# Bachelor's thesis Radboud University Nijmegen

# News coverage of the Capitol invasion

An analysis of emotion talk in the left- and right-wing wing media

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#### Abstract

This study focuses on the representation and use of emotion in news feature articles by leftand right-wing media. A qualitative discourse analysis was conducted to compare and gain
insight on how emotion terms appear in twenty-four articles from two online newspapers the
New York Times as a left-liberal newspaper and The Washington Times as a rightconservative newspaper. Emotion terms were analyzed based on linguistic level, valence, the
emoter, emotion attribution, emotion source and how the emotion was placed in the text.
Findings from the corpus analysis have shown that more words with negative emotion were
used than positive words in both newspapers. These negative words were mostly adjectives
and nouns. This was in line with findings of previous studies. Other findings in this research
have also indicated that the representation of emotion is different between the two
newspapers. This is an indication of the use of emotion in the media-biased landscape of the
United States.

Keywords: Capitol invasion, emotion talk, media bias, Republican, Democrat, corpus analysis

On January 6, 2021, the U.S. Capitol was invaded by supporters of President Trump. Earlier that day, there had been a demonstration opposing the confirmation of Joe Biden's election win as the next President of the United States. This confirmation would take place in Congress later that day. Since his loss at the 2020 Presidential Elections, President Trump stated that the elections were 'stolen' and that he had won the elections and not Joe Biden.

During the demonstration, President Trump urged his supporters to go to the Capitol. In front of the Capitol, a confrontation between the President's supporters and the police unfolded. The mob overtook the Capitol Police, made their way up to the Capitol, and entered the building (Tan & Rindler, 2021). During this event, the United States House of Representatives, the Senate, and assembled press were inside the Capitol. They were taken to secret locations in the building for their safety. The rioters managed to get into the Senate chamber and Congress members' offices. Security guards were forced to draw firearms when the intruders threatened to break through barricaded doors (Barr, 2021). President-elect Joe Biden addressed the country through a video link. He urged President Trump to demand the mob to leave the building. Later that day, President Trump appeared in a video message where he urged his supporters to go home while still making claims about election fraud. After this video message, Twitter took the Tweets from the President offline to make false claims and prevent further violence escalation (Meyer, 2021). According to Washington DC police, four people were killed in the Capitol invasion, and an unknown number of people were injured (Hymes, Mcdonald & Watson, 2021). After the rioters left the Capitol, Vice-President Mike Pence continued the debate, and Congress confirmed Joe Biden's win on January 7 (Meyer, 2021).

The Capitol invasion was global news and reported in all media types U.S. newspapers, channels, and sites were short of emotional superlatives to describe this historical event (Haynes, 2021). In the first place, the emotions of Trump and his supporters caused the course of events that day. Furthermore, the invasion of a political building in the United States evoked many emotions for supporters, opponents, American citizens and other nations. Because media with left or right political orientations can have different views on this historical event, this can affect the representation of emotions in the Capitol invasion news coverage. This study researches the representation of emotion talk in feature articles on the Capitol invasion in The New York Times and The Washington Times.

## **Emotion in journalism**

Emotions have recently been acknowledged to play an essential part in the news. As Peters (2011) concludes, one significant change over the past few decades in journalism is not that the news has become emotional but that the diversity of emotional styles and attempts to involve the audience have become more explicit. For instance, journalists ask sources or stakeholders how they feel after a particular event has transpired to generate drama, compassion, or empathy for the person being interviewed, bringing the audience closer to the story (Wahl-Jorgensen 2019a; Wahl-Jorgensen 2019b). The use of emotions serves an essential role in journalistic narratives. This is exemplified by the study of Zou (2018), in which a news blog that targets the Chinese diaspora is examined. Zou (2018) finds that diasporic news bloggers regularly construct an emotional climate of fear through a set of narrative strategies in their routine practices. For example, they used emotive language and pictures, posing questions, raising concerns, issuing warnings and caveats and selecting fearprovoking topics. It is argued that the construction of fear as a collective emotion holds civic potentials, for it bridges the political life and everyday life. Zou (2018) concludes that fearevoking news can enhance civic engagement in five ways, namely through personalized sense-making, moral evaluation, mobilization, therapeutic closure, and cohesion maintenance.

Another study on the use of emotions in journalistic narratives is the study of Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011). Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011) studied expressions of anger in British disaster coverage, in which the connection between public emotions concerning politics and journalistic practices was examined. It was shown that emotional expressions in news media are filtered, and it is carefully chosen what is shown, as some emotions are magnified while others are concealed. Their study categorizes expressions of anger in various forms: direct expressions of anger from news sources, indirect descriptions of anger and authorial emotions (such as the discussion of journalists' own emotions in editorials).

Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011) analyzed the presence of systematic patterns that structure the expression of anger, born out of conventions of journalism, structuring who is authorized to express anger, and under what circumstances and constraints. For example, the subject position of the victim affected by the disaster articulates anger through letters to the editor or in stories where 'ordinary' people quoted. They also concluded that coverage of more recent disasters demonstrates a more emotional society, in which the open display of emotions and emotionally charged rituals is valorized.

These studies highlight how recent research has shed light on the use and representation of emotion in media. However, they also show that only recently people have

come to understand how essential the role of emotion is, and that further research is critical to a better understanding of the representation of emotion in journalism (Peters, 2011).

## Representation of emotion in texts

Emotions can be present in media texts in various ways. For instance, emotions can be signalled or explicitly denoted. Bednarek (2008) differentiates between emotional talk and emotion talk. Emotional talk is described as a language expressing or signaling emotion which include for instance, intonation, repetition, exclamation, figurativeness, and punctuation. Examples are: "I don't care!" or "I don't want to!". Emotion talk constitutes all expressions that denote emotion, such as love, hate, joy, envy, sad, mad, enjoy, dislike, etc. Emotion talk is present in a text as adjectives (a sad person), verbs (he loves), nouns (his grief), and adverbs (desperately). It has been identified that in news emotion words are most often negative and present as an adjective or noun (Bednarek, 2008).

Bednarek (2008) identifies several main situations where emotion terms are used in news reports. Firstly, emotion terms are used for first-person affect (for example, *I love him*). Secondly, emotion terms occur when statements are made about the emoter's emotions that are not first-person (for example, *she loves him*). Thirdly, emotion nouns are used in news reports as adjectives to another noun (for example, *a surprise attack or hate symbol*). Fourthly, a hypothesis or prediction of affect is made through modal colligation (*I would be surprised if*).

How emoter's emotions are portrayed can be analyzed through a study by Painter, Martin, and Unsworth (2013). Their study on developing and learning an emotion through representations of emotion showed that emotions are presented differently. By people This study showed that emotions are presented differently. For instance, when feelings are the results of a surge of emotion (behavioral surge: he suddenly became angry versus he is angry all the time) or whether the feelings are part of an ongoing state of mind (mental disposition). Martin and Rose (2003) presented three different ways of relating emotions to these mental states (behavioral surge and mental disposition). First of all, writers can either use words that label emotions (fear). Secondly, writers use words that denote behavior that also directly expresses an emotion (shrieks). And thirdly, to describe an unusual behavior which is read as an indirect sign of emotion (be very quiet). These different manners of representing emotions can be placed on a cline of implicitness (whereas the first manner is less implicit, ranging to the second and the third manner, which is more implicit).

## Media representation of social reality

News is seen as a socially created product, not a reflection of objective reality. Social constructivism is an approach in the social sciences on how the media cover social events to help their audience make sense of events they do not have direct access to (Donsbach, 2008). This is done by offering their audience issues to think about and viewing or interpreting the reported issues or events. In other words: the media do not simply reflect reality but define and construct it, resulting in that one, and the same event may be represented differently in different media (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2019). For example, in a study by Altheide (2002) on media and its contribution to changing social expectations and fear, it was shown that media contribute to public perceptions and that different media outlets create different perceptions which can impact the culture of society.

When the media select and highlight specific aspects of events and present them in a certain way, this can lead to particular patterns of interpretation (Shoemaker & Reese, 1995). News coverage is often criticized for lack of balance or equality between competing viewpoints. The lack of balance between different viewpoints in the media is called the media bias. The media bias means that the media consciously or unconsciously filter news through their worldview (Haddington, 2004; Richardson, 2007).

#### **Media bias in the United States**

In the United States, media bias takes shape between left-liberal media and right-conservative media. The left-liberal wing is associated with the Democratic Political Party and their ideas of freedom, equality, fraternity, rights, progression, and globalism. The right-conservative wing is associated with the Republican Party, also known as the Grand Old Party (GOP), characterized by conservatism, strong law, order, authority, hierarchy, duty, tradition, and nationalism (Pribanic-Smith, 2013).

This partisan bias in American media has been present from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards when newspapers were first linked to a political party. American newspapers acted as partisan organs during presidential elections, where the press highlighted a political ideology in their coverage (Baldasty & Rutenbeck, 1988; Pribanic-Smith, 2013). The media favored either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. When they favored one party, they negatively portrayed the other party. With the rise of industrialization and the national economy's development in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, American newspapers became more independent, and reporting became more neutral (Baldasty & Rutenbeck, 1988).

Modern American newspapers claim to be independent of political influence (Belsey & Chadwick, 1992). However, left-wing and right-wing newspapers can still be distinguished in the U.S. For instance, an extensive study in the quarterly journal of Economics by Groseclose and Milyo (2005) on the partisan nature of four leading editorial pages, including The New York Times and The Washington Times, proved that point. Their study was measured bias by studying how many times a particular media outlet cites various think tanks and policy groups and compares with how many times members of Congress and the Senate cite the same groups. They concluded that while the newspapers are more or less equally partisan when it comes to supporting or opposing a given presidential administration's policy pronouncements, the conservative pages criticize liberal presidents with more intensity than liberal pages criticize conservative presidents. Another study by Brock (2005), on how the right-wing in the U.S. built a media machine of media outlets to sell conservatism to the public, discredit its opponents and disregard journalistic ethics to manufacture news, examined the following: that liberal papers criticized President Bill Clinton 30 percent of the time, while conservative papers criticized President Clinton 89 percent of the time. liberal papers criticized President George W. Bush 67 percent of the time, while the conservative papers criticized President Bush only seven. And the liberal papers praised the Clinton administration only 30 percent of the time, while the conservative papers praised George W. Bush's administration 77 percent of the time.

## **Present study**

The literature review shows that only recently have we come to understand how essential the role of emotion in journalism is and that further studies are necessary to better understand the representation of emotion in journalism. The present study is about the representation of emotion in reporting the Capitol invasion by left-wing and right-wing media. This study contributes to a better understanding of the representation and use of emotion in the coverage of events such as the Capitol invasion in the media's biased landscape in the United States.

For this study, The New York Times is chosen to represent the left-liberal newspaper, and The Washington Times is selected as the right-conservative newspaper. It is expected that the two newspapers cover the Capitol invasion differently because the two different newspapers have different political orientations. The expectation is that this difference is demonstrated by different representations of emotion within the newspapers.

#### The New York Times

The New York Times is a prestigious newspaper in the United States. It is part of the United States' legacy media - a group of media outlets that dominated before the arrival of the internet and has always been associated with the political left-liberal wing in the United States (Sheppard, 2007). An analysis by a journalist from CNN showed that The New York Times had not supported a Republican president in its coverage since 1956 (Brennan, 2012). According to Brock (2005), in a study on approach and tone in U.S. Media, the New York Times, during the presidential elections of 2000, ran articles with headlines such as 'toward an orderly end.' It lauded the 'bourgeois riot' staged by Republican operatives to stop the counting of ballots with Bush very narrowly ahead. In the same study, it was referenced that in May 2002, the Republican National Committee issued an e-mail alert citing editorials in the New York Times defending the Bush administration's handling of pre-September 11 intelligence reports and warning Democrats against recriminations. The New York Times' stature and its association with the left-liberal wing made it an interesting newspaper to collect data from and analyze in this research. It is expected that the New York Times will be very critical of the role of President Trump and the Republican party in the period leading up to the invasion and during the invasion. This could mean that The New York Times will attribute more negative emotion terms to the rioters and Trump.

## The Washington Times

The Washington Times is an American daily newspaper covering a general interest topic, emphasizing national politics. Throughout its history, The Washington Times has been known for its right-conservative political stance supporting the policies of Republican presidents. For example, after the Capitol invasion, The Washington Times published a false story quoting an unidentified retired military officer claiming that the facial recognition system company XRVision had used its technology and identified two far-left members Antifa-members in the mob (Scarborough, 2021). The article was removed from the website and replaced with a corrected version one day later. In traditional Republican states in the United States, The Washington Times is gaining market share to legacy media such as CBS or The New York Times. Scholars mention that although advertisers will cling to some of the old media because they have a large audience, they will lose influence due to audiences' move to alternate (right) media, such as The Washington Times (Sheppard 2007). The association with the right-conservative wing made The Washington Times an interesting newspaper to collect data and analyze in this research. It is expected that The Washington Times will be less critical of the

role of President Trump and the Republican party. This could mean that The Washington Times will not attribute negative emotion terms to the rioters and Trump.

#### Feature articles

The articles used for this study are feature articles. News feature can be defined as a genre that presents background information on the situation and additional viewpoints on the situation. Steensen (2011) has shown that feature articles connect with audiences on an emotional level by accounts of personal experiences related to contemporary events of perceived public interest. A different study by Wahl-Jorgenson and Hanitzsch (2019) has found that feature articles have become more intimate and contain personal confessions, anecdotes or quotes from people and contain emotion.

This research will analyze news feature articles in The New York Times and The Washington Times based on the representation of emotion words.

For this research, the following research question is formulated.

RO1:

How is emotion talk represented in news feature articles about the Capitol invasion by leftand right-wing media in the U.S.?

## RQ2:

How does the representation of emotions in news feature articles about the Capitol invasion link to the context of The New York Times and The Washington Times?

The answer to the first research question will be presented in the results section. The second research question will be discussed in the discussion section as it needs more interpretation to be answered.

#### Method

#### Data

This study was based on a corpus analysis from The New York Times and The Washington Times. Both newspapers are regarded as leading media with high circulation (The Associated Press, 2012). In this study, twelve feature articles from each newspaper were collected. The data was collected from the online version of the two newspapers. The chosen time frame was from the day of the storming of the Capitol until the inauguration of the current President Joe Biden. This time frame corresponds to the period from January 6 to January 20, 2021.

This time frame was chosen because these are the two weeks after the Capitol invasion. In this period, the Capitol invasion is a current topic and therefore a lot of articles were published this period about this subject. This time frame was chosen for both newspapers. This made it easier to find comparable articles with similar topics. The chosen articles from both newspapers fell within the same time frame, published on the same day or around the same period.

For each newspaper, feature articles were carefully scanned by reading the headline and the first paragraph, which gave a decent indication of whether an article was about the Capitol invasion. Feature articles were only selected if three emotion terms were found. The overall theme is the Capitol invasion, but many sub-themes can be found in the articles of both newspapers. A lot of variety can be found within the articles. The most frequent sub-themes in The New York Times are the identity of the rioters, the role of the police and other government agencies, and far-right extremism in the U.S. The following sub-themes were identified in The Washington Times: role of the military/police, the role of democrats during Black Lives Matter riots, the role of Trump, and repercussions for the rioters after the invasion.

## **Procedure**

This study was a qualitative analysis that contained elements of an inductive and deductive approach. In the inductive approach, the following steps are conducted: open coding, creating categories, and abstraction (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Because this study had predefined categories for analyzing emotion terms, it did not follow a complete inductive approach. Because there aren't predefined patterns or expected finds, it was not a complete deductive approach (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). To do a systematic analysis of the texts, three steps were

taken. The first step is a textual analysis, the second and third steps are part of the contextual analysis.

## **Textual analysis**

## Step 1: Searching emotion terms

The texts were analyzed separately. The articles were downloaded from the websites of both newspapers and every article was copied to a text document. In a separate Excel file the link, headline, author and publication date were noted down. The selected articles were read and re-read to make sense of the data. In the text documents, the emotion terms present in each article were highlighted. After highlighting, the emotion terms were reviewed to assess if these were actual emotion terms. Emotion talk is defined as all those expressions that denote affect/emotion. In other words, emotion talk are linguistic expressions of the speaker or others. The following table consists of the ten most frequently used emotion terms in the news according to Bednarek (2008). This was the premise on which emotion terms were defined in this research. In this study only emotion terms denoting emotions were analyzed. A complete overview of all the found emotion terms is included in appendix 2 and 3. Table 1 presents the most frequent used emotion terms in news articles according to Bednarek (2008).

Table 1. Most frequent used emotion terms in the news according to Bednarek (2008)

Linguistic level	Emotion terms
Adjectives	Happy (p), prepared (p), angry (n), worried (n), concerned
	(n), keen (p), proud (p), sad (n), anxious (n), disappointed
	(n), surprised (n/p)
Verbs	Love (p), enjoy (p), worry (n), hate (n), care (p), admire
	(p), upset (n), anger (n), shock (n), surprise (n/p), impress
	(p)
Nouns	Fear (n), hope (p), love (p), concern (n), surprise (n/p),
	shock (n), horror (n), feeling (n/p), expectation (n/p), worry
	(n)
Adverbs	Happily (p), desperately (n), passionately (p), cheerfully
	(p), furiously (n), sadly (n), miserably (n), gratefully (p),
	blissfully (p)

*Note.* P = positive N = negative

The emotion terms were noted down in the dataset and were further categorized and analyzed. The emotion terms were coded. First, it was noted down in which paragraph the emotion term was present. Secondly, the emotion terms were categorized based on the linguistic level (noun, verb, adverb and adjective). Thirdly, it was noted down whether the term had a positive, neutral or negative valence. Fourthly, it was noted down to whom the emotion term was attributed (the one who has the emotion). Subsequently, all these emoters were subcategorized into the following four subcategories: Trump supporters, Trump opponents, neutral (this was a subcategory for all involved U.S. officials who had no political ties with Trump or oppose Trump, such as the police or U.S. Lawmakers) and others (this was a subcategory for persons/groups who could not be categorized into the first three groups, such as foreign groups). These subcategories were created based on all the found emotion terms. Fifthly, it was noted down towards what or whom the emotion is directed. These were subcategorized in the following four subcategories: Trump supporters, Trump opponents, U.S. officials (this was a subcategory for all involved U.S. officials who had no political ties with Trump or oppose Trump, such as the police or U.S. Lawmakers), other (this was a subcategory for persons/groups who could not be categorized into the first three groups, such as foreign groups) and not applicable (this was a subcategory for when it was not stated towards what or whom the emotion term was directed). These subcategories were created based on all the found emotion terms.

Lastly, it was noted down who placed the emotion term in the text (subcategorized: a text from a journalist or text quoted from others (direct or indirect). This procedure was followed for each emotion term present in the text. This procedure was based on schematics in Bednarek (2008). A detailed explanation of the coding scheme can be found in appendix 1. Finally, all the emotion terms were checked with Bednarek (2008).

## **Contextual analysis**

## Step 2: Finding patterns.

After identifying and categorizing of the emotion terms, a general analysis was written about the emotion terms in the context of the articles to find notable patterns and other interesting finds of relevance. This was done by looking at the coded emotion terms in the dataset and using the filter function on the different categories. These were written down for each data set and reported in the result section of this study.

## Step 3: Functions of patterns

The third step was going over articles that show the same pattern to find possible functions of these patterns. This was done based on researcher's knowledge from the context as presented in the introduction. These initial findings were revisited once all the data was analyzed to see if these findings were still relevant or had changed.

## Example analysis

The following examples illustrate the coding process as mentioned in the textual analysis.

The first example is from the article 'These Are The Rioters Who Stormed the Nation's Capitol' on 7 January in The New York Times by Sabrina Tavernise and Matthew Rosenberg and explains the earlier mentioned categories in the coding scheme.

''All of them converged on Wednesday on the grounds of the U.S. Capitol, where hundreds of rioters crashed through barricades, climbed through windows and walked through doors, wandering around the hallways with a sense of gleeful desecration, because, for a few breathtaking hours, they believed that they had displaced the very elites they said they hated.''

The word hated is identified as an emotion term. It is categorized as a verb with a negative valence. The emoters are the rioters, subcategorized as Trump supporters. The emotion term is directed towards the elites which are regarded as Trump opponents. The emotion term is placed by a journalist in the text.

The second example is from the article 'Our President Wants Us Here': The Mob That Stormed the Capitol' on 9 January in The New York Times by Dan Barry, Mike McIntire, and Matthew Rosenberg and explains the earlier mentioned categories in the coding scheme. 'Despite his followers' hopes and expectations, President Trump was missing in action as rioters rampaged through the halls of Congress. It would be hours before he eventually surfaced in a somewhat subdued videotaped appeal for them to leave.

"We have to have peace," he said. "So go home, we <u>love</u> you, you're very special." The word love is identified as an emotion term. It is categorized as a verb with a positive valence. The emoter is Trump, subcategorized as Trump supporters. The emotion term is directed towards the rioters who are regarded as Trump loyalists. The emotion term is placed in a quote.

The third example is from the article 'Confusion, criticism keep Pentagon within political crosshairs' on 7 January in The Washington Times by Mike Glenn and explains the earlier mentioned categories in the coding scheme. 'A U.S. military that has been desperate to stay out of the nation's bitter political wars found itself dragged back into controversy on

multiple fronts, a day after the breaching of the U.S. Capitol by a crowd of <u>angry</u> Pro-Trump supporters.''

The word angry is identified as an emotion term. It is categorized as an adjective with a negative valence. The emoters are the Pro-Trump supporters, subcategorized as Trump supporters. The emotion term is not directed towards someone or something, so this is not applicable. The emotion term is placed by a journalist in the text.

## Reliability check

To ensure that the coding and interpretation were reliable, a second coder coded three randomly chosen articles per newspaper. The second coder read the articles and coded the emotion terms in the news articles, following the same steps as described above how the first coder did the coding. After the coding was done independently, the coded texts of the first and second coders were compared. The discrepancies between the coding done by the first and second coder were discussed. For instance, in the article of The New York Times 'These Are The Rioters Who Stormed the Nation's Capitol' on 7 January 2021 the following paragraph illustrates the reliability check. "Those who stormed the Capitol were just one slice of the thousands of Trump supporters who had descended on Washington to protest the certification of Joseph R. Biden's victory in November over President Trump. Their breach came with a confused and frenzied energy, fueled by the words of Mr. Trump just minutes before and the fervor of the mob standing behind them."

The emotion term was 'fervor' which was by the first coder not marked as an emotion term but is. These emotion terms were added to the list of emotion terms in these kinds of situations

The only discrepancy between the first coder and the second coder was that the second coder saw emotion words by the first coder missed or vice versa. Coding from the first and the second coder showed complete agreement for all the other categories. Namely, linguistic level, valence, emotion attribution, emotion addressed and narrator.

The first coder did benefit from the reliability check, when going over all the emotion terms to ensure that all the emotion terms were included in the data and reliable.

#### Results

This section presents the results of this study to find an answer to the research question: "How is emotion talk represented in news feature articles about the Capitol invasion by left-and right-wing media?" Firstly, the results of the analysis are presented, elaborating on every category of the analysis. The patterns that arise from this analysis are further elaborated on to highlight how emotion talk is represented in the corpus.

Based on the results of the twenty-four articles of both newspapers, the following findings are found. The entire corpus contained 180 emotion terms. The dataset of The New York Times contained more emotion terms than The Washington Times. In total, N=118 emotion terms were found in the twelve articles of the New York Times. In total, N=62 emotion terms were found in the twelve articles of the Washington Times. A minimum of three and a maximum of 26 emotion words were found in each article of The New York Times. A minimum of three and a maximum of nine emotion words were found in each article of The Washington Times. The most frequently used emotion words found in the chosen texts of both newspapers are presented in table 2. A complete list can be found in appendixes 2 and 3.

Table 2. Most frequently used emotion terms in The New York Times and The Washington Times

Newspaper	Emotion terms
The New York Times	Angry, concerned, confusion, fear, feeling, horror, love, hate,
	sad, worried
The Washington Times	Angry, bitter, hatred, love, outrage, peaceful, embarrassing,
	rejoice, tense, stunning

#### Valence

In both datasets emotion terms were found with different valence, e.g., positive, negative, and neutral (method). Both newspapers' feature articles generally contained negative emotion terms. In the The New York Times articles, more negative emotion terms were found (N=94) than positive terms (N=17) and seven neutral terms. In the coded articles of The Washington Times, more negative emotion terms were found (N=45) and less positive (N=12), and five neutral terms. In most cases, the valence of neutral emotion terms changes in the context. Emotion terms with a neutral valence turned out positive or negative due to the context. The

following sentence illustrates the example of a neutral emotion term 'feeling.' This paragraph is taken from the article 'The American Abyss, a historian of fascism and political atrocity on Trump, the mob and what comes next' by Timothy Snyder, published in The New York Times:

"Watching white supremacists among the people storming the Capitol, it was easy to yield to the <u>feeling</u> that something pure had been violated."

## Linguistic level

In the articles of the New York Times, the emotion terms which were found were most of all adjectives (49) and nouns (47), fewer verbs (19), and adverbs (3). In the Washington Times, the emotion terms which were found were most of all adjectives (32) and nouns (17) and fewer verbs (10) and adverbs (3).

#### **Emotion attribution**

The emotion words are attributed to a wide range of different emoters. For example, republicans, democrats, rioters, Trump, lawmakers, the Police, journalists, veterans, right extremists, Antifa, Black Lives Matter, the U.S. military, and prominent politicians e.g., Mitch McConnell. In The New York Times articles, the emoters were 75 times Trump Supporters, fifteen times Trump Opponents, 31 times neutral and sixteen times other. In the articles of The Washington Times, the emoters were 32 times Trump Supporters, 8 times Trump opponents, fifteen times neutral and twelve times other.

#### **Emotion directed**

The emotion words were directed to various people, groups, events, or situations. For example, rioters, Antifa, Trump, Black Lives Matter movement, justice department, coronavirus, far rights groups, presidential election, the defeat of Trump. Secondly, all these emoters were sub-categorized in the following four subcategories: Trump supporters, Trump opponents, U.S. officials, other and not applicable.

In the analyzed articles of The New York Times, the emotions were addressed to 77 times Trump supporters, 21 times Trump opponents, thirteen U.S. Officials, seven other, and 13 times not applicable.

In the analyzed articles of The Washington Times, the emotions were addressed to

36 times Trump supporters, nine times Trump opponents, nine times U.S. officials, one time other, and eleven times not applicable.

#### Who is the narrator in the text?

The emotion words in The New York Times were used 95 times by the journalist and 23 times in a quotation. In the following example a quotation was given by a Trump supporter: "I'm happy, sad, afraid, excited, said Scott Cyganiewicz, 56, a floor installer from Gardner, Mass., as he watched the throngs of Trump loyalists streaming through the streets. It's an emotional roller coaster."

The emotion words in The Washington Times were used 40 times by the journalist and 22 times in a quotation. In this example of the article 'Rioters who stormed U.C. Capitol now face backlash at work from The Washington Times by Joseph Pisani and Cathy Bussewitz, a quotation was also given by a Trump supporter: "I'm horrified by the violence and destruction we saw yesterday and the pain it has caused so many," Rouse said. "Our country desperately needs to come together to heal, and I will do everything I can to be a part of that process."

#### Patterns of emotion talk

In this part, the patterns that have emerged from the analysis are explained to highlight how emotion talk is represented. In appendix 5 a table is included to distinguish the patterns.

A reference to the emotions of the lawmakers inside the Capitol

The first pattern found in The New York Times is that four times the negative emotion term 'fear' used as a noun is attributed to the lawmakers. The people trapped in the Capitol, such as congressmen or lawmakers, are referenced, and it is mentioned that they were afraid of the Trump supporters during the Capitol invasion. The following example of the article 'Our President Wants Us Here: The Mob That Stormed the Capitol' from The New York Times by Dan Barry, Mike McIntire and Matthew Rosenberg illustrates this pattern: 'By Wednesday afternoon, a narrow group of Trump supporters — some exuberant, some hellbent — had been storm-tossed together into infamy. A mob overran the nation's Capitol as lawmakers hid in fear. Wholesale vandalism. Tear gas. Gunfire. A woman dead; an officer dead; many injured. Chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" This pattern of references to the emotions of the lawmakers in the Capitol was not found in the Washington Times. The function of mentioning or not mentioning this emotion can be to magnify or conceal that people during the riot were

afraid. Magnifying this emotion could make the reader feel sympathy for the people trapped in the Capitol.

## The Angry mob

Another pattern found in The New York Times was a reference to the angry mob/rioters. It is referenced 19 times that the rioters were angry, outraged or felt hatred. The negative emotion 'anger' is most often present as an adjective or a noun. It is attributed to the rioters and the anger is addressed to the U.S. elections and the lawmakers inside the Capitol. It is also often mentioned that Trump incited their anger. The reference is most often made by the journalist but also through quotes from others. The following example of the article 'Manhunt Intensifies as Authorities Warn Some Rioters May Face Sedition Charges' from The New York Times by Michael D. Shear, Adam Goldman and Katie Benner illustrates this pattern: "His remarks came as evidence mounted that before the grim events at the Capitol — in which lawmakers and others hid from an angry, surging mob and five people died in the riot and nearby tumult — top officials in government had reason to be deeply concerned about the possibility of violence." This pattern in the New York Times is not present in The Washington Times. Only two references are made about 'the angry mob'. The function of including or excluding the emotions of the rioters can be to magnify or hide that the rioters were angry or felt hate. Magnifying this emotion for example can increase aversion to the rioters and an unwillingness to accept their actions.

#### *Use of quotations*

A pattern found in The Washington Times is that in 8/22 quotations in the articles, the emotion terms that were found were negative emotion terms used as an adjective or noun. In most cases, these are quotations from the rioters and their emotions addressed to the riot (6) itself or the mob (8). For example, in the article 'Rioters who stormed U.C. Capitol now face backlash at work from The Washington Times by Joseph Pisani and Cathy Bussewitz: "I'm horrified by the violence and destruction we saw yesterday and the pain it has caused so many," Rouse said. "Our country desperately needs to come together to heal, and I will do everything I can to be a part of that process." In the New York Times, there was more diversity from whom the quotes came. For example, 5 quotes were from veterans, 4 from Trump supporters, 2 from Republican Governor Hogan, 2 from Rudolph Giuliani (lawyer of Trump) and the remaining quotes were from others.

## *Trump supporters as emoters*

An additional pattern that has been found is that the emoters in both newspapers are predominantly subcategorized as Trump supporters. In The New York Times, 75 emotion words out of 118 emotion words were attributed to emoters in the subcategory Trump supporters. In the Washington Times, this was 32 emotions words out of 62 emotion words. The emotion words attributed to the Trump supporters were primarily adjectives and nouns and were referenced by the journalist. The function of ascribing emotions to the Trump supporters could be that because they played a significant role during the invasion, people want to know who they were, what they felt, and their purpose.

## Anger as the most occurring emotion

In both newspapers, the most occurring emotion is the emotion 'anger'. Expressions of anger are present in different forms, such as 'anger', 'hate', 'enraged', or 'furious'. In The New York Times, this emotion is expressed 20 times. Two times as a direct expression from a news source and eighteen times as an indirect description made by the author or journalist. It is present primarily as a noun. The emoters are usually the rioters who direct their anger towards U.S. officials. A few references are made about U.S. officials (such as officials in the Pentagon or the military) who are angry about the rioters. In The Washington Times 'anger' is expressed seventeen times. Seven times as a direct expression from a news source and ten times as an indirect description made by the author. The emotion is mostly present as an adjective. The emoters are either Trump supporters or Trump who direct their anger towards the President's defeat, but most Republicans and lawmakers direct their anger towards the invasion itself. The function of mentioning this emotion could be to inform the reader that the primary emotion during the Capitol invasion was anger because the anger of Trump and his supporters caused the storming of the Capitol.

#### Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this study was to identify how emotion talk is represented in news feature articles about the Capitol invasion in one left- and one right-wing American newspaper.

There are observed similarities and differences in how emotion talk is presented in news feature articles on the topic of the Capitol invasion in both newspapers. Both newspapers use emotion terms most frequently in nouns and adjectives and contain a significantly large amount of negative emotion terms. This is in line with Bednarek (2008). The most obvious reason for a large number of negative emotion terms is the subject of the feature articles. Negative experiences accompany the Capitol invasion; it makes sense that the emotion terms are mostly negative. For example, 'the angry mob,' 'as lawmakers hid in fear' or 'show of united outrage'. The first two examples were found in The New York Times, and the last one was found in The Washington Times.

In both newspapers, the most occurring emotion is the emotion 'anger'. In Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011), it is mentioned that expressions of anger come in a variety of forms: direct expressions of anger from news sources, indirect descriptions of anger, and authorial emotions. This can also be seen in this study. In the New York Times, most often indirect descriptions of anger were made by the author or journalist, and only a few times, it was represented as a direct expression from a news source. In The Washington Times, the representation of the emotion 'anger' was less far apart. Seven times as a direct expression and ten times in an indirect description.

The second research question formulated was "How does the representation of emotions in news feature articles about the Capitol invasion link to the context of The New York Times and The Washington Times?" In the United States, there is a media bias between left-liberal media and right-conservative media. Following the literature review of the media bias, it was hypothesized that the New York Times would be more critical of Trump and the Republican party and attribute more negative emotion terms to Trump and the rioters.

Furthermore, it was hypothesized that The Washington Times would be less critical of the role of President Trump and the Republican party and attributeless emotion terms to Trump or the rioters.

Two patterns can be explained by the media bias results of the study of Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011). They examined that emotional expressions in news media are filtered and that it is carefully chosen what is shown, as some emotions are magnified while others are concealed. Firstly, in The New York Times, nineteen references have been made that the

rioters were angry Trump supporters. This negative emotion is attributed to the rioters, and their anger is directed to the results of the U.S. elections and the lawmakers inside the Capitol. Subsequently, it is mentioned that President Trump was the one who incited them. These results are opposed to the representation of emotions of the mob in The Washington Times because only two references are made to the negative emotions of the Trump supporters in this newspaper. These results are a pattern that can be linked to the media bias in the U.S. The New York Times magnifies emotions to highlight the role of Trump and his supporters. This newspaper not only opposes the actions of a Republican President but accuses him of inciting anger. Additionally, they focus on the negative emotion of his supporters in the reporting of the Capitol invasion. It seems that The Washington Times, the right-conservative newspaper, chooses not to use these negative emotions when discussing the supporters of the President who invaded the Capitol.

The second pattern also shows that emotions were highlighted in one newspaper and excluded in the other. In The New York Times, it is mentioned that the lawmakers trapped inside the Capitol are afraid of the invading Trump supporters. These references are not made in the Washington Times. This can be linked to the media bias in the U.S. It can be argued that the Washington Times chooses not to use the emotion 'fear' because it is a relatable emotion and could make the reader feel sympathy for the people trapped in the Capitol. The New York Times, in contrast, can deliberately use this emotion to create sympathy.

These patterns show that the representation of emotions can be linked to the context of The New York Times and The Washington Times in the United States.

Despite the insights proposed here, the present research has limitations. First, only 24 articles have been researched on the representation of emotion words. This makes the generalization of results difficult. Furthermore, only one left-wing newspaper and one right-wing newspaper have been researched. Additionally, the selection of articles was made of articles that were only published in the first two weeks after the invasion of the Capitol. Lastly, the corpus only included emotion words that denoted affect/emotion; it did not include emotion words that signalled emotion. A limited corpus generalizes results more challenging, and a larger corpus could be the solution to this limitation.

It will be interesting for further research to investigate a larger number of articles in a similar study. Additionally, it will be useful to compare more than two newspapers.

Furthermore, it will be interesting to investigate articles from a bigger timeframe, leading to different results. For example, it could be interesting to study the run-up to the Capitol invasion and examine the representation of emotion terms. It could also be useful to expand

the categories of emotion words to include emotion words that signal emotion, not only emotion words that denote emotion. Lastly, it will be interesting to investigate the Black Lives Matter movement demonstrations in the summer of 2020. The analyzed articles mention that left-liberal Democrats did not condemn those demonstrations as much as the Capitol invasion. It is interesting to research this with an emphasis on the use and representation of emotion talk.

In conclusion, the analysis in this research revealed useful information about the representation of emotion terms in news feature articles about the Capitol invasion in The New York Times and The Washington Times. The representation of emotion terms was mostly negative and categorized as a noun or an adjective. It makes sense that the emotion terms are mostly negative due to the topic of this research. Negative emotion terms, such as anger, are mentioned as a direct expression from a news source or indirect descriptions of anger. More often, the journalist was the one who used the emotion term in the text instead of an emotion term in a quote from a source. These findings are in line with the literature on emotion talk.

A second research question was formulated about how the representation of emotions in news feature articles about the Capitol invasion link to the context of the New York Times and The Washington Times. In the United States, there is a media bias between left-liberal media and right-conservative media. It was hypothesized that the left-liberal newspaper The New York Times would be more critical of Trump and his supporters and attribute more emotion terms to them than the right-conservative newspaper The Washington Times. Given the context of these two newspapers, two interesting patterns were found that can be linked to the media bias. In The New York Times, references were made that the lawmakers trapped inside the Capitol were afraid of the rioters, and the emotion 'anger' was attributed to the rioters. These emotions were not mentioned in The Washington Times. Following earlier research, these findings can be explained so that the magnification of these emotions can cause the reader to either feel sympathy for the lawmakers or feel an aversion to the rioters' actions. Likewise, the concealment of these emotion terms can cause the reader to not feel sympathy or aversion.

It is recommended to expand this research to draw generalizable conclusions about the representation of emotion talk in left- and right-wing media.

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## Appendix 1

Coded categories for each emotion term

**Linguistic level:** Categorization was made according to the following sub-categories: Adjectives, verbs, nouns and adverbs.

Valence: An emotion term can have a positive, negative or neutral valence.

**Emotion attribution:** To whom the emotion term is attributed (the one who has the emotion). These were subcategorized into the following *four subcategories:* Trump supporters, Trump opponents, neutral (this is a subcategory for all involved US officials who have no political ties with Trump or oppose Trump, such as the police or US Lawmakers) and others (this is a subcategory for persons/groups who cannot be categorized into the first three groups, such as foreign groups). These subcategories were created based on all the found emotion terms.

**Emotion directed:** Towards what or whom the emotion word was directed.

These were subcategorized in the following *four subcategories*: Trump supporters, Trump opponents, U.S. officials (this is a subcategory for all involved US officials who have no political ties with Trump or oppose Trump, such as the police or US Lawmakers), other (this is a subcategory for persons/groups who cannot be categorized into the first three groups, such as foreign groups) and not applicable (this is a subcategory for when it was not stated towards what or whom the emotion term was directed). These subcategories were created based on all the found emotion terms.

**Narrator:** Who placed the emotion term in the text. Subcategorized: a text from a journalist or text quoted from others (direct on direct).

**Appendix 2**Emotion terms found in The New York Times

	Linguistic				
<b>Emotion term</b>	level	Valence	Emoter	Directed	Narrator
			Rudolph W.		
shameful	Adjective	Negative	Giuliani	Antifa	quote
			Rudolph W.		
respect	Noun	Positive	Giuliani	the mob	quote
. 1	A 1:	NT /	1.1.	black lives matter	. 1.
worried	Adjective	Negative	republican voters	movement	journalist
confused	Adjective	Negative	Suzanne Doherty	Antifa	journalist
depressed	Adjective	Negative	Suzanne Doherty	Antifa	journalist
14	A -11-	NI1	Trump	misinformation by	T 1: - 4
ardent	Adverb	Neutral	supporters	Trump	Journalist
exasperated	Adjective	Negative	republicans Mitch	Mr. Trump	journalist
desire	Verb	Negative	McConnell	Trump	Journalist
gleeful	Adjective	Positive	rioters	N/A	journalist
hated	Adjective	Negative	rioters	elites	journalist
				certification Biden's	
confused	Adjective	Negative	rioters	victory	journalist
				certification Biden's	
frenzied	Adjective	Negative	rioters	victory	journalist
<b>C</b>	A 1:4:	NI 4:		towards the speech	:1:-4
fervor	Adjective	Negative	rioters	of Trump against the wealth of	journalist
bewildered	Adjective	Negative	rioters	the capitol	journalist
be wildered	rajective	regative	1101015	Lack of Police and	journanst
confusion	Noun	Negative	rioters	wealth of capitol	journalist
		<u> </u>		Lack of Police and	<b>J</b>
excitement	Noun	Positive	rioters	wealth of capitol	journalist
				Lack of Police and	
feeling	Verb	Neutral	rioters	wealth of capitol	journalist
hoped	Verb	Positive	demonstrators	To mr. Trump	journalist
				people present at the	
marveling	Adjective	Positive	rioters	riot	journalist
symphatized	Verb	Positive	demonstrators	rioters	journalist
regret	Noun	Negative	demonstrators	rioters	journalist
			Aristotle (in a		
. 1	A 1.	NT	reference to	NT/A	. 1.
worried	Adjective	Negative	lawmakers)	N/A	journalist
concerned	Adjective	Negative	Republicans	keeping the power	journalist
shock	Verb	Negative	Republicans	towards the mob	journalist
feels	Verb	Neutral	People in general	the truth	journalist

hated	Verb	Negative	The soviet union	Western society about the results of	journalist
feel	Verb	Neutral	Republicans	the elections about the results of	journalist
feel	Verb	Neutral	Republicans storming the	the elections	journalist
feeling inspires	Noun	Neutral	Capitol	rioters	journalist
devotion	Verb	Positive	Trump	Republican voters	journalist
love	Verb	Positive	Trump	foreign dictators	journalist
embarrassing	Adjective	Negative	Trump those who care for the law and	N/A Against the coup of	journalist
care	Verb	Positive	who doesn't	trump	journalist
angry	Adjective	Negative	angry minority Speakers on Trump's	N/A	journalist
angry	Adjective	Negative	demonstration	demonstrators	journalist
giddy	Adjective	Negative	demonstrators Trump	about helping trump	journalist
exuberant	Adjective	Negative	supporters	About rioting about the rioters coming in the	journalist
fear	Noun	Negative	US Lawmakers	capitol Trump's	journalist
feel-good	Noun	Positive	American people	demonstration about fear of losing	journalist
fear	Noun	Negative	Rioters	their job About the	journalist
good	Adjective	Positive	Rioters House of Representatives	demonstration	journalist
weak	Adjective	Negative	and senate	N/A	journalist
weakness	Noun	Negative	Trump	to his voters	quote
strong	Adjective	Positive	Trump	to his voters	quote
distrust	Noun	Negative	Trump's voters	about government About the	journalist
happy	Adjective	Positive	A trump voter	demonstration About the	quote
sad	Adjective	Negative	A trump voter	demonstration About the	quote
afraid	Adjective	Negative	A trump voter	demonstration About the	quote
excited	Adjective	Positive	A trump voter	demonstration	quote
angry	Adjective	Negative	the crowd	angry mob when in the senate	journalist
confusion	Noun	Negative	the rioters	building when in the senate	journalist
excitement	Noun	Positive	the rioters	building	journalist

				about the rioters	
fear	Noun	Negative	lawmakers	coming in the capitol	journalist
love	Noun	Positive		to the rioters	journalist
frustration	Noun		Trump Rioters	To Trump	journalist
		Negative	Rioters	-	5
disappointed	Adjective	Negative	Rioteis	To Trump To Trump and	journalist
angrily	Adverb	Negative	Rioters	Pence	journalist
anger	Noun	Negative	Rioters	About the riot	journalist
resentment	Noun	Negative	Rioters	about the riot	journalist
distrust	Noun	Negative	Rioters the failures of the	about the riot	journalist
embarrassingly	Adjective	Negative	police republican	n.a.	journalist
fired up	Verb	Negative	governor Hogan republican	About the riot	quote
agitated	Adjective	Negative	governor Hogan republican	About the riot	quote
stressed	Adjective	Negative	governor Hogan officials in the	About the riot About BLM and	quote
frustation	Noun	Negative	pentagon officials in the	about the riot About BLM and	journalist
anger	Noun	Negative	pentagon officials in the	about the riot	journalist
stunned	Adjective	Negative	pentagon	About the riot	journalist
concerns	Noun	Neutral	prosecutors about hate	Justice department	journalist
hate	Adjective	Negative	speech	n.a.	journalist
fears	Noun	Negative	Officials	about rioters	journalist
malevolent	Adjective	Negative	Journalists	riot	journalist
sickening	Adjective	Negative	Journalists	riot	journalist
terrifying	Adjective	Negative	Journalists	riot	journalist
infuriating	Adverb	Negative	Journalists	riot	journalist
horror	Noun	Negative	the riot	riot	journalist
horror	Noun	Negative	Journalists	about riot	journalist
horror	Noun	Negative	Journalists	about riot	journalist
enraging feeling	Verb	Negative	Journalists	about riot	journalist
(trauma)	Verb	Negative	Journalists	about riot	journalist
tense up	Verb	Negative	Journalists	about riot	journalist
scare	Noun	Negative	Journalists	about riot	journalist
angry	Adjective	Negative	mob	n/a	journalist
concerned	Verb	Negative	U.S. Attorney	about the riot	journalist
agitation	Noun	Negative	Trump	Antifa	journalist
worries	Noun	Negative	Law enforcement	Antifa	journalist
weakness	Noun	Negative	Trump	To his voters	quote
chilling	Noun	Negative	about the riot	n/a	journalist

terrified	Adjective	Negative	US Lawmakers	scared of the mob	journalist
hate	Noun	Negative	Veterans	about mob	quote
disgusted	Verb	Negative	Veterans	about mob	quote
sad	Adjective	Negative	Veterans	about mob	quote
disgusting	Adjective	Negative	Veterans	about mob	quote
sad	Adjective	Negative	Veterans	about mob	quote
rage	Noun	Negative	Mob democratic	N/A	journalist
sad	Adjective	Negative	representative democratic	About mob	quote
sad	Adjective	Negative	representative	About mob	quote
anger	Noun	Negative	French analyst Heather Grabbe,	About riot About the riot in	quote
aroused	Adjective	Negative	director of E.U.	Washington About the riot in	quote
shocked	Adjective	Negative	Marine Le Pen	Washington About the riot in	quote
shaken	Adjective	Negative	populist leaders	Washington About the riot in	journalist
nervous	Adjective	Negative	populist leaders mainstream	Washington	journalist
anxiety	Noun	Negative	policitians mainstream	About coronavirus	journalist
confusion	Noun	Negative	policitians director European policy	About coronavirus	journalist
fear	Noun	Negative	center	About coronavirus	quote
fears	Noun	Negative	Trump voters	About elections	journalist
fear	Noun	Negative	Trump voter	About Trump voters	journalist
anger	Noun	Negative	Trump voter	About Trump voters	journalist
anger	Noun	Negative	Trump voter	About Trump voters	journalist
loves	Verb	Positive	Trump voter	about Trump voters Who flourish under	journalist
hate	Noun	Negative	Right extremists	Trump who flourish under	journalist
hatreds	Noun	Negative	Right extremists	trump who hid from the	journalist
fear	Noun	Negative	US Lawmakers	riot	journalist
hate	Noun	Negative	Right extremists	about riot	journalist
hate	Noun	Negative	Right extremists	about riot about presidential	journalist
enraged	Adjective	Negative	Trump voters	elections Immigrants and fear	journalist
fears	Noun	Negative	President Trump	of gun control	journalist
frightening	Adjective	Negative	Left liberals	Far-right groups Immigrants and fear	journalist
				miningrants and rear	

**Appendix 3**Emotion terms found in The Washington Times

	Linguistic				
<b>Emotion term</b>	Level	Valence	Emoter	Directed	Narrator
desperate	Adjective	Negative	U.S. military	N/A	journalist
bitter	Adverb	Negative	nation	N/A	journalist
			Pro-Trump		
angry	Adjective	Negative	supporters	N/A	journalist
hopes	Verb	Positive	The Pentagon's	political crossfire respect for fellow	journalist
respect	Noun	Positive	Trump Major Richard	citizens	quote
felt	Adjective	Neutral	Thresher	About US Army	journalist
bitter	Adjective	Negative	the nation	N/A	journalist
frenzy	Adjective	Negative	Trump	Domestic frenzy the events at the	Quote
outrageous	Adjective	Negative	A republican	capitol he would not	Quote
fiery	Adverb	Negative	Trump	concede to Biden storming their way	Journalist
angry	Adjective	Negative	Trump supporters	into the capitol	journalist
subdued	Adjective	Neutral	lawmakers	N/A	journalist
rancor	Noun	Negative	lawmakers	N/A	journalist
appalled	Adjective	Negative	George W. Bush	US Political Leaders	quote
angered	Adjective	Negative	Mr. McConnell	the president	journalist
fear	Noun	Negative	riot	about the riot	journalist
wondered	Verb	Neutral	journalists	about the riot	journalist
embarrassing	Adjective	Negative	journalists	about the riot by the challenge of	quote
tense	Adjective	Negative	Congress	trump supporters	journalist
aggrieved	Adjective	Negative	President Trump	about his defeat	journalist
fume	Verb	Negative	President Trump	about his defeat	journalist
cowered	Verb	Negative	politicians	about the rioters	journalist
loved	Verb	Positive	Trump moments in the	to his supporters	quote
tense	Adjective	Negative	riot US Allies and	for reporters	journalist
stunned	Adjective	Negative	adversaries international	about riot	journalist
disorienting	Adjective	Negative	observers international	about riot	journalist
unnerving	Adjective	Negative	observers international	about riot	journalist
shocking	Adjective	Negative	observers	about riot	quote
rejoice	Verb	Positive	german foreign minister	about riot	journalist

			Venezuelan		
bitterly	Adverb	Negative	foreign ministry	about riot	journalist
desperate	Adjective	Negative	Trump	to his mob	journalist
Respect	Noun	Positive	Trump	Police	quote
cowered	Verb	Negative	Trump	to his voters	journalist
love	Noun	Positive	Trump	to his voters about Black Lives	quote
outrage	Noun	Negative	bipartisan front	Matter movement	journalist
soft	Adjective	Negative	Police	on the protestors about capitol riot and	journalist
Worries	Noun	Negative	onlookers	BLM	journalist
outraged	Adjective	Negative	citizen	n/a	quote
shame	Noun	Negative	protests	n/a	quote
outraged	Adjective	Negative	protests Indian Prime	n/a	quote
Distressed	Adjective	Negative	Minister	about riots confirmation of President Elect	quote
pleased	Adjective	Positive	Boris Johnson	Biden	quote
hatred	Noun	Negative	About Trump	about riots	quote
rabble-rousing	Noun	Negative	About Trump	about riots	quote
hatred	Noun	Negative	About Trump	about riots	quote
hatred	Noun	Negative	Rioters	n/a	quote
raged	Verb	Negative	Reviewers	a virginia restaurant	journalist
horrified	Adjective	Negative	Trump supporter	about riot	quote
pain	Noun	Negative	Trump supporter law enforcement	about riot lack of preparation	quote
stunning	Adjective	Positive	experts	by police about changes for	journalist
furious	Adjective	Negative	lawmakers	protection about an extensive	journalist
painstaking	Adjective	Neutral	lawmakers a republican	investigation	journalist
admiration	Noun	Positive	voter a republican	Trump	journalist
feel	Verb	Neutral	voter	Trump	quote
love	Noun	Positive	Republican voter a family of	love for Trump family who attended	quote
upset	Adjective	Negative	republicans	riot about attending the	journalist
regretted	Adjective	Negative	Republican voter	riot about attending the	journalist
regret	Noun	Negative	Republican voter	riot about attending the	journalist
embarrassment	Noun	Negative	Republican voter	riot against the Capitol and American	journalist
angry	Adjective	Negative	the mob	politics	journalist

				Images of the capitol	
loving	Verb	Positive	China	riot	journalist
				against the Capitol	
			Iranian Supreme	and American	
rejoicing	Adjective	Positive	leader	politics	journalist

Appendix 4

Patterns of emotion talk in The New York Times and The Washington Times

Pattern	Emotion Word /	Valence	Attributed	Directed	Example
	Linguistic level				
Emotions of	Fear (noun)	Negative	Lawmakers	Rioters	'By Wednesday afternoon, a narrow group of Trump
the lawmakers					supporters — some exuberant, some hellbent — had been
inside the					storm-tossed together into infamy. A mob overran the nation's
Capitol					Capitol, as lawmakers hid in <u>fear.</u> Wholesale vandalism. Tear
					gas. Gunfire. A woman dead; an officer dead; many injured.
					Chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!"
The angry	Anger / Hate	Negative	Rioters	U.S.	"His remarks came as evidence mounted that before the grim
mob	(adjective, noun)			Elections	events at the Capitol — in which lawmakers and others hid
				and	from an <u>angry</u> , surging mob and five people died in the riot
				Lawmakers	and nearby tumult — top officials in government had reason to
					be deeply concerned about the possibility of violence."
Quotations	Horrified	Negative	Rioters	To the riot	"I'm <u>horrified</u> by the violence and destruction we saw yesterday
from the	(adjective, noun)			itself	and the pain it has caused so many," Rouse said. "Our country
rioters					desperately needs to come together to heal, and I will do
					everything I can to be a part of that
					process."

Appendix 5

Patterns of similarities and differences between The New York Times and The Washington Times

Pattern	Similarity /	Emotion	Attributed	Directed	Example / explanation
	Difference	Word /			
		Linguistic			
		level			
Emoters are	Emoters in both	N.A.	Trump	N.A.	In NYT, 75 emotion words out of 118 emotion words
Trump	newspapers are mostly		Supporters		were attributed to emoters in the subcategory 'Trump
Supporters	subcategorized as				Supporters'. In WT, 32 emotions words out of 62
	Trump supporters				emotion words.
	(similarity).				
Emotions of the	The emotions of the	Fear	Lawmakers	Rioters	In NYT references are made about the lawmakers
lawmakers	lawmakers are not	(noun)			who were trapped inside the Capitol. These were
inside the	mentioned in WT				afraid of the rioters. In WT there are no references to
Capitol	(difference).				the emotions of the lawmakers in the Capitol.
Used quotations	In WT quotes with	N.A.	Trump	N.A.	In WT 8 of 22 quotes with an emotion word were
	emotion words are		supporters,		from Trump supporters. In NYT more diversity in
	from Trump		veterans,		emotion attribution in quotes. E.g. 5 quotes from
	Supporters. In NYT				veterans, 4 from Trump supporters and others.

	more diversity of used		Republicans		
	quotes with emotion		and others.		
	words (difference).				
Representation	In NYT more	Anger and	Trump	U.S.	In NYT 19 references to the negative emotion 'hate
of rioters	references to negative	Hate	Supporters	Elections	or 'anger'. In WT only 2 times.
emotions	emotions of Trump	(noun,		and	
	Supporters than in WT	verb).		Lawmakers	
	(difference).				
Anger as the	In NYT and WT the	Anger and	Rioters, US	U.S.	In NYT 20 times, In WT 17 times.
nost occurring	most occurring	Hate	Officials	Officials,	
emotion	emotion is 'anger'.	(noun,	and	Rioters,	
	Expressed in various	verb)	Republicans	defeat of	
	forms, such as 'anger',			Trump,	
	'hate', 'enraged' or			Invasion.	
	'furious'.				

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