Van Dijk-Model Critical Discourse Analysis of Harris vs. Trump Debate Media Coverage

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Article Info	Abstract
	This research aims to address questions regarding the portrayal of the US Presidential debate between Democratic Party candidate Kamala Harris and Republican Party candidate Donald Trump in mass media. This research is qualitative research. This research employed media bias examination in the Huffpost, Reuters, and The Daily Wire articles reporting the US Presidential debate posted on the same day. The data was collected through a combination of literature review, observation, and note-taking methods. The analysis was conducted using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Teun A. Van Dijk's model. Results showed that HuffPost reporting tends to portray Donald Trump with negative sentiments such as "misinformed" and "lies." Similarly, Reuters reporting portrayed Donald Trump with negative sentiment while mentioning the voters' uncertainty about Kamala Harris. On the other hand, The Daily Wire portrayed Kamala Harris with a negative sentiment by questioning Harris' stance on abortion. The difference in reporting can be linked to the goals each news outlet has in publishing their articles.

INTRODUCTION

Media plays a dual role in society by legitimizing the actions of the powerful while also facilitating collective change. It shapes public beliefs, influences political conclusions, and impacts both individual and collective actions crucial for social transformation. Research highlights that media supports policy implementation through repeated messaging and reinforcement, often without alternatives, and influences behavior, especially when aligned with broader structural support (Happer & Philo, 2013). According to Katz et al. (1973), the media plays a crucial role in shaping perceptions as social, physical, or psychological distance from a subject increases. In short, the further people are from someone or something—whether in terms of distance, social connections, or emotional attachment—the more they rely on the media to understand and form opinions about it. Campbell et al. (2010) stated that, "The news is also biased in favor of storytelling, drama, and conflict; in favor of telling "two sides of a story"; in favor of powerful and well-connected sources; and in favor of practices that serve journalists' space and time limits." Correspondingly, Zandbwerg et al. (2012) asserted that media influences the masses' perception of historical events by merging news production with collective memory, choosing and contextualizing key occurrences, and presenting the past through narratives that highlight current successes while honoring traumatic histories.

In regards to the election of the United States president in November 2024, a debate was held between two candidates from the Democratic and Republican political party, namely incumbent Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald Trump. The debate was held on September 10, 2024 and broadcasted by ABC News. The debate served as a catalyst, prompting extensive coverage from a diverse array of news outlets. Public debates are an essential medium for candidates to share their messages (Witianti & Solihah, 2019). Media, a powerful tool to amplify these messages, is biased. Media bias is shaped by factors including the subjectivity of journalists, audience targeting according to political beliefs, user-related variables such as political background, and the connection between media consumption patterns and perceived bias (Spinde et al., 2020). Thus, the portrayal of the debate in the media is far from neutral; it is shaped by dominant ideologies, agendas, and specific discursive strategies employed by media outlets. These factors play a crucial role in influencing public opinion and collective memory, often serving to reinforce or challenge existing power structures and historical narratives. As a result, media

representations not only inform but also potentially manipulate societal perceptions and historical understanding of the event.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary methodology that examines the interplay between language, power, and social structures. It is particularly adept at investigating how media discourse represents political events, such as the debate between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump. CDA facilitates a detailed analysis of linguistic features—such as vocabulary, syntax, and narrative structures—while also considering the broader socio-political contexts that influence these linguistic choices. CDA encompasses a range of theories, methods, and applications related to societal issues. It addresses social problems including human rights, social discrimination, and the misuse of power (Sari et al., 2018). By integrating an analysis of discursive practices with an exploration of power relations and ideological constructs, CDA offers a comprehensive understanding of how media representations contribute to shaping public perception and collective memory of significant events. As a methodological framework, CDA enables the examination of both the linguistic components of media discourse and the socio-political contexts that shape language use. Power is a fundamental concept in CDA, which pertains to the capacity of individuals or groups to influence others and control resources (Fairclough, 1989).

Coverage of the debate is extensive, with numerous news outlets reporting on the debate held in September 10 2024. Among those are articles published from Huffpost, Reuters, and The Daily Wire. Discursive strategies such as lexical choices, referential strategies by quoting or referring an expert, and framing of key debate points is crucial in media representation. Given that the articles address the same subject and posted on the same day, a comparative analysis of their representation of the issue and discursive strategies will offer valuable insights into how each outlet presents the issue.

Previous CDA studies using Van Dijk's model have been conducted in investigating media representation. Firmansyah and Degaf (2024) carry out a study pertaining media portrayals of Jayland Walker's demise and found that CNN portrayed Jayland Walker as a victim and criticized police actions, NBC News took a neutral stance, and The Washington Post highlighted the societal implications of the incident. Moreover, Kholidah and Tristiana (2023) investigate Omnibus Law portrayal in media and found that analyzed news articles focus on the theme of rejection, they present diverse sub-themes, contextual details, and varying editorial perspectives, highlighting the complexity of media discourse

surrounding the law and its societal implications. Correspondingly, Surya R et al. (2023) study issues of the 2024 Indonesian Presidential candidates in media and found 30 discourse topics concerning the 2024 presidential candidates in online news with a particular emphasis on Anies Baswedan as a prominent figure in the political arena. Furthermore, Irmayani and Usman (2022) analyzed the reporting of VOI's coverage Formula E Jakarta E-Prix and found emphases of political narratives, particularly highlighting Anies Baswedan's role and the absence of state-owned enterprise sponsorship. In addition, Pratiwi (2021) conducted a study of a Kompas.com news article regarding Valentino Rossi, the first MotoGP rider to test positive for Covid-19 with results showing that the Kompas.com article uses specific language and graphics to shape narratives about Valentino Rossi's Covid-19 diagnosis. While previous CDA studies has conducted analysis of media representation, research pertaining how a presidential debate reporting may reflect news outlets' political biases is absent. Thus, it is necessary carry out such study.

This research aims to explore key questions regarding the portrayal of the debate between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump in the media: What are the dominant narratives used in media representations of US Presidential Debate? How do these narratives reflect and reinforce existing ideologies in respective media? By addressing these research questions, the research seeks to study the interplay between media discourse, ideology, and power, with a particular focus on how these dynamics manifest in the context of US presidential debates and elections. The study is limited to a comparison of two news media outlets, with the possibility of future research expanding to a wider range of media sources.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) develops from traditional discourse analysis. Discourse analysis approach serves as an important method in social research by allowing scholars to explore the intricacies of everyday social practices and interactions by critically analyzing language use (Taylor, 2016). While general discourse analysis investigates how language operates across different contexts, CDA specifically critiques the ways in which discourse both influences and is influenced by social structures and ideologies (Van Dijk, 2001). CDA observe social context by examining how language reflects, reinforces, or challenges social structures, power relations, and cultural norms

within specific communicative situations, thereby revealing the ways in which discourse shapes social identities, relationships, and ideologies in various contexts. This involves analyzing the language used in different social settings—such as media, politics, education, and everyday interactions—to uncover the underlying beliefs and values that inform and influence social behavior and attitudes.

Fairclough (2001) understanding of CDA offers a comprehensive framework for exploring the complex relationships between language, social practices, and power dynamics in society. Central to his analysis is the concept of recontextualization, which examines how discourses are expressed within specific texts and genres, thereby shaping the construction and interpretation of social realities. He characterizes genres as various forms of social interaction that influence the production and understanding of discourse, emphasizing the need to analyze how different discourses interact within these genres, as such interactions significantly affect social practices and power relations.

Fairclough identifies important discourses like the 'information society' and the 'knowledge-based economy' as key ideas that bring together and represent many other discussions. These central ideas influence policy-making and drive social change. His approach crosses different fields, including sociology, political science, and cultural studies, which strengthens the analysis of modern social changes. Ultimately, Fairclough's CDA understanding aims to uncover the complex relations between language and social power. It shows how discourse not only mirrors social practices and structures but also plays an active role in shaping them. This approach provides valuable insights into how language can either uphold or challenge the existing power dynamics in society.

Wodak (2010) CDA model involves a detailed, multi-level analysis that considers factors like the socio-political context, historical background, and the specific communication setting. This enables a deeper understanding of how power and ideology are embedded in language, especially in political discourse, media coverage, and public narratives. Wodak stresses the importance of recognizing the researcher's position and biases, advocating for reflexivity in the research process. She believes CDA should be interdisciplinary and problem-focused, drawing on fields like linguistics, sociology, and cultural studies. By examining the connection between language and power, her work aims to reveal how ideologies are spread and challenged, with the ultimate goal of fostering social change and raising awareness of discourse's role in societal issues.

In addition, Van Dijk (1993) developed an approach which emphasizes the relationship between discourse, power, and social inequality. This approach is particularly applicable to media bias analysis as it allows researchers to examine language choices, framing techniques, and implicit messages in media texts, while considering the broader social and political context that shapes public perception and reinforces societal inequalities.

Van Dijk's Model

Van Dijk (2001) stated that CDA is a form of discourse analysis that mainly explores how social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are manifested, maintained, and challenged through language and communication within social and political settings. In regards to this, he developed a model by looking at both the small details of language like lexical choice and sentence structure and the larger themes and organization of text. van Dijk's model seeks to reveal the power relations and ideologies that shape how society thinks and acts (Ahmadi et al., 2023).

The core of Van Dijk's discourse analysis model is the integration of three main dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context, within a unified framework (van Dijk, 2015). The text dimension observes how the structure and strategies of language are used to communicate a particular message. The social cognition dimension examines the mental processes behind text production, focusing on how the producer's thoughts shape the discourse. Lastly, the social context dimension explores how society's views and interpretations influence the discourse surrounding an issue. Visualization of these dimensions are as follows:
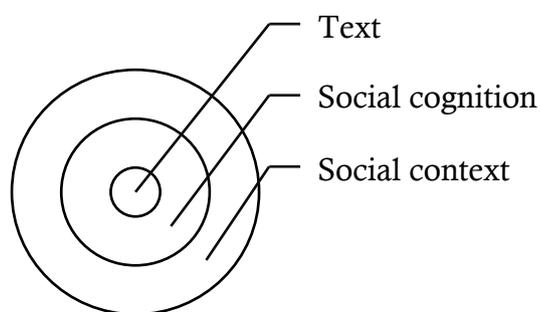

Figure 3. Scheme of Van Dijk's Three-Dimensional Model

Text

Van Dijk argued that a text is made up of several layers or structures, each related to one another. He divides these structures into three levels:

● Macrostructure refers to the overall meaning or main idea of the text. This is the broad theme or topic, which can be understood by looking at the general subject of the text, often linked to a specific event or issue.

● Superstructure: deals with how the text is organized. It focuses on the structure of the discourse—how the different sections of the text are arranged, such as the introduction, body, and conclusion, to form a coherent whole.

● Microstructure: looks at the finer details within the text. It involves analyzing the specific use of words, phrases, sentences, and stylistic choices, such as how certain ideas are phrased or emphasized.

These structures work together to form the complete meaning of a text, with the macrostructure providing the overall theme, the superstructure organizing the flow, and the microstructure focusing on the detailed linguistic elements. It can be visualized as follows:

Table 1. Discourse Structure

Discourse structure	Observed matters	Element
Macro structure	Thematic: The theme or topic introduced in a text, the central idea or subject matter that the text focuses on.	Topic
Superstructure	Schematic: The way different parts of a text are organized and structured.	Scheme
Micro structure	Semantics: The meaning that is emphasized in a text by highlighting details from one perspective or explicitly presenting one side, while downplaying or minimizing other viewpoints.	Background, details
	Syntax: The way a sentence is structured and arranged is deliberately chosen to convey a specific meaning or emphasis.	Sentence form, coherence, preposition
	Stylistics: The selection of word to shape a story or emphasis.	Lexicon
	Rhetorics: The methods and techniques used to create emphasis	Graphics, metaphor, expression

The shaping of dominance and exploitation within social relationships can be ideologically influenced by representation in media texts. Often, ideological representation is implicit in the text and embedded in language that is normalized and understood by media professionals, the public, and other relevant parties. The way reality is portrayed by the media can be shaped by the ideology they follow, which contributes to specific interests.

Social Cognition

In Van Dijk's model, it is important to study the journalist's thought process, which affects how the news article is written. Social cognition, as explained by van Dijk, refers to the way people's beliefs, ideologies, knowledge, and values influence how they understand and create content. These mental patterns are shaped by the social environment, reflecting the norms and ideas of the group or society the journalist is part of. The selection and presentation of information are guided by these thought processes, which subtly embed certain viewpoints into the text. Therefore, understanding the journalist's social cognition is crucial to analyzing how news stories are influenced by broader social and political factors.

It was noted by Van Dijk that an individual understands reality in society through memory, experiences, and interpretations, all of which are connected to psychological processes. Memory is regarded as a vital component of social cognition, as it allows for the recall of information and the acquisition of knowledge, aiding in the understanding of societal realities. Two main types of memory are recognized. The first, short-term memory, is used to remember recent events or information from a brief period. The second, long-term memory, is utilized to recall events that occurred over a longer time frame.

Social Context

In Van Dijk's model, "social context" is understood as a key factor that shapes how discourse is produced, structured, and interpreted. It is defined by a complex social environment that includes power relations, group identities, social roles, cultural norms, and ideologies. Both speakers (or writers) and audiences are influenced by these elements during communication.

Not only is the immediate setting—such as a particular media outlet or political event—considered, but broader societal structures like class, gender, race, and institutional power are also taken into account. Discourse is viewed as deeply rooted in social practices, meaning that it is not created in isolation. For instance, the framing of a news story is shaped by media industry norms, the outlet's political leanings, and societal values.

Social context also determines which individuals or groups have access to discourse, and whose voices are represented. Issues of power and dominance are involved, as certain groups may control how information is shared, influencing public perceptions and reinforcing power dynamics. In van Dijk's perspective, the analysis of discourse is not limited to the text itself, but requires consideration of the broader social forces that shape

its meaning and content. Van Dijk outlines two key aspects in the analysis of society: power and access.

Power is defined by Van Dijk as the ability of an individual or group to control others. Social power is regarded as the central focus of discourse analysis. It is often based on the possession of valuable resources, such as money, status, and knowledge. Control is viewed as synonymous with power; it is exercised to persuade and dominate, influencing the attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge of those being controlled.

Access is examined by considering the roles of different groups within society, with a specific focus on how this affects discourse analysis. For instance, greater access is often held by elite groups or entities, allowing them to influence and manage lower groups. This control extends to the media and enables public awareness to be shaped by elites effectively.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is qualitative research. Qualitative research adopts an interpretive and naturalistic approach where researchers observe phenomena in their authentic environments, aiming to understand and interpret them based on the significance individuals attach to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This research employed content analysis method. Content analysis is a research method used to analyze and interpret forms of communication to identify patterns and meanings (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

The research data encompass observed matters of Van Dijk CDA model found in two online news articles centered on Kamala Harris versus Donald Trump debate. The researcher limited the data to one news texts each from Huffpost, Reuters, and The Daily Wire, all accessible online. The data collection process is organized into four steps:

1. Visiting Huffpost, Reuters, and The Daily Wire website, www.huffpost.com, www.reuters.com, and www.dailywire.com.
2. Looking for news on the topic the US presidential debate published on the day.
3. Copying the news text, including the accompanying images and the headlines of the news articles to the concluding sections.
4. Saving the text as a .docx file. The researcher utilized Van Dijk's CDA model to examine data. They outlined and compared the approaches employed by the media outlets in reporting the US presidential debate

The examination involved observing the articles using Van Dijk discourse structures model: macro structure, super structure, and micro structure. The primary focus of the

analysis was to understand how the three media outlets emphasized meaning to construct representations regarding the event of Kamala Harris and Donald trump debate ahead of the United States presidential election.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The texts are analyzed and categorized into discourse structure tables as follows:

Table 2. Analysis of HuffPost US presidential debate reporting

Discourse structure	Observed matters	Element	Information
Macro structure	Thematic	Topic	US Presidential debate, Donald Trump losing composure during debate, Donald Trump court trial
Superstructure	Schematic	Scheme	Debate Disaster: Trump's Seething, Unhinged, Incoherent Onstage Meltdown
Micro structure	Semantics	Background, details	Donald Trump became the central attention of the news text. Most of the text reports his misinformed statements, throwing verbal insults towards Kamala Harris, and his ongoing court trial
	Syntax	Sentence form, coherence, preposition	The use of active voice sentence form whenever Trump's statements are reported. This structure strengthens the debate-like tone, tying together accusations, responses, and clarifications in a way that resembles a political argument.
	Stylistics	Lexicon	The world 'lie' is used to describe Trump, along with the repeated mention of 'felony'.
	Rhetorics	Graphics, metaphor, expression	The text reports Trump almost always in a negative expression. Graphics are unavailable.

Table 2 analysis presented employs van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model to deconstruct how news discourse about Donald Trump in Huffpost is constructed, focusing on his performance in a US Presidential debate and his legal issues. The discourse is examined through three levels: Macro Structure, Superstructure, and Micro Structure, each of which plays a critical role in framing Trump within the news narrative.

In terms of the macro structure, the analysis found primary themes emphasized in the coverage. The main topics include Trump's loss of composure during the debate and the link to his ongoing legal troubles. This thematic focus reports the portrayal of Trump not only as struggling in a public debate but also grappling with significant legal challenges which creates a narrative of instability.

Moving to the superstructure, which pertains to the organizational and narrative framing of the text, the headline, "Debate Disaster: Trump's Seething, Unhinged, Incoherent Onstage Meltdown," suggests a biased framing of Trump's behavior. The

language choices, such as "disaster" and "unhinged," convey a judgmental tone, guiding the reader towards viewing Trump's performance as a failure both politically and personally.

At the microstructural level, the analysis expounds on details, syntactic choices, stylistic elements, and rhetorical devices. Semantically, the discourse reinforces the theme of volatility by emphasizing Trump's alleged misinformation and his confrontations with Kamala Harris. The preference for active voice stresses the clarity and directness of the text, which aligns with the intensity of political discourse. Stylistically, terms like "lie" and "felony" are repeatedly used which creates a negative portrayal of Trump's actions and character. Rhetorically, the consistent use of expressions that suggest a negative tone which further supports the critical framing of Trump.

It may also be worth mentioning that Huffpost is owned by Buzzfeed. The CEO of Buzzfeed, Jonah Peretti, has made several oppositions against Donald Trump (Vara, 2016). This may affect the overall reporting of Huffpost, particularly how in the aforementioned news text where Trump is reported negatively. Thus, this analysis found the influence of discourse in shaping media portrayal through power relation combined with careful and strategic choices in framing.

Table 3. Analysis of Reuters US Presidential Debate Reporting

Discourse structure	Observed matters	Element	Information
Macro structure	Thematic	Topic	US Presidential debate, Trump put on defensive mode, Harris odd of winning polls rose.
Superstructure	Schematic	Scheme	Harris puts Trump on defensive in combative debate
Micro structure	Semantics	Background, details	Donald Trump put into defensive mode by Kamala Harris became central in reporting. Online poll PredictIt's 2024 presidential general election market showed Harris' odds improved to 55% from 53%, A group of undecided voters informed Reuters that they were still not persuaded she was the superior candidate.
	Syntax	Sentence form, coherence, preposition	All subjects are always reported in active voice sentence form. This structure strengthens the debate-like tone, tying together accusations, responses, and clarifications in a way that resembles a political argument.
	Stylistics	Lexicon	The use of words like 'attacked', 'criticized', 'claimed' and 'accused' to describe a candidate's action during the debate.
	Rhetorics	Graphics, metaphor, expression	A video clip of the debate plays highlighting both candidates. The referral of polls to back up statements of a candidate's electability percentage. Trump is depicted as aggressive.

Table 3 depicts Reuters' coverage of the Kamala Harris and Donald Trump debate on macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure. At the macro level, the thematic focus of the coverage highlights Trump being placed in a defensive position, while Harris is portrayed as gaining ground. Poll results show a rise in Harris's odds, emphasizing a shift in the election dynamic. This sets the tone for the media narrative by framing the debate as a critical point in the campaign.

In the superstructure, the central scheme of the news stories revolves around Harris forcing Trump into a defensive stance. The reporting structure emphasizes a combative debate atmosphere, positioning Harris's strategy as one that effectively cornered Trump. This central narrative establishes the tone and flow of the news coverage, drawing attention to Harris's role in shifting the dynamics.

At the micro level, several detailed elements shape the discourse. The semantic choices provide background information on the polling data and voters' reactions, showing an increase in Harris's electability alongside some remaining skepticism. Syntactically, the use of active voice throughout the coverage amplifies the confrontational nature of the debate as it portrays the exchanges as direct challenges. Lexical choices, such as words like "attacked," "criticized," and "claimed," further intensify the portrayal of the debate as tense.

The rhetorical elements employed include video clips and references to polls that emphasize each candidate's stance. These visuals and statistics support the narrative of Harris improving her odds, while Trump is depicted as the aggressor.

Table 4. Analysis of The Daily Wire US Presidential Debate Reporting

Discourse structure	Observed matters	Element	Information
Macro structure	Thematic	Topic	US Presidential debate, Kamala Harris support for abortion, Donald Trump accusation towards
Superstructure	Schematic	Scheme	Trump Corners Kamala on Late-Term Abortion. She Refuses to Say If She Supports Aborting Babies at Nine Months
Micro structure	Semantics	Background, details	Do stance on abortion became the central reporting
	Syntax	Sentence form, coherence, proposition	Sentences use active voice form when it pertains candidate. This structure heightens the argumentative tone, linking accusations, rebuttals, and further clarifications in a way that mirrors a political debate.
	Stylistics	Lexicon	Words pertaining pregnancy like abortion, months, birth, and infant

	Rhetorics	Graphics, metaphor, expression	An image of the candidates is included. The text used quotation and attribution: Harris's argument is quoted but not fully detailed, while Trump's rebuttal is given full direct quotation.

Table 4 depicts The Daily Wire's report on the US presidential debate featuring Kamala Harris and Donald Trump. Beginning with the macro structure, the analysis identifies the central theme as Harris's endorsement of abortion rights contrasted with Trump's opposing stance. This thematic choice establishes the overall focus of the news report, guiding how the rest of the discourse is interpreted.

Within the superstructure, the narrative is framed through the headline, which presents Trump as occupying an assertive stance with the phrase, "Trump Corners Kamala on Late-Term Abortion. She Refuses to Say If She Supports Aborting Babies at Nine Months." This framing puts Trump as the dominant figure challenging Harris, who is depicted as evading or sidestepping a direct response.

At the microstructure level, several linguistic elements are examined to reveal how the report's language influences its portrayal. In terms of semantics, the analysis highlights abortion as the focal issue. The syntax employs active voice sentences, thus enhancing the confrontational tone and reinforcing the sense of direct engagement between the candidates. Additionally, the report's stylistics uses specific terminology related to pregnancy—such as "abortion," "months," "birth," and "infant"—to evoke certain associations and emotional responses in the audience.

Finally, the table examines rhetorics by noting the inclusion of a visual element in the form of candidate images. The text strategically utilizes quotations, presenting Harris's argument in a less detailed manner, while providing Trump's rebuttal as a complete direct quote. This rhetorical choice creates an imbalance, potentially positioning Trump's statements as more definitive or authoritative.

It should be noted that The Daily Wire is a conservative media company. Political commentator Ben Shapiro and film director Jeremy Boreing founded the American company in 2015. Ben Shapiro is a supporter of Donald Trump (Smith, 2024). As the co-founder and editor-in-chief of The Daily Wire, the news text may reflect his support, evidenced by the dominant portrayal of Donald Trump. Overall, the analysis reveals how the interplay of narrative structure, language use, and visual components collectively shapes the audience's perception of the candidates.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the research concluded that Huffpost reporting tends to portray Donald Trump with negative sentiment such as "misinformed" and "lies". Similarly, Reuters reporting portrayed Donald Trump with negative sentiment while mentioning the voters' uncertainty on Kamala Harris. On the other hand, The Daily Wire portrayed Kamala Harris with a negative sentiment by questioning Harris' stance on abortion. The difference in reporting can be linked to the goals each news outlet has in publishing their articles.

The Huffpost article may appear as an effort to portray Donald Trump as an unfit candidate described as irrational, lying, and angry. Alternatively, the reporting may also be seen an effort to enforce ideology via power as evidenced by the left-leaning political stance of Huffpost's parent company, Buzzfeed. Similarly, Reuter's reporting may reflect the bias against Donald Trump and predicting that Kamala Harris would have higher odds of winning of the election. The Daily Wire article may be published to frame Kamala Harris as an indecisive and evasive leader. It questions Harris' ethics on abortion, while portraying Trump's questioning as dominating the debate. Conversely, it may also enforce The Daily Wire's support for the Republican candidate.

These discursive patterns point to the media's influence in shaping how the public perceives political leaders through language and framing. Van Dijk's model suggests that news outlets use discourse to maintain their ideological influence, align their political views, and shape how audiences interpret events and individuals. The differences in reporting are not just due to varying facts but also reflect the outlets' attempts to create stories that match their ideological goals and their readers' expectations. Future studies may carry out research with wider range of data regarding presidential debate events in media discourses.

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