

Master Thesis

Beyond the Headlines: Exploring Different Perspectives on Billionaire Philanthropy in Conservative versus Liberal Media Outlets in the United States of America.

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Abstract

This research presents how MSNBC and Fox News represent billionaire philanthropy, revealing considerable political biases that lead to polarisation in the USA. MSNBC often portrays Democratic billionaires favourably, emphasising their support for progressive causes while criticising Republican philanthropists for potential misuse of money and continuance of social inequality. Fox News, on the other hand, praises Republican billionaires while presenting Democratic philanthropists such as George Soros as destructive to American principles. These opposed media outlets exacerbate ideological differences, impacting public perception, critical thinking, and policy choices. The research emphasises the media's important role in framing socio-political problems, shaping public opinion, and contributing to political polarisation by presenting opposing political opinions in a biased manner. The media's focus on the political effects of charitable activities demonstrates its power over public discourse and policy objectives. Overall, the study emphasises the importance of more fair reporting in developing an understanding of billionaire philanthropy and its socio-political consequences.

Key words: Billionaire philanthropy, Critical discourse analysis, Fox News, MSNBC, Political polarisation

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1. Introduction and problem statement

In March 2024, the USA (United States of America) has been ranked the most charitable country in the world by CEO World (Williams, 2024). In 2023, the most prominent American philanthropists donated approximately \$11.9 billion dollars according to *the Chronicle of Philanthropy* (Di Mento, 2024). America's billionaires, who had the biggest share in these donations, yield enormous political power (Krugman, 2020). Campaign donations, which have historically been controlled by the rich, are one of the many reasons. Primarily because politicians who advocate for higher taxes on the rich cannot expect to get funding for their campaigns. Moreover, billionaires have access to politicians that average Americans do not, and they have a disproportionate influence on shaping perspectives of policymakers (Krugman, 2020). Billionaires capitalise on philanthropy as a taxpayer-subsidised extension of their own power and influence (Collins et al., 2023).

Yet, for a great deal of the American citizens these relations between billionaires and politics is not clear and their sole exposure to the operations of philanthropy by billionaires is through the media (Reich, 2021).

The media has the power to frame socio-political problems in certain ways, which can have significant influence on the public's views and opinions (Dardis et al., 2008). According to Thorup (2013), the media plays an important role in shaping public discourse around billionaire philanthropy. The media has the potential to be extremely influential by posing analyses on the efficiency, openness, and responsibility of philanthropy by billionaires. Through covering successes as well as its challenges, the media may provide the public with a more nuanced understanding of philanthropy and encourage critical thinking about its effects (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010). However, problems may arise when news outlets that are politically extremely left or right-wing oriented, share news that differently influence the public perception of their consumers.

After publicly adopting conservative and liberal viewpoints, Fox News and MSNBC became the two leading cable news outlets in the USA (Lam, 2021). Cable news outlets in the USA are increasingly shaping the thoughts and opinions of their consumers. This is merely based on the political preference of their audience. Consumers state that they choose their main news outlet based on similar views and opinions that news outlets share and propagate (PBS NewsHour, 2017). When cable news viewers were closely examined, it was discovered that the public's tendency to remain in their ideological echo chambers contributed to the popularity of Fox News and MSNBC (Lam, 2021). This thesis focuses on two of USA's most prominent cable news networks, Fox News and MSNBC, which represent seemingly opposing sides of the political spectrum (Lanning et al., 2021). 93% of the people who mention Fox News as their main political news source, identify as Republicans. Whereas 95% of the people who mention MSNBC as their main political news source identify as Democrats (Grieco, 2020). By comparing the two cable news outlets, a conclusion can be drawn about, if and how the two outlets differently portray billionaire philanthropists. Eventually, a conclusion can be drawn on how the news outlets theoretically might differently influence the public perception of their consumers on the topic of billionaire philanthropy.

Currently, researchers have compared Fox News and MSNBC in their portrayal on abortion, immigrants, global warming and mass shootings. Others have investigated the controversial phenomenon around celebrity philanthropy (Jeffreys & Allatson, 2015). However, existing research shows no coverage on the difference in how billionaire philanthropy is being portrayed in liberal media outlets versus conservative media in the USA.

Therefore, within this research, I investigate "*How does Fox News versus MSNBC portray the role of philanthropy of billionaires?*". To answer this question, this research will start with a theoretical framework that focuses on the history of the cable news outlets, framing

theory, agenda setting, media bias, critical discourse analysis and the notion philanthrocapitalism. Subsequently, in the chapter methodology, it will be explained how a critical discourse analysis will be conducted with the use of Fairclough's three-dimensional framework. Via the websites of both cable news outlets, different news articles will be examined to compare how billionaire philanthropy is reported. Thereafter, results follow to present the research findings. Lastly, a discussion part will cover the interpretation of the findings, the conclusion of the research, its limitations, and future research recommendations.

2. Theoretical Framework

Framing theory, agenda-setting, media bias, and critical discourse analysis provide a comprehensive theoretical approach to investigating the representation of billionaire philanthropy in conservative and liberal cable news outlets. These theories are interrelated and complement one another in researching media discourse (Rozell & Mayer, 2008). This allows for a more complete understanding of the complexity involved in shaping public perceptions of billionaire philanthropy. The connection resides in the same emphasis on understanding the creation, distribution, and impact of media discourse (Rozell & Mayer, 2008). However, this chapter will start with a brief overview of the history of both Fox News and MSNBC, and the implications for their current daily operations. Lastly, the chapter will end with an explanation of the notion philanthrocapitalism.

2.1 History of Fox News and MSNBC

Fox News was founded in 1996 by Rupert Murdoch, CEO of News Corp, as a 24-hour cable news channel. MSNBC was launched in 1996 by Microsoft and General Electric, and is now owned by Comcast and part of NBCUniversal (McDonald & Morgaine, 2016). Although the two networks are generally referred to as "news" channels, their prime-time programming is not news-related. These are opinion programmes. Hosts and producers create a story to elicit a certain emotional reaction from individuals who watch their programmes (Berry et al., 2020).

The demographics of the audience of Fox and MSNBC are certainly revealing, but what strikes out most is that Fox's audience is almost entirely white; 94% is white and only 1% black. Hispanic viewers account for 3% of the viewership, while Asian viewers make for 2%. In comparison, MSNBC's audience is 67% white, 24% Black, and 9% count as others (Berry et al., 2020).

Roger Ailes and Rupert Murdoch revealed their ambitions to start a cable news channel that would address the fast rising "appetite for news, particularly news that explains to people how it affects them" (Hoewe et al., 2020). Murdoch and Ailes saw an economic and political opportunity to connect with people that are discontent and disengaged with cultural liberalism that was gaining influence in media, entertainment, and politics (ibid.). Fox News, which bases its brand on criticising and debunking the liberal establishment in the vein of conservative media, has developed a closer bond with conservative viewers, which has made it easier for false information to spread. Fox News heavily favours one-sided viewpoints of political opponents in their opinion pieces in an effort to denigrate and degrade the opposition while advancing their own conservative, ideological stances (Hoewe et al., 2020).

As for MSNBC, it was not until its ratings fell behind Fox News and CNN in 2003 that it embedded its position as a liberal-leaning network in the cable news landscape. MSNBC is often viewed as the polar opposite of Fox News due to its leftist branding. In 2008, the hostility between the two networks' hosts, highlighted this sentiment. As the ideological divide between Republicans and Democrats increased, these news outlets invested in partisan programming to attract viewers (Lam, 2021).

With regards to the different political ideologies, liberalism became more prominently associated with the Civil Rights Movement, the Equal Rights Amendment, and anti-war protests in Vietnam beginning in the 1960s; societal problems such as abortion, gay rights, affirmative action, immigration, and gun control exacerbated political divisions. Conservatives identify with national political principles such as minimal government intervention, constitutional principles, and self-reliance. The way liberal and conservative individuals constructed their ideological identities differed in both structure and meaning. Liberals focus on oneself, both in terms of ideals and qualities that form the liberal identity, as well as worries about individual liberties (defined as personal expression). They portrayed

themselves as a diverse group united by personal ideals and a desire to improve the world. Conservative participants portrayed themselves as national defenders against the risk of socialism and the moral deterioration that it causes (Hanson et al., 2019).

2.2 Framing theory

A frame is described by Goffman (1974) as "the principles of organisation which govern events and our subjective involvement in them". Each day occurrences can be "located, perceived, identified, and labelled" with the aid of this "schemata of interpretation". According to Goffman (1974), journalists utilise frames to arrange "strips of the everyday world," which are random cuts taken from the continuous stream of activity (Goffman, 1974). Framing is a way of illustrating how communication may influence people's thoughts to perceive a situation in a certain way (Entman, 1993).

In the media, frames are seen as building blocks that give issues and solutions their meaning. The media adopts a specific viewpoint while weighing it against other options when explaining certain situations. Framing is characterised as; choosing some aspects of a perceived reality and emphasising them in a communicating context, to support a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral assessment, and/or recommended course of action for the item described (Tziva et al., 2023). Media frames have a significant impact on the public's ongoing comprehension of issues as they shape views and give some aspects more weight than others (Tziva et al., 2023).

Prominent discourses on billionaire are represented in the media (McDonald & Scaife, 2011). News media are capable of influencing people see a reality even when journalistic practices demand that they remain unbiased and neutral. As a result, a frame affects the choice of sources used by journalists, the way information is published, and the way that the public is informed. Frames, then, serve in making sense of the world by arranging what people view daily (Goffman, 1974). Media consumers tend to consider topics as of greater significance the more often they occur (Hale, 2007). Emotional characteristics are used in affective framing to affect how media consumers feel about and relate to media items. A news report may refer to a political candidate, for instance, as a "suspected womaniser" or an "inspiring leader". These are both emotive qualities, but it is obvious that they influence how the media consumer views the media object, in this case, a political candidate, in distinct ways. Recording whether a media object is depicted in a positive, neutral, or negative way is the main approach to measure emotional framing (Hale, 2007). People are often extremely open to the "framing effect", which means that even little adjustments to the way a story is reported can result in significant shifts in public perception (Ahmad, 2021).

In this research, framing possibly occurs when the authors of MSNBC and Fox News report on billionaire philanthropy. For example, in the description of billionaires and their donations, or on philanthropy in general.

2.3 Agenda setting and media bias

Agenda setting is one of the approaches that the media uses to shape public opinion and debate in society. The subjects that the media decides to cover, together with the frequency and quality of that coverage, dictate which issues gain national attention and which ones disappear. Editors, newsrooms, staff members and broadcasters all have a significant role in determining political reality in the twenty-first century (Ahmad, 2021). The agenda-setting theory examines how the media shapes public opinion and how this impacts the public agenda. The public agenda is the primary topic of concern for society's members (ibid.).

Political and ideological beliefs can lead to bias in the media (Aires et al., 2020). Slanted news coverage, or media bias, can have a significant effect on how the public views the subjects

that are covered (Hamborg et al., 2018). The audience's views, values, priorities, and areas of concentration may all be influenced or contributed to by the media (Zain, 2014).

In this research, agenda-setting and media bias may appear when Fox News and MSNBC are too politically charged, which could result in extensive coverage of certain topics and the absence of others. Theoretically, this might result in a different public opinion and agenda, on billionaire philanthropy, amongst the different audiences of the cable news outlets.

2.4 Critical discourse analysis

Discourse has been conceptualised as a hybrid of written and spoken texts, allowing us to define it as "all forms of spoken interaction, and written texts of all kinds" (Bondarouk & Ruel, 2004). Discourse theories, which have their roots in interpretative or social-constructivist traditions, are also where the idea of framing first appeared. These theories focus on how language serves to socially build numerous realities, presuming that there are multiple realities. Frames give specific events distinct, socially created interpretations (Tziva et al., 2023). As the scientific paradigm that explains how knowledge is formed when conducting discourse analysis, social constructionism holds that "reality" is a social construct; thus, our knowledge of the world is constructed collectively through interactions and the use of language, which serves as the primary epistemological starting point (Snowdon & Karlsson, 2021). Language does not replicate an independent object world, but rather generates and constitutes it (Yu & Zheng, 2022).

A particular aspect of discourse analysis known as "critical discourse analysis" has focused on the function of language in political and social processes. The critical discourse analysis method is a key technique in discourse analysis that scrutinises language to discover hidden or implicit functions such as ideology, power, domination, inequality, and hegemony (Ramanathan et al., 2017). To shed light on the sorts of discourses that uphold power and preserve current social relations, it tends to target texts written by elites and influential institutions, such as news outlets and political speeches (Bouvier & Machín, 2018). The language and communication used by these institutions and organisations will represent the interests of those in positions of authority. Therefore, a detailed examination of which role language plays in establishing and maintaining these dominating interests is of importance to critical discourse analysis (Bouvier & Machín, 2018).

Within this research, critical discourse analysis can be of help with detecting underlying ideologies and social/power relations within MSNBC's and Fox News' reporting on billionaire philanthropy.

2.5 Philanthrocapitalism

The term "philanthrocapitalism" was first used fifteen years ago and is one of the terms used to describe hybrid investment and charity programmes that try to combine the objectives of non-profit organisations with the for-profit sector (McGoey, 2021). Concerns about how donations may exacerbate inequality and wealth concentration rather than lessen them are not new. Early liberal ideas of the social contract have it at their centre. The ways that the wealthy's self-interest was hidden under admirable professions of charity, strengthening their privilege and power, were made clear by philosophers like Kant (ibid.)

"Philanthrocapitalism," a term introduced by Bishop and Green (2008) in their book of the same name, revived critical study in this manner. These authors make the claim that today's philanthrocapitalists see a world full of substantial problems that they, can and must fix (ibid.). This claim is based on the theory that philanthropists have begun a new movement of social change via the integration of corporate practices to social problems (Sklair & Glucksberg, 2020). The celebration of this claim, which is evident in the willingness to profit personally from charitable endeavours and the wilful blurring of the lines between public and private

interests to support ever-higher levels of concentrated private gain, is what makes philanthrocapitalism novel (ibid.)

In this thesis, philanthrocapitalism will be considered of importance as it is stated that this new movement of social change, influences how social problems are tackled. Philanthrocapitalism can be seen as a power relation between the philanthropist and what they can achieve with a donation.

To conclude this chapter, the histories of Fox News and MSNBC contribute to their political charged daily operations. Additionally, their political ideologies possibly influence their ability to frame how their news is reported. This also contributes to the agenda-setting and media bias of the news outlets, determining which issues receive national attention and which ones disappear. With the help of a critical discourse analysis, portrayal of billionaire philanthropy by both news outlets can be examined. Moreover, possible power relations between billionaires and their donations, described with the term philanthrocapitalism, can be detected.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

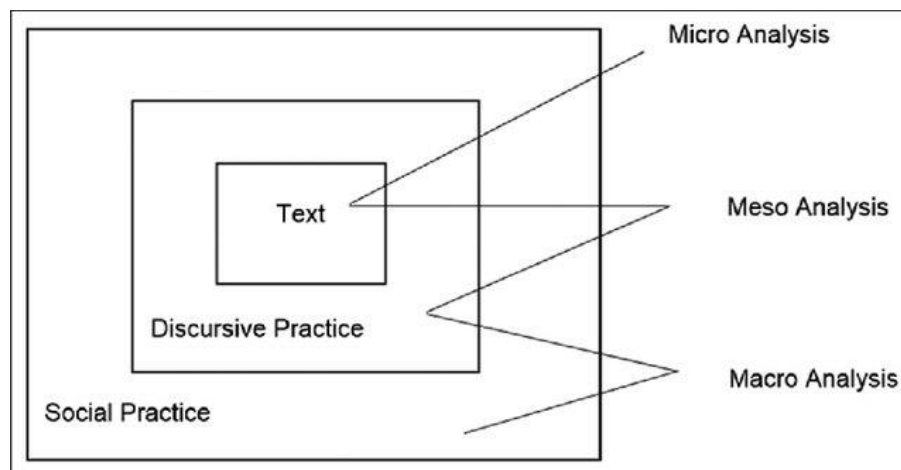
To answer the main research question “*How does Fox News versus MSNBC portray the role of philanthropy of billionaires?*”, an inductive qualitative study through a critical discourse analysis will be conducted. Since the 1970s, Critical Discourse Analysis has been frequently used to analyse news reporting. As a kind of public discourse, news reports reflect the political position and ideology of their respective countries while also influencing the attitudes of their consumers (Yu & Zheng, 2022). Moreover, as stated in the theoretical framework, a critical discourse analysis allows to detect frames, agenda-setting and media bias, including hidden social and/or power relations. Therefore, the use of a critical discourse analysis as a method for this research is determined to be the best fit.

Critical Discourse Analysis begins with the fundamental presumptions of hermeneutics: language is a medium, focused on action and function, that people consciously use to create versions of the social world. Moreover, one-to-one relationship exists between a word (information encoding) and the meaning it conveys (information decoding) (Bondarouk & Ruel, 2004). Media discourse focuses on interactions that occur via a broadcast platform, whether in writing or speech, and in which the discourse is directed at non-present consumers (O’Keeffe, 2015). One prominent strand of media discourse study is concerned with taking a critical approach, known as critical discourse analysis. It is of high value to regularly evaluate the messages people receive from produced mass media. The fact that media discourse is public, means that it is subject to the scrutiny of many conversation analysts (O’Keeffe, 2015). To conduct a discourse analysis on the portrayal of billionaire philanthropy by both Fox News and MSNBC, a suitable framework has been found to efficiently analyse the possible framing and underlying power structures of the news items.

3.2 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Framework

The Three-dimensional Framework of Fairclough is known as the most comprehensive and practical approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (Yu & Zheng, 2022). The framework, seen in figure 1, contains three levels of analysis. It starts with a micro analysis, which focuses on text and/or speech. Followed by a meso analysis, in which the text is linked to social interaction and interpretation. Lastly, the macro analysis explores the social phenomena that are linked to the texts (ibid.).

Figure 1. Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Framework (Ramanathan et al., 2017)



The framework's ideology may be defined as a set of conscious and unconscious thoughts or beliefs, particularly political beliefs, that characterise a certain culture and ideas offered by the ruling class to all members of society. Texts and speech may be understood as the implicit and unconscious materialisation of ideologies (Yu & Zheng, 2022).

3.3 Sample and data collection

The website of MSNBC, has been renamed in 2012 to www.NBCNEWS.com (Johnson, 2012). Fox news's website is www.foxnews.com (Fox News, 2024). From both websites, all items that appear when searching "billionaire philanthropy" in the search bar will be analysed via the Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Framework. The time frame includes 2022 and 2023. When searching for "billionaire philanthropy" on the websites for both years, MSNBC showed 23 items, whereas for Fox News 32 results appeared. The items consist of online articles. A time frame of two years is chosen to catch differences in reporting, shifts in public discourse, and the influence of any noteworthy developments on the issue. A broader time frame guarantees enough data to identify patterns, shifts in narrative, and varied perspectives on news coverage from the two channels (Li et al., 2023).

3.4 Data analysis

Text Analysis

Fairclough's Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis begins with a textual analysis. This can refer to text, speech and image. Textual analysis encompasses language analysis, including semantic vocabulary and phonology. Fairclough refers to textual analysis as linguistic analysis, which encompasses all aspects of the complete analysis (Ramanathan et al., 2017). For this research, the focus will lie on attitudes which includes the tone of the text/speech towards billionaire philanthropy. To detect the tone, the use of verbs and other noticeable words/sentences will be analysed.

Discursive Practice

The second part of the framework, discursive practice, bridges the gap between text and social interaction, since the text is both constitutive and constructed. It is about the composition of words and the interpretation as language is not neutral due to the attitudes and values it conveys. Through discursive actions, the text reflects and reshapes social systems, indirectly influencing society. Discursive activities are dialectical in nature, reflecting the underlying social power (Ramanathan et al., 2017). Thus, in this research, the relationship between the text and interpretation of these words will be analysed.

Social Practice

The third dimension of the Fairclough's Three-Dimensional model includes social practice, which explores the relationship between text and social phenomena. Social practice entails politics, economics, social, cultural, and ideological perspectives, allowing for a broader discussion of these topics (Ramanathan et al., 2017). During this step of the analysis, framing and media bias, both discussed in the theoretical framework, will be considered.

With the use of the three-dimension analysis, there will be looked for patterns in attitudes towards billionaire philanthropy, reoccurring social practices that are the basis for the articles and finally a conclusion on how both news outlets portray billionaire philanthropy and with that, possibly influence the public perception of their consumers. By analysing the text, and the discursive and social practice, a look will be taken at the main tone of voice of an article. A distinction will be made between whether the article shows critique towards billionaire

philanthropy, if it shows neutrality towards the topic or if it praises billionaire philanthropy. To show an example of the data analysis, the most recent articles on MSNBC and Fox News that report on the topic will be analysed with the use of the Fairclough’s Three-dimensional model.

Table 1. Example of Application of Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Framework on Fox News and MSNBC

Title of Item	News Outlet	Text Analysis	Discursive Practice	Social Practice	Main tone of voice to billionaire philanthropy
MacKenzie Scott donates \$640 million to 361 nonprofits (Lenthang, 2024)	MSNBC	<p><i>“The latest round of donations, which varied from gifts of \$1 million to \$2 million, were awarded to nonprofit groups across the country with a variety of focuses — the arts, affordable housing, education, public health, immigration and diversity.”</i></p> <p><i>“...for their outstanding work advancing the voices and opportunities of individuals and families of meager or modest means, and groups who have met with discrimination and other systemic obstacles.”</i></p>	<p>Positive portrayal of billionaire philanthropy by using words as <i>outstanding work advancing the voices and opportunities</i> of minority groups.</p> <p>Left-wing orientation: <i>the arts, affordable housing, education, public health, immigration and diversity</i>” these are often topics of concern for Liberals.</p>	Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.	Praise
Billionaire family bankrolling both anti-Israel groups and these battleground Democrats (Gillespie & Spady, 2024)	Fox News	<p><i>“Several House Democrats facing tough re-election fights have accepted funds from a major political family”</i></p> <p><i>“The Pritzker family has, at the same time, given to organizations involved with the anti-Jewish protests, which have received widespread condemnation and resulted in thousands of arrests”</i></p>	<p>“anti-Jewish”, portrays hate speech towards the protestors.</p> <p>Democrats are negatively portrayed by stating that they accepted funds only due to “tough re-election fights”.</p> <p>Supporting Israel by stating that the protests have been judged, and the protestors have been arrested.</p>	Increasing political polarisation. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique

4. Results

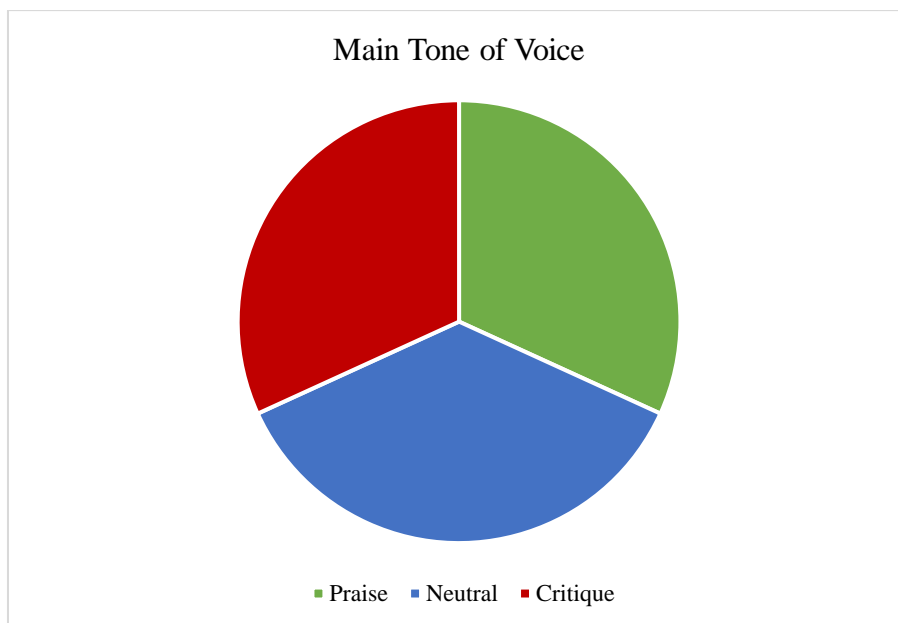
Within this chapter, the findings of the critical discourse analysis on news articles from Fox News and MSNBC on billionaire philanthropy will be presented. It will be discussed how both news outlets frame this topic and which strategies they use. The analysis was conducted according to the guidelines of a critical discourse analysis, focusing on linguistic strategies, framing and underlying ideologies in the selected articles. First, the results of MSNBC will be given, followed by the results of Fox News. The individual analysis of each outlet will mostly follow the structure of Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Framework, however the main tone of voice towards billionaire philanthropy of the articles will first be discussed, followed by the textual analysis and discursive practice. Lastly, the social practice will be summarised. To structure the results chapter, the reoccurring social phenomena, which appeared from the social practice, will be used as categories. These social phenomena as categories will be presented in table 2 and 3, after the main tone of voice pie chart.

4.1 MSNBC

Main tone of voice

Of the 23 articles that were analysed for MSNBC, in both 2022 and 2023, seven articles praised billionaire philanthropy, eight articles were neutral on the topic and seven showed critique, as can be seen in figure 2.

Figure 2. Main tone of voice towards billionaire philanthropy by MSNBC in 2022 and 2023



As shown in table 2 below, four distinct social phenomena reoccurred during the analysis. These phenomena will be explained by presenting the textual and discursive analysis of the articles.

Table 2. Social Phenomena derived from Social Practice as Categories

	Praising Billionaire Philanthropy	Neutral on Billionaire Philanthropy	Critique on Billionaire Philanthropy
Social phenomena as categories	Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.	Philanthrocapitalism and power relations in the USA.	Increasing political polarisation.
	Increasing political polarisation.	-	Critical on global capitalism.
	-	-	Philanthrocapitalism and power relations in the USA.

Textual analysis and discursive practice

The textual analysis and discursive practice entails the literal text from the articles and its interpretation. To ensure a clear explanation, the first two steps of the Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Framework will be presented interchangeably. First praising billionaire philanthropy will be discussed, secondly neutral on billionaire philanthropy and lastly critique on billionaire philanthropy. For the complete overview of the analysis table, please refer to Appendix 2.

Praising billionaire philanthropy

Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.

When compared to Republican billionaires, Democrat billionaires are mostly portrayed in a better daylight in MSNBC’s articles. For example, “*The older Soros, often targeted by right-wing conspiracists, has been one of the U.S. Democratic Party’s largest donors —*” (Lee, 2023), using words as “targeted by right-wing conspiracists” and “one of U.S. Democratic Party’s largest donors”, shows first that Soros is portrayed as a victim and secondly, is praised for his large donations. He is also positively portrayed with his quote “*I believe that in philanthropy one should do the right thing, whether or not it succeeds*”, which describes him as a man with good intentions (Lee, 2023).

Next to George Soros, Mackenzie Scott, a Democrat billionaire, is also praised for her philanthropic efforts in four out of the 23 articles. She donated six million dollars to a Latino voter group and the article described it as follows, “*The foundation, which aims to educate and empower Latino voters, often takes positions that align with Democrats. Voto Latino said it helped register more than 650,000 voters for the 2020 election cycle.*” (Lebowitz, 2023). Both emphasize that the organisation she donated to, aligns with Democrats and that the donation helped register voters, which is both in favour of Democrats. She is even more praised in the following quote, “*“Scott’s donation reflects her understanding that 2024 is bigger than politics; it’s about a thriving democracy that demands nurture”* (Lebowitz, 2023). In another article, it was again stated how Scott supports liberal causes: “*Scott had donated \$436 million, which will go toward the organization’s efforts to boost affordable housing and Black homeownership*” (Reuters, 2022), and that she will always represent the underrepresented which also resonates with left-wing ideologies concerning social equality: “*“as always our aim has been to support the needs of underrepresented people from groups of all kinds”* (Reuters, 2022). On top of Soros and Scott, Bill Gates also receives a platform to speak positively about his philanthropy: “*When I think about the world my grandchild will be born into, I’m more*

inspired than ever to help everyone's children and grandchildren have a chance to survive and thrive" (Stump, 2022b).

Increasing political polarisation. In eleven articles of MSNBC, left-wing ideologies are presented more favourably over right-wing ideologies. Right-wing, conservative ideas are even described as "political extremism": "*The billionaire Illinois governor is sinking millions of dollars of his own money into campaigns for abortion rights and to combat political extremism across the country*" (Korecki, 2023). About the same billionaire governor, it is said that, "*Pritzker has long defended abortion rights and held up Illinois as a beacon of reproductive freedom in the Midwest, welcoming women from red states*" (Korecki, 2023). And, "*Abortion access in the United States is on the decline as Republican-led states pass ever-tighter restrictions*" (Reuters, 2022). By using words such as "*combat political extremism*" (referring to conservative stands on abortion rights) as well as how the billionaire uses his own money to create "*a beacon of reproductive freedom*" shows a clear preference for left-wing ideologies. This became even more clear in this quote from the same article "*In addition to laws overturning reproductive rights, he referred to book bans, a rollback of voting rights and erosion of trust in government institutions as the results of a more extreme Republican Party*" (Korecki, 2023), where the policies of Republicans are directly mentioned and criticized. A clear contrast between left- and right-wing ideologies is shown, which contributes to the dispersion of Republicans and Democrats, which leads to political polarisation.

Neutral on billionaire philanthropy

Nine articles were considered neutral in their tone of voice towards billionaire philanthropy. This was either because the article did not enclose details about billionaire philanthropy and for example only entailed some personal details about a billionaire, who is known for philanthropic efforts, or because the articles just stated facts without showing a tone of voice towards the subject.

Philanthrocapitalism and power relations in the USA. However, even though the overall tone is judged neutral, four out of the nine articles still factually noted the connection between donations by billionaires and power and influence. For example, one article stated how the collapse of the crypto company of Sam Bankman-Fried, a billionaire who pledged that he would give away billions of his wealth, had an enormous influence on politics (Kamisar & Marquez, 2022). On top of that, two articles expressed how philanthropic donations in general contribute to politics in the USA. "*Democrats are winning the 2022 money race when it comes to small donors. Handily. Yet in a reversal from 2018, they're losing on the big-donor front, with some of their most well-known contributors donating far less than they did four years ago*" (Todd et al., 2022a) as well as "*\$60 million. That's about how much billionaire Michael Bloomberg is expecting to spend on this year's midterm elections*" (Todd et al., 2022b).

Critique on billionaire philanthropy

Increasing political polarisation. Whereas Democrat billionaires are mostly praised for their philanthropic efforts in the articles, Republican billionaires are often criticised for it. Both narratives contribute to the increase of political polarisation. Betsy DeVos, a Republican billionaire politician wants to use philanthropic efforts for a policy that is not supported by Democrats. "*DeVos and other conservatives have long advocated for financially supporting families who want to move their children from public schools to private ones...*", "*Opponents, including teachers unions, educators and Democrats, have pushed back, arguing that such policies would siphon students and money away from public schools.*" (Kingkade, 2023). This article puts Republicans and Democrats in direct opposition to each other, which contributes to an increase of political polarisation.

In addition, two articles directly target billionaire Republicans, which also shows that the main tone of voice here is critique towards billionaire philanthropy. For example, Republican billionaire Ramaswamy is described as going *“a step beyond hypocrisy”* as the article states that he was granted the Paul & Daisy Soros fellowship that strives for equal opportunities of immigrants as they equally contribute to the country. However, nowadays, Ramaswamy accuses immigrants of an invasion against the US (Tamkin, 2023). Next to Ramaswamy, Republican Kenneth Griffin donated 300 million dollars to Harvard and severe critique was shown; *“A self-identified “Reagan Republican,” he especially likes to use money to shape politics”* as well as *“And the constant stream of funds from ultra-wealthy people to ultra-elite institutions only helps replicate and deepen extreme inequality in our society”* (Aleem, 2023b).

Critical on global capitalism.

Critique towards the capitalistic system came forward in an article about the CEO of Starbucks: *“Schultz makes his money the same way every other major company in the world does: by extracting as much profit as possible from the labor of workers”* (Aleem, 2023a). But Schultz is not the only billionaire who is targeted for having capitalistic motives. The company Trident Mortgage, owned by billionaire Warren Buffet, was accused of redlining. Redlining has traditionally been used by racist lenders to keep non-Whites out of White neighbourhoods (Jones, 2022). Buffet’s *“hunger for money”* has been criticised in this article as *Buffett’s compassion ran up against his capitalistic impulses — and lost”* (Jones, 2022). In another article, Aleem (2022) argues that the fundamental problems underlying modern capitalism are frequently overlooked: *“Mainstream effective altruism displays no understanding of how modern capitalism — the system that it eagerly chooses to participate in — can explain extreme destitution in the Global South or the vulnerability of our society to pandemics”* (Aleem, 2022).

Philanthrocapitalism and power relations in the USA.

In five out of the seven articles that portrayed critique on billionaire philanthropy, it is mentioned how billionaires gain influence and power with political donations. As for the donation to Harvard by Kenneth Griffin the author accused him of; *“At the level of wealth that Griffin possesses, money is the go-to tool for building cache and wielding influence”* (Aleem, 2023b). Next to personal power and influence, donations are also portrayed as tools for influencing national politics. For example, by donating directly into state elections; *“Betsy DeVos said it poured about \$9 million into state elections last year, backing nearly 200 candidates. Now, some of those candidates are pushing a wave of legislation boosting DeVos’ longtime goal”* (Kingkade, 2023). Sam Bankman-Fried is also mentioned in three articles with regards to philanthrocapitalism. Firstly, him and his brother want to help elect lawmakers that are able to *“advance legislation to start preparing for the next pandemic”* and *“They also spent \$12 million to get a measure on the ballot in California”* (Seitz-Wald, 2022a). Thus, with their donations they help elect politicians who can influence laws to their preferences, on top of that they strive to influence ballots. Later that year, the same author wrote about Bankman-Fried, *“one of the country’s biggest Democratic political donors” “building a Washington footprint designed to influence public policy”* and *“spreading money around Washington ... to make friends with whoever ended up in power”* (Seitz-Wald, 2022b). Using words such as *“building a Washington footprint”* and *“spreading money to make friends with whoever ended up in power”*, clearly frames Sam Bankman-Fried as someone who uses his donations to gain individual power.

Social practice

Increasing political polarisation.

In eleven articles of MSNBC, left-wing ideologies and billionaires are favoured over the right-wing. Right-wing, conservative ideas are even portrayed as political extremism. A direct contrast between the left- and right-wing is portrayed, which can be seen as a contribution to political polarisation.

Critical on global capitalism and billionaires.

MSNBC's reporting on billionaire philanthropy takes a critical look at global capitalism and the role of billionaires as a part of it. MSNBC includes a critical analysis of how billionaire generosity may perpetuate structural disparities, as well as how philanthropic activities, frequently expose the faults of the capitalist system.

Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.

MSNBC's coverage of Democrat billionaires is often positive, particularly in terms of their connection with charitable beliefs and goals. Philanthropists' support of Democratic politicians and programmes are covered, as well as success stories of Democratic-led projects sponsored by philanthropic funds.

Philanthrocapitalism and power relations in the USA.

MSNBC's reporting also focuses on the notion of philanthrocapitalism, which involves how billionaires use their financial influence to push social change. Articles frequently examine the dual nature of philanthrocapitalism, recognising billionaire philanthropists' influential contributions while criticising the long-term consequences of their impact. The articles regularly challenge the power dynamics inherent in the capitalist system and philanthropic initiatives which impact policy choices and election outcomes.

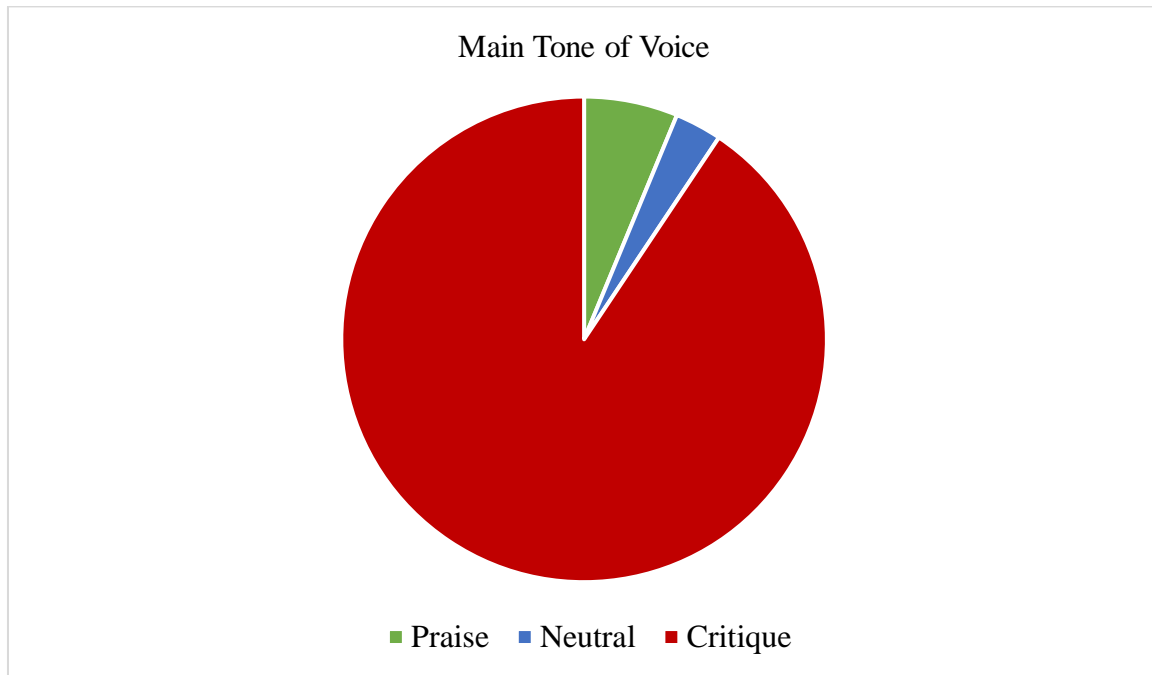
To conclude, MSNBC's articles about billionaire philanthropy, express a clear positive stance towards Democratic billionaire philanthropy. They are recognised for their philanthropic endeavours, which frequently support progressive causes and Democratic Party principles. However, the articles contribute to the dispersion of Republicans and Democrats leading to political polarisation by emphasising left-wing beliefs while criticising right-wing, conservative ideologies. Right-wing beliefs are portrayed as political extremism. A fair share of the articles is neutral in tone and do not express significant thoughts regarding billionaire philanthropy. There has also been criticism towards philanthropy by billionaires, particularly Republican billionaires. This criticism focuses on using donations to obtain political power and influence. Articles examine how charitable activities might exacerbate structural inequality and emphasise the possible conflicts of interest that result from billionaires' dual roles as philanthropists and business magnates.

4.2 Fox News

Main tone of voice

Of the 32 articles that were analysed for Fox News, in both 2022 and 2023, two articles praised billionaire philanthropy, only one article was neutral and 29 showed critique, as can be seen in figure 2.

Figure 3. Main Tone of Voice towards billionaire philanthropy by Fox News in 2022 and 2023



As can be seen in table 3, five distinct social phenomena reoccurred during the analysis. These phenomena will be explained by presenting the textual and discursive analysis of the articles.

Table 3. Social Phenomena derived from Social Practice as Categories

	Praising Billionaire Philanthropy	Neutral on Billionaire Philanthropy	Critique on Billionaire Philanthropy
Social phenomena as categories	Supporting consumerism and being a billionaire.	Increasing political polarisation.	Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.
	Positive framing of Republican billionaires and their beliefs.	-	Increasing political polarisation.
	-	-	Philanthrocapitalism.

Textual analysis and discursive practice

The textual analysis and discursive practice entails the literal text from the articles and the interpretation. To ensure a clear explanation, the first two steps of the Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Framework will be presented interchangeably. First praising billionaire philanthropy will be discussed, secondly neutral on billionaire philanthropy and lastly, critique towards billionaire philanthropy. For the complete overview of the analysis table, please refer to appendix 3.

Praising billionaire philanthropy

Supporting consumerism and billionaires.

In only one of the 32 articles, a Democrat billionaire is praised for his philanthropic efforts. To start, this can be seen in the title of the article: *"Proof that being Google's billionaire co-founder can get your crazy airship approved"* (Knutsson, 2023). This implies a positive attitude towards being billionaire, as it emphasizes that Google's billionaire status and co-founder gives it the influence and resources to get an airship approved. This suggests admiration for the success and power that comes with this position. A positive attitude can also be seen in the following quote, *"It is a testament to his passion for exploration and discovery, as well as his generosity and philanthropy"* (Knutsson, 2023). This describes approval of such consumerism.

Positive framing of Republican billionaires and their beliefs.

Next to the one Democrat billionaire that is positively portrayed, a Republican billionaire is even more praised. *"The foundation of the late T. Boone Pickens presented a \$21 million gift to the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Institute, cementing a bond of friendship, patriotism and faith in the American people shared by both the philanthropist and the former president."* (Byrne, 2023). Ronald Reagan, and Pickens are compared in a highly positive and patriotic manner which is a frame used by the author. This is even more emphasized with the following quote, *"The two organizations believe the gift will help perpetuate for future generations the values and policies that made Reagan one of the most popular politicians in American history."* (Byrne, 2023), which shows significant support for former president Reagan and Pickens.

Neutral on billionaire philanthropy

Increasing political polarisation.

The one article that reported neutral on billionaire philanthropy, still contributes to the increase of political polarisation in the USA. The author writes about how a philanthropist, withdraw his six-figure donation to Arizona State University because *"one of its faculty claimed the school fired her for inviting conservative commentators to speak on campus"* (Hays, 2023). The author portrays the conservative speakers as victims by stating that they were allegedly called *"purveyors of hate"* by other faculty members. Moreover, dispersion between the left- and right-wing increases after including the quote of the philanthropist *"After seeing this level of left-wing hostility and activism, I no longer had any confidence in Barrett to adhere to the terms of our gift"* (Hays, 2023). By using words such as "left-wing hostility and activism", Democrats and Republicans are put in direct opposition of each other, a clear frame is used to influence Fox News consumers.

Critique on billionaire philanthropy

Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.

In 25 of the 32 articles, Democrat billionaires are negatively portrayed. Especially liberal billionaire George Soros appears to be a target, as he is mentioned in fifteen articles. The dislike towards Soros is not hard to detect from what is written about him. For example, his donations are often described as a way *"to spread his radical leftist ideas on abortion, Marxist economics,*

anti-Americanism, defunding the police, environmental extremism and LGBT fanaticism” (Flood, 2023). By using these words, opinions of Fox News consumers on billionaire Soros, are negatively influenced. Moreover, in this quote, a clear favour of the right-wing is portrayed here as these ideas are described as *“radical leftist ideas”*. One year earlier, the same author wrote about Soros: *“He is out to destroy the underpinnings of Western Civilization, and he’s using \$36 billion that he is spending on it”* (Flood, 2022c). This description is extremely framing by stating that he wants to “destroy the civilization”. In other articles, Soros is targeted and framed for his ideas on crime and police. *“A ‘progressive’ approach to law enforcement as championed by George Soros and others means victims of violent crime pay a high price”* (Mangual, 2022), indicating that Soros is responsible for “the high prices victims of violent crime pay”. This is supported by Bossie (2023), who wrote *“the tone-deaf Soros has indicated he’s planning to continue his assault on safe streets in the future”* (Bossie, 2023). In another article, a direct clash between Soros’ ideas on crime and Republicans is presented, *“Liberal megadonor George Soros defended his support of progressive district attorneys across the country in a Wall Street Journal entry that placed blame on Republicans for rising crime – an excuse that several experts told Fox News Digital doesn’t jibe with reality”* (Miller, 2022). Next to his thoughts on crime, three authors of Fox News have shown dislike towards Soros’ support of Palestine. The first article stated, *“Outlets who received Soros’ cash have published op-eds calling to ‘abolish’ the nuclear family, justified Palestinian terror attacks ...”* (Flood, 2023). The second article reported, *“A nonprofit that has received donations from George Soros has been bankrolling groups who have hosted pro-Palestinian rallies”* and *“... a direct affiliate of the Tides Foundation, has accused the U.S. government of ‘ethnic cleansing of Palestinian people,’ as well as ‘and also paints Hamas in a positive light”* (La Jeunesse & Sabes, 2023). The third article wrote, *“Report claims Soros organization has given millions to US groups who allegedly support terror group.” “Hamas launched a full-blown invasion into southern Israel Oct. 7, resulting in the mass murder of 1,200 people”, “American citizens were among civilians kidnapped by the jihadi terrorist entity”* (Weinthal, 2023). By using statements such as “Palestinian terror attacks”, “pro-Palestinian rallies”, “terror group”, “mass murder” and “jihadi terrorist entity”, Fox News authors show disapproval towards Soros’ donations, indicating that they are supporting Israel. Finally, George Soros’ son, Alex, is also negatively framed by authors of Fox News, *“Alex Soros has quietly had a pipeline to the Biden White House as he openly mingles with high-profile Democratic politicians and showers liberal causes with millions in cash.”* (Cawthorne & Schoffstall, 2023).

Several other Democrat billionaires have also been criticised by authors of Fox News for various reasons. For example, due to the location of their donations. About Hoffman, a Silicon Valley top donor to Democratic campaigns, it is written that *“his money also goes into non-traditional groups that aren’t mandated to report their funding and often operate in the shadows.”* (Kliegman, 2023). This negatively portrays his philanthropic efforts as it is described as if he does not want his donations to be public. Laurene Jobs, the widow of Steve Jobs, is accused of funding *“the parent company of a network of liberal ‘fake news’ sites, which pushed pieces that mirrored press releases from Democratic politicians.”* (Schoffstall, 2023). Here, Jobs and the left-wing are negatively portrayed, by using statements as “liberal, fake news sites”.

Moreover, certain Democrat billionaires have been criticised for their hypocrisy. Kornick (2022) wrote *“Here are several examples of Hollywood A-listers, tech billionaires, and Democrat politicians who have been caught being hypocrites when it comes to helping the environment”*. In the article, Democrat billionaires Jeff Bezos and Mark Zuckerberg among others have been mentioned to be hypocrites when it comes to donating towards environmental purposes. The direct accusation of hypocrisy, confirms the distaste towards Democrats.

Increasing political polarisation.

Seventeen out of the 32 articles influenced the increase of political polarisation in the USA. To begin, Biden's administration has been the target of several authors. For example, in one article concern is expressed about the way Biden's administration wants to take on the petrochemical industry: *"However, the petrochemical industry has long been target of environmentalists who argue it is responsible for harmful emissions and pollution negatively impacting surrounding communities' health."* *"Overall, the multibillion-dollar petrochemical industry is particularly prominent in Louisiana where it is a key driver of jobs and investment"* (Schoffstall & Catenacci, 2023b). A right-wing ideology is portrayed with statements as "target of environmentalists" and "a key driver of jobs and investment", referring to only the capitalistic characteristics of the industry. The concern about revenue loss due to the Biden administration also comes forward in another article of Catenacci, who portrays how a plan to takeout farmland of production, supported by left-wing billionaires, would *"likely decrease agricultural production revenue and harm support industries in the area like machinery sales and ranch laborers"* (Catenacci, 2022). Thus, again only monetary implications are taken into consideration, which reveals right-wing beliefs and increases political polarisation as it is directly weighted against left-wing beliefs. In another article Bossie (2023) accused George Soros for donating to the Biden administration. In the article, he blamed the government for problems regarding immigration, crime, drugs and inflation: *"The Biden administration's lawless immigration policy has created a war zone and fentanyl epidemic at the border; the left's drive to "reimagine policing" has caused crime and the feeling of danger to skyrocket in our cities; and the irresponsible push for wasteful spending on the green new deal agenda has caused an inflation crisis that won't go away"*. By directly accusing the Democratic Biden administration of these problems, political polarisation increases. In another article, Soros is blamed for supporting the policies of Democrat District Attorney Krasner. The author framed these policies as the reason of someone's death. *"... she believes her husband would still be alive if not for the far-left bail policies"* (Halon, 2022).

However, not only the donations of left-wing billionaires to the government are framed by authors of Fox News, but also donations of left-wing organisations. For example, *"ProPublica — which purports to be an independent, non-partisan outlet but has received donations from left-leaning entities — published the latest in a series criticizing Justice Thomas for allegedly violating Supreme Court ethics, which Thomas has denied"* (Herlihy, 2023). The left-wing group ProPublica, is negatively framed for accepting donations from left-wing entities as well as spreading false and misleading portraits of Justice Thomas. Next to ProPublica, the left-wing network of Hansjörg Wyss, a liberal Swiss billionaire, is targeted for its influence on US elections. *"The LCV and Climate Power are two prominent far-left environmental groups that push aggressive green transition policies and have received extensive funding from Wyss' nonprofits"* (Schoffstall & Catenacci, 2023a). *"Aggressive green transition policies"*, clearly portrays the right-wing political beliefs of the authors.

Philanthrocapitalism.

Resembling the articles of MSNBC, philanthrocapitalism is a reoccurring theme in Fox News' articles about billionaire philanthropy. As mentioned before, Soros is targeted by many authors. According to the authors, Soros' motives are to increase power and influence on current politics. For example, *"Propaganda avalanche: George Soros spreads \$131 million to influence global media"* (Flood, 2023) and *"When it comes to Biden policy and Soros policy, it's tough to tell where one ends and the other begins"* (Bossie, 2023). Other Democrat billionaires are also accused of gaining influence through donations: *"Schmidt has quietly developed an intricate network enabling him to have significant influence over White House artificial intelligence and public policy"* (Catenacci & Cawthorne, 2023). About the donations of Sam Bankman-Fried, it is even stated that *"It's plausible that without SBF's money, Trump*

would still be in the White House” (Flood, 2022b). As Biden won against Trump in the last election, this information could extremely influence Fox News Republican consumers. Lastly, another example “... the overwhelming influence of the left-wing Arabella Advisors network on American politics. In 2022 alone, these groups spent \$1.4 billion to push our country toward more extreme causes and candidates” (Catenacci & Schoffstall, 2023b).

Social practice

Supporting consumerism and being a billionaire.

In one article, a Democrat billionaire received praise for his charity work. The headline "Proof that being Google's billionaire co-founder can get your crazy airship approved" (Knutsson, 2023) suggests a positive attitude towards being a billionaire, emphasising the power and resources that come with such status. The article emphasises the billionaire's enthusiasm for adventure, discovery, charity, and philanthropy, as well as his positive attitude towards consumption and the advantages of being a billionaire.

Positive framing of Republican billionaires and their beliefs.

A different article praised Republican billionaire Pickens for donating \$21 million to the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Institute (Byrne, 2023). The article makes a positive comparison between Pickens and Ronald Reagan, emphasising their comparable principles and objectives, depicting Republican billionaires and their ideas in a favourable light.

Increasing political polarisation.

Seventeen out of the 32 articles influenced the increase of political polarisation in the USA. Biden’s administration has been the target of several authors. Not only the donations of left-wing billionaires to the government are framed by authors of Fox News, but also donations of left-wing organisations. By negatively influencing Fox News’ consumers opinion on left-wing billionaires and organisations, political polarisation is reinforced.

Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.

Twenty-five of thirty-two articles illustrate Democrat billionaires negatively, with a particular focus on Democrat billionaire George Soros. His contributions are defined as efforts to propagate radical leftist ideas, influencing policies on crime, police, and support for Palestine. Soros' son, Alex, and other Democratic billionaires are also criticised for their charity and political contributions.

Philanthrocapitalism.

Fox News reporting also focuses on the notion of philanthrocapitalism, which involves how billionaires use their financial influence to push social change. Articles frequently examine the dual nature of philanthrocapitalism, recognising billionaire philanthropists' influential contributions. Democratic billionaires such as George Soros are blamed for exploiting donations to affect the political and media landscape.

To conclude, the articles only praise billionaire generosity, when it includes Republican billionaires or promotes conservative principles such as consumerism. Which is still only two articles out of the 32. Even neutral articles contribute to political polarisation by emphasising controversial themes. Most of the criticism is focused at Democratic billionaires, with George Soros being the main target. The articles frequently employ strong negative language to characterise his donations and their alleged consequences, portraying them as radical or destructive to American ideals. Many articles help to increase political polarisation by portraying left-wing initiatives and philanthropists poorly. Critics target not just individual donors, but also left-wing organisations (that are supported by liberal billionaires) and the Biden administration, with an emphasis on problems such as crime and the environment. Furthermore, articles show that billionaire philanthropy, particularly among those with left-wing ideals, is frequently used to achieve political influence and power. Overall, the analysis

portrays a strong bias in Fox News' presentation of philanthropy by billionaires, with a clear preference for Republican billionaires and a critical attitude towards Democratic billionaires and their affiliated causes.

5. Discussion

As mentioned in the introduction, the media plays an important role in shaping public discourse about billionaire philanthropy (Thorup, 2013). Through covering successes as well as its challenges, the media may provide the public with a more nuanced understanding of philanthropy and encourage critical thinking about its effects (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010). However, “*How does Fox News versus MSNBC portray the role of philanthropy of billionaires?*”. The analysis of MSNBC and Fox News’ articles on billionaire philanthropy demonstrates significant differences in how both media channels represent billionaires’ philanthropic endeavours, particularly in terms of political affiliation. The findings show a strong bias in both media sources, which contributes to the dispersion of Republicans and Democrats which presumably leads to political polarisation in the USA.

MSNBC’s coverage of billionaire philanthropy is mainly favourable, highlighting the generous deeds of Democratic billionaires such as George Soros, Mackenzie Scott, and Bill Gates. These billionaires are regularly recognised for their support of progressive causes and Democratic beliefs. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, emotional characteristics are used in affective framing to affect how media consumers feel about and relate to media items. Moreover, media consumers tend to consider topics as of greater significance the more often they occur (Hale, 2007). However, in the articles of MSNBC, right-wing ideologies are frequently seen as political extremism, whereas Democratic principles are more widely accepted. It could therefore be stated that both outlets differently influence their consumers. And although certain articles have a neutral tone, the major emphasis is on promoting left-wing ideologies and criticising right-wing stances. MSNBC’s criticism of billionaire philanthropy centres mostly around Republican billionaires. The criticisms focus on the possible misuse of donations to obtain political influence and the maintenance of social inequalities. The concept of philanthrocapitalism is also discussed, emphasising how wealthy individuals can use their financial power to shape social change, which can exacerbate structural inequality and create conflicts of interest due to their dual roles as philanthropists and business magnates.

In contrast, Fox News only praises billionaire philanthropy in two articles, which include a Republican billionaire and the other strengthens conservative beliefs. The criticism is mostly focused against Democratic billionaires, with George Soros commonly identified as a target. Soros’ donations are frequently described in strong negative terms, as radical or harmful to American ideals. This unfavourable picture applies to left-wing enterprises and philanthropists in general, and as was stated in the introduction, the media has the potential to be extremely influential by posing analyses on the efficiency, openness, and responsibility of philanthropy by billionaires (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2010), it can be concluded that this is a clear frame, used to negatively influence Fox News consumers. Critics in Fox News narratives attack not only individual Democratic philanthropists, but also left-wing organisations and the Biden administration, with an emphasis on crime, police and the environment. Similar to MSNBC, these articles also claim that billionaire philanthropy, particularly among those with left-wing views, is frequently utilised to achieve political influence and power. The findings show a strong bias in Fox News’ coverage of billionaire philanthropy, with a preference for Republican billionaires and a critical attitude towards Democratic billionaires and their causes.

To conclude, the media research reveals a considerable bias in how MSNBC and Fox News report on billionaire philanthropy, which reflects their different political views. MSNBC favours Democratic billionaires and their support to progressive causes, whereas Fox News clearly supports Republican billionaires and conservative beliefs. As mentioned in the introduction, the media has the power to frame socio-political problems in certain ways, which can have significant influence on the public’s views and opinions (Dardis et al., 2008). Both

media outlets present philanthropic actions in ways that reflect their political agendas. Thus, the public opinion amongst their consumers are differently influenced on this topic. MSNBC's positive coverage of Democratic billionaires can boost their public image and perceived legitimacy, but Fox News' poor portrayal of the same people can harm their credibility and ambitions. The level of trust the consumers have in philanthropic efforts is determined by their chosen media outlet's political perspective. While the media is able to promote a more balanced perspective of philanthropy by reporting on both achievements and difficulties MSNBC and Fox News' biased representations may restrict this possibility. Instead of encouraging critical thinking, the media's biased coverage may reinforce existing beliefs and minimise the audience's capacity to objectively assess charitable initiatives. Moreover, as mentioned in the theoretical framework, the subjects that the media decides to cover, together with the frequency and quality of that coverage, dictate which issues gain national attention and which ones disappear. The public agenda is the primary topic of concern for society's members (Ahmad, 2021). The media's attention on certain aspects of billionaire generosity, such as potential misuse of donations or positive outcomes on social issues, can influence the government agenda. Policymakers may prioritise concerns that are heavily covered in the media, resulting in legislation or regulatory acts that match the narratives advocated by MSNBC or Fox News. On top of that, MSNBC and Fox News' differing depictions might exacerbate existing political division, since consumers of each outlet are largely exposed to material that validates their prior beliefs. This possibly results in an increasingly polarised society, with people becoming more entrenched in their ideological viewpoints.

Limitations and future research

Several limitations can be assigned to this research. First, a short time frame: a research over a period of only two years may not be enough to detect long-term patterns and changes in reporting. Secondly, a discourse analysis is qualitative and interpretative in nature, therefore results may vary depending on the approach and analytical frameworks utilised. Finally, a limitation occurs when analysing only two cable networks. The findings from MSNBC and Fox News cannot be generalised to other news channels with different political or editorial perspectives. Therefore, the results cannot be generalised to the whole cable network industry of the USA.

Recommendations for future studies could be, a comparative analysis with other cable news outlets, with less extreme political beliefs. Next to that, a longitudinal study could be conducted, where the articles about billionaire philanthropy over a larger period are analysed. Moreover, a study with regards to the public perception of the cable news consumers could be conducted, through interviews with the consumers for example. Lastly, a study with in-depth interviews with the authors of the articles could be conducted, this could give insight in the editorial processes behind publishing these articles and the political beliefs of the authors.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Ethics and Privacy Checklist


ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Bonnie French, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: **BEYOND THE HEADLINES: EXPLORING DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON BILLIONAIRE PHILANTHROPY IN CONSERVATIVE VS LIBERAL MEDIA OUTLETS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

Name, email of student: **BOBBI VELDHUIJZEN - 626014SV@EUR.NL**

Name, email of supervisor: **DR. AGNI KALFAGIANNI - KALFAGIANNI@ESSO.EUR.NL**

Start date and duration: **JANUARY 2024 - JUNE 2024**

Is the research study conducted within DPAS YES NO

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted? (e.g. internship organization)

v. 1.2 (March 2023)

PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

1. Does your research involve human participants. YES - NO

If 'NO': skip to part V.

If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research? YES - NO
Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act (WMO) must first be submitted to an accredited medical research ethics committee or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (CCMO).

2. Does your research involve field observations without manipulations that will not involve identification of participants. YES - NO

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

3. Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary data that has been anonymized by someone else). YES - NO

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.



Part V: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

Digital data files (analysis of online articles)
will be stored on my laptop.

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

Me.

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

Every week.

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

Not applicable.

Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.

PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: Bobbi

Name (EUR) supervisor: Dr. Kalfagianni

Date: 2 APRIL 2024

Date: 2 APRIL 2024



Appendix 2. Data MSNBC 2023/2022

Data MSNBC 2023

#	Title of Item	Text Analysis	Discursive Practice	Social Practice	Main tone of voice towards billionaire philanthropy
1	J.B. Pritzker, a key Biden surrogate, builds up nonprofit group as 2024 looms (Korecki, 2023)	<p>"The billionaire Illinois governor is sinking millions of dollars of his own money into campaigns for abortion rights and to combat political extremism across the country."</p> <p>"Pritzker has long defended abortion rights and held up Illinois as a beacon of reproductive freedom in the Midwest, welcoming women from red states."</p> <p>"In addition to laws overturning reproductive rights, he referred to book bans, a rollback of voting rights and erosion of trust in government institutions as the results of a more extreme Republican Party."</p>	<p>Using words to describe the Republican policy around abortion restrictions such as political extremism, indicates that the author is in favour of democratic policies.</p> <p>Describing that Pritzker ensures a beacon of reproductive freedom, also indicates the political preference of the author.</p> <p>The political preference also reoccurs in this sentence: a rollback of voting rights and erosion of trust in government institutions as the results of a more extreme Republican Party.</p>	<p>Negatively portraying Republican politics.</p> <p>Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.</p> <p>Increasing political polarisation.</p>	Praise
2	Why ex-Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz thinks 'billionaire' is a slur (Aleem, 2023a)	<p>"Schultz's language illustrates the delusion that extreme wealth generates among those who hold it. He apparently sees his exploitative company as a philanthropic endeavor. He believes his status as a job generator means he is beneficent, and should therefore stand above public scrutiny. But Schultz makes his money the same way every other major company in the world does: by extracting as much profit as possible from the labor of workers."</p> <p>"He and people in his wealth stratum know that the more the term 'billionaire' rubs people the wrong way, the more likely it is that the public will pursue tax policies and regulations that could curtail their awesome power."</p>	<p>Stating the power that billionaires own.</p> <p>Indicating that Schultz exploits his employees at Starbucks.</p> <p>Implying that Schultz sees himself above other people and above public scrutiny.</p>	<p>Highly critical on global capitalism and billionaires.</p> <p>Power relations.</p>	Critique
3	Kenneth Griffin's \$300 million donation to Harvard is about influence (Aleem, 2023b)	<p>"Harvard is the last place that needs financial gifts. And the constant stream of funds from ultra-wealthy people to ultra-elite institutions only helps replicate and deepen extreme inequality in our society."</p> <p>At the level of wealth that Griffin possesses, money is the go-to tool for building cache and wielding influence."</p>	<p>Stating that philanthropy in this way only deepens extreme inequality.</p> <p>The author also blames this donor for being aware of the inequalities but states that he does this to build cache and wield influence.</p>	<p>Philanthrocapitalism.</p> <p>Increasing political polarisation.</p>	Critique
4	George Soros hands control of his \$25 billion empire to his son Alex (Lee, 2023)	<p>"A self-identified 'Reagan Republican,' he especially likes to use money to shape politics — he donated over \$60 million to Republican candidates and super PACs in the 2022 midterm elections."</p> <p>"The older Soros, often targeted by right-wing conspiracists, has been one of the U.S. Democratic Party's largest donors —"</p> <p>"Voicing his concerns on a potential return of former President Donald Trump, the 37-year-old Soros told the Wall Street Journal: 'As much as I would love to get money out of politics, as long as the other side is doing it, we will have to do it, too.'"</p> <p>"I believe that in philanthropy one should do the right thing, whether or not it succeeds."</p>	<p>Favouring Democrat billionaire Soros over the mentioned "right-wing" conspiracists.</p> <p>Positively portraying Democrats by including positive quotes of George Soros and his son in the article such as:</p> <p>As much as I would love to get money out of politics, as long as the other side is doing it, we will have to do it, too."</p> <p>"I believe that in philanthropy one should do the right thing, whether or not it succeeds."</p>	<p>Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.</p>	Praise
5	MacKenzie Scott donates \$6 million to Latino voter group (Lebowitz, 2023)	<p>"The foundation, which aims to educate and empower Latino voters, often takes positions that align with Democrats. Foto Latino said it helped register more than 650,000 voters for the 2020 election cycle."</p>	<p>Billionaire philanthropy linked to political considerations such as beliefs and registered voters.</p>	<p>Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.</p>	Praise
6	A Betsy DeVos-backed group helps fuel a rapid expansion of public money for private schools (Kingkade, 2023)	<p>"A conservative nonprofit group founded by former Trump administration Education Secretary Betsy DeVos said it poured about \$9 million into state elections last year, backing nearly 200 candidates. Now, some of those candidates are pushing a wave of legislation boasting DeVos' longtime goal: subsidizing private schools with public dollars."</p> <p>"DeVos and other conservatives have long advocated for financially supporting families who want to move their children from public schools to private ones, calling these policies 'school choice,' and arguing that they would help poor children get a better education. Opponents, including teachers unions, educators and Democrats, have pushed back, arguing that such policies would siphon students and money away from public schools."</p>	<p>Billionaire philanthropy is linked to Republican political preferences and attitudes.</p>	<p>Increasing political polarisation.</p> <p>Philanthrocapitalism and power relations.</p>	Critique
7	The Soros fellowship Vivek	<p>"The Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowship for New Americans, per its website, was founded by the couple "to assist young New Americans at critical points in their education, which they felt was an unmet need."</p>	<p>Accusing Republican politician Ramaswamy of hypocrisy as he was granted the Paul & Daisy Soros fellowship that strives for equal opportunities of</p>	<p>Increasing Political Polarisation.</p>	Neutral
	Ramaswamy doesn't want you to know about (Tamkin, 2023)	<p>"The issue here is not hypocrisy. Lots of people, and certainly lots of politicians, are hypocrites. Yes, Ramaswamy, the child of Indian immigrants, accuses some immigrants of carrying out an invasion against the United States, and yes, as president he would make it more difficult for children of immigrants born here to participate in the political process. But Ramaswamy goes a step beyond hypocrisy."</p> <p>"Whether he would put it this way or not, he embraced and benefited from this ideology: that immigrants and their children contribute to this country; that they deserve opportunities to educate themselves; that what they give to American life needs to be recognized. He used that ideology for his own advancement, and then he became an ideologue in the other direction."</p>	<p>immigrants as they equally contribute to the country. Now, Ramaswamy accuses immigrants of an invasion against the US.</p> <p>Presenting the fellowship as a good thing.</p>		

8	What's the appeal of extreme adventures like the missing sub? A friend and fellow adventurer explains (Smith & Austin, 2023)	Not-applicable.	Not applicable.	Not applicable.	Neutral
9	Amazon founder Jeff Bezos buys home in Miami's 'billionaire bunker.' Tom Brady will be his neighbor (The Associated Press, 2023)	Not-applicable.	Not-applicable.	Not-applicable.	Neutral
10	Richard Branson talks new climate change coalition and his plans to	"Branson also had a message for the climate change deniers. "It's a fact of life," he said. "The amount of carbon that's going into Earth's atmosphere is heating up the world and it's going to do a lot of damage to the world if we don't get it under control."	Praising Branson for tackling the climate crisis, however there are no questions about his "homes all over the world" and "his own island".	Capitalism. Hypocrisy.	Praise

	return to space (Melas, 2023)	"While running many businesses he's aware of his own carbon footprint." "We've managed to get the price of going into space, from a carbon point of view right down to a minimum. ... You know, if you've run an airline, you've got to try to get the youngest, most fuel-efficient planes," Branson said. "If you're running a space line, you've got to reduce the cost of taking people into space dramatically from a carbon point of view. So, all of us in positions where we can make a big difference have got to make a big difference."	About his airplane label and his trips to space, it is only stated that he is aware of his footprint and that he was able to minimise the carbon footprint, and that he tries to get the youngest, most fuel-efficient planes. He even states that he is in a position to make a big difference. There is high double-standard in this article, he is praised for his philanthropic efforts regarding climate change, but he is not critically questioned about his own contribution to this.		
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Data MSNBC 2022

#	Title of Item	Text Analysis	Discursive Practice	Social Practice	Main tone of voice towards billionaire philanthropy
1	Brothers behind Democrats' crypto PAC say they're actually pandemic-focused (Seitz-Wald, 2022a)	"The brothers want to help elect lawmakers who will advance legislation to start preparing for the next pandemic by doing things like increasingly biosecurity rules, allocating funds to proactively develop vaccines for the next superbug, stockpiling more personal protective equipment, and changing building codes to make spaces less likely to spread germs." "They also spent \$12 million to get a measure on the ballot in California to raise taxes on the wealthy to fund pandemic prevention efforts in the state."	Highlighting that donations to politicians, increases power.	Philanthrocapitalism and power relations.	Critique
2	Vegan canapes and fat donations: How Sam Bankman-Fried won Washington before he lost everything (Seitz-Wald, 2022b)	"They came to cement their connections to a 30-year-old billionaire who had, practically overnight, become one of the country's biggest Democratic political donors and was building a Washington footprint designed to influence public policy for decades to come." "Sam Bankman-Fried and his fellow FTX executives followed the well-established lobbying playbook of spreading money around Washington — at least \$70 million on 2022 campaigns, with three sources saying there was much more in "dark money" — to make friends with whoever ended up in power, regardless of the outcome of the elections."	Specifically stating the number and location of each donation of Bankman-Fried, implying the power that this has given him. Also, implying that this is the way to go to gain power in Washington.	Philanthrocapitalism and power relations.	Critique
3	MacKenzie Scott makes record \$275 million donation to Planned Parenthood (Reuters, 2022)	"Abortion access in the United States is on the decline as Republican-led states pass ever-tighter restrictions on the procedure, including a near-total ban on abortions in Texas that has withstood legal challenges." "Our team's focus over these last nine months has included some new areas, but as always our aim has been to support the needs of underrepresented people from groups of all kinds. The cause of equity has no sides," she wrote." "On Tuesday, Habitat for Humanity announced that Scott had donated \$436 million, which will go toward the organization's efforts to boost affordable housing and Black homeownership."	Clearly stating that Republican-led states raise restrictions on abortion procedures. Left-wing billionaire, supporting left-wing causes such as abortion and homeownership for black people.	Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.	Praise
4	Mark Cuban's next act on drug costs: Tackling insulin (Lovelace Jr. et al., 2022)	"The cost of insulin is emblematic of high drug prices in the U.S." "Cost Plus selling insulin would provide patients with more options, said Hernandez, of the University of California, San Diego. "This may be a very good way for people without insurance to get insulin," she said."	Cuban is praised for lowering drug prices for Americans. Critique on the drug prices in the USA which is left-wing oriented, as Republicans often want more expensive health care.	Left-wing oriented.	Praise
5	Buffett company settlement should be a blow to the 'compassionate billionaire' myth (Jones, 2022)	"Trident's unlawful redlining activity denied communities of color equal access to residential mortgages, stripped them of the opportunity to build wealth, and devalued properties in their neighborhoods." "It seems to me the most favorable reading possible here is that Buffett's hunger for money led him to create a portfolio so unwieldy he simply couldn't keep track of all the racism happening within it. In that scenario, Buffett's compassion ran up against his capitalistic impulses — and lost."	According to the author, a compassionate billionaire does not exist. Stating that money wins from compassion.	Critique on capitalism.	Critique

6	Exclusive: MacKenzie Scott makes historic donation to Big Brothers Big Sisters (Stump, 2022a)	<i>"The historic donation will further the work of an organization that has been fostering one-on-one relationships between kids and their adult mentors across the country for more than a century. The goal is to help children achieve their potential through long-lasting, positive relationships."</i>	Praising Scott by specifying what good things the organisation does that she donated to, Stating "the historic donation" praises Scott as well.	Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.	Praise
		<i>"Scott's donation is the latest in her extensive philanthropic work. The ex-wife of Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos has given more than \$12 billion to more than 1,200 groups over the past three years."</i>	Also, stating how much money she donated, is a way of praising her.		
7	Crypto billionaire Sam Bankman-Fried's downfall could deprive Democrats of key donor (Kamisar & Marquez, 2022)	<i>"The explosive demise of crypto giant FTX, led by billionaire Sam Bankman-Fried, may have an outsized impact on politics — snuffing out the wealth of a budding potential Democratic megadonor."</i>	By stating that the Democrats lose a billionaire megadonor, and the outsized impact this is going to have on politics, describes cronyism in the USA.	Philanthrocapitalism and power relations.	Neutral
8	Bill Gates says becoming a grandfather next year 'makes me emotional' (Stump, 2022b)	<i>"Simply typing that phrase, 'I'll become a grandfather next year,' makes me emotional," he wrote. "And the thought gives a new dimension to my work. When I think about the world my grandchild will be born into, I'm more inspired than ever to help everyone's children and grandchildren have a chance to survive and thrive."</i> <i>"I also hope that, through my work, I can help make the better world that future generations deserve."</i>	Portraying Gates as a soft positive man that becomes a grandfather. Giving him a platform to speak about how his own grandchild motivates him to help all children and grandchildren.	Positive portrayal of philanthropy by Democrat billionaires.	Praise
9	Big-dollar donors Bloomberg, Steyer have spent far less this year than in 2018 (Todd et al., 2022a)	<i>"Democrats are winning the 2022 money race when it comes to small donors. Handily."</i> <i>"Yet in a reversal from 2018, they're losing on the big-donor front, with some of their most well-known contributors — including two who ran for president in 2020 — donating far less than they did four years ago."</i>	Clearly stating how donations influence politics in the US.	Philanthrocapitalism and power relations.	Neutral
10	Back to normal? Midterm environment reverts back to the fundamentals (Todd et al., 2022b)	<i>"Data Download: The number of the day is ... \$60 million. That's about how much billionaire Michael Bloomberg is expecting to spend on this year's midterm elections, per the Washington Post."</i>	Clearly stating how much is donated to political parties, indicates how much influence billionaires can have.	Philanthrocapitalism and power relations.	Neutral
11	FTX is in freefall. Where was the oversight? (Abbruzzese & Arkin, 2022)	<i>The downfall of the cryptocurrency exchange FTX has deepened concerns about the lack of safeguards in crypto for big investors and everyday consumers alike — and escalated questions about what role the government should have in an industry known for its defiantly anti-establishment attitude.</i>	Stating the need for more government regulation and intervention, showing left-wing ideologies as conservatives are often opposed of this.	Critique on US government. Left-wing oriented.	Neutral

		<i>"It's a collapse that highlights how U.S. regulators have been slow to take action in a space where there are few concrete answers about how much power they have."</i>			
12	Bill Gates reacts to Elon Musk's Twitter deal (Hines, 2022)	Not-applicable.	Not-applicable.	Not-applicable.	Neutral
13	How Sam Bankman-Fried's fall exposes the perils of effective altruism (Aleem, 2022)	<i>"He did set up a philanthropic fund, but the money it distributed was a mere fraction of the company's value — not necessarily different in function from the social responsibility operation of a typical corporation. And if he were a true longtermist, then why would he secretly donate as much money to Republicans as he gave publicly to Democrats, when Republicans are climate denialists and would oppose the kinds of robust government regulation that would guard against future pandemics and irresponsible development of AI technology?"</i> <i>"Mainstream effective altruism displays no understanding of how modern capitalism — the system that it eagerly chooses to participate in — can explain extreme destitution in the Global South or the vulnerability of our society to pandemics."</i> <i>"they should probably be radically reappraising an economic system that incentivizes short-sighted hyper-extractionism and perpetual growth."</i>	Specifically pointing out that the capitalistic system that we are living in, is a great factor of what we are trying to change (inequality, climate change).	Highly critical on global capitalism and billionaires.	Critique

Appendix 3. Data Fox News 2023/2022

Data Fox News 2023

#	Title of Item	Text Analysis	Discursive Practice	Social Practice	Main tone of voice towards billionaire philanthropy
1	Left-wing billionaire George Soros funneled at least \$131 million to media groups from 2016-2020, study finds (Flood, 2023)	<p><i>"Propaganda avalanche: George Soros spreads \$131 million to influence global media."</i></p> <p><i>"To spread his radical leftist ideas on abortion, Marxist economics, anti-Americanism, defunding the police, environmental extremism and LGBT fanaticism."</i></p> <p><i>"Outlets who received Soros' cash have published op-eds calling to 'abolish' the nuclear family, justified Palestinian terror attacks and argued the need for a global 'climate lockdown.'"</i></p>	<p>Hostility and critique towards liberals and their political beliefs is shown by using the following words: <i>To spread his radical leftist ideas on abortion, Marxist economics, anti-Americanism, defunding the police, environmental extremism and LGBT fanaticism.</i></p> <p>In support of Israel by stating <i>justified Palestinian terror attacks.</i></p>	<p>Increasing political polarisation.</p> <p>Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.</p> <p>Philanthrocapitalism.</p>	Critique
2	Soros' foundation funds nonprofit that finances pro-Palestine protests: Watchdog group (La Jeunesse & Sabes, 2023)	<p><i>"A nonprofit that has received donations from George Soros has been bankrolling groups who have hosted pro-Palestinian rallies."</i></p> <p><i>"The Mass Liberation Project's Arizona chapter, which is a direct affiliate of the Tides Foundation, has accused the U.S. government of 'ethnic cleansing of Palestinian people,' and also paints Hamas in a positive light."</i></p>	<p><i>"... and also paints Hamas in a positive light"</i> indicates that the author does not agree with this statement.</p> <p>Judgement towards the location of donations of liberal foundations.</p>	<p>Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.</p> <p>In support of Israel during the war.</p>	Critique
3	Billionaire Dem donor defends bankrolling Trump acuser's rape lawsuit as judge seals funding docs (Kliegman, 2023)	<p><i>"Hoffman, one of Silicon Valley's top donors to Democratic campaigns and political action committees, has donated millions of dollars to left-wing groups."</i></p> <p><i>"Fox News Digital has previously reported that his money also goes into non-traditional groups that aren't mandated to report their funding and often operate in the shadows."</i></p>	<p>Light suspicion and critique towards liberalism</p> <p>Judgement towards the location of donations of liberal foundations</p>	<p>Increasing political polarisation.</p> <p>Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.</p>	Critique
4	Biden admin hit with legal challenge for green-lighting massive plan to take ag lands out of production (Catenacci, 2023)	<p><i>"The state of Montana filed a legal motion against the Biden administration over its decision to permit a billionaire-backed organization to lease large swaths of public property for non-agriculture uses."</i></p> <p><i>"Montana Attorney General Knudsen says Biden admin actions are 'direct attack on rural communities'."</i></p> <p><i>"... the plan would remove 'large chunks of land from production agriculture,' likely decrease agricultural production revenue and harm support industries in the area like machinery sales and ranch laborers."</i></p>	<p>In favour of capitalism by implying that agricultural production revenue will decrease</p>	<p>Critique on the Democrat President Biden.</p> <p>Increasing political polarisation.</p> <p>Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.</p>	Critique
5	Dem congressman's charity has more than \$30 million tied up in Cayman Islands funds (Catenacci & Schoffstall, 2023a)	<p><i>"While everyday Americans are struggling to make ends meet, we need to ensure that everybody — especially the wealthy — pays their fair share," Goldman tweeted."</i></p>	<p>Highlighting "wrong" actions of Democrats, stating hypocrisy.</p>	<p>Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.</p>	Critique
6	Critics slam latest ProPublica 'hit piece' on Justice Clarence Thomas (Herlihy, 2023)	<p><i>"On Friday, ProPublica — which purports to be an independent, non-partisan outlet but has received donations from left-leaning entities — published the latest in a series criticizing Justice Thomas for allegedly violating Supreme Court ethics, which Thomas has denied."</i></p> <p><i>"Contrary to the false and misleading portrait by the leftwing, billionaire-funded group ProPublica, Justice Thomas acted ethically and appropriately, and consistent with how many Justices have conducted themselves, as even ProPublica admits," Paoletta said in a statement to Fox News Digital.</i></p> <p><i>"Another day and another hit piece on Justice Thomas from Pro Publica, which is nothing more than a front group for left-wing billionaires and their political agendas," she said."</i></p>	<p>Judgement towards the location of donations of liberal foundations.</p>	<p>Increasing political polarisation.</p> <p>Philanthrocapitalism.</p>	Critique
7	Proof that being Google's billionaire co-founder can get	<p><i>"Being Sergey Brin, the co-founder of Google and one of the world's wealthiest people, has its perks. In fact, it's helped him get approval for his crazy colossal airship that can both deliver life-saving aid and serve as his luxurious flying vehicle."</i></p>	<p>This implies a positive attitude towards being billionaire, as it emphasizes that Google's billionaire status and co-founder gives</p>	<p>Supporting consumerism and being a billionaire.</p>	Praise
	your crazy airship approved (Knutsson, 2023)	<p><i>"Sergey Brin's airship is a remarkable example of how technology and innovation can be used for both good and fun. It is a testament to his passion for exploration and discovery, as well as his generosity and philanthropy."</i></p>	<p>it the influence and resources to get unusual or ambitious projects, such as a "crazy airship", approved.</p>		
8	Left-wing dark money behemoth raised more than \$1.3 billion to fuel liberal causes in 2022 (Catenacci & Schoffstall, 2023b)	<p><i>"Democrat billionaire donor George Soros has previously wired millions of dollars to funds managed by Arabella Advisors through his nonprofit organization to fund left-wing causes"</i>.</p> <p><i>"These documents reveal the overwhelming influence of the left-wing Arabella Advisors network on American politics," Caitlin Sutherland, the executive director of watchdog group Americans for Public Trust, told Fox News Digital. "In 2022 alone, these groups spent \$1.4 billion to push our country toward more extreme causes and candidates."</i></p> <p><i>"Overall, the Arabella-managed groups fund progressive social issues, international development projects, climate-focused initiatives and other programs related to technology, culture and health."</i></p> <p><i>"Arabella-managed funds have supported left-wing causes boosted by President Biden and groups connected to Biden administration officials."</i></p>	<p>Judgement towards the location of donations of liberal foundations.</p> <p>Calling left-wing politics extreme causes and candidates.</p> <p>Stating that the donations boosted politics of Democrat Biden.</p>	<p>Increasing political polarisation.</p> <p>Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.</p> <p>Philanthrocapitalism.</p>	Critique

9	Benefactor pulls six figure donation from Arizona State University, citing 'left-wing hostility and activism' (Hays, 2023)	<p>"After seeing this level of left-wing hostility and activism, I no longer had any confidence in Barrett to adhere to the terms of our gift, and made the decision to terminate our agreement, effective June 30, 2023."</p> <p>"His decision came after one of its faculty claimed the school fired her for inviting conservative commentators Dennis Prager, Charlie Kirk, and Robert Kiyosaki to speak on campus."</p> <p>"That month, around three dozen Barrett faculty members signed a petition to the honors college dean condemning the on-campus event featuring the conservative speakers. The petition referred to the speakers as "purveyors of hate."</p> <p>"However, Lewis' press release, which came after both Atkinson's and ASU's, blasted the university for its hostility to conservative thought, providing that as the reason he was done funding the center."</p>	Suggesting that liberals do not support free speech.	Increasing political polarisation.	Neutral
10	Biden's re-election efforts bolstered by massive	"George Soros and other prominent billionaires bolstered President Biden's re-election efforts during the third quarter, filings reviewed by Fox News Digital show."	Specifically stating that Democrats fund Biden's victory fund.	Increasing political polarisation.	Critique
	donations from George Soros and other billionaires (Schoffstall, 2023)	<p>"The deep-pocketed donors each cut six-figure contributions to the Biden Victory Fund — a joint fundraising venture that consists of Biden's campaign, the Democratic National Committee (DNC), all 50 state Democratic parties and Washington, D.C.'s Democratic committee —"</p> <p>"Other prominent billionaires also propelled Biden's joint fundraising committee during the third quarter. The filings show that Laurene Powell Jobs, the widow of Steve Jobs, provided the fund with \$929,000 in September."</p> <p>"Powell Jobs founded the Emerson Collective, a private grantmaking foundation focused on climate, education, journalism and other matters. She also previously funded the parent company of a network of liberal 'fake news' sites, which pushed pieces that mirrored press releases from Democratic politicians, the Washington Free Beacon reported."</p>	Followed by stating that the widow of Steve Jobs (who is a democrat) funded a network of liberal "fake news" sites which pushed pieces that mirrored press releases from Democratic politicians	Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs. Philanthrocapitalism.	
11	George Soros' son becomes kingmaker with top Dems as he makes multiple Biden WH visits, meets with lawmakers (Cawthorne & Schoffstall, 2023)	<p>"Alex Soros, son of billionaire megadonor and philanthropist George Soros, has quietly had a pipeline to the Biden White House as he openly mingles with high-profile Democratic politicians and showers liberal causes with millions in cash."</p> <p>"While the elder Soros has often kept a lower profile while exerting influence through direct political donations and funding of left-wing causes from his big-money nonprofit network, the younger Soros has openly bragged about his cozying up with politicians and world leaders."</p>	Using sentences as shows liberal causes with millions in cash and younger Soros has openly bragged about his cozying up, implies judgement and belittlement towards Soros. Both father and son are judged of exerting power through donations.	Philanthrocapitalism. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
12	Liberal Swiss billionaire's extensive nonprofit cash targeted ahead of 2024 election: 'Needs to be stopped' (Schoffstall & Catenacci, 2023a)	<p>"Hansjörg Wyss' left-wing network has caught the attention of GOP lawmakers who want to close loophole of foreign influence on US elections."</p> <p>"But the liberal politicians who shout about protecting our democracy from foreign interference have been noticeably silent about legislation that would do just that. The staggering amount of foreign money that is propping up Biden's agenda needs to be stopped."</p> <p>"The LCV and Climate Power are two prominent far-left environmental groups that push aggressive green transition policies and have received extensive funding from Wyss' nonprofits."</p>	Using words such as aggressive green policies, indicate that they do not support climate change policies. Accusing liberal donors of influencing US policies.	Negatively portraying the left-wing. Ignoring climate change. Philanthrocapitalism. Increasing political polarisation.	Critique
13	Ronald Reagan Library welcomes 'generous and exciting' \$21 million gift from T. Boone Pickens Foundation (Byrne, 2023)	<p>"The foundation of the late T. Boone Pickens presented a \$21 million gift to the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Institute on Wednesday, Sept. 6, cementing a bond of friendship, patriotism and faith in the American people shared by both the philanthropist and the former president."</p> <p>"The two organizations believe the gift will help perpetuate for future generations the values and policies that made Reagan one of the most popular politicians in American history."</p> <p>"His optimistic policies and sunny persona forged America's economic re-emergence after the "malaise" of the 1970s."</p>	Praising Republican President Ronald Reagan and his politics.	Positive framing of Republican billionaires and their beliefs.	Praise
14	Israel's UN ambassador slams Soros for donations to 'pro-Hamas groups' seeking destruction of Jewish state (Weinthal, 2023)	<p>"Report claims Soros organization has given millions to US groups who allegedly support terror group."</p> <p>"Hamas launched a full-blown invasion into southern Israel Oct. 7, resulting in the mass murder of 1,200 people, including over 30 Americans. Hamas also took more than 200 hostages. American citizens were among civilians kidnapped by the jihadist terrorist entity."</p> <p>"The German and Austrian parliaments classified BDS as an antisemitic movement that resembles the Nazi boycott of Jewish businesses during the nascent phase of the Holocaust."</p>	Judgement towards the location of donations of liberal foundations.	In support of Israel. Increasing political polarisation. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
15	Billionaire Dem mega-donor bankrolling Trump acuser's rape lawsuit visited Epstein's private island (Kliegman, 2023b)	<p>"A billionaire Democratic mega-donor who's currently bankrolling a rape lawsuit against former President Donald Trump visited the infamous private island of sex offender Jeffrey Epstein."</p> <p>"He was forced to issue an apology in 2018 for funding a group that falsely tried to give an impression that the Russian government was supporting Alabama Republican Roy Moore in a 2017 special Senate election."</p> <p>"President Joe Biden has benefited from Hoffman's lavish spending on campaign contributions, donating \$1.5 million to a super PAC that supported Biden's candidacy in the 2020 election as well as the maximum individual dollar amount allowed to Biden's campaign."</p>	Judgement towards the location of donations of liberal foundations In support of Republican former president Donald Trump	In favour of conservative ideas. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique

16	Billionaire Dem donor flew top Biden official to secret ritzy retreat on private jet (Catenacci & Cawthorne, 2023)	<p>“EXCLUSIVE: Eric Schmidt, the billionaire former Google CEO and longtime Democratic donor, flew President Biden’s former top science adviser Eric Lander to a ritzy retreat in Montana during his tenure at the White House, emails reviewed by Fox News Digital reveal.”</p> <p>“Inappropriately taking private or charter flights for travel has been the undoing of more than one high-ranking official in the Executive Branch,” Chamberlain told Fox News Digital. “The personnel and resources that have flowed into OSTP from a handful of wealthy, powerful individuals and organizations should give the American public pause to consider whether the factors driving that generosity may not be altogether altruistic.”</p> <p>“Schmidt is a prolific contributor to Democratic Party political campaigns and spearheaded an effort to boost Democratic candidates’ technological capabilities.”</p> <p>“And Schmidt has quietly developed an intricate network enabling him to have significant influence over White House artificial intelligence and public policy, Fox News Digital reported last week.”</p>	Accusing Democratic donor of abuse of power	Philanthrocapitalism. Increasing political polarisation. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
17	Biden admin alums team up with Bloomberg network in war on fossil fuels (Schoffstall & Catenacci, 2023b)	<p>“Several individuals linked to the Resources Legacy Fund have served high-level stints in Biden’s administration, with one of them specifying petrochemicals as a primary area of concern.”</p> <p>“However, the petrochemical industry has long been target of environmentalists who argue it is responsible for harmful emissions and pollution negatively impacting surrounding communities’ health.”</p> <p>“Overall, the multibillion-dollar petrochemical industry is particularly prominent in Louisiana where it is a key driver of jobs and investment.”</p>	Portraying the petrochemical industry as a victim by stating it is a “target of environmentalists”. In favour of the industry by stating it is a key driver of jobs and investment.	Increasing political polarisation. Critique on the Democratic President Biden. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
18	Soros’ radical agenda: Here’s how far his power and influence extend (Bossie, 2023)	<p>“When it comes to Biden policy and Soros policy, it’s tough to tell where one ends and the other begins.”</p> <p>“The Biden administration’s lawless immigration policy has created a war zone and fentanyl epidemic at the border; the left’s drive to “reimagine policing” has caused crime and the feeling of danger to skyrocket in our cities; and the irresponsible push for wasteful spending on the green new deal agenda has caused an inflation crisis that won’t go away.”</p>	Accusing Soros of gaining power by donating to the Biden administration. Extreme hostile towards left-wing policies. Also putting blame on left-wing policies for several problems in the US.	Increasing political polarisation. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
		<p>“And perhaps most alarmingly, the tone-deaf Soros has indicated he’s planning to continue his assault on safe streets in the future. He boasted in the article that he has “no intention of stopping” his support of radical prosecutors like Kimberly Gardner in St. Louis, Larry Krasner in Philadelphia, and Kim Foxx in Chicago.”</p>			

Data Fox News 2022

#	Title of Item	Text Analysis	Discursive Practice	Social Practice	Main tone of voice towards billionaire philanthropy
1	Celebrities, politicians who love to lecture America on the environment but rarely practice what they preach (Kornick, 2022)	<p>“Over the years, liberal politicians and celebrities have been accused of hypocrisy for failing to live by the eco-friendly lifestyles they advocate. Here are several examples of Hollywood A-listers, tech billionaires, and Democrat politicians who have been caught being hypocrites when it comes to helping the environment.”</p>	In this article, only Democrats are accused of hypocrisy (which can be interpreted as hypocrite and framing as well).	Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
2	CBS anchor argues Bezos, wealthy should ‘write a check’ to government instead of charities (Parks, 2022)	<p>“The liberal entrepreneur said Monday that he wants to devote most of his money to fighting climate change and supporting people who will “unify” humanity. But CBS anchor Tony Dokoupil suggested Bezos and other wealthy people should consider donating their funds to the government instead of private charities.”</p> <p>“Dokoupil suggested it wasn’t “democratic” for billionaires to spend their money how they wished.”</p> <p>“According to a Fox News survey from October, more Americans are warming up to socialist ideas about wealth distribution, while they also reject the left-wing philosophy for the direction of the country.”</p>	Adopting left-wing ideas about the money and power that billionaires own and are able to spend, but at the end of the article still stating that according to a Fox News survey, Americans “also reject the left-wing philosophy for the direction of the country.”	Increasing political polarisation.	Critique
3	Crime experts respond to Soros defending support for progressive	<p>“Liberal megadonor George Soros defended his support of progressive district attorneys across the country in a Wall Street Journal entry that placed blame on Republicans for rising crime – an excuse that several experts told Fox News Digital doesn’t jibe with reality.”</p>	This article is about Fox News shaming Democrat and liberal billionaire George Soros for blaming republicans of high	Increasing political polarisation. Critique on progressive policies.	Critique
	DAs amid crime wave: ‘Disastrous’ (Miller, 2022)	<p>“Meyers added that “murder is out of control” in several cities where Soros and his financial network have supported the campaigns of progressive prosecutors.”</p>	murder rates. Thus, they are blaming each other.	Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	
4	Soros takeover: FCC clears path for liberal group to buy Spanish-language conservative talk radio stations (Flood, 2022a)	<p>“A liberal group linked to billionaire George Soros has been cleared by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to purchase Spanish-language radio stations throughout the country, rekindling concerns that a “radical political agenda” will influence information provided to Hispanic voters.”</p> <p>“Some conservatives, particularly right-leaning Hispanics, have called it an attempt by the left to control the information made available to Spanish-speaking voters.”</p>	For this article a conservative, right-wing Hispanic is invited and only her opinion is expressed. This is a form of framing. Soros is accused of exercising power over the voting behaviour of Hispanic community by buying radio stations.	Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
5	Sam Bankman-Fried gave cash to liberal media organizations before FTX collapse (Flood, 2022b)	<p>“Fox News contributor Joe Concha believes liberal media organizations that have been on the receiving end of investments, donations and grants from the embattled FTX founder need to be transparent.”</p> <p>“It’s plausible that without SBF’s money, Trump would still be in the White House,” Yglesias wrote.”</p>	Suspicion about the donations of liberal billionaires is portrayed. In support of Trump (by stating that he could still be in the White House, if it was not for these donations).	Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs. Philanthrocapitalism.	Critique

6	George Soros can influence global media with ties to at least 253 organizations, study finds (Flood, 2022c)	<p>"The 92-year-old philanthropist's multimillion-dollar efforts promoting his bizarre 'open society' agenda encompass some of the most radical leftist ideas on abortion, Marxist economics, anti-Americanism, defunding the police, environmental extremism and LGBT fanaticism," they continued.</p> <p>"That's how ambitious this man is," Bogell said. "He is out to destroy the underpinnings of Western Civilization, and he's using \$36 billion that he is spending on it. This man is serious, he's on a mission."</p>	Describing Soros with his radical leftist ideas on abortion, Marxist economics, anti-Americanism, defunding the police, environmental extremism and LGBT fanaticism". As well as stating that "he is out to destroy the underpinnings of Western Civilization" can be seen as extreme framing and influential on the opinion of liberals of news consumers of Fox News.	Philanthrocapitalism. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs. Increasing political polarisation.	Critique
7	Soros donated \$250,000 to fiscal sponsor of Louisville group who bailed out attempted	<p>"The legal fund responsible for bailing out a Black Lives Matter activist charged with attempted murder in Louisville has financial ties to liberal billionaire George Soros, who has donated hundreds of millions of dollars to Democratic causes."</p> <p>"The Alliance for Global Justice, a liberal advocacy group that has received scrutiny for aiding Palestinian terrorism and supporting the</p>	By using words as terrorism and anti-Semitic, Fox News is framing Democrats and left-wing considerations and policies.	Right-wing oriented. Anti-Black Lives Matter. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
	murderer (Nerozzi & Cawthorne, 2022)	anti-Semitic Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, received \$250,000 in 2020 from the Foundation to Promote Open Society (FPOS), a grantmaking arm of Soros's Open Society Foundations (OSF), according to the group's 990 tax forms."	More specifically, they are indirectly framing George Soros to be bailing out a murderer. Right-wing oriented by using words as "a Black Lives Matter-Louisville activist who supports abolishing police".	Increasing political polarisation.	
8	Progressive FTX founder Sam Bankman-Fried admits ethical image an act: 'Dumb game we woke westerners play' (Rutz, 2022)	<p>"Progressive FTX founder Sam Bankman-Fried, now facing personal and legal ruin after his cryptocurrency exchange collapsed this week, appeared to admit in a new interview that his professed ethics were largely an act, calling it a "dumb game we woke westerners play."</p> <p>"It also discussed his different progressive and philanthropic causes, noting that "last year, Mr. Bankman-Fried gave away \$50 million, funding pandemic-related causes and research into artificial intelligence. He's also supporting climate change mitigation."</p> <p>"Even Vox, a left-leaning news site, is tangled up in Bankman-Fried's web of philanthropy, as disclosed in Piper's interview."</p>	<p>Framing liberal billionaires Bankman-Fried by stating that he is a "progressive FTX founder", and by picking out one phrase of an interview without stating context.</p> <p>The framing continues by mentioning left-wing causes that he supports, such as pandemic related causes and climate change mitigation.</p> <p>Ending with stating that even left-wing parties are victims of his web of philanthropy.</p>	Increasing political polarisation. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
9	What George Soros doesn't understand about crime and true justice (Mangual, 2022)	<p>"A 'progressive' approach to law enforcement as championed by George Soros and others means victims of violent crime pay a high price."</p> <p>"Sadly, Soros's piece failed to deliver that thoughtful discussion. Instead, the philanthropist offered a shallow, essentially data-free collection of platitudes—"If people trust the justice system, it will work"—and incomplete observations."</p> <p>"A Bureau of Justice Statistics study of homicides between 1980 and 2008 found that Blacks commit homicide offenses at a rate "almost eight times higher than the rate for whites."</p> <p>"In 2020—a year in which homicides rose nearly 30 percent across the U.S.—the share of White homicide victims actually declined by 2.4 percentage points relative to 2019, while the share of Black and Hispanic</p>	<p>Stating that because of left-wing policies "victims of violent crimes pay a high price".</p> <p>Extreme right-wing ideas are portrayed here, by stating that he is in favour of harsh punishments by police and mass incarceration.</p>	Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs. Critique on progressive policies.	Critique
		victims increased by 2.2 percentage points. The Black homicide victimization rate was almost ten times the white rate that year."			
		"Soros and his beneficiaries have built a movement around the proposition that criminal offenders in cities like New York and Chicago are treated too harshly and are systematically denied "second chances."			
10	Widow of slain Philadelphia police officer blames progressive policies of DA Larry Krasner for husband's death (Halon, 2022)	<p>"Liberal mega-donor George Soros defended far-left district attorneys and their progressive policies in Wall Street Journal op-ed."</p> <p>"O'Connor's widow, Terri, told Fox News on Thursday that she believes her husband would still be alive if not for the far-left bail policies of embattled D.A. Krasner, who allowed these gunmen to return to the streets following multiple arrests."</p> <p>"Terri shared her story in response to an op-ed this week published by the Wall Street Journal, in which liberal billionaire Soros praised the work of progressive district attorneys and dismissed the notion their policies were to blame for crime spikes nationwide."</p>	<p>Indirectly blaming left-wing policies for the death of a policeman.</p> <p>Framing liberal billionaires Soros as the instigator of this death.</p>	Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs. Critique on progressive policies.	Critique
11	Bill Gates reveals his involvement in pushing through climate bill in interview with Bloomberg (Silverstein, 2022)	<p>"Bloomberg published a report detailing Bill Gates' involvement in convincing Sen. Joe Manchin, D-W.Va., to support the White House and congressional Democrats' Inflation Reduction Act, a climate change and tax bill that according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office and the Wharton Budget Model will not actually reduce inflation."</p> <p>"Bloomberg reported that Aquino, a start-up Gates backed, would benefit from government subsidies in the Inflation Reduction Act."</p> <p>"Critics of the legislation argue that it is falsely branded, will harm the economy, and further increase government intervention in the economy in favor of some industries over others."</p>	<p>Accusing Bill Gates of philanthrocapitalism by stating that the legislation does not actually reduce inflation, and that a start-up Gates backed would benefit from this.</p> <p>Right-wing ideologies are favoured when they state that the legislation "is falsely branded, will harm the economy, and further increase government intervention in the economy". As most Republicans prefer little government intervention in economy.</p>	Philanthrocapitalism. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
12	Secretive Soros-funded group works behind the scenes with Biden admin on policy,	"A secretive group backed by millions of dollars from liberal billionaire George Soros is working behind the scenes with President Biden's administration to shape policy, documents reviewed by Fox News show."	Clearly pointing out what Democrat Soros is doing wrong, negatively framing him.	Increasing political polarisation. Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.	Critique
	documents show (Schoffstall, 2022a)	<p>"Governing for Impact is the perfect example of the Left's fake outrage over 'dark money' in politics," said the Capital Research Center's Parker Thayer, who discovered the group and alerted Fox News."</p> <p>"As a 'fiscally sponsored' dark money project that writes and pushes regulations from the shadows, hidden from the public and funded by one billionaire foundation, GFI embodies everything the Left pretends to abhor."</p>			

13	Billionaire-funded eco group quietly taking farmland out of production in rural America (Catenacci, 2022)	<p><i>"Gov. Greg Gianforte and a series of state agency heads penned letters to BLM late last year urging the agency not to approve the request. Montana Department of Agriculture Director Christy Clark said the plan would remove "large chunks of land from production agriculture," likely decrease agricultural production revenue and harm support industries in the area like machinery sales and ranch laborers."</i></p> <p><i>"Knudsen slammed AP for what he called its surreptitious plan to create an "American Serengeti" where "liberal coastal elites can come and hang out and look at the pretty animals."</i></p>	<p>Money-driven as stated: decrease agricultural production revenue.</p> <p>Framing left-wing: "liberal coastal elites".</p>	<p>Negative portrayal of the left-wing.</p>	<p>Critique</p>
14	Liberal dark money network hauled in more than \$1.5B in anonymous donations for left-wing causes in 2021 (Schoffstall, 2022b)	<p><i>"The nation's largest left-wing dark money network raised more than \$1.5 billion in anonymous donations to bankroll liberal endeavors in 2021, tax forms reveal."</i></p> <p><i>"In recent years, the Arabella-managed nonprofits have solidified how Democrats benefit from substantial amounts of dark money as they simultaneously rail against its influence in politics by targeting right-leaning organizations."</i></p> <p><i>"Each fund acts as a fiscal sponsor to other left-wing nonprofits by providing their tax status to the nonprofits housed beneath them. This setup allows the fiscally sponsored groups to avoid filing tax forms to the IRS."</i></p> <p><i>"Influential Democratic donors use the network to funnel cash to projects, including billionaire George Soros, who provided millions to Governing for Impact and its action fund, Fox News Digital previously reported."</i></p>	<p>Describing Republicans as victims by using words such as "targeting right-leaning organizations".</p> <p>Accusing organisations that are sponsored by left-wing nonprofits of evading taxes.</p> <p>Stating that these donations influence shaping policies in the USA.</p>	<p>Negative portrayal of Democrat billionaires and their beliefs.</p> <p>Increasing political polarisation.</p> <p>Philanthrocapitalism.</p>	<p>Critique</p>