussed surveillance capitalism but only a few mentioned Zuboff’s (2015) wish to ban it within the tech company industry. There was a lack of criticism towards surveillance capitalism and no solutions were provided to help resolve the issue.

Opposing, were the articles which did not normalize surveillance, by expressing concern and proposing solutions towards the subject. For example, *Forbes* published an interview with Jeff Orlowski about *The Social Dilemma*. Orlowski was asked about the likelihood that regulations would be placed on the industry. His response was, “Washington is starting to recognize that they’ve let this industry run entirely unregulated for so many years now that have created these consequences,” (Dawson, 2020). There has been a recognition of surveillance on social media platforms and a concern about the negative effects it has brought upon users. Proposed solutions and regulations would help protect data and reduce surveillance. Journalists that reported these solutions and regulations in their articles, fought against the normalization of surveillance.

When examining the representation of different social groups, the articles were quite varied. Aripova and Bashmakova (2019) uncovered how American news portrayed users as victims, tech companies as villains, and privacy regulators as disappointing the public, when it came to reporting about Internet privacy concerns. Similarly, journalists from the study featured users as victims of tech companies, and tech companies as the ‘bad guys.’ “It’s fascinating to see how social media works from the inside, how it preys upon human

weakness and works overtime to inflame partisan divides,” (Toto, *Daily Wire*) is a great example of a journalist who represents the users as victims who fall under the traps of tech companies that “prey upon human weaknesses,” (Toto, *Daily Wire*). It frames tech companies as evil people who victimize users by manipulating their online behaviours. Another example is from *Slate*, stating “on the plus side, it informs a wide audience about issues like surveillance, persuasive design practices, and the spread of misinformation online, which may encourage them to hold big technology companies accountable,” (Malhotra, *Slate*). The journalists tried to persuade the reader that tech companies have bad intentions and need to be held responsible.

Contrarily, some articles had a more ‘neutral’ approach towards the different social groups, which was quite the opposite of Aripova and Bashmakova’s (2019) findings. For example, in the *Washington Examiner*, the journalist did not put the blame necessarily on tech companies. He even praised them for their good achievements and the positive outcomes that social media has created, such as fighting against political extremism. Instead, the journalist put the ‘blame’ on society itself. People or users have the freedom to control their data and need to take their own responsibility (Given, *Washington Examiner*). Here, the journalist convinced the reader that he or she should acknowledge their responsibility with social media platforms, and exercise their freedom to regulate their data.

4.2.2 Privacy

Compared to the topic of surveillance, the issue of privacy was reported very little throughout the news platform articles. The results show that surveillance was a much bigger topic throughout the analysis, whereas privacy was less reviewed. Figures 15-18 include the textual analysis, and Figure 19 and 20 display the discourse analysis, with privacy. There were no structural oppositions present in the articles, therefore it was concluded that this lexical choice in language did not apply to this subject. A general overview of the most relevant textual and discourse analysis codes was integrated into a flowchart, shown below in Figure 5.

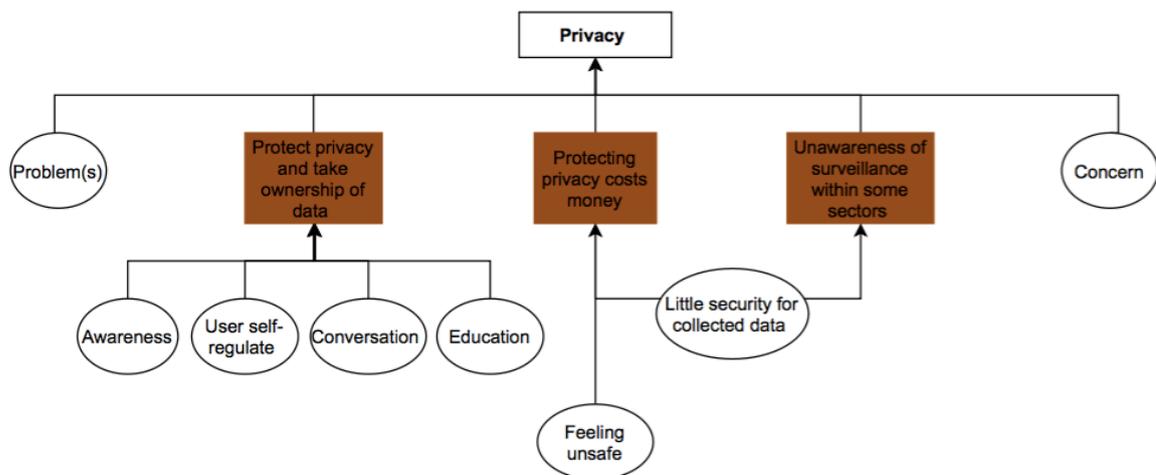


Figure 5. Most relevant textual and discourse analysis codes on surveillance.

Firstly, the textual analysis was conducted by looking at the linguistics used within the articles, with regards to privacy. The analysis showed similar results compared with the findings on surveillance. Many of the words or sentences used to describe privacy were negative or created a negative emotion within the text. Codes such as ‘concern’, ‘feeling unsafe’ and ‘little security’ could raise alarm from the reader. It should be noted that numerous codes were also optimistic and more positive. For example, the codes ‘education’, ‘conversation’, and ‘user self-regulations’ were considered more positive because they are solutions for fighting against privacy violations. It provided the reader with more optimism for the future of privacy. All of the word connotation codes can be found in Figure 15 in Appendix B.

There were only a few overlexicalisation codes found in the analysis. These codes are shown in Figure 16 in Appendix B, and included: ‘awareness’, ‘concern’, ‘education’, ‘problem(s)’, and ‘protecting privacy’. The codes ‘problem(s)’ and ‘concern’ were perhaps the most relevant and recurring words throughout the articles. Both words were very negative and tried to persuade the reader that the topic of privacy, was both problematic and concerning. An example is shown below from the liberal platform *Slate*:

We are told that those in Silicon Valley do not let their children use any social media. Not only does this gloss over how young people can make positive social connections online, it does not offer parents any productive advice about the

conversations they may have with their children on issues like media literacy and privacy protection (Malhotra, *Slate*).

Here, the journalist critically wrote about how Silicon Valley creators do not allow their children to use the platforms they created. It does not provide useful advice for parents who want to discuss the problems social media offers, such as violating privacy. The journalist portrayed the issue of privacy as something that needs to be discussed more, indirectly hinting at the internalization and normalization of surveillance and the privacy risks that come with it (Lyon, 2018).

Regarding the suppression or lexical absence, the analysis showed several codes relevant to privacy, that were present in the articles. All these codes are featured in Figure 17 in Appendix B. As mentioned in the general findings, the word ‘privacy’ was coded 7 times, in 7 different articles. Besides this, the code ‘protecting privacy’ was the second-highest suppression or lexical absence within the analysis. Meaning, when the topic of privacy was discussed, it was often in relation to protecting it. Therefore, journalists acted as signallers, by warning readers that their privacy should be protected (Patterson, 1995).

The final step of examining the linguistics used to describe privacy was looking at the lexical choices and genres in communication. The news platform articles tended to use informal language or conversational talk when discussing the issue of privacy. It should be noted that the majority of the informal or conversational talk was focused on surveillance, but the only other present lexical choice for privacy was that of informal talk. The example below is from *Medium* and gives a good idea of how the journalist discussed the topic.

To explore this in more detail, I took a course at my local community college about business decisions, data science, and ethics. From the course, I personally think that data collection is crucial, as data manipulation can provide useful insights for businesses, and from what I have learned, this data science is the biggest step for expansion. However, there should be a fine line between data collection, and an intrusion of privacy (Rana, *Medium*).

Here, the journalist claimed power over the reader by writing about his experience in a course about ethical business decisions. The matter of privacy and additional topics, such as data collection and ethics, came up and he gave his personal view on them by writing about it informally and in the first person. Using language that is common to the reader can create

the impression that the writer or journalist is the same as the reader, and therefore influence their idea (Machin & Mayr, 2012). A combination of using language that is commonly understood, with the additional knowledge gained by the journalist, he held authority over the reader. This way, the journalist could persuade the reader that, although data collection is important for businesses, it should be collected at a rate that does not violate privacy rights.

Secondly, the discourse analysis was performed by looking at the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of the texts about privacy. Quotations and references were often used to report about privacy, with regards to *The Social Dilemma*, as shown in Figure 19. The larger part of the quotes and references were related to surveillance, as this was highly discussed throughout the analysis, yet some elements were taken from other texts and used to describe privacy. As mentioned earlier, journalists often reported about protecting privacy, thus it can be stated that many quotes and references were used to steer readers' attention towards privacy protections (Herzog, 2011).

The results showed there were three interdiscursivity, or combinations of discourses that provided a hidden meaning, within the articles: protecting privacy and take ownership of data, protecting privacy costs money, and unawareness of surveillance within some sectors. These can be found above in Figure 5 and Figure 20 in Appendix B. Protecting privacy and take ownership of data, was frequently coded. The example below is from the *Bustle* article, where a cybersecurity expert was quoted when debating about the matter of privacy with social media.

Acquaint yourself with the platform. Go to settings and learn what you have control over. "Limit as much information about you being collected and opt out of as many things as possible," she says (Wylde, *Bustle*).

People can experience a privacy invasion from surveillance (Lyon, 1998). Surveillance has evolved over the years, but one of the many enablers that contributed to this rise is the lack of sufficient privacy laws. This limitation created two negative outcomes: the misuse of information, and the loss of social control and personal information (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). The above quotation persuades the reader of the importance of learning how to take back control. Meaning, people need to take back control over their data and exercise "self-limiting common sense," (Rosenblum 2007, p.48) to protect themselves from privacy violations.

The second discourse is the unawareness of surveillance within some sectors. In the *Medium* article, the journalist refers to the company Ring, a doorbell subordinate from Google, which shared video footage from their customers with police forces in the United States, to catch criminals. As mentioned in the article, the partnership helped the police fight crime, which is one of the several positive outcomes of surveillance programmes (Cayford & Pieters, 2018). Yet there was a misuse of the data that Ring had obtained because their customers were unaware that their data was being collected (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). The journalist was trying to persuade the reader that, despite the positive effects the surveillance programme of Ring had on protecting citizens, the company violated their customer's privacy rights by sharing video footage without their awareness. The journalist used an interpretive account, by acknowledging the positive effect of surveillance on fighting crime, but leaned towards the negative outcome of privacy violations (Brüggemann, 2014).

The last discourse is protecting privacy costs money, which was also coded in the *Bustle* article. Here, the journalist quoted the cybersecurity expert to explain how protecting privacy costs money because as Tristan Harris says, "if the product is free, you're the product," (Crust, *Chicago Tribune*). Businesses collect data for customer insights and gaining a competitive advantage in the social media industry (Plangger & Montecchi, 2020). But if people protect their information, it will be harder for these businesses to collect their data. Unfortunately, as briefly mentioned earlier, there are limited privacy laws to protect user's information (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). This limitation essentially means there is little security for data that is collected and an indirect normalization of surveillance and privacy violations.

The final dimension of CDA was the socio-historical practices, which compared previous press coverage of privacy with that of the news platform articles on *The Social Dilemma*. Privacy is a cause of surveillance. Users need to be monitored, have their data collected, and then sold to third parties without their consent, in order to lose control over their personal information and experience a privacy invasion (Macnish, 2018). It was, therefore, no surprise that privacy was automatically related to surveillance. What was striking during the analysis was the lack of reporting of privacy. Comparing the CDA dimensions from surveillance with privacy, there were a lot more codes and discourses that covered the topic of surveillance. Even when looking at press coverage on both topics, the issues of surveillance were more discussed in comparison to privacy. The journalists used an interpretive account to present different perspectives of privacy but interpreted the issue as

less relevant by not focusing more on it in general (Brüggemann, 2014). It could be regarded as a certain bias towards the topic of surveillance, and not the issue of privacy. According to Willnat and his colleagues (2019), American readers do not appreciate bias in their news reports, and consequently, there has been a decline in news credibility. By not covering the topic of privacy more within the articles, the journalists influenced the readers to perceive privacy as a topic of less relevance (Herzog, 2021).

Cambridge Analytica was only mentioned once throughout the analysis, in *The New Republic* article. It was expected to be reported more often, but this was not the case. Unfortunately, not a lot of information was provided of the scandal, besides the brief recording of the words. The journalist discussed the recognition of negative effects social media can have on humans, including fake news, addiction, and the story of Cambridge Analytica. Since the journalist did not dive deeper into the scandal, the issue of covertly collecting data and violating privacy rights was not addressed. The reader is unable to understand that the threat of violating privacy has become greater (Manokha, 2018).

The Verge had a similarity to Connor and Doan's (2019) study when examining the surveillance and privacy invasions of private corporations versus the government. In the article, the journalist writes, "there's a clear hunger for polemics like *The Social Dilemma*, even if most people view big tech companies favourably," (Robertson, *The Verge*). Meaning, although people feel the need to criticise tech companies for their actions, they are still seen as favourable. This aligned with Connor and Doan's (2019) findings that showed people were more comfortable with corporations invading their privacy, compared to the government. People regard it as more threatening when the government is monitoring their actions and invading their privacy, instead of private corporations (Connor & Doan, 2019).

When looking at the different social groups, there were varied representations within the articles. Some articles represented the users of social media as victims and the tech companies as villains, similarly to what Aripova and Bashmakova (2019) discovered in their study when exploring American news reporting on Internet privacy concerns.

Moreover, other articles did not portray users as victims. There were a number of articles that wrote about how users are not victims of tech companies, because they have a problem that they can fix themselves. By creating awareness, educating, starting conversations and implementing regulations themselves, users can protect their privacy and solve the issue altogether. Instead of criticising the documentary and tech companies, these articles were more optimistic. *Bustle* was one of a few other news platforms articles which put the blame more on privacy regulators, and not users nor tech companies. The journalist

mentioned several regulation programmes but explained their ineffectiveness (Wylde, *Bustle*). Again, the lack of privacy laws and regulations is a key driving force for the continuation of surveillance and privacy violations (Van der Schyff et al., 2020).

4.3 Visual Social Semiotics

Part of the study took visual social semiotics into consideration. The images included in the news platform articles were examined, to see if they helped create meaning in the text and persuade the reader of a certain perspective (Harrison, 2003). Overall, there were 25 images used in total. 17 news platform articles included images, with the number of images included per article ranging from 1-4 visuals.

The image that was used most often throughout the study was that of a scene from the documentary, viewed below in Figure 6. A teenage boy is sitting on his bed, looking at his phone. The camera is in front of him, so the reader can only see the boy's facial expression, and not what he sees on the phone. Instead, around him are pop-up pictures that he presumably sees on his phone. The image can be categorized as an icon, as it resembles what is already known about the documentary, and what the reader can recognize in the boy, by sitting on his phone and endlessly scrolling through pictures on social media (Harrison, 2003).

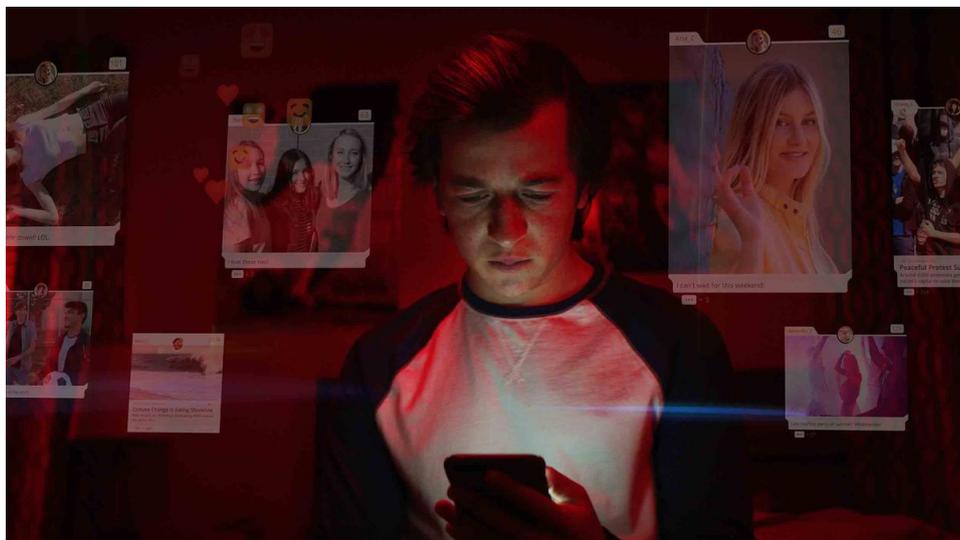


Figure 6. Image of Teenaged Boy on Phone (Robertson, *The Verge*).

For the representational metafunction, the visual included a teenaged boy on his phone, who is sitting in his dark bedroom, looking at images on his social media. The object in his left hand is his smartphone that lights up in the dark. Regarding the interpersonal metafunction, the boy is not directly engaging, as there is no demanding eye contact with the

audience. The viewer can see the boy from a far personal distance, meaning from the waist upwards. It creates a slight intimacy with the boy, as the viewer is quite close to him and in his personal space. As the image is taken from a frontal angle, there is a higher involvement with the visual, because the viewer can see the boy as an equal (Harrison, 2003). Finally, the compositional metafunction draws all elements together (Harrison, 2003). The focus of the image is on the boy, who sits in the middle of the frame. The colours around him are dark red, but his shirt and face are lit up by his phone. It is a very real image, because it is a shot from the documentary, but also because it looks very recognizable for the viewer.

The second image worth discussing was from *Bustle*, a liberal women's magazine, shown below in Figure 7. The visual included a woman who is texting on her phone and has her laptop open in the background. The reader cannot see the woman's face, as the image is shot from over her right shoulder. It can be categorized as icon because the viewer can recognize or resemble the woman in the photograph, casually texting from her phone (Harrison, 2003).



Figure 7. Image Person Holding Phone (Wylde, *Bustle*).

For the representational metafunction, the visual included a woman but the reader cannot see her face in the image. She is holding a phone in both hands, texting something. In the background, there is a laptop open and a notebook. Regarding the interpersonal metafunction, the viewer is very close to the woman in the picture, at an intimate distance.

As a viewer, it is easy to look upon her phone and pry at what she is texting. The viewer cannot see the woman's face, so she is unrecognizable and could be anyone, therefore the engagement is less. The photograph is taken from an oblique angle, creating more detachment and less involvement with the viewer (Harrison, 2003). The compositional metafunction takes both the representational and interpersonal metafunctions, and creates a whole (Harrison, 2003). The main focus of the image is on the phone and everything surrounding the object is blurred, so the viewer immediately looks at the object. Within the news platform article, the image is trying to persuade the reader that people are being monitored and that their privacy is invaded. Looking at the image, the viewer could feel how he or she is literally watching the woman on her phone, indirectly suggesting surveillance. As this is done without her knowledge, because the reader cannot see her face and she cannot see the viewer, the reader is essentially violating her privacy by looking at her online activity without her permission.

Overall, there did not seem to be a specific pattern with the visuals included in the news platform articles. With regards to surveillance, there were a variety of different visuals included in the articles. These range from visuals as shown in Figure 6, photographs of Tristan Harris or Jeff Orlowski, an image from the documentary of a teenaged girl on her phone, and visuals of a person holding their phone with social media apps on them, as shown in Figure 7. Besides Figure 7, the images did not persuade the reader of a certain perspective. Majority of the visuals were shots from the documentary of adolescents on their phones, often associated with the high levels of social media interaction and the negative effects this brings. However, these images did not necessarily persuade the reader that they were being monitored all the time.

With regards to privacy, there were not many articles that discussed the matter with regards to the documentary. However, the articles that did mention the concept or anything related to privacy, either contained no visuals at all or visuals like Figure 6 or Figure 7. Again, apart from Figure 7, the remaining images did not necessarily persuade the reader of the privacy risks social media platforms bring about. They were merely shots taken from the documentary that suggested the article was about the film.

4.4 Conservative versus Liberal Articles

To answer the second sub-question of the study, there was a comparison made between general liberal and conservative news platform articles. Although there were more liberal articles than conservative articles, there was still an interesting comparison to make,

to see if either ideological group had distinct portrayals of the documentary, with regards to surveillance and privacy.

Both conservative and liberal articles were quite balanced when reporting about the negative and positive effects of tech companies and social media. The majority of the articles were focused on the negative effects, but both conservative and liberal news platform articles also attempted to balance their reporting by including some of the positive effects. There were more objective or neutral liberal articles compared to conservative articles, as these articles gave both negative and positive frames towards surveillance and privacy (Brüggemann, 2014). Perhaps this had to do with the fact that there were more liberal articles in the sample, compared to conservative articles. But the conservative articles that were examined, tended to be more critical or biased, especially towards liberalism. For example, in the *Fox News* article, the journalist included an interview with John Matze, the CEO of Parler, a social networking service that “has been embraced by conservatives who feel Twitter and Facebook blatantly favor the left,” (Flood, *Fox News*). Matze expressed his critique towards the documentary for proposing solutions that “stemmed from ‘leftish ideology’ of more government involvement,” (Flood, *Fox News*). Conservatives are considered critical towards governmental interference to what advertisers are doing with collected customer data (Nam, 2017). Although conservatives are not concerned with surveillance, they do not like governmental interference (Nam, 2017), as they prefer the stimulation of private businesses for growth and do not wish this process to be hindered by the government (Ellis & Stimson, 2012). Although only one conservative article expressed concern towards the proposed solutions in the documentary, it does correlate to Nam’s (2017) and Ellis and Stimson’s (2012) findings.

When comparing the different platform types, there did not seem to be a distinct difference. Newspapers were either objective or critical towards the documentary, as well as the magazines, online publishing platforms, cable TV channels, and technology news website articles.

Another interesting comparison made was the representation of the social groups involved with surveillance and privacy. According to Aripova and Bashmakova’s (2019) study, American news usually portrays users involved with surveillance and/or privacy invasions as victims, the tech companies as villains, and privacy regulators as the ones who have authority but are not doing what is expected of them. Commonly, both liberal and conservative articles tended to portray users as victims of violating actions taken by tech companies. The social media companies were therefore often seen as the ‘bad guys’. There

were more conservative news platform articles, such as the *Washington Examiner* and *The Federalist*, who presented users as people that had to take more responsibility and did not blame tech companies entirely for the global issues. There was one liberal article that aligned with this ideology, yet the rest of the articles blamed tech companies for victimizing users. A good explanation for this is what Nam (2017) discovered in his study. Liberals tended to be more concerned with the topic of surveillance (Nam, 2017), so these journalists acted as signallers to warn the readers (Patterson, 1995) and persuade them that surveillance and privacy violations are negative effects from tech companies.

5.0 Conclusion

Online surveillance and privacy violations are no new phenomena, yet often people are unaware of the consequences. *The Social Dilemma* is a documentary that dissects what happens behind users' screens when they are online. Using illustrations and interviews with Silicon Valley experts, the film uncovers the dangers of social media, by discussing issues such as addiction, polarization, surveillance, and privacy.

Many people spoke about the documentary after its release, including journalists on news platform articles. Their opinions matter because they can frame their articles in a way that influences how readers understand the information and consequently the topic in question (Van Dijck, 1995). In this case, journalists framed the issues of surveillance and privacy in such a way that it could influence the reader's perception. It is important to understand how they portray these issues, as this can help readers reflect on their online behaviours and take measures to control their profiles (Rosenblum, 2007), as well as increase personal freedom and quality of life (Zedner, 2003). For this reason, the following research question aspired to discover how American journalists wrote about *The Social Dilemma*, with regards to privacy and surveillance:

How do journalists represent The Social Dilemma with regards to privacy and surveillance?

A critical discourse analysis was chosen for this study, as it was considered the best method to understand how American journalists portray surveillance and privacy, using *The Social Dilemma* as a case. Both liberal and conservative articles were compared to see if there was a difference in the way journalists from each ideological group reported about the issues. It was concluded that majority of the articles discussed the issue of surveillance more often than privacy because there were more codes discovered that related to the subject. These findings correlate with studies on previous press coverage of both topics, where often the journalists report about surveillance scandals or ideologies on surveillance in general. Interestingly, it was discovered that many articles mentioned the negative effects that social media surveillance causes, and either refused or contributed to the normalization of surveillance.

Privacy was a topic that was less popular amongst the news platform articles as there were fewer codes included in the analysis that related to it. When the articles did talk about privacy, it was particularly focused on protecting the privacy of users. Privacy violations are a cause of surveillance; therefore, it is often discussed in relation to surveillance. Although

previous press coverage mentions privacy violations and the responses towards this from different social groups, it was surprising to discover that there was so little reporting on the subject.

As the news platform articles were more focused on surveillance compared to privacy, it was concluded that the journalists regarded the issue of surveillance as more important than privacy. Since only a few journalists wrote about the topic of privacy, the reader could be influenced to perceive it as a topic that holds less relevance in society (Herzog, 2021).

Sub-question 1: What linguistics and visuals are used to portray the documentary with regards to the issue of privacy and social media surveillance?

The journalists were rather negative when discussing both topics. The majority of the word connotations and overlexicalisations were negative and created an overemphasis of words with negative ideas or emotions. Specifically, with privacy majority of the word connotations were negative, however, there were a few codes that were more optimistic towards future regulations and solutions.

Structural oppositions were not very common amongst the articles. The few codes that were included, were related to surveillance and did not have a certain effect on the portrayal of the topic. The journalist merely used it to describe the utopian and dystopian world social media has created.

Journalists used different types of language to show authority over the reader. The most common type to discuss surveillance and privacy was the use of informal and conversational talk. Talking to the reader in such a way for them to easily comprehend it, helped the journalist maintain authority. At the same time, it allowed the journalist to inform the reader well so that they understood the negative effects of surveillance and privacy. Satirical speech was also used frequently to portray surveillance and mock the readers about their unawareness of the negative effects social media platforms bring.

The study also examined the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of the texts (Wodak, 2011). Quotations and references were widely used throughout the articles to review surveillance and privacy. Citations were also used to report about surveillance, but not privacy. These intertextuality types helped frame the articles in a primarily negative manner, by steering the reader's attention towards information from experts that were negatively associated with both subjects. Some quotes and references contained more positive

information from other texts, to help convince the reader of the good outcomes from surveillance or regulations towards privacy violations. The interdiscursivity of the study contained many different discourses. Majority of the discourses were presenting the negative sides of surveillance and privacy. However, each topic had 1 discourse that focused on the positive side, or the opportunities users and tech companies have when taking ownership of their data and reforming a company to better regulate data collection.

When comparing the press coverage of privacy and surveillance from the study, to previous press coverage on both topics, it was clear how majority of the journalists were critical towards the subjects. Even though many journalists negatively framed surveillance, they either used a filtered account by leaning towards a negative association of surveillance or a conduit account to discuss it in a more balanced manner, by including positive implementations of it. With regards to privacy, journalists tended to use an interpretive account to present the different sides of the topic but leaned towards a negative association with privacy. Since surveillance was discussed in greater depths, privacy was interpreted as an issue of less relevance.

By focusing a lot on surveillance and how tech companies continue to collect data and monetize users, journalists indirectly contributed to the normalization of surveillance, as they saw it as a necessary phenomenon. Quite a few articles lacked criticism towards surveillance issues, and this concurred with studies on the normalization of surveillance. Some articles even included quotes or references that convinced the reader to accept that companies exist to make a profit because their data is necessary to market products better. One article that discussed the issue of privacy, acknowledged the fact that people feel the need to criticize tech companies, yet still see them as favourable. These articles aligned with Connor and Doan's (2019) study on how users are more comfortable when corporations monitor them and invade their privacy compared to the government, as they regard this as less threatening.

Furthermore, some articles acknowledged the positive effects of surveillance such as fighting crime (Cayford & Pieters, 2018) and preventing health issues (Aiello et al., 2020). The lack of privacy laws and regulations was considered a key driving force to the continuation of surveillance and privacy violations (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). Some journalists recognized this limitation and expressed their concerns about the limited security of user's data. Additionally, journalists proposed ideas towards implementing laws, self-regulations, or raising awareness to reduce data collection and privacy invasions. The optimistic reporting suggested a break from the normalization of surveillance and privacy.

The social groups involved with surveillance and privacy were primarily proposed according to Aripova and Bashmakova's (2019) representational findings: users are victims, tech companies are in the wrong and privacy regulators are not doing what is expected of them. Many articles represented the victimization of users from tech companies, especially when talking about surveillance. A few news platform articles did not put the blame entirely on tech companies, but blamed society and persuaded the reader that users should take more responsibility. When reporting about privacy, there were several more balanced social representations.

There were 25 visuals that were included in the analysis and no specific patterns were found with the images. The visuals did not explicitly persuade the reader that users are being monitored and their privacy's invaded. Figure 7 was the only image that hinted towards surveillance and privacy invasions. The angle the image was taken from suggested the camera was watching what the woman was doing on her phone. This could have persuaded the reader that people are being observed and their privacy's violated.

Sub-question 2: Is there a difference in how liberal (left) and conservative (right) journalists portray privacy and surveillance?

A comparison was made between conservative and liberal news platform articles to see if there was a difference in the way they portrayed the documentary, concerning surveillance and privacy. There were no evident results that showed one ideological group was more in favour or disfavour of both issues. Both groups reported more about the negative effects of social media and tech companies, but each group also had a few articles that attempted to be more objective by including the positive effects of social media.

Liberal articles were somewhat more objective compared with conservative articles. The conservative articles tended to be more critical of surveillance and privacy, especially when discussing proposed regulation or solutions, as they dislike governmental interference in the market (Nam, 2017). Additionally, there were no obvious contrasts between the types of platforms examined. For example, newspapers were equally as objective or critical about the issues as magazine articles were.

Although most articles were rather similar, there were some differences in the representations of the social groups involved with surveillance and privacy. Regularly the articles portrayed the users as victims and tech companies as bad guys (Aripova and Bashmakova, 2019). However, there were slightly more conservative articles that did not

entirely blame tech companies for everything, nor did they see the users as victims. Instead, users were considered as people who had to take more responsibility to protect their data and privacy. Only 1 liberal article aligned with this representation, which could relate to the belief that liberals tend to be more concerned about surveillance, and therefore try to ‘warn’ the readers about it by writing about their victimization (Nam, 2017).

5.1 Theoretical and Social Implications

To conclude on the academic learnings, the findings showed that journalists tended to have a negative association towards surveillance and privacy. Brüggemann’s (2014) framing practices were used differently amongst the topics, as journalists used filtered or conduit accounts when reporting about surveillance, and more interpretive accounts to discuss privacy (Brüggemann, 2014). Although several journalists reported positive outcomes of surveillance, such as recognizing health issues (Aiello et al., 2020) or predicting and preventing crimes (Levinson-Waldman, 2018), majority of the articles were focused on the negative outcomes of data collection and privacy violations (Van der Schyff et al., 2020). The study contributed to Wahl-Jorgensen’s and his colleagues’ (2017) study, as it was discovered that surveillance and privacy are normalized within society. Even though a few journalists criticized surveillance and proposed future regulations, many journalists did not criticize both issues and therefore contributed to this normalization. Interestingly, the articles were relatively divided when representing the social roles that are involved with surveillance and privacy. Some journalists represented users, tech companies and privacy regulators similarly to Aripova’s and Bashmakova’s (2019) representations. Nevertheless, there were articles that did not correspond with these findings, and blamed users and society for the negative consequences.

As for the conservative and liberal ideologies on surveillance and privacy, it was concluded that there were some correlations with the theory. Just as with Nam’s (2017) study, the findings showed how conservatives were more critical towards governmental interference, and liberals were more concerned with the topic of surveillance. Majority of the conservative and liberal articles framed the negative associations of the subjects, and were not too different in the way they portrayed each topic.

The results revealed that surveillance and privacy have become internalized into user’s lives and normalized within society. By not criticizing the topics and reporting its necessity for marketing purposes, journalists persuaded readers that these issues are considered natural phenomena’s. This information is beneficial for journalists, as they

framed the topics in a way that influenced the reader's perspectives on surveillance and privacy (Herzog, 2021). If journalists know that they are contributing to the normalization of surveillance, they can break this contribution by criticizing, persuading and educating the reader that both issues are problematic. Journalists can learn to report more solutions and regulations to help the reader understand the importance of protecting their privacy. The lack of regulations and solutions towards these issues are concerning, and privacy regulators and policymakers can learn from this. By educating the masses and increasing regulations or policies, privacy violations will be reduced and users' quality of life will be increased.

5.2 Limitations & Future Research

The study included several limitations, with the most evident being the unbalanced number of conservative and liberal articles. The aim was to include the same number of articles for each group, however, it was more difficult to find relevant conservative articles to include in the sample. This made comparisons a little more difficult but did not hinder the analysis. The second limitation of the study was the inability to generalize the findings, as the codes acquired from the articles that were being analysed, could not provide many generalizable findings beyond the data provided. This is because the results acquired from the sample of articles being analysed, cannot generalize beyond the given data (Krippendorff, 2018).

For future research, it would be beneficial to include more articles in the sample, if there are enough resources available. By including a more balanced number of liberal and conservative articles, it would make comparisons more interesting and better to notice any possible differences. Furthermore, interviews with the journalists themselves would complement the study and provide in-depth information with their perspectives on surveillance and privacy. A mixed-method with qualitative CDA and quantitative surveys with readers on their perspectives of the articles they read would provide additional information from both the journalist and the reader's point of view.

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Appendix A:

Table 2. Overview News Platform Articles

	News Platform	Political Bias	Number of Articles
1	Bustle	Liberal	1
2	Chicago Tribune	Conservative	1
3	Daily Wire	Conservative	1
4	Deadline	Liberal	1
5	Forbes	Conservative	1
6	Fox News	Conservative	1
7	Jacobin	Liberal	2
8	Los Angeles Times	Liberal	1
9	Medium	Liberal	1
11	Slate	Liberal	1
12	The Federalist	Conservative	1
13	The Hollywood Reporter	Liberal	1
14	The New Republic	Liberal	1
15	The New York Times	Liberal	1
16	The Verge	Liberal	1
17	The Wall Street Journal	Conservative	1
18	The Washington Post	Liberal	1
19	Vanity Fair	Liberal	1
20	Washington Examiner	Conservative	2
21	West Word	Liberal	1
		Total	22

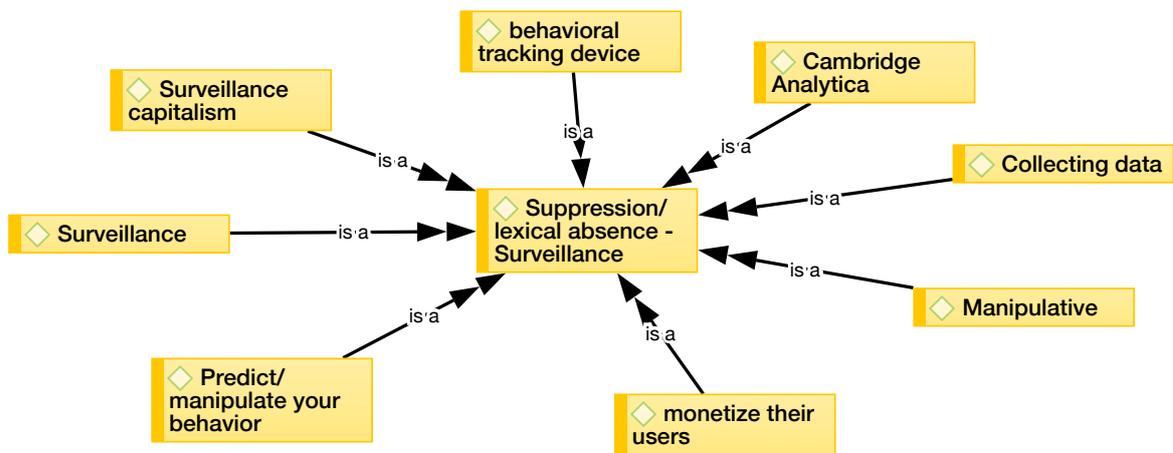


Figure 10. Suppression/Lexical Absence of Surveillance.

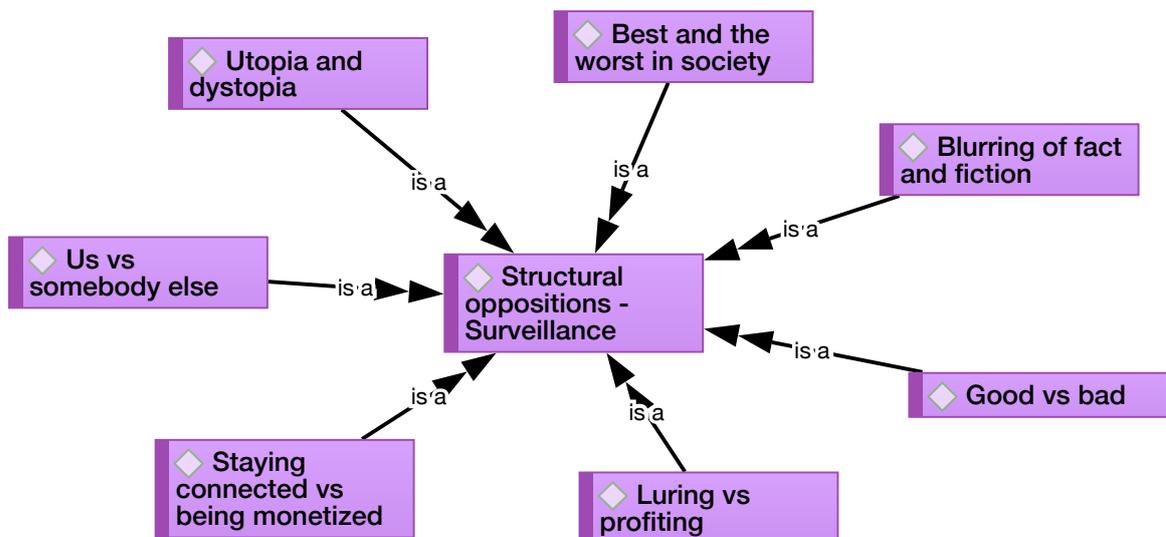


Figure 11. Structural Oppositions of Surveillance.

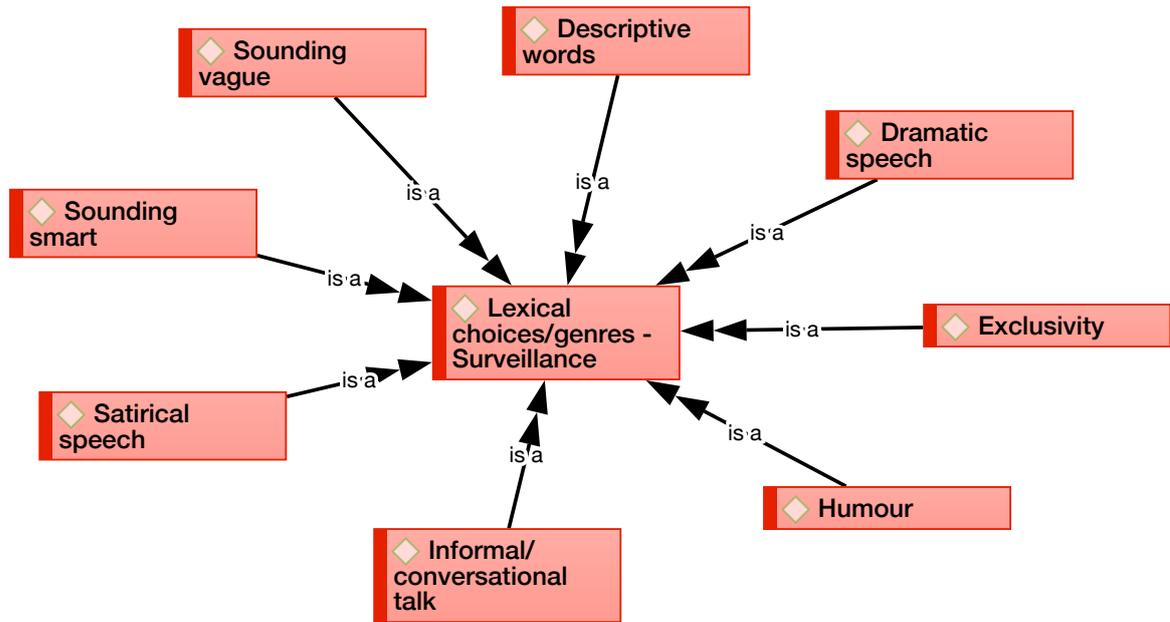


Figure 12. Lexical Choices/Genres of Surveillance.

2. Discourse Analysis' Code Forests – Surveillance

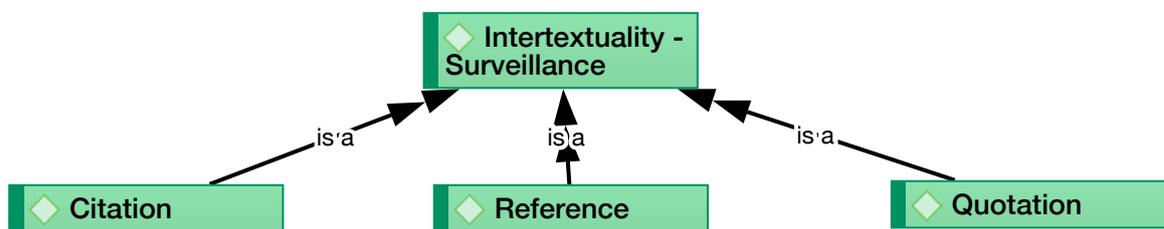


Figure 13. Intertextuality of Surveillance.

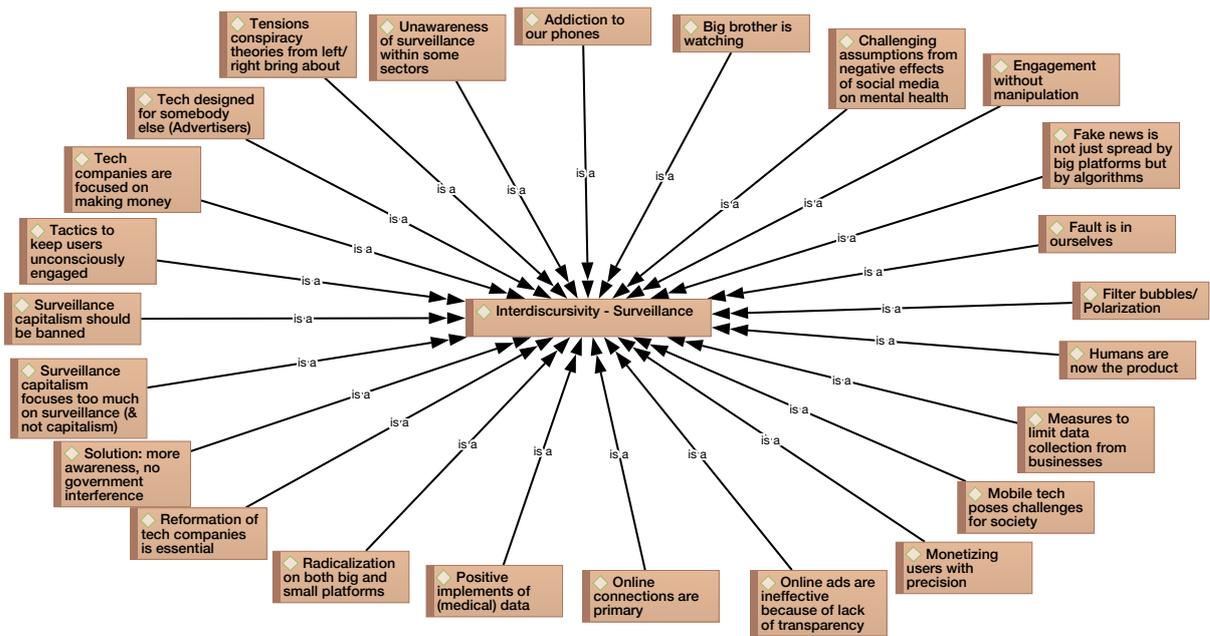


Figure 14. Interdiscursivity of Surveillance.

3. Textual Analysis' Code Forests – Privacy

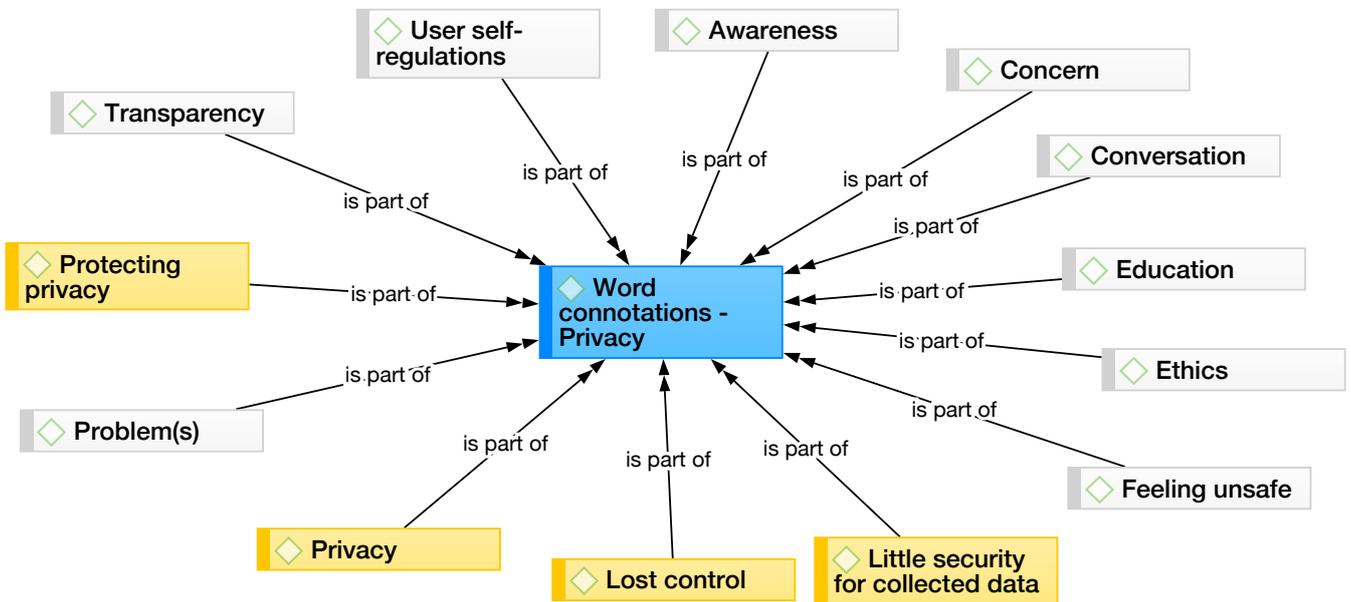


Figure 15. Word Connotations of Privacy.

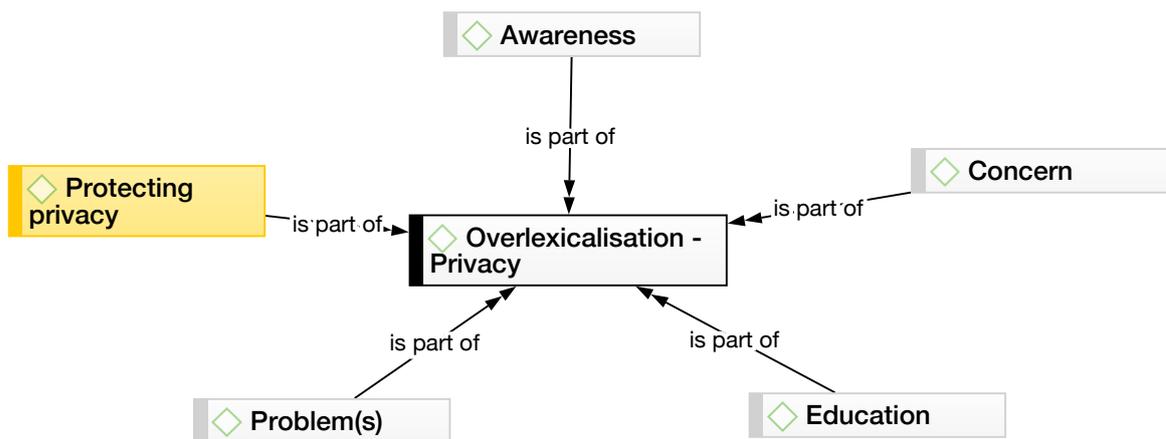


Figure 16. Overlexicalisation of Privacy.

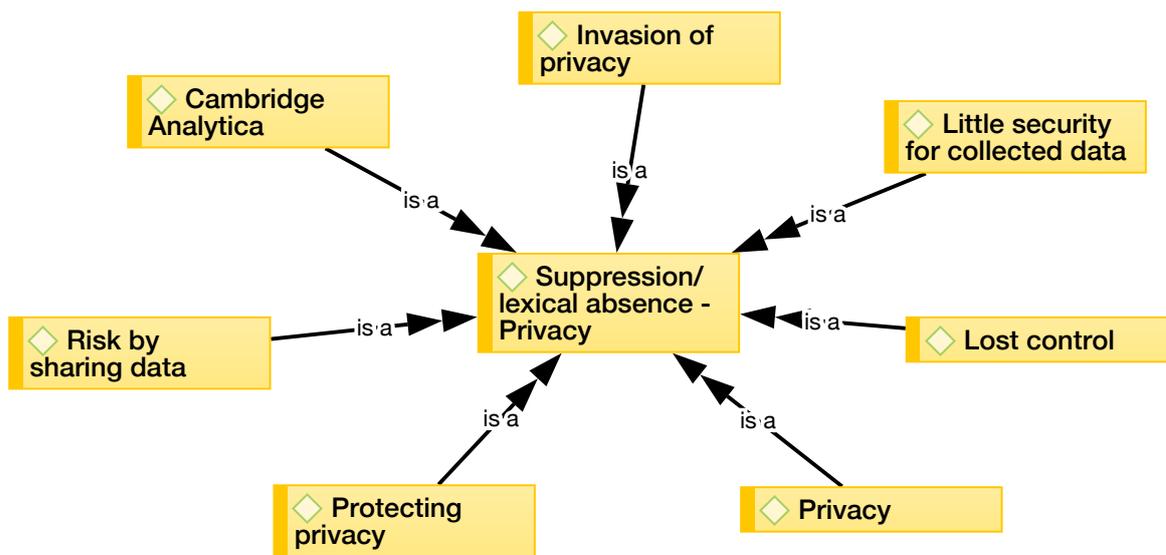


Figure 17. Suppression/Lexical Absence of Privacy.

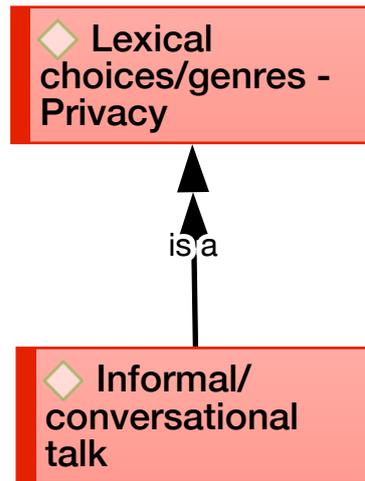


Figure 18. Lexical Choices/Genres of Privacy.

4. Discourse Analysis' Code Forests – Privacy

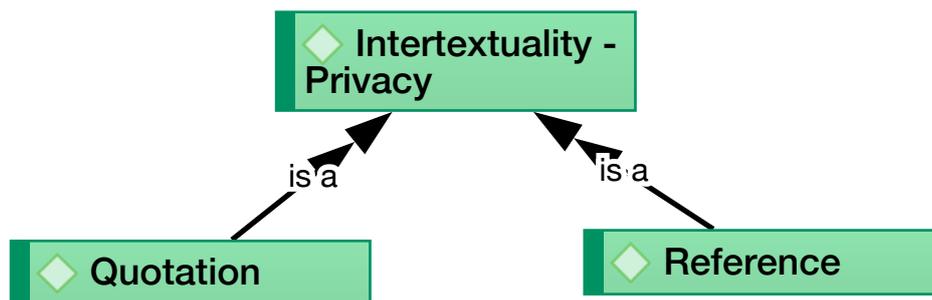


Figure 19. Intertextuality of Privacy.

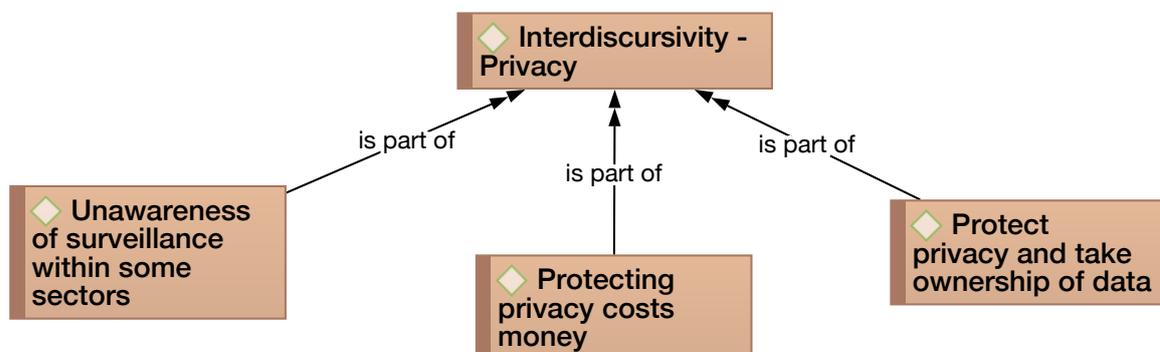


Figure 20. Interdiscursivity of Privacy.