
COMPARATIVE FRAMING OF THE DUGGAR FAMILY'S WOMEN IN
ENTERTAINMENT NEWS

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COMPARATIVE FRAMING OF THE DUGGAR FAMILY'S WOMEN IN ENTERTAINMENT NEWS

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Abstract

This research seeks to compare the framing used to portray the women in the Duggar Family in entertainment news media with the realities of the evangelical community. A summative content analysis was used to conduct this comparative study looking at the frames used across three different sources, and the framing differences between more traditional entertainment news sources versus more modern entertainment news sources. This is especially important as the U.S. Millennial generation, which according to the Pew Research Center is increasingly transitioning away from religious institutions, experiences the divisive impact of cultural widening between the religious and non-religious (Drake, 2014). By doing this research, one could potentially draw conclusions that the frames entertainment news media use for evangelical women influence societal stereotypes. Having analyzed 60 articles from *People*, *Us Weekly*, and *E! News*, all the frames identified by Mark Silk in *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America* were found in addition to other frames outside of this scope. Additionally, the digital-first platforms heavily relied on their headlines to attract attention to their articles on the Duggars, even when they did not reflect the body of the article at large.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The purpose of this mixed methods study is to analyze the framing of Christian women by entertainment news. This research serves to compare the frames used to represent the Duggar women to the frames generally within religion coverage (Silk, 1995). Under the lens of framing theory, a summative content analysis was used to study the Duggar family, one of reality television's most prominent families covered by entertainment media. A focus was placed on the projection and subliminal commentary that the news media inherently places on the women in the Duggar family. This was especially important to determine if the frames used illuminate a persona that depicts the reality of the evangelical population, or something far from reality. A focus was placed on Millennials and their beliefs for two reasons: first, three of the Duggars most covered women (Jessa, Jill, and Anna) all fall in the Millennial generation. As a result, those who are Millennials could possibly look to these women as examples in the religious community. Secondly, as the consumption of news continues to shift toward digital platforms and social media for Millennials, it is important to consider how this appeal toward this specific generation could ultimately impact perceptions of the Duggar women in entertainment news (Morrison, 2016).

BACKGROUND

Despite the great diversity that appears in the United States, religion has become a taboo topic. Don't discuss religion or politics in polite company, the cliché goes –lest you risk instigating conflicts and discomfort. Rather, social media and entertainment often become the venues to express feelings of hate and dissatisfaction (Goodyear, 2014). Evangelical Christians who, by their very definition must share their beliefs, appear to be facing new waves of hostility toward their beliefs. U.S. intolerance of Christianity has dramatically increased in the nation since 2013, according to the religious research organization LifeWay (Richardson, 2016). The number of respondents who strongly agreed that Christians were being persecuted increased to 38% of respondents from 28% in 2013 (2016). From here, one must question if this hostility comes from one-on-one interactions, news media, entertainment media, or from something else.

Public opinion polls show that Millennials generally embrace diversity, and have an increased desire to bridge the gaps that divide society compared to older generations. According to Mintel, roughly two-thirds of Millennials favor an increase in diversity within the nation, which includes social change, racial diversity, and family dynamics; they are also supporters of the feminist movement (Macke, 2016). Half of all adults between 18 and 29 support the feminist movement, with female support 60% and compared to only 35% of men, according to the Harvard Public Opinion Project's Spring 2016 poll (Panetta, 2016). However, in identifying social movements that are gaining or losing momentum amongst this demographic, "strong religious beliefs"—such as those held by the Duggars—are losing momentum and had

the least amount of support among other social movements. While older Millennials (people 30 to 39 years) were more religious than the younger Millennials (ages 22 to 29), the study reported that religion was viewed as having the least positive impact on society (Macke, 2016). The Pew Research Center conducted several surveys supporting the conclusion that people in the U.S., especially Millennials, are moving away from religion entirely.

RELIGIOSITY OF MILLENNIALS

In a March 2014 study, the Pew Research Center published six new findings about the Millennial generation (Drake, 2014). The first shift that was identified was the lack of attachment to both political and religious institutions (2014). At the time of this report, 29% of the Millennial respondents were unaffiliated with a religion, which was the lowest in “the last quarter-century” (2014). This is 20 percentage points higher than the number of those ages 69 to 86, who self-identified as religiously unidentified (2014). The Center found that Millennials were growing weary of both the news media and religious organizations, with trust in each news media dropping 13% and trust in religious organizations experiencing an 18% decline from 2010-2015 (Fingerhut, 2016). Many Millennials are no longer as convinced that religious institutions have a positive impact on our country (2016). Unsurprisingly, Millennials are also less likely to attend church on a regular basis, if at all. While attendance of church services cannot be evaluated the sole indicator of a religious mindset, the lack of trust in religious institutions and trend toward an increasing number identifying as religious “nones” documents the beginnings of a generational shift (Fore, 1987, p.23).

What is causing this change? Although a clear causal link cannot be established, understanding how popular entertainment media frame prominent religious individuals may help us understand the news ecosystem commonly consumed by this demographic.

MILLENNIALS AND TELEVISION

According to Mintel, the internet is a natural fit for Millennials, with the majority using this medium to “binge watch TV shows” (Macke, 2016). With online streaming of entertainment content continually expanding, sources such as Netflix, Hulu, and HBO Go, the vehicles for Millennials to consume entertainment content have grown. Millennials’ perception of the world has the potential to be heavily influenced by the television characters, both real and fictional, to which they are exposed on a frequent basis. 70% of Millennials say television “influences the way they perceive and value a brand, and placing it as the top influential medium for advertisements” (MarketingCharts staff, 2014). According to Adweek the stage of the Millennial’s life in which they are living on their own without children, is when they are most likely to be using multimedia devices with access to Netflix or Hulu, (Lynch, 2016).

Television shows often contain a formulaic approach to the dynamics of their characters to expand audience appeal and to maintain interest in storylines. People of faith are one group that is often misrepresented in the entertainment and news media, partially due to the stereotypes perpetuated in society (Mineo, 2016). As I reflect upon current and past television shows appeal to the Millennial generation, I have realized that Christians are almost always portrayed as extremely conservative, closed-minded and, at times, naïve. Yet, when also considering this trend, I also have seen this primarily be used to depict women Christian

characters in television and, to be even more specific, evangelical women. In fact, if men are presented as Christians in television shows, they are typically placed in positions of leadership within the houses of worship.

CHRISTIANS AND FAKE NEWS

The Huffington Post contributor Frank Schaeffer says that fake news has its origins in Christian fundamentalism¹ (Schaeffer, 2017). Schaeffer also says that the public's susceptibility to fake news originates from liberal elitists' rejection of Christianity (2017). In order to support his assertions, Schaeffer points to Christopher Douglas's articles published in the online religion-focused magazine *Religious Dispatches* (2017). Douglas points to the Moral Majority party from the late 1970s and its goal of reframing the Republican party so that Christian theology influenced the stances of the GOP on subjects such as abortion, sexuality, and gender roles (2017). Secular onlookers found strength in science and objectivity, rejecting the Christian moral foundation; meanwhile, Christians fought back through "bodies of counter expertise" to combat the secular world's "institutions of knowledge (2017). This spread beyond word-of-mouth to media such as newspapers and magazines as well as radio and television shows (2017). With this in mind, it could be argued that this is not necessarily fake news as much as it is a frame to represent a portion of Christians rather than the individuals of this faith in their entirety.

¹ Journalists generally consider the word fundamentalist as derogatory. It is sometimes inaccurately used to equate to evangelicalism, when used in Christianity.

WHY SHOULD WE STUDY THE DUGGARS?

HISTORY OF THEIR TELEVISION SHOW

The Duggar Family became famous due to their show on The Learning Channel (TLC) entitled *19 Kids and Counting*, which first aired in September 2008 as *17 Kids and Counting* (IMDB, n.d.). With 241 episodes produced between 2008 and its end in 2015, it is obvious that the show maintained a great deal of popularity (n.d.). The reason for the cessation of *19 Kids and Counting* was due the breaking news regarding Josh Duggar's molestation scandal as a teenager, which ultimately revealed that he had sexually abused two of his sisters—Jessa and Jill (People, 2015). This negatively impacted views of the television show, which holds a rating of 3.4 out of 10 on IMDB as of November 2017 (IMDB, n.d.).

Since then, TLC turned its focus on two of the Duggar daughters in *Jill and Jessa Counting On*, which began airing in 2015 and is currently on its sixth season (IMDB, n.d.). IMDB's description of this show reads as follows:

"Jill and Jessa and the other older kids make their way through life's ups and downs. Jill is doing mission work abroad and both she and Jessa are starting their own families. There are new courtships and babies to look forward to" (n.d.).

In order to assist with the understanding the analysis, I included the names and birth dates of the Duggar family as described on their website, duggarfamily.com (n.d.):

- Michelle Duggar: September 13, 1966 (51 years old)
- Jim Bob Duggar: July 18, 1965 (52 years old)

Daughters:

- Jana Duggar: January 12, 1990 (27 years old)
- Jill Duggar: May 17, 1991 (26 years old)
- Jessa Duggar: November 4, 1992 (25 years old)
- Jinger Duggar: December 21, 1993 (24 years old)
- Joy-Anna Duggar: October 28, 1997 (20 years old)
- Johannah Faith Duggar: October 11, 2005 (12 years old)
- Jennifer Duggar: August 2, 2007 (10 years old)
- Jordyn-Grace Makiya Duggar: December 18, 2008 (9 years old)
- Josie Brooklyn Duggar: December 10, 2009 (8 years old)

Sons:

- Joshua (Josh) Duggar: March 3, 1988 (29 years old)
- John-David Duggar: January 12, 1990 (27 years old)
- Joseph Duggar: January 20, 1995 (22 years old)
- Josiah Duggar: August 28, 1996 (21 years old)
- Jedidiah Duggar: December 30, 1998 (19 years old)
- Jeremiah Duggar: December 30, 1998 (19 years old)
- Jason Duggar: April 21, 2000 (17 years old)
- James Andrew Duggar: July 7, 2001 (16 years old)
- Justin Duggar: November 15, 2002 (15 years old)
- Jackson Duggar: May 23, 2004 (13 years old)

DUGGAR FAMILY AND RELIGION

Perhaps the most defining characteristic of the Duggars is that they are known as devout evangelical Christians. Their personal website indicates, when asked about a typical day in their household, “Our #1 goal is to lead our children to seek a close relationship with God & give Him every area of their lives,” which is very much in-line with the evangelical belief system (The Duggar Family, 2016) . The Duggar parents, Jim Bob and Michelle Duggar, outwardly say their relationship was founded in their Christian commitments, and “...that they wouldn’t date anyone who wasn’t a Christian and second, that they wouldn’t date anyone who didn’t love Jesus as much as they did” (2016). The Duggars’ goal in their shows, media appearances, and book writing, according to their website, is to “...make Christ known and for others to see that the Bible is the owner’s manual for life.” Some would attribute their lifestyle to the fact that they live in a specific area of Arkansas where their conservative, faithful lifestyle is not all that uncommon (Goldberg Goff, 2009).

SOCIAL MEDIA AND SOCIAL CONTROVERSY

While the Duggars may be considered evangelical Christians, that does not mean their life has been void of buzz and scandal. The Duggar family is active on their own social media accounts, making comments on government rulings of same-sex marriage to documenting family photos and shopping trips; however, in moments of personal family crises, they remain relatively quiet (Ohlheiser, 2015). This behavior even attracted the attention of the media, such as *The Washington Post* (2015). While the Duggars are trying to shape the public opinion of themselves through the internet, the media are covering it and likely shaping society’s views about the Duggars’ Christian lifestyle.

From sexual abuse allegations to protests by gay couples to resignations from a lobbying firm, the Duggars have had several controversial moments in the spotlight (Petersen, 2015). Celebrity tabloid magazine *In Touch* was the outlet that first revealed Josh Duggar's "...resignation from a conservative lobbying firm and a formal denouncement from presidential candidate Rick Santorum" (2015). This caused some to question the resurgence of tabloid journalism, or entertainment journalism, in the wake of what some thought was nearly the end of this form of news media (2015). Despite the controversies and religious trends among Millennials, popular entertainment magazines continue to steadily feature the Duggars on their covers and in articles in recent years.

This study explores the framing of women in the Duggar family in the entertainment media. Their faith is a crucial subject interwoven into each episode and the program features the only evangelical Christian family starring in a long-running, widely distributed reality television show.² This research serves to illuminate the framing of evangelical women in entertainment news media at a time of a major transition within the national religious landscape. The knowledge gained from this analysis extends existing knowledge of how the media and commercial television entertainment are framing religious characters, a subject area that has not been thoroughly explored in previous studies.

² Other reality-style U.S. television shows that prominently feature people of faith are ones about polygamous Mormons and ones on the Amish

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

NEWS MEDIA

NEWS MEDIA FRAMING OF RELIGION

While there is an overall decline in Millennials' consumption of the news through traditional methods, with them preferring online websites and social media (Matsa, 2016), popular culture has proven to be an increasingly influential factor as Millennials develop an understanding of themselves and the world (Thompson, 2007). In fact, many would consider television to be a mirroring of the state of popular culture at that time (2007). In *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America*, Silk writes the following:

“...if religion poses a special challenge to the norms of news coverage and commentary, it is not only because of the sensibilities of the American mass audience and the moral insulation afforded by the constitutional separation of church and state. When the news media set out to communicate religious subject matter, they run up against institutions jealously guarding what they take to be their own prerogative” (1995, p.4).

Journalists, while most often seeing themselves as the revealers of the truth of a corrupt society, often are more hesitant with the subject of religion in order to protect themselves from the audience assumption that the media has an inherent secular bias (1995). Although many news outlets shy away from the complex subject of religion, as religion is treated as “news,” some early journalists such as James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* in the 1800s chose to intertwine their own beliefs and in opinions in their work. (p.17). As a result, many news consumers grew to expect the human-interest element of religious stories that was signature to Bennett’s reporting (p.18). Since the emergence of television, the portrayal of certain religious functions has been appropriated according to mass media and news media

views (p.10). Now, as traditional journalists seek to avoid all bias in reporting, entertainment news journalists may not be as concerned with this value and may take on more of the approach of Bennett (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).

MEDIA'S ROLE IN SOCIETAL SECULARIZATION

Yet with the shift of news media from a revenue model driven by advertisements, religion reporting has become bland and promotional out of an attempt to create a sacred space that avoids challenging one's faith or religious identity (p.25). These financial concerns have caused religion to become more commonly avoided in news reporting, leading many to interpret this action as media hostility toward religion (p.28-34). Yet, "...early studies of media secularization..[make] the assumption...that trends in religious news space [express] trends in society at large" (p.36). While this has since been challenged, and this initial research by Bennett is over two decades old, the accusation leads one to consider the degree to which this could be an accurate statement in today's world.

As this theory of secularization has become more prevalent, the religious community began to attribute this transition of secularization toward the news media professionals rather than the public, despite the increase in religion news coverage at the end of the twentieth century (p.38-40). Student journalists studying these trends have found the stereotypes of religious characters used in news stories have remained relatively stagnant over the years, yet going unnoticed or perceived as media bias (p.49-52). "All in all, the frames used by the news media are like reflections on a pond, sometimes clear and distinct, sometimes distorted" (p.53). The frames or "frames" Silk sees most prominently of religion news stories include the stories

of good works, tolerance, hypocrisy, false prophecy, inclusion, supernatural belief, and declension (1995).

“Ignorant of religion, even hostile to it, some news professionals may be; but the images of religion that they put on display reflect something other than their personal ignorance or hostility. When the news media set out to represent religion, they do not approach it from the standpoint of the secular confronting the sacred. They are operating with ideas of what religion is and is not, of what it ought and out not be—with frames—that derive, to varying degrees from religious sources” (p.55).

PREVIOUS STUDIES EMPLOYING SILK’S FRAMES

Because Silk is a highly-regarded scholar in the intersections of religion and the media, there have been several other studies that have used Silk’s frames. While the research mentioned below does not encompass all examples of studies in which Silk’s frames were employed, it does provide a sense of the wide acceptance as Silk’s frames as reliable. Laura Johnston’s dissertation entitled, “Lasting legacies: a framing analysis of religion news online and in legacy media,” analyzed 514 stories across ten websites to examine how religion news stories were framed online in comparison to how Catholic blogs and “religion news niche websites” framed their stories (2011).

Rick Moore has also used Silk’s frames for his research. In his article, “Religion and Frames in the News: An Analysis of the ‘Unsecular Media’ Hypothesis,” Moore conducts “topic analysis” to the coverage of Reverend Jesse Jackson’s marital infidelity in the early 2000s to determine if the Silk’s frame of “hypocrisy” was used by journalists (2003). Moore also leveraged Silk’s frames in his 2008 article, “Secular Spirituality/Mundane Media: One Newspaper’s In-depth Coverage of Buddhism.” In this case study, Moore analyzes the coverage

of the Dalai Lama's visit to the United States and determines the extent to which Silk's frames come into play when covering an "Eastern" religion (2008). He does this as Silk contends that the frames included in his theory of "unsecular media" are developed from coverage of "Western" faiths (2008). Because of his study's findings, Moore poses the question, "Are the frames that Silk has delineated the direct product of Western religion, or are they more accurately the reflection of general moral principles that are accepted by journalists and a large part of their audience?" (2008).

Silk's frames are once again referenced in the introduction of "Faith and Values: Journalism and the Critique of Religion Coverage of the 1990s" by Fred Vultee, Stephanie Craft, and Matthew Velker (2010). In this article, they identify a correlation in Silk's theory of the frames of hypocrisy and false prophecy with other researchers referenced, but admit that they are not clear as to when Silk's frames operate (partially due to the findings of Moore's research on Reverend Jesse Jackson referenced above) (2010).

Whether referenced as part of the literature review or employed as a part of the framing research, Mark Silk's frames have held true for research on religion and news media since he released *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America* in 1995. While this does not encompass all the research employing Silk's frames, those referenced do lend credence to the variety of researchers who have relied on his findings. However, even with his frames being used previously, it is my opinion that Silk's frames can be extended beyond the confines of traditional news media, which is why they were engaged for this study.

EVANGELICALS AND NEWS MEDIA

In a survey conducted by the Barna Research Group in 2002, rating public positivity toward various religious groups, non-Christian Americans rated evangelical Christians tenth out of twelve groups evaluated, with only 22% holding positive sentiments toward evangelicals (Haskell, 2007). Researcher George Barna said he believed this could be attributed to bias presented in media coverage of evangelicals as most of the respondents with negative impressions “do not know what or who an evangelical is” (Barna Research Group, para. 10, 2002; Haskell, 2007). He theorized that people thought they were receiving objective information regarding evangelicals when they were actually receiving the media’s point of view (Barna Research Group, para. 10, 2002, Haskell 2007).

In researching content of Canadian news reports regarding evangelicals, Haskell found that most of news reports pertaining to both American and Canadian evangelicals dealt with politics and evangelicals’ impact on public policy (2007). Yet 15% of stories about Canadian evangelicals and 17.9% about U.S. evangelicals were focused on situations of criminal or immoral acts (2007). One-quarter of Canadian stories on U.S. evangelicals dealt with “social activism, demonstrations, and protests...”—most of which were about same-sex marriage and abortion (2007). While overall, the coders used to gather the research generally felt neutral toward Canadian evangelicals after coding news content, the study found that non-evangelical coders were said to feel “ ‘cool’ or ‘guarded’ ” toward evangelicals, especially those in the United States (2007). Haskell concludes that a correlation exists between negative news content perception and specific world views (2007).

TELEVISION

TELEVISION'S IMPACT ON WORLD MEANING

In *Television and Religion*, Fore argues that television has the ability to affect society's "worldview of meaning" and to define culture in terms of "who you remember, what you remember, and when you remember" (Fore, 1987, p.24). In fact, he believes that even as far back as the late 1980s, television was assimilating its own version of a religion for many in society (p.25). "As we shall see, the values, assumptions and worldview of television's 'religion' are in almost every way diametrically opposed to the values, assumptions, and worldview of Christianity and the historic Judeo-Christian tradition..." (p.25). He concluded that while society will always ponder the meaning of life, the places in which they seek answers may be significantly affected by the television that they watch (p.25). For evangelical Christians, this would mean having to distance themselves from television shows, in order to evaluate their own faiths as informed by their personal lives rather than on television screens (p.68). Fore points of the contrast:

"In contrast to television's worldview that we are basically good, that happiness is the chief end of life and that happiness consists of obtaining material goods, the Christian worldview holds that human beings are susceptible to the sin of pride and will-to-power, that the chief end of life is to glorify God and enjoy him forever, and that happiness consists in creating the kingdom of God within one's self and among one's neighbors" (p.70).

TELEVISION EXEMPLIFIES SOCIAL CONCERNS

Diane Winston in *Small Screen, Big Picture* argues that television is not necessarily a threat to religion, but rather that this form of entertainment's consistent exploration of "social concerns, cultural conundrums, and metaphysical questions" are actually directly related to "religious speculation" (Winston, 2009, p.2). A television program's characters' use of both "personal or group rituals" and presentation of major topics allow its audiences to formulate more concrete opinions regarding the meaning of life (p.3). Television, Winston argues, allows people to experience a snapshot of life as characters face "spiritual commitments and moral dilemmas," thus shaping how the audience deals with similar issues regardless of whether they have grown up in secular or religious households (p.5). Digitization and the internet on television's ability to reach a massive audience has had a massive influence on society by challenging the status quo and social control, leading to community engagement and discussion almost reflective of a spiritual experience (p.8-9). In this sense, television and its viewers have a relationship that allows for a two-sided conversation and ability to reflect on our own religious, spiritual, and sacred points of view (p.8-9). Television's use of fantasy allows the audience to consider many possibilities, which some would then associate with a divine message (p.14). In other words, television can strongly influence people's beliefs.

EVANGELICALS, CULTURE AND HOLLYWOOD

"Evangelicals" has been a trigger word in the news media to describe modern-day, born-again Christians, although the term is deeply ingrained in the history and orthodoxy of Christianity (Nash, p.23, 1987). However, it is possible that many do not even understand

exactly what this term means. The National Association of Evangelicals identified conversionism, activism, Biblicism, and crucicentrism as four primary characteristics of evangelicalism (National Association of Evangelicals, n.d.). To summarize these beliefs, evangelical Christians view the Bible as the highest authority; therefore, in order to follow the will of God, it is important not only to believe that Jesus Christ is the world's savior and only way to eternal life, but also convince non-believers to trust in this faith (n.d.). Coming from the Greek word for gospel, evangelical Christians often feel called to share "the good news of the gospel" (Nash, p. 22, 1987). The gospel of Jesus Christ, as referred to in Mark 1:1 or 1 Corinthians 9:12 is the sharing of the news of Jesus's salvation and the deliverance of Christ believers from sin at the hand of God's only son (Bible.org, n.d.). This desire to share the gospel often stems from the belief that Christians must work to convert those who are not believers of Christian evangelicalism (Packard, p.1, 1988). The classification of a religious institution as evangelical does not simply apply to one denomination but rather is integrated into several denominations of Christianity today (Nash, p.28, 1987). However, some of the more distinctively evangelical denominations include Southern Baptist, Presbyterian Church of America, and the Pentecostal group, Assemblies of God (p.29). What ties evangelicals together are their primary beliefs and the causes they support as a result of these beliefs, although doctrines, policies, and views on society may differ from group to group (p. 39).

Evangelism, however, has become a very complicated subject in the U.S. culture. Even though Americans are becoming progressively less religious, religion is still at the foundation of daily life for many (p. 216). Packard identifies seven reasons why evangelism has a prevalence in the United States, compared to other cultures. These are: materialism, politics, science,

Protestant reactionism, U.S. immigration, global Communism and evangelicals as entertainment (p. 219-226). This helps explain some reasons why television programs about the Duggars likely receive so much public attention (in addition to the sheer size of their family).

CULTURE WARS AND EVANGELISM

With this spotlight on evangelical Christians also comes contention and, what many have called a culture war in the United States interdenominationally between religious versus secular world views. As a result, this is not only seen in society but also depicted on television screens. This has resulted in an even more complex relationship between religion and the arts (Lindsay, 2007, p. 117). “From 1930 into the 1960s, the National Council of Churches (NCC) oversaw the Protestant Film Commission (PFC), reviewing every script made into a motion picture by each of the major studios” (p. 118). Once the PFC was dissolved due to costs in 1966, evangelicals turned to methods such as boycotts and protests to influence the entertainment industry that was now looking toward the marketplace to determine content rather than being limited by censorship (p. 118). Using interviews with more than 300 high-level evangelicals, Lindsay discovered that they perceived not only the media industry as displaying animosity toward people of faith and that many “anti-Christian” studio executives have “blackballed” evangelicals in Hollywood (p.119). Hollywood insiders have suggested that executives reject evangelicals due to their limited exposure to that form of religious lifestyle (p.119). The distance between the entertainment industry and evangelicalism’s world views is so great that nothing can bridge it (p.121).

Although most evangelicals do not claim to experience a great deal of hostility from their secular peers, they do claim to feel alienated due to perceived prejudice (p.120). Yet, perhaps as a result of this perceived bias, many evangelical Christians also exhibit tendencies of being suspicious of the mainstream culture (p.121). Distrust and misunderstanding from both sides has led to a perpetual cycle of tension that has ultimately produced what still feels like a culture war.

ARCHETYPES SEEN IN CHRISTIAN WOMEN

A recent Pew Research Center study concludes that women are more likely to be religious than men and are more likely to attend religious services (McClendon, 2016). Can this be, in any way, connected to the media and television entertainment's reflection of Christian women? With regard to the representation of Christians in television, an article by the blog site *Culture War Reporters* identified several traits that Christians often take on as archetypes in the popular media today that do not accurately depict reality: Christians are seemingly always identified as one homogeneous group devoid of diversity and uniqueness (unknown, 2014). Areas such as television often never represent the many subcultures that make up Christianity, often taking minor attributes of some denominations and illuminating them to make it represent the community at large (2014). While those who are familiar with Christianity may realize the false stereotypes created, those who are primarily exposed to this religion via popular culture such as television reach inaccurate conclusions (2014).

Christians, especially unmarried Christian women, are frequently portrayed as "prudish," often leading to jokes or criticism of this attribute in television (2014). This adds to

the stereotype that evangelicals believe “sex is evil;” in actuality, those who cling to this view are simply creating a label based on differences in their perceptions of modesty (2014). Conversely, extramarital sex, a practice that some Christians believe is sinful by Biblical standards, is often a topic negatively attributed to evangelicals (2014). Negative framing of evangelicals sometimes depicts them as hypocrites; others spin this same subject more positively in order to show the intertwining of humanity and people of faith. Inaccurate frames, especially those that are unfavorable ones, punishes those who do not fulfill these stereotypes as assumptions are readily made by exposed audiences based on what is learned on television (2014).

CHRISTIANITY AND FILM

Although the focus of this research focuses on television, film can also shed light on the framing of evangelical Christians in the media. According to Peter E. Dans, the portrayal of Christianity in films has also undergone major changes as transitions and events in society have taken place, primarily experiencing a change from a respectful tone to one of ridicule (Dans, 2009). This may be partially attributed to the different belief systems of the filmmakers, actors, producers, etc. and their audiences (p.4). According to a 1998 survey conducted by the University of Texas “...of a representative sample of Hollywood writers, actors, producers, and executives,” “...only 2 to 3 percent attended religious services weekly compared to about 41 percent of the public at that time” (Dans, p.4). This suggests that many in the film industry are of a secular worldview, which could be reflected in the writing and directing of their television shows and movies.

REALITY TELEVISION AND RELIGION

In contrast to films and comedic or dramatic television series, reality television depicts people of faith more positively than scripted television shows (Goldberg Goff, 2009). In recent years, many reality television shows focusing on families have gradually integrated religion in such a way that faith has even become like a subsidiary character (2016). However, unlike many fully scripted shows, Henson says that reality television is less hostile toward the religious; this may be because family is often the primary focus of such shows, according to Dena Ross, online religion site Beliefnet entertainment editor from 2008-2010). Thus, nonreligious viewers feel less like faith is being “thrown at them” when a program is depicting the real lives of people of faith (2016). They also report finding the people in reality television shows inherently more relatable (2016).

This may likely feed into the idea of “moralistic therapeutic deism,” a term sociologists in 2005 identified as people’s desire to be good and fair, but to not necessarily call on God unless there is an issue at stake (French, 2012). Even shows like *The Bachelor* do not necessarily mention specifically biblical world views, but they do mention religious ideas such as blessings, destiny, and “following your hearts” (2012). Overall, this is more consistently the approach taken on by reality television and, arguably, Millennials to an extent, because it is easier and more comfortable—in essence, not taking on the typical approaches of traditional Christianity while still holding onto faith (2012).

In a 2014 interview with *Variety*, Lifetime’s senior vice president of nonfiction programming stated that reality television’s more prevalent spotlighting of religion may be part

of a strategy to reach other demographics, such as the African American community (Seikaly, Andrew, 2014). With a society that is less intimidated by Christian life, networks have become less apprehensive about incorporating faith-based content into their shows (2014).

DEVELOPING METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF RELIGION AND DIVERSITY FRAMING IN TELEVISION

Erika Engstrom and Joseph M. Valenzano's study of religious elements in AMC's *The Walking Dead* found themes of religion through dialogue and visual imagery, which they interpreted as a comment on the spirituality in the United States (p.124). Themes that were found include sanctuary and hope, desecration and revenge. Regardless of these spiritual themes, the idea of the power of love for family and friends seemed to supersede the power of religion (Engstrom & Valenzano III, 2016). In fact, the content analysis found that family, not faith, was the only source of hope for the characters (p.125-6). The research also revealed several visual and verbal elements that contributed to frames of religious meaning from the cross to church-like architectural elements to dialogue containing suggestions of prayer and "utterances of the word 'Lord' or 'God'" (p.127). Overall the researchers found a decentralized notion of God throughout the course of the show (p.134).

Another study interviewed 19 strongly spiritual collegiate students regarding their process of understanding and interpreting secular media images and personal spirituality. The study found, "[N]o student expressed being intimidated by unattractive elements of the narrative (i.e., sexual content or profane language) or showed concern that secular media might hurt his or her spiritual beliefs" (Loomis, 2009). Yet, Loomis also found that these students were

also using these many forms of secular media (from movies to television shows to television channels at large) for their own self-interests or to reinforce pre-conceived notions (p. 162, 2009). The spiritual uses for these secular media sources include constructs such as personal growth and contemplation, evangelism, reinforcement of beliefs, and self-identity (p.151). When considering this study, perhaps any bias that can be found in the framing of religious characters in media and television entertainment only affects those of less religious or spiritual upbringing due to not consistently being exposed to the religious community on a continuous basis.

FRAMING THEORY

Framing has become a popular research strategy for analyzing religion in the context of news media and is constantly evolving as studies continue to employ this theory (Stout & Buddenbaum, 2003). Therefore, it was a natural choice due to the nature of this research. Under the lens of framing theory, content will be analyzed to determine how the Duggar family's evangelical women are portrayed (Davie, n.d.). For the purposes of this research, a social framework will be identified to determine how the framing in entertainment news media compares to that of the realities of society, keeping in mind how stereotypes can manipulate the audience's mindset regarding Christian women. In doing this, the goal is to exemplify how language, imagery, and contextualization of evangelical Christian women reinforce stereotypes that are not representative of the diversity within evangelical Christianity.

Even Silk states that the news media are influenced by the religious values that are integrated in American society (Silk, p.11, 1995). Even with what journalists consider straight

news coverage, many of those from the secular community want to see Christian demoralized for the public to see (p. 19, 1995). Conversely, between 1849 to 1960, religion was presented in a standardized fashion to maintain religious consensus in the United States (p.29, 2005). This, in addition to the frames identified by Silk (as described below), further confirm how journalists have framed religion both positively and negatively over the years in the hopes of influencing societal sentiment regarding Christianity and religion as a whole. Silk argues that religious stereotypes are consistently used to frame the religious and categorize their behavior and personalities into a specific set of labels, which comes off as if they are characters on a formulaic show.

Although representing diversity in all its forms has become a priority in both the entertainment industry and wider society as a whole, the representation of each group is often not accurate thus fueling the problem of promoting stereotypes. As a result, individuals who are exposed to these shows and do not have consistent exposure to diverse people will likely regard portrayed stereotype as truths. Although entertainment media such as television are not ethically obligated to be as accurate as possible the way news media must, one could argue that the framing used by entertainment news writers has an equally profound effect on viewers. Some people specifically seek out entertainment news, while others are exposed while waiting for an appointment in doctor's office, at a salon, at the bank, etc.

In "Framing diversity: A qualitative content analysis of public relations industry professionals," the author shows how gender and diversity had been framed across a variety of public relations articles from 2000 to 2010 (Austin, 2010). Austin used framing theory in this

study to identify issues in the media's construction of social diversity, an area that had not been previously explored in the public relations sector (2010). Austin studies how diversity was framed and the characteristics of diversity that could be seen throughout the publications. Similarly, framing of media and religion has been heavily studied in others' research. However, framing of evangelical Christian women in entertainment news is an unexplored area that can be compared to other areas of researched in order to identify patterns in framing (or lack thereof).

This study will analyze the ways people select "...a frame to process information when confronted with news...instead [viewing] the world through their frames and [making] new information fit into them" (Communication Studies, 2016). These preconceived notions affect how individuals process information quickly (2016). In the current state of the world , in which individuals are constantly distracted by various stimuli, framing become more important now than ever. Framing, while a communication theory itself, can also be used to build up on other broader social science theories as a guide to societal inquiry (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). In this research, it could be argued that the use of framing theory is truly building upon secularization theory in order evaluate stereotyping of evangelical women.

ETHICS AND FRAMING IN TRADITIONAL NEWS VS. ALTERNATIVE/DIGITAL NEWS

As a part of this study, the frames used in traditional, print entertainment news were compared to those of purely digital entertainment news sources. Digital media is revolutionizing the world of journalism. This is not to say that many of the traditional practices and ethical standards of the journalism field are not still in place; however, with the

introduction of new technologies and digital platforms, traditional media ethics are having to be adjusted accordingly. When examining the Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics, there are a few components that seem especially affected by the Internet's impact on the media: "Remember speed nor format excuses inaccuracy", "Consider the long-term implications of the extended reach and permanence of publication", "Provide updated and more complete information as appropriate", and "Abide by the same high standards they expect of others" (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014). After reading through scholars' research on this subject, it becomes apparent that the primary values of journalism have shifted with the digital age as citizen journalists, moral journalists, non-professional journalists, and professional journalists collide in their works. Each sees his/her own work in a different light, whether that is to inform the public, to activate change, to freely express opinions, etc. Are these differences causing inherent changes in framing of stories and individuals covered as well?

A study by the Project for Excellence in Journalism and Jay Rosen of NYU suggested that news coverage is becoming increasingly more interpretive and thematic in how it is presented, specifically be inclined toward portraying stories through a combative lens (Project for Excellence in Journalism, n.d.). It is obvious how this could be problematic for evangelicals: creating an "us versus them" sentiment in society. Surprisingly, though the press is often deemed cynical, this study found that optimism was a more common theme that was mostly tainted when the story was "triggered by journalists' own enterprise," resulting in a less trustworthy message (n.d.). In these instances, journalists were more likely to frame these stories with a sense of conflict rather than consensus (n.d.). "The data suggests a perhaps

unconscious bias in journalists toward approaching certain types of news the same way over and over” (n.d.). Are journalists who do not typically focus on the religious falling subject to the habit of continuously framing evangelicals in a formulaic manner?

Unlike the traditional print news, digital news sources have the added challenge of having to make their content interactive and more curated toward the end-user (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). With this comes a new way of framing for digital news sources, one that is an “interactive social constructivist, and ‘bottom-up’ model of framing” (p. 75, 2010). This may be able to be partially attributed to the fact that the digital journalistic atmosphere lends itself more toward having “citizen journalists,” leading to new demands of those trained for the field (2010).

As mentioned earlier, the entertainment news sector is often not held to the same standards of the traditional news world. However, this study sought to determine if those standards became even more lax on digital-first platforms versus the more traditional magazine news reporting. As the revenue models for digital news continue to shift toward generating clicks due to the fact that nine out of ten adults now get news online, it is likely that frames to appeal to the human attraction to drama (Pew Research Center, 2017).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research conducted will serve to draw conclusions about the following research questions:

RQ1: Which of the frames outlined in Mark Silk's *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America* are used in depictions of the Duggar women in entertainment news?

RQ2: Are there framing differences between the more traditional entertainment news media that have print components and born digital entertainment news?

SOURCES

In order to evaluate the framing of evangelical Christian women in the media, the following entertainment news sources were analyzed:

1. *People Magazine: People* was founded in 1974, and is currently ranked 9th out of all magazines by circulation (Alliance for Audited Media, 2016). This magazine has an approximately 3 and half million-people circulation reach, with the average age of the reader at around 41 years old. These individuals are earning a median household income of just under \$60,000 (Mega Media Marketing, unknown).
2. *Us Magazine: Us* was founded in 1977 is and ranked 31st according to circulation at around a 2-million person reach (Alliance for Audited Media, 2016). The circulation is at around 2-million people (2016). The average age of the reader is 35 years old and median household income is just under \$60,000 (Mega Media Marketing, unknown).

3. E News! is one of the most popular online databases for everything concerning popular culture news. According to its “About Us” page, this site has more than 29 million multi-platform unique users in the United States alone each month (E News!, 2017).

These sources can be easily accessed through the internet searches and through online databases (such as EBSCO) found through the Missouri School of Journalism website and Columbia’s Public Library. TMZ was initially cited as a possible predominantly online entertainment news media source for this research. Unfortunately, upon carrying out the process of article selection, it was discovered that of the 79 results yielded from TMZ’s website search function, only nine articles had relevant content focused on the women in the Duggar family. Taking to Google to expand this search, similar results were discovered each time, despite trying a variety of search terms. Falling far short of the 20-article goal per source, E News! became a clear alternative as it is another predominantly online resource with a priority in entertainment news. After searching “Duggar” in E News’s website search function, 360 results related to the Duggar family, just shy of 50% of which placed at least some focus on the family’s female figures. As a result, it became the chosen substitution for TMZ.

The sample was comprised of 20 articles per source between 2008 and 2015. This period was selected by looking at when the Duggars’ show *17 Kids and Counting*/*19 Kids and Counting* was launched and running to the time when the program was abruptly pulled off the air due to the revelation about Josh Duggar’s alleged sexual misconduct as a teenager (Bowerman, 2015). The articles were first filtered by ensuring the content was focused on the women in the Duggar family, either in their core family group or close familial connections. Subsequently, of those articles that were selected, the articles included for this analysis had to

have a minimum of 100 words in the article. This was determined with the assumption that the content with a greater word count is more in-depth and richer in detail. The process of identifying which articles would be analyzed varied slightly per source, although all were analyzed via digital versions regardless of whether print versions were also at one point available:

PEOPLE

On July 7, 2017, I utilized the Missouri School of Journalism online library and proceeded to search within the “Books & Media” database. The search query “People Magazine” was provided for the title, which provided only one relevant entry. I selected academic search entries from 1994 to present day, and searched within that publication. I was able to easily access this information through EBSCO Host.

I was able to further filter this search of “People” with an advanced search for “Duggar,” published between January 2008 to December 2015. I only included entries listed under these categories: Selected Article, Entertainment Review, Interview, Opinion, Short Story, and Television Review. As a result, 35 search results were presented. The search results automatically populated with information regarding whether or not it was a cover story for that edition of *People*. I proceeded to manually sort through these articles to eliminate those that appeared to have duplicated content, a low word count of around 100 words or less, or did not contain information specifically about the Duggar women throughout the article. Simply through this simple process of elimination using the criteria previously listed, 20 articles remained and were used for this study.

E! NEWS

All of the content from *E News!* that was used for this study was directly accessible through its website – www.eonline.com. By using the search function located on the *E! News* website’s homepage, I was able to search “Duggar” and gain results of 360 articles related to the Duggar family. While all the articles appeared to have a count of over 100 words, there was not a relevant filtering option. Therefore, after documenting all articles that had any focus on the women in the Duggar family, I was left with 169 remaining relevant articles. This was approximately 47% of all articles found on this website regarding the Duggars. Due to the extensivity of the results, the excel formula `=INDEX($A$1:$A$169,RANDBETWEEN(1,COUNTA($A$1:$A$169)),1)` was used to determine a random sample of 20 articles from this source. The articles were numbered, starting at one and ending at 169, based on the order in which they appeared in the search results. Because this formula often yielded at least one repetition of the numbers within the first 20 results, the first 30 random numbers were calculated, and the first 21 were *used (eliminating one repeat from the initial list)*.

US WEEKLY

This source was only available locally through the Columbia Public Library. The library only had articles available from 2013-present, so I was restricted to only including two-years worth of articles. However, this was the final source from which I extracted articles from analysis. After gathering articles from the previous two sources, I am confident that this limitation in time frame is unlikely to negatively impact the effectiveness of this study as the

bulk of the coverage of the Duggar women was in 2013 or later, when there was a focus on two of older Duggar children getting married and having children.

This source was made available through fully-accessible online magazines, requiring me to search page-by-page to identify stories on the Duggars. Articles that fell far short of the 100-word minimum or that excluded a focus on Duggar family women were automatically eliminated. Regardless, from September 30, 2013 to December 28, 2015, there were 112 articles that were identified as acceptable for analysis. In order to try to be more inclusive of articles within the set time range of 2008 to 2015, Google search was used to find *Us Weekly* articles perhaps not featured in the magazines but rather on the website. With the search query, “us magazine duggar 2008”, I was brought to 18 additional possible stories of relevance. With similar circumstances as that of *E! News*, the Excel formula above was once again used to generate a random assortment of articles to analyze, allowing for a sample of 20 articles from this source.

While the study of images will not be the focus of this study, they were considered as part of the content. Therefore, commentary on the images included in the articles will be included if there is something about the photos that further lends itself to the research questions of this study.

SUMMATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

A textual analysis was used to research this subject. Textual analysis “is a...data-gathering process for those researchers who want to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are and of how they fit into the world in

which they live” (McKee, 2003, p.1). This method has been used in several previous studies of a similar nature.³

With news media such as entertainment reporting, articles are often written with a more opinion-based style that reflects the writer’s beliefs and, possibly, what they think the audience wants to see or believe. Despite of this fact, these texts can be often be accurate and truthful, and thus it is our responsibility to determine how accurately these reporters are portraying the realities of society (McKee, p.16, 2003). As a result, a summative content analysis was chosen to approach the research from a both a qualitative and quantitative point-of-view, further validating qualitative discoveries with quantitative data.

A summative content analysis includes counting and comparisons in the coding process, and then follows this investigation with further qualitative interpretation of the text (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This approach begins with identifying keywords that will be identified and quantified throughout this study, which can be seen in the description of variables below (2005). However, beyond just identifying specific words, there is a latent content analysis that is conducted to infer meaning from the content and the context in which it is used (2005). The counting approach will help identify patterns across the texts while the qualitative analysis allows for interpretation of the context of these patterns (2005).

³ Some of these have been referenced in the literature review above in reference to religion, and others deal more directly with the construction of culture in reality television, such as Bell-Jordan’s “Black, white, and a survivor of the real world: Constructions of race on reality tv” and Sadler and Haskins’ “Metonymy and the metropolis: Television show settings and the image of New York City” (Bell-Jordan, 2008); (Sadler & Haskins, 2005).

The concepts were measured by way of nominal and ordinal means. The quantitative portion of the study evaluated the descriptive and thematic significance of the content, using the count of the variables below to determine the frequency at which these elements occur. This was conducted by identifying thematic elements throughout the articles with regard to occupation, appearance, sex/sexuality, gender disparity, and evangelical identifiers that would correspond with these variables and then count the rate at which these topics appeared in the articles. The first three paragraphs of each article will be coded for each of the variables for the quantitative study, and the qualitative portion will analyze the article in its entirety. The only exception will be if the article is just over 100 words, in which case I coded the entire article quantitatively. As is typically the case with summative content analysis, the keywords are derived from both the literature review and my general interest. The key source from the literature review leveraged is Mark Silk's *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America* (Silk, 1995).

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

Silk's frames or frames were analyzed for the manifest content analysis portion of the summative content analysis. For the purposes of this research, Silk's frames of declension and false prophecy as they were considered unlikely to be related specifically to the Duggar women, and the frame of "inclusion" was enveloped in the first frame, over-friendly/overly-tolerant. In order for the content of the article to be classified as one of Silk's frames, it had to meet at least three of the thematic coding criteria identified below.

OVER-FRIENDLY/OVERLY-TOLERANT:

These individuals are portrayed as being patient to the point of being unrealistic—taking “Love thy neighbor” or “Love your enemies” to the extreme. They are consistently shown as happy and relatable no matter the circumstances. These individuals are always trying to go out of their way to befriend anyone and everyone in a way that is overtly noticeable, often doing it while referencing a Christian belief.

- o “...can be considered as merely an expression of secularist indifference or the desire not to offend” (p.66)
- o “Non-interference” (p.66)
- o “...to formulate a moral language acceptable to secular and religious alike” (p.72)

This was classified based on the use of the following themes or keywords: love, extreme happiness, friendliness, patience or “other,” which includes any terms that could be deemed relevant to this frame.

HYPOCRITE:

This is the woman who says one thing and does another. She lectures a certain belief, and chooses to not “practice what she preaches”; she condemns others for their wrongdoings, while secretly conducting the same faults when she believes she is out of sight.

- o “...moral lapses” (p.80)

This was classified based on the use of the following themes or keywords: condemnation of others, personal moral lapses, contradictory, hypocritical, or “other,” which includes any terms that could be deemed relevant to this frame.

GOOD WORKS:

This individual spends all her time helping others, whether that includes the homeless or her friends.

- o "...socially active religion that engages the moral attention of the news media in a way that ordinary religious practice cannot" (Silk, 1995, p. 60).
- o Desire for social reform initiated by religion (p. 61)
- o A person who is religious will often be given the benefit of the doubt regarding 'goodness' in the eyes of the American news media (p.57)
- o "...active role in helping the poor" (p.58)
- o Being helpful to "...those afflicted by disaster, whether manmade or heaven sent" (p.59)

This was classified based on the use of the following themes or keywords: volunteers, helps the afflicted, desire for social reform, strong moral compass or "other," which includes any terms that could be deemed relevant to this frame.

SUPERNATURAL BELIEVER:

This person is portrayed as having a focus on the power of ghosts and spirits, and often references their presence or impact on her life. They often refer to miracles that they have experienced or witnessed. This can also take form by way of "signs" happening in her life that she believes are from God.

- o Might take form by way of the "Power of Prayer" (p.122)

This was classified based on the use of the following themes or keywords: belief in ghosts/spirits, belief in miracles, signs from God, prayerful or "other," which includes any terms that could be deemed relevant to this frame.

While these frames are some of the most commonly identified in research of this nature, other discoveries of alternative frames remained at the forefront of the researcher's mind during analysis, in the event that frames outside of Silk's findings emerged. One of the alternative frames that was immediately considered was the following, which often appears in portrayals of women, and often Christian women, in entertainment media (Vaters, 2015; Bork, 2011):

THE NAÏVE ONE:

These individuals are portrayed as overtly innocent and protected, seemingly ignorant of the world as compared to others. In these situations, adults acting almost childlike in their knowledge of subjects like sex, war, popular culture etc. In this sense, it seems that religion has been used as a shield.

This was classified based on the use of following themes or keywords: innocence, oblivious, protected, childlike or "other," which includes any terms that could be deemed relevant to this frame.

Variables analyzed in the latent content analysis portion were selected through the interests of the researcher due to personal experiences and the literature review findings. Please refer to the Appendix to see a copy of the coding sheet used for this analysis.

These variables were culled from identifiers used by social scientists in classifying religiosity. Kosmin & Keysar (2006) surveyed a large sample of individuals about their religious beliefs and other sociological characteristics. Their research provided guidance as to the characteristics that might be viewed as belonging to evangelical women.

Specifically:

- Occupation:
 - Is their occupation revealed or discussed?
 - If so, in what context is it described? Favorably or unfavorably?
 - How does the writer address the professional/personal role's impact their life decisions and faith, if at all?
 - Mother-figure?
 - Is there pressure or stereotyping used to describe the women as homemakers?
 - Is there any focus placed on education and careers? (Kosmin & Keysar, 2006, p.139).
- Apparel and appearance typically worn by character:
 - Is apparel ever addressed in the article? If so, does the author suggest favorability or disdain toward their wardrobe choice?
 - Do photos accompany the article? If so, describe the clothing.
 - Long skirts?
 - High necklines?
 - Long hair?
 - Hair up in a bun or pony tail/hair down?
 - Is the subject of modesty ever brought up?
- Sexuality expressed through character:
 - Is the subject of sex brought up in the article as it relates to a woman?
 - If so, is there any feeling of positivity or negativity regarding this subject?

- What is the focus of the sexual discussion:
 - Raising Children
 - How many children? What are their ages?
 - Is there discussion of sex and family planning?
 - Marriage
 - Is their marital status discussed?
 - Promiscuity
 - Is there discussion of adultery?
 - Is there discussion of inappropriate sexual advances?
 - Is there discussion of clothing that is considered inappropriate or risqué for that woman?
- Gender discrimination:
 - “One of the most important influences on the aggregate social and economic circumstances of any particular religious group is its teachings and perspective on the role and status of women” (Kosmin & Keysar, 2006, p. 139).
 - Are gender roles highlighted in any way?
 - Are the women portrayed as submissive to their husbands?
- Evangelical behavior highlighted in the content:
 - Is *The Bible* brought up?
 - Is God and/or Jesus used in the content?
 - Is their church or church-going brought up?
 - Is the desire to convert others’ to Christianity discussed?
 - Is reference to the “Bible belt” in any way used for or against these individuals?

- o As referenced in *Religion in a Free Market*, do the women suggest a tendency “...to have distinctive cultural values, folkways, customs, and traditions” due to living in Arkansas/a more rural area? (Kosmin & Keysar, 2006, p.121).

INTRACODER TESTING AND RESEARCH VALIDITY

Due to only one researcher being involved in this study, intracoder testing was crucial in order to verify my own approach and to try to eliminate initial biases that could arise (Lacy, et. al, 2015). Through intracoder reliability, a singular “coder’s consistency across time” in the case of a single researcher (2015). This was achieved through two rounds of trial coding on two different articles from each source, for a total of slightly over 10% sample, over the course of approximately two weeks (Schreier, 2012). The first follow-up trial coding found no significant variances, with the only challenge being the determination of whether the mention of sexual abuse was to also be codified discussion of sex/sexuality. After I concluded that it would be considered as part of both categories, I came to the decision that appropriate choices had been made to make the coding of frames reliable within reason (2012).

Internal construct validity was used to provide greater confidence that the methodological approach being used was sound and that it properly captured the constructs presented (Jensen, 2012). For this study, findings had to be repeated and seen as a trend across articles in order to support conclusions (2012). Although this is a complex concept to establish with certainty, concurrent validity will be applicable, as evidence of evangelical framing has been found in other media studies other than reality television.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS

OVERVIEW

The Duggars have created a distinct brand for themselves as a large family that places a high value on their Christian beliefs and on living according to their interpretation of God's guidance. This is true regarding everything from their frugal lifestyle to their courtship practices of frequent pregnancies. However, while some articles simply stated the facts of the Duggars' lives, based on what was seen on their reality television show and social media accounts, other reporters expressed their opinions on this family through their word choices, tone, selected experts and interviewees, and overall article focus.

FRAMES FOUND IN ARTICLES

The majority of Silk's frames appeared in some capacity in each source, with the exception of "hypocrite." The women were only described as hypocritical in two of the 60 articles analyzed; this may be partially due to the fact that Josh Duggar took ownership of this frame after revelations of sexual abuse of teenage girls, including his sisters Jessa and Jill, and the later discovery that he had two accounts on online dating, sex, and affairs site, Ashley Madison, during the hack of 2015 (Tauber, 2015). Nineteen articles, or approximately one-third of the pieces researched, did not appear to have frames attached to the writing. However, this indicates that the majority of the articles did frame Evangelical women using at one of the motifs indicated by Silk or alternative frames identified.

There were 15 (25%) articles, or one-fourth of the total, fell strictly into one of the frames considered during the development of this study:

- 5 articles (8.3%) were codified as “Over-friendly/Overly-Tolerant” Christian
- 6 articles (10%) were codified as “The Naive One”
- 1 article (1.6%) was codified as “The Hypocrite”
- 1 article (1.6%) was codified as “The Good Works” Christian
- 3 articles (5%) were codified as “The Supernatural Believer”

However, there were 10 other articles (16.67%) that appeared to fall into more than one of Silk’s frames. This can partially be attributed to the content itself; however, as it was often that more than one Duggar woman was featured within the confines of a single article, they were at points framed in different ways depending on their personalities, words and actions.

Through this analysis, it was found that articles that were framed as “Over-friendly/overly-tolerant” were often connected to forgiving Josh Duggar for his alleged sexual abuse. The articles framed as “The Naïve One” often contained elements of the Duggar women sheltering themselves from life’s temptations rather than facing them, especially concerning physical intimacy with men prior to marriage. While Josh Duggar essentially took ownership of the frame “The Hypocrite” for most all articles pertaining to the Duggars in 2015, there was one article that tried to frame Jill Dillard as a hypocrite by questioning whether or not she had become pregnant before her wedding. “The Good Works” frame came up the least of any of Silk’s frames. This is likely due to the limitations of just covering one family. Finally, “The Supernatural Believer” is one that was expected to frequently be used when framing

evangelical women. The articles where the Duggar women were framed as “Supernatural Believers” often focused on being prayer to God for miracles, especially in times of struggle such as challenging childbirth and Josh Duggar’s sexual scandal becoming public knowledge.

COMMON TOPICS FOUND IN ARTICLES

The majority of the content was thematically consistent across all three magazines. The three overarching themes included pregnancy and childbirth, engagement and marriage, and sexual abuse and infidelity. The first two are very much in alignment with the Duggars’ self-prescribed label; however, once news broke about Josh Duggars’ sexual abuse during his teenage years and the subsequent discovery of his infidelity during the Ashley Madison hack, their public image immediately included tones of hypocrisy due to his actions. The difference lies in the news source of the content and the quality of the content.

PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE ARTICLES

Photos were included in all 60 articles that were analyzed for this research. However, some of the *People* magazine articles analyzed no longer contained the actual pictures as the content was archived articles. Fortunately, the captions of the article remained in the articles to help confirm the previous existence of photographs. The majority of the images contained the Duggar family’s women. Of the *People magazine* articles, some articles had as few as two or three professional images whereas others contained as many as 18 (“Jill & Derick Dillard: We Feel So Blessed” by Alicia Dennis). The photos featured in *Us Weekly* articles were like *People’s* in many ways, and 30% of the articles analyzed were all featured stories on the covers of the print magazines. However, *E! News* relied less on professional photos and more on Instagram

photos posted by the Duggar family's women. These photos often expanded across the majority of the computer screen, and required readers to scroll to gain access to written content.

PRINT AND ONLINE VS. DIGITAL-FIRST ARTICLES

Whereas *Us Weekly* and *People* magazine are both digital and print magazines, *E! News* is an online publication. This analysis found that this had a major influence in who was controlling the subject of the article. For *People*, the reporting appears to be a mixture between narrative journalism and traditional news journalism carried out firsthand by the reporter. However, for *E! News*, this appears to never be the case. Rather, their content is derived primarily from social media, and the authors used a lot of their own opinions to fill in the gaps. The clear majority of the content is generated as a result of pulling images and quotations from the Duggars' personal social media, especially their Instagram accounts which is known for being a largely photo-driven platform.

While some *E! News* articles provided very specific frames in the body of the text, the headlines were often most alarming with regard to framing. By using phrases such as "Check Out the PDA Pic!" and "Share Passionate Kiss, but Is It Steamier Than Past Family PDA Moments?" in the *E! News* titles of the articles talking about the Duggar women, the goal is trying to generate clicks on the story and not an effort to best provide a description of the content. Often the headline was not at all reflective of the bulk of the article. The site's content takes on the dramatic feel of reality entertainment and seems to be often intertwined with fact and opinion, similar to what can be found in "fake news" (Kiely and Robertson, 2016). The news

sources were broken down more granularly to provide more details into the differences between platforms and the reasoning behind the framing classifications.

PEOPLE

Author of the Article	Pictures in the Article?	Date of Article	Women Focused Upon in Article	Occupation of Women a Focus?	Education of Women a Focus?
Michelle Tauber (n=3; 15%) Amanda Steiner (n=2; 10%) Janine Rubenstein (n=1; 5%) Alicia Dennis (n=12; 60%) Alicia Dennis & Alex Tresniowski (n=1; 5%) Melody Chiu (n=1; 5%)	Yes (n=20; 100%) No (n=0; 0%)	2008 (n=0; 0%) 2009 (n=2; 10%) 2010 (n=4; 20%) 2011 (n=0; 0%) 2012 (n=0; 0%) 2013 (n=0; 0%) 2014 (n=4; 20%) 2010 (n=10; 50%)	Most all women in family (n=7; 35%) Anna Duggar (n=2; 2%) Jessa Duggar (n=8; 40%) Jill Duggar (n=5; 25%) Jinger Duggar (n=0; 0%) Jana Duggar (n=0; 0%) Amy Duggar (n=1; 5%) Josie Duggar (n=1; 5%) Michelle Duggar (n=3; 15%)	Yes (n=11; 55%) No (n=9; 45%)	Yes (n=1; 5%) No (n=19; 95%)

Portrayed as a Mother-Figure?	Women's Apparel a Focus?	Subject of Modesty Brought Up?	Which Apparel/Appearance Elements Found in Photos or Discussed?	Sex or Sexuality Brought Up?	Sexual Abuse Brought Up?
Yes (n=17; 85%)	Yes (n=4; 20%)	Yes (n=2; 10%)	Skirt at knee or below (n=7; 35%)	Yes (n=15; 75%)	Yes (n=8; 40%)

No (n=3; 15%)	No (n=16; 80%)	No (n=18; 90%)	Shirt above collarbone (n=11; 55%) Hair in bun (n=1; 5%) Other- Amy Duggar's reception wedding dress described as "strapless" (n=1; 5%) and "slinky" (n=1; 5%)	No n=(5; 25%) Premarital sex specifically (n=1; 5%) Postmarital sex specifically (n=3; 15%)	No (n=12; 60%)
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Women Described as "Promiscuous?"	Men Described as Household Leaders?	Women Described as Submissive to Men?	Discussion of The Bible?	Mention of God or Jesus?	Word "Evangelical" Written in Article?
Yes (n=2; 10%)	Yes (n=1; 5%)	Yes (n=1; 5%)	Yes (n=6; 30%)	Yes (n=15; 75%)	Yes (n=2; 10%)
No (n=18; 90%)	No (n=19; 95%)	No (n=19; 95%)	No (n=14; 70%)	No (n=5; 25%)	No (n=18; 90%)

*n=number of articles; %=number of articles/20

Of the articles analyzed from *People* magazine, two were from 2009, four were from 2010, four were from 2014, and 10 were from 2015. While the pregnancies and subsequent births of Jill and Jessa Duggar's first children was certainly partially responsible for the increase in coverage, the bulk of the difference was due to the breaking news of Josh Duggar's accusation of molestation of young girls at the age of 14 and the unveiling of his infidelities through Ashley Madison, a website designed to present men and women with the opportunity to have secretive affairs. Once the aforementioned became public knowledge, the framing and coverage of the family was substantially affected. While the happenings and opinions of other members of the Duggar family were certainly considered as they were available to the media through interviews such as the highly-publicized conversation with Megyn Kelly, the true focus

was on the shattering of the family image and the ultimate removal of their show from TLC.

40% of all the articles selected from People magazine mentioned the sexual abuse in some way, which in return, impacted the reporting on the Duggar women. Had this revelation not occurred, it can be assumed that the findings of this research would have been quite different.

FRAMES

There were many different frames taken on throughout the coverage of the articles from *People* selected for this study:

- Two articles (10%) framed the women as over-friendly/tolerant
- One article (5%) framed the women as naive
- Two articles (10%) framed the women as supernatural believers
- One article framed as the doer of “Good works”
- One article (5%) was coded as a combination of both over-friendly/tolerant
- One article (5%) was coded as a combination of over-friendly/tolerant, hypocritical, and the doer of “Good Works”
- Three articles (15%) were framed as a combination of overly-friendly/tolerant and the supernatural believer
- One article (5%) was coded as the doer of “good works” and the supernatural believer
- The remainder of the articles were categorized as the following:
 - One (5%) was framed as the “Value-focused, God fearers”
 - Another article (5%) was framed where the women were portrayed as “Servants of God”

- The remaining six articles (30%) did not have any apparent frames

People magazine presented the most traditional form of journalism of the three magazines.

While the research above and the topics chosen lead one to believe that a particular frame was used to piece the story together, the majority of the content was fact and interview-driven rather than opinion-driven. However, as will be able to be seen below in the various topics covered, the journalists from *People* magazine touched on elements drawn from Kosmin and Keysar. However, with frames leaning toward “Supernatural Believers,” “Value-focused, God-fearers,” and “Servants of God,” we can safely assume that Evangelical identifiers played a significant role in the sample of *People* articles. These frames were determined by reviewing the topics identified by Kosmin and Keysar, looking at how those topics were combined or covered throughout the article, and then identifying appropriate frames that matched the underlying themes present throughout the article.

One element of *People* magazine that stood out as compared to the other media outlets was Alicia Dennis. Alicia Dennis is a writer for *People* who wrote 13 of the 20 articles. In order to identify if the study was skewed in any way due to the frequency at which her content was included, the frames identified specific to her articles were counted separately:

- Five (25%) of the 13 were framed as “over-friendly” or “over-tolerant”
- Four (20%) of the 13 had frames of “supernatural believers”
- The remaining four either had “other” frames or no apparent frames

There was not any extreme consistency to the frames to suggest that she was always trying to frame the Duggars in one way.

OCCUPATION

The two Duggars that were most frequently the focus of the article were Jessa and Jill, each receiving the spotlight eight and five times respectively. The Duggar women's professions were mentioned 11 times, which is five times more than the amount observed in the other two sources. These mentions of a career were nearly always pertaining to Jill Duggar's time spent as a student midwife. However, although not classified as a profession/career for the purposes of this study, one could consider the continual discussion of Duggar women as mothers could be identified as their professions. When the men were mentioned in the article, it was much more common that their professional positions as well as their educational backgrounds were mentioned in some regard. The education of the Duggar women was only mentioned in one of the twenty articles from *People*: In the 12th article, "The Duggars: Our Prayer is That We Remain Close" by Alicia Dennis, Jill is identified as a "student midwife," which seems to indicate that she is learning from a mentor. Beyond that, the primary role that is broadcast in the articles is that of the mother-figure, which was identified in 85% of the articles from this source. It is clear from research conducted for the literature review that rearing children is a responsibility that the Duggar women take quite seriously. Even before Michelle and Jim Bob's children were married, Jill and Jessa were discussing the bounties of having children. However, with 17 of the 20 articles focusing a great deal on the motherhood aspect of these women, it is presented as the main identifier of who they are. While certainly an honorable thing, it is possible that there are other nuances of these women's lives that the reporters overlooked due to the television show's emphasis on the "mega family" aspects of their identities. While the intersection of career choices and faith were never really discussed, one could argue that the

Duggars, especially Michelle and Jim Bob, see having children as an aspect of life that should not be controlled or limited by birth control of any kind. This ultimately led to Michelle becoming pregnant nearly every 18 months since her early twenties. In one article analyzed entitled “One’s Courting One’s Engaged! Duggars in Love,” Alicia Dennis writes “Devout Christians who follow a lifestyle that includes daily prayer, homeschooling and Bible study, Jim Bob and Michelle have held tightly to their belief that the number of children they have is God’s choice, not their own” (p. 70).

APPEARANCE

The Duggar women’s apparel was mentioned only in four articles, or 20% of the pieces from *People*. From there, the subject of modesty was a topic of conversation even fewer times, with only two articles bringing this to light. In the article, “A Family’s Dark Secrets,” Steiner includes the following quotation: “they put their distinctive lifestyle and deep Christian faith in the spotlight: Their modest dress (The goal ‘is to not be drawing attention to places that our eyes don’t need to be going,’ Michelle explained)” (Steiner, p. 54, 2015). While modest was not a descriptive word that can be directly attributed to Michelle Duggar, her portion of the quotation certainly provides some explanation as to the standard of the Duggar women’s dress. Their shirt necklines were above their collarbones in 11 pictures across the 20 articles, and long skirts were included in the photographs in seven. However, the use of the term modest by reporter, Amanda Michelle Steiner, could be argued as painting a picture with words as to the traditional and conservative frames that Christian women often take on. Most the images

appear to be professional photos that range in size from cover photos to just a small portion of the magazine spread.

Conversely, Amy Duggar, a cousin of the famous Duggar family, was described as fairly promiscuous in her apparel on her wedding day. In the “Amy Duggar Weds: Finding Joy After Scandal” by Janine Rayford Rubenstein, she describes Amy’s wedding dress as a “sexy strapless ball gown” on page 67 and reports her “[slipping] into a slinky rose-gold-hued gown” on page 69. For other women being highlighted by *People*, the description of one’s wedding dress as “sexy” would likely be a compliment (2015). However, when associated with someone with the last name Duggar, it seems to be meant as risqué. Additionally, by choosing the verb “slipped into” and the adjective “slinky” for Amy’s second dress, the line of promiscuous language seems to be pretty plainly crossed. While reported by some in these sources as the “rebellious” Duggar, this also creates a culture of shame in a world where purity is so highly revered.

SEX AND SEXUALITY

As referenced previously, sexual abuse was mentioned in 40% of the articles from *People* magazine. Sex and sexuality was mentioned in 15 articles, meaning that seven of these articles in some way sexualized the Duggar women without the context of sexual abuse. However, premarital sex was only directly mentioned once.

One connection that was made in “Josh Duggar’s Cheating Scandal: His Shocking Double Life” by Michelle Tauber was the parallels of the Duggars’ belief system with that of the Quiverfull movement (2015). Tauber draws in quotations from Kathryn Joyce, who is the author of the book *Quiverfull: Inside the Christian Patriarchy Movement* to inform the audience of the

views that the Duggars hold on sexuality. However, the Duggars have never publicly identified as members of the Quiverfull movement. Yet, by referencing these materials, the author inherently frames the Duggars to be identified as such. She quotes:

“In belief systems such as Quiverfull, ‘women are taught that their sexual purity is of paramount importance and that they’re responsible for men’s sexual reactions to them’.... ‘more broadly in some fundamentalist Christian communities to hold women responsible for men’s sexuality and their choices, whether by accusing women of causing men “to stumble” because of how they dress or accusing wives of causing their husbands’ affairs because they didn’t satisfy them’” (p. 50).

To reference such material in the midst of an article diving into the sexual misconduct of Josh Duggar could lead the reader to indirectly place blame on Anna Duggar for not holding Josh responsible and/or not properly satisfying his sexual needs.

It is no surprise to anyone familiar with the Duggar family traditions that any display of physical intimacy prior to engagement and marriage is prohibited by Jim Bob and Michelle’s courtship rules. In “One’s Courting One’s Engaged! Duggars in Love” by Alicia Dennis, she writes “‘Side hugs,’ chaperones and no kisses until marriage: inside the *very* old-fashioned courtships of two Duggar daughters and the men who adore them” (p. 69, 2014). While by most teenagers and young adults’ standards in the United States this might appear to be overprotective, they have the right to raise their children how they see fit. However, through the use of italicization, ellipses, and dashes surrounding the articulation of these rules, Dennis is inherently shedding judgment on their practices of sexual and physical purity and likely influences the reader to do the same. Jessa and Jill were most frequently the subjects of the sexual discussions as their courtships, engagements, and marriages were highly publicized. Additionally, they were two of the five victims of Josh Duggars’ alleged sexual abuse, which

brought Jill and Jessa even more to the spotlight. In fact, Jessa was a primary focus in eight of the articles in *People*, and Jill in five.

Finally, there is the discussion of Michelle Duggar's decision not to use birth control in the article, "Michelle and Jim Bob Keep Vigil Over Their 19th Child." In this piece, Alicia Dennis and Alex Tresniowski state, "The devoutly Christian Duggars have been criticized for supersizing their family-Michelle went off birth control after a miscarriage in 1988 and since then has gotten pregnant about every 18 months. They say they consider each child a blessing from God" (2010). While there is seemingly no tone associated with this content, the decision to create a cause and effect statement where Michelle's choice to stop birth control as the sole reason for her series of pregnancies places the responsibility on her rather than sharing the onus with Jim Bob, her husband and the father of her children.

GENDER DISPARITY

Differences in how gender roles were covered in the *People* magazine articles was slightly more nuanced and less noticeable than the previously topics. In the twenty articles, men were only obviously portrayed as the "household leaders" in one article; likewise, women were only described as submissive to their husbands once, which includes the coverage of the Quiverfull movement in reporter Michelle Tauber's article, "Josh Duggar's Cheating Scandal: His Shocking Double-Life" (2015). In this piece, Tauber quotes a former member of the Quiverfull movement, Vyckie Garrison (2015). It should be noted that Garrison now is the author of the blog, *No Longer Quivering*, where she speaks out against the Quiverfull movement (2015). Tauber writes, "The father's role as the supreme head of the house is a cornerstone of the

conservative patriarchal movement. When a wife submits to her husband, ‘she is told it is a way to open a channel for God to be able to work in his heart’” (p. 49).

Beyond this glaring example, the evidence of gender disparity is subtler. There are inclusions of the words “patriarch” and “matriarch,” which could cause the derivation of authority. Then, there are mentions of how pregnancy is “hard on the body” in Alicia Dennis’s 2010 article, “Still Growing,” where there are passages that seem to place more of the responsibility on Michelle Duggar’s plate to shoulder the needs of all their children.

EVANGELICAL IDENTIFIERS

While categorizing the Duggars as Christians and, even more specifically “conservative Christians” appears prevalent throughout the many of *People* magazine’s articles, the term “evangelical” is only used twice. Furthermore, it is not used at all in *Us Weekly* or *E! News*. This came as a surprise when conducting this research. It may partially be attributed to dates these articles were written, in a time where “evangelical” was less of a buzzword when covering the Christianity community. Yet, while ‘evangelical’ was used infrequently, the article entitled “The Duggars: Their Next Moves” includes information from Jim Bob Duggar that expresses their desire to use the television platform to spread their faith:

“‘The Duggars want to return to TV because they truly believe it was part of God’s plan for them to spread the word about their faith,’ says the source. ‘They are heartbroken that they’ve now lost that platform’” (2015).

Regardless, this does not mean the articles were free of other identifiers of their Christian religion. The *Bible* or Biblical scripture was incorporated into the articles six different times. Everything from the mention of “Bible time” in “What It All Costs” to the mention that

“Derick played spiritual songs the couple both love and read Bible verses and inspirational sayings” in “Jill and Derick Dillard: ‘We Feel So Blessed’” to the mention of Jessa and Ben sharing Bible verses through social media during their courtship in “Jessa and Ben Seewald: Just Getting Started.” However, language specific to their study of and attention to *The Bible* never seemed to be present in this source.

More commonly mentioned than the holy book of Christianity was the frequency at which God was mentioned in the articles. The words “God,” “Jesus,” or “Lord” appeared in 15 of the 20 articles, or 75% of the articles. This included everything from turning to God in moments of crisis, submitting to God’s will regarding the number of children they had, thanking God for their many blessings, and more. Often, this was sealed with a statement of their prayer lives, in both good and bad times. In “Duggars Scandal: A Family’s Dark Secrets,” Michelle Duggar says about the sex abuse allegations against her son Josh, “We pray that as people watch our lives, they see that we are not a perfect family” (p. 53). During Jill’s challenging labor with her firstborn, she states in the article “Jill and Derick Dillard: ‘We Feel So Blessed’”: “‘I was praying to give me strength...I was really scared and nervous, but I was praying.’” Finally, even the subject of the prayer circle that took place prior to Jessa and Ben Seewald’s wedding “...asking for blessing from God for the couple and any children the two might have” was mentioned in “Jessa Duggar Weds: Starting Their Forever.” Overall, the majority of the articles made it clear that the Duggars were of the Christian faith; however, the authors were able to withdraw their opinion for the most part when covering this topic.

USWEEKLY

Author of the Article	Pictures in the Article?	Date of Article	Women Focused Upon in Article	Occupation of Women a Focus?	Education of Women a Focus?
Us Weekly (n=2; 10%) Jamie Blynn (n=5; 25%) Sarah Grossbart (n=1; 5%) Joyce Chen (n=2; 10%) Esther Lee (n=6; 30%) Allison Takeda (n=2; 10%) Stephanie Webber (n=1; 5%) Sophie Vokes-Dugeon (1; 5%)	Yes (n=20; 100%) No (n=0; 0%)	2008 (n=0; 0%) 2009 (n=0; 0%) 2010 (n=0; 0%) 2011 (n=0; 0%) 2012 (n=0; 0%) 2013 (n=0; 0%) 2014 (n=4; 20%) 2015 (n=16; 80%)	Most all the Duggar women (n=4; 20%) Anna Duggar (n=6; 30%) Jessa Duggar (n=9; 45%) Jill Duggar (n=5; 25%) Jinger Duggar (n=0; 0%) Jana Duggar (n=0; 0%) Amy Duggar (n=1; 5%) Josie Duggar (n=0; 0%) Michelle Duggar (n=2; 10%)	Yes (n=2; 10%) No (n=18; 90%)	Yes (n=1; 5%) No (n=19; 95%)

Portrayed as a Mother-Figure?	Women's Apparel a Focus?	Subject of Modesty Brought Up?	Which Apparel/Appearance Elements Found in Photos or Discussed?	Sex or Sexuality Brought Up?	Sexual Abuse Brought Up?
Yes (n=11; 55%) No (n=9; 45%)	Yes (n=1; 5%) No (n=19; 95%)	Yes (n=1; 5%) No (n=19; 95%)	Skirt at or below the knee (n=4; 20%) Shirt neckline above the collarbone (n=16; 80%)	Yes (n=16; 80%) No (n=4; 20%) Premarital Sex (n=1; 5%)	Yes (n=16; 80%) No (n=4; 20%)

				Postmarital Sex (n=1; 5%)	
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Women Described as "Promiscuous?"	Men Described as Household Leaders?	Women Described as Submissive to Men?	Discussion of The Bible?	Mention of God or Jesus?	Word "Evangelical" Written in Article?
Yes (n=1; 5%)	Yes (n=2; 10%)	Yes (n=6; 30%)	Yes (n=3; 15%)	Yes (n=13; 65%)	Yes (n=0; 0%)
No (n=19; 95%)	No (n=18; 90%)	No (n=14; 70%)	No (n=17; 85%)	No (n=7; 35%)	No (n=20; 100%)

*n=number of articles; %=number of articles/20

16 of the 20 articles analyzed from this entertainment magazine were reported upon in 2015, while the remaining four were from 2014. While this was partially due to the limitations of accessibility to *Us Weekly*, this more prevalently inherently speaks to the increase in magazine coverage of the Duggars upon the emergence of the Josh Duggar's sexual abuse into the public sphere. Therefore, a lot of the content centers on this subject and impacts the coverage of the Duggar women as well. All 20 articles had at least one picture, and the stories were reported upon by eight different authors. Although eight reporters were represented in this study, over half of all the articles were written by either Jamie Blynn or Esther Lee. Only three of Silk's frames were overtly represented in these articles, but the topics of interest told a much richer story about the world of the mixture between the digital and print platforms. For Jamie Blynn, approximately half of her works contained a specified frame while the other half did not appear to have a frame. Only two of Lee's six articles were coded as having a frame.

FRAMES

The frames were broken down as follows based on the information provided above for

Us Weekly:

- Four articles (20%) were framed as “The Naïve One”
- One article (5%) was framed as the doer of “Good Works”
- One article (5%) was coded as the “Supernatural Believer”
- One article (5%) was framed as a combination of “Over-friendly or Over-tolerant” and “The Naïve One”
- Another article (5%) was framed as a combination of “Over-friendly or Over-tolerant” and the “Supernatural Believer”
- Two articles (10%) were coded as a frame other than the ones identified by Silk:
 - The “Ultraconservative Rule Follower”
 - The one who is “Loyal/Faithful to a Fault”
- The remaining 50% of the articles had no apparent framing

Silk’s frames were not as present in *Us Weekly* with only two of the 20 overtly using one of his frames. The frame that appeared most frequently was “The Naïve One.” In these cases, the Duggar women were portrayed as innocent, protected, childlike, or even oblivious in the realities of the world or their own lives. For almost all the articles framed as “The Naïve One,” Jill and Jessa Duggar were at the center of attention. This can likely be attributed to the fact that in 2014 and 2015, these women were amidst the beginnings of their courtships with their now husbands and, ultimately, getting married. In articles focused on courtship and marriage,

their traditional, physical boundaries are consistently illuminated. With these boundaries also comes the association of innocence and parental protection. As a result, the frame of “naivety” frequents the publication.

OCCUPATION

The occupation of the Duggar women was only mentioned in two of the 20 articles analyzed for this study from *Us Weekly*. Similar, only one article from this source had their education or educational level of the Duggar women mentioned. Jill’s period of training to be a midwife was the women’s occupation most frequently mentioned, whereas the men’s occupation and collegiate education was often the forefront of conversations. Just to provide a few examples, article one entitled “Jill & Derick Dillard” mentioned that Derick Dillard was an accountant, article two entitled “Jessa & Ben Engaged!” mentions husband-to-be Ben Seewald’s education at the National Park Community College while Jessa’s practicing of her cooking skills to be a good homemaker was highlighted. Finally, one article mentions Seewald as a “real estate trainee” even in the piece covering their wedding, whereas Jessa is simply painted as a mother-to-be. While the sample quotations above are not frequent or significant enough to make official conclusions, it does speak to the author’s view of what is considered to be a legitimate career. The life as a mother for the Duggars was substantially more interesting and/or predictable for these authors than alternative options.

APPEARANCE

The appearance of the Duggar women was not as much of a factor for *Us Weekly*. Only one article mentioned a Duggar woman’s clothes and one article brought up the subject of

modesty. The occurrence of this mention was regarding Jessa Duggar's wedding dress in the article entitled "Jessa's Big Day"; the tone taken on in addressing her apparel is far from derogatory, but rather just took note of the gown being modest in their description of the dress.

12 of the images accompanying the article showed them wearing shirts that covered the collarbone, and four of the images featured the women wearing long skirts classified as at the knee or below. However, this has less to do with framing and more to do with the Duggars' choice in apparel. (In fact, their decision to dress in this way will be addressed in the segment on *E! News* as they discuss it in their book, *Growing Up Duggar: It's All About Relationships*.) The majority of the images selected are posed, professional images, with only the occasional image being taken from social media. Apart from these two elements, appearance does not appear to be a focus included in the *Us Weekly* coverage of the Duggars from 2008 to 2015.

SEX AND SEXUALITY

80% of the articles had sex and sexuality mentioned in some way; additionally, one article brought up premarital sex and another brought up post-marital sex. In only one article, "Jessa's Big Day," does a Duggar woman come off as being promiscuous, or least trying to add greater suspense to a physical activity. She writes:

"For now, the next page in the 19 Kids and Counting stars' relationship includes...hand-holding. (In accordance with their conservative Baptist beliefs, the duo set strict physical boundaries when they began courting in September 2013). Like her older sister Jill and husband Derick Dillard, who wed in June, they'll save their first kiss for the altar. The wait is almost over, though." (p. 57)

While this is far from the only article to highlight the Duggar women's first kiss, the way this is written makes it sound as though she is doing something scandalous. Conversely, there are some quotations that reinforce elements of "The Naive One" frame, such as the following quotation from the first article analyzed from *Us Weekly*: "It is safer and makes it more special to wait for your first kiss until your wedding day" (*Us Weekly*, p. 55, 2014). In saying this, Jill Duggar indicates that there is less risk that they could be overly physical or even break their abstinence before marriage policy if they avoid the risk of kissing. At the same time, she is quoted in this article as stating that there would not be a waiting period before pregnancy following their marriage. We now know that she meant this earnestly as she became pregnant within two weeks of her wedding day.

However, the majority of the mentions of sex in *Us Weekly* were again be tied to the actions of Josh Duggar, as sexual abuse was also mentioned in 80% of the articles. There is the common mention of how "Josh had 'fondled the breasts and genitals of four of his sisters plus a babysitter'" as we see in the article, "Duggars Defend Josh" (2015). However, his misconduct is in some ways justified by the family in a favorable way in this article while the author of the article, Sarah Grossbart, also brings in a psychologist as a source who was quoted as blaming the family for Josh's wrongdoing. On the one hand, the Duggars articulate in this article that Josh was just "too curious" during puberty, which seems to be an attempt to provide some reasoning into his behavior (49). On the other hand, a psychology professor from the University of Massachusetts named Sharon Lamb challenges Josh's actions, saying that acting upon these sexual urges is the uncommon part; however, she also blames his lack of sexual education on

this downfall (49). Overall, Josh Duggar's alleged sexual abuse and subsequent misconduct had a major impact on the coverage of the Duggars and the content that the reporters selected.

Yet, along with this breaking news, the inner workings and beliefs of Anna Duggar soon became a topic of conversation in *Us Weekly*, just as they were in *People*. In one *Us Weekly* story, Esther Lee reports on a letter from a woman Georgia that went viral on social media. In this letter, the writer claims that Anna Duggar is in a terrible position and that she was shackled to this loser because his family was famous in their religious circle." She adds that "[Anna] lived up to the standard that men set for her of being chaste and Godly and in return, the man who demanded this of her sought women who were the opposite. 'Be this,' they told her. She was. It wasn't enough" (2015). While these are not the direct words of the author, her choice to take this user-generated content from social media and turn it into what she would consider "newsworthy" content is telling. This becomes even more of a factor in *E! News*

Finally, coverage of Michelle Duggar's protest of laws in Arkansas and removal of images of same-sex couples' kissing pictures from the Duggar family's Facebook page, as described in the article, "Duggars Under Fire," reinforced the negative stereotype that evangelical Christians are intolerant of gays and lesbians (2014). While *Us Weekly* did not pass judgment on the events through the tone or frame of the article, the questions the article raised was whether or not Michelle was the only one to be carrying out these protests. After looking into news sources ranging from the *Huffington Post* to the *Fayetteville Flyer*, it appears some of the men in the family, especially Josh and Jim Bob Duggar, held similar views. One must question if Michelle was singled out because she is a Christian woman.

GENDER DISPARITY

In other ways, however, gender roles disparities were not prevalent in the *Us Weekly* articles. Only one of 20 articles alluded to men being household leaders and two of 20 articles saw women as submissive to men. The most obvious example of this being apparent is in the article last mentioned: "Georgia Mom's Open Letter About Anna Duggar Goes Viral on Facebook: Raise Your Girls to 'Breathe Fire'" by Esther Lee. The Georgia mom views Anna as entirely reliant upon her husband, Josh Duggar, and that her lack of education and work experience cause her to be helpless (2015). In other articles, such as "Jill, Jessa Duggar Want to Raise Awareness About Sexual Abuse Amid Brother Josh's Scandal," there is mention of criticism of Anna Duggar's decision to remain with Josh Duggar, despite various accusations. For the most part, Anna is portrayed as the "damsel in distress" among the Duggar women.

EVANGELICAL IDENTIFIERS

While the term "evangelical" was never used as an adjective describing the Duggars in the *Us Weekly* articles researched and there are few if any indications that they are outwardly seeking to convert others to Christianity, there were many other indicators of their Christian faith. Despite the terms of "ultraconservative," "rigid religion," and "ultrareligious" found in various articles throughout this study, most mentions of their beliefs were via quotations from the Duggars rather adjectives used by the author. For example, God and/or Jesus was mentioned in some capacity in 13 of the articles. This included quotations such as "God has written an amazing story through our courtship..." regarding Jessa Duggar and Ben Seewald's relationship prior to their engagement (Blynn, 57, 2014) and Anna's praise of Josh as "someone

who had gone down a wrong path and had humbled himself before God and those whom he had offended (Takeda, 2015).

However, several authors bring in outside sources to provide expertise or opinions about how the Duggars beliefs impact their own lives. For instance, Esther Lee's incorporation of Jessica Kirkland, the Georgian woman mentioned above, in *Us Weekly* influences the framing of the Duggar women. Kirkland voices her beliefs that "[Anna's] beliefs, the very thing she would turn to for comfort in this kind of crisis, are the VERY REASON she is in this predicament in the first place" (2015). Vyckie Garrison, a former member of the Quiverfull movement, is brought in as a source for the article, "Why Anna Won't Leave: A rigid religion traps Duggar with a cheating 'hypocrite' of a husband" as she was for previously referenced *People* magazine article, "Josh Duggar's Cheating Scandal: His Shocking Double-Life" (2015). As can be recalled from the previous account, Garrison is speaking on behalf of the Quiverfull movement. She says, "abandoning Josh would break her mother-in-law Michelle Duggar's prized JOY tenet: 'Put Jesus first, others second, yourself last.' Garrison's take: 'As long as her priority is God, Anna will have the joy of the Lord'" (Blynn, p. 51, 2015). Although both *Us Weekly* and *People* magazine relied on Garrison as a source, it should be noted that the Duggars have never proclaimed to be part of the Quiverfull movement and there is no indication that Garrison knows the Duggars on a personal level.

Finally, while the mention of God is prevalent throughout the *Us Weekly* articles, Biblical mentions are not nearly as common. Only three articles mentioned the *Bible* and/or scripture in the articles analyzed. It is mentioned in "Jessa & Ben Engaged!" that they began their relationship by discussing scripture via text message (2014). In "Jessa Duggar Posts Bible Passage on Instagram Following Brother Josh Duggar's Cheating Scandal," the journalist, Joyce

Chen bases the content of the article on a social media post from Jessa containing scripture.

Similarly, Esther Lee brings in Twitter content, or “tweets,” from Amy Duggar that, in addition to many tweets about God, also includes a mention of her attending a Bible study. The number of mentions of God, their beliefs, and their values far outweigh the mentions of the Holy Book.

E! NEWS

Author of the Article	Pictures in the Article?	Date of Article	Women Focused Upon in Article	Occupation of Women a Focus?	Education of Women a Focus?
Francesca Bacardi (n=3; 15%)	Yes (n=20; 100%)	2008 (n=0; 0%)	Most all Duggar Women (n=2; 10%)	Yes (n=1; 5%)	Yes (n=2; 10%)
Mike Vulpo (n=2; 10%)	No (n=0; 0%)	2009 (n=1; 5%)		No (n=19; 95%)	No (n=18; 90%)
Alyssa Toomey (n=2; 10%)		2010 (n=0; 0%)	Anna Duggar (n=1; 5%)		
Brett Malec (n=2; 10%)		2011 (n=3; 15%)	Jessa Duggar (n=6; 30%)		
Marianne Garvey (n=2; 10%)		2012 (n=0; 0%)	Jill Duggar (n=11; 55%)		
Lilly Harrison (n=1; 5%)		2013 (n=0; 0%)	Jinger Duggar (n=1; 5%)		
Zach Johnson (n=1; 5%)		2014 (n=7; 35%)	Jana Duggar (n=1; 5%)		
Rebecca Mecatee (n=1; 5%)		2015 (n=9; 45%)	Amy Duggar (n=3; 15%)		
Jordana Ossad (n=1; 5%)			Josie Duggar (n=0; 0%)		
Chima Simone (n=1; 5%)			Michelle Duggar (n=3; 15%)		
Chris Harnick (n=1; 5%)					
Jennifer Arrow (n=1; 5%)					

5%)					
Joal Ryan (n=1; 5%)					
Bruna Nessif (n=1; 5%)					

Portrayed as a Mother-Figure?	Women's Apparel a Focus?	Subject of Modesty Brought Up?	Which Apparel/Appearance Elements Found in Photos or Discussed?	Sex or Sexuality Brought Up?	Sexual Abuse Brought Up?
Yes (n=13; 65%)	Yes (n=4; 20%)	Yes (n=1; 5%)	Skirt at or below the knees (n=7; 35%)	Yes (n=5; 25%)	Yes (n=4; 20%)
No (n=7; 35%)	No (n=15; 80%)	No (n=19; 95%)	Shirt neckline above the neckline (n=11; 55%)	No (n=15; 75%)	No (n=16; 80%)
			Hair in bun (n=2; 10%)		
			Other (n=0; 0%)		

Women Described as "Promiscuous?"	Men Described as Household Leaders?	Women Described as Submissive to Men?	Discussion of The Bible?	Mention of God or Jesus?	Word "Evangelical" Written in Article?
Yes (n=5; 25%)	Yes (n=2; 10%)	Yes (n=2; 10%)	Yes (n=2; 10%)	Yes (n=9; 45%)	Yes (n=0; 0%)
No (n=15; 75%)	No (n=18; 90%)	No (n=18; 90%)	No (n=18; 90%)	No (n=11; 55%)	No (n=20; 100%)

*n=number of articles; %=number of articles/20

E! News is not a traditional magazine, but rather an entertainment site that has begun to claim itself as a news source, making it a useful outlet to compare and contrast content with *People* and *Us Weekly*. Therefore it was decided that it would provide a good contrast to *People* and *Us Weekly*. While the content themes remained fairly consistent, the ways in which they were approached were different, partially due to the sources of information and headline

language. As will likely be apparent in the various sections below, the articles titles are meant to draw in the reader to click on the article, but often are not reflective of the actual content.

There were 14 different authors represented throughout this study, so there was less risk of author-specific bias. The dates of these articles were a little more diversified than the other two sources: nine articles were from 2015, seven from 2014, three from 2011 and one from 2009. However, something that was striking was how many times Jill Duggar had been featured as a key figure in the *E! News* articles. She was a primary subject of the articles 11 times, followed by Jessa who was a primary feature six times. While framing theory suggests that all articles have frames, the highest count of a frame was one not identified by Silk.

FRAMES

Six articles (30%) appeared to follow Silk's or other researchers' frames in their purest form:

- Three articles (15%) were coded as "Over-friendly/Over-tolerant"
- One article (5%) was coded as "The Naive One"
- Two articles (10%) were coded as "Hypocritical"

One article (10%) was coded as a blend between "Over-friendly/Over-tolerant" and "The Naive One." Additionally, three other common frames were identified outside of the religions news frames noted elsewhere. These are the frames of "Large Families as Society's Enemy," "The Rebellious One," and "Women as Babymakers." While the first two frames were only present for one article each, "Women as Babymakers" was prevalent throughout *E! News* as it was identified five different times. The remaining six articles did not appear to be framed according to Silk or any alternative frames considered.

However, unlike *Us Weekly* where Jessa and Jill were the primary subjects of interest for “The Naïve One” frame, both Anna Duggar and Michelle Duggar also join these two women in the spotlight when it pertains to becoming pregnant and having children. At some point in this sample, each of these Duggar women are framed as “women as babymakers” whether it was the overarching frame of the content or not. While this would stand to reason for many as the Duggar family’s brand is built on their constantly growing family, it also has the potential to promote stereotypes of male dominance, especially as it pertains to the culture of evangelical Christians.

OCCUPATION

The careers and education of the Duggar women once again received little attention in *E! News*, with occupation only having been mentioned in one article and education having been mentioned in two. While Derick Dillard’s job as an employee of Walmart is shown via a photograph, Jill Duggar’s job as a midwife-in-training is not even mentioned in the article, “Jill Duggar Enjoys Workplace Lunch Date With Hubby Derick Dillard: See the Cute Pic.” Most commonly, rather than highlighting anything that is revealing about the women, they choose the “low hanging fruit” and simply focus on Jill and Jessa’s plans as a mothers-to-be rather than bringing out other elements of their occupations as they have done for these future fathers. This is one example of the “Women as Babymakers” frame that was ubiquitous throughout this source.

However, “Find Out Michelle Duggar's Latest Pregnancy News!” stood out in this category (2011). Based on the headline, it is likely the first thought that came to mind was that

the article would be solely about Michelle Duggar's experience with pregnancy. However, this article developed into a biography of their family, largely from the point of view of Michelle. In this article we learn more about Jim Bob and Michelle's views on education:

“Michelle says, ‘We say to them, you just go through life looking for opportunities, learn more skills from people who are professionals at what they do, because usually people are eager to teach you what they know if you have a learning spirit. The great thing about homeschooling is that we all get to learn things together’” (Arrow, 2011).

Although this article was in 2011, when the majority of the Duggar children were still of high school age or younger, she mentions their strengths, their passions, and their recent enrollment in the online CollegePlus program; all things that are rarely mentioned in other articles (2011).

APPEARANCE

Apparel matched the mentions in *People* with a total of four, but only one direct association of the Duggar women in regard to their modest style of dress. However, as all of the articles included photos, some elements often associated with modesty were apparent regardless of the absence of direct descriptions. Seven images featured the women in skirts that fell below the knee, many near the ankles. Also, while perhaps tied up more loosely than the conservative version that many stereotype with traditional Christians, two images featured Duggar women with their hairs in buns.

On occasion, stereotypical descriptors were included in the articles, including describing Jill Duggar “glowing” and incorporating Instagram users’ comments about how good she looks pregnant occur in the “Jill Duggar's Baby Bump Is Getting So Big!—See the Pic!” (2014).

However, that would not be considered a frame regarding evangelical women, but rather just

women. While most would likely find this complimentary, it does differentiate pregnant women from the rest of society.

However, the article that provides the deepest insight into the Duggar women's choice in clothing and views on appearance in relation to their faith is "Growing Up Duggar: 5 Most Surprising Revelations From the Family's New Book!" by Chima Simone (2014). Simone takes this article and uses it as her platform to extract information from the book and then express her thoughts on their lifestyles with a sarcastic tone and what seems like feigned enthusiasm. We learn through this article that the reason the majority of the Duggar women's hair is long is due to Scripture from 1 Corinthians saying that having long hair is part of a woman's glory (2014). Simone chimes in and writes:

"While a lot of women obsess over labels like Christian Dior or Christian Louboutin, these girls keep it strictly Christian--preferring to dress in frugal 'feminine skirts and dresses,' they purchase at their favorite places to shop, thrift stores and consignment shops" (2014).

There were two elements in this quotation that are worthy of attention: first, her description of their clothing as "strictly Christian." In doing this, she is stereotyping frugal clothing with all Christians and tying in faith to their low-maintenance clothing when there does not appear to be any connection between the two identified by Jana, Jinger, Jessa, or Jill. Secondly, the use of single quotations around feminine skirts and dresses causes one to insinuate that Simone does not like their clothing, but that they also have a different view of what is considered "feminine" than the women who "obsess over labels." If there had been double quotation marks, it would have seemed more likely that these words were actually direct quotes from the book.

SEX AND SEXUALITY

While mentions of sex and sexual abuse may have not been as widespread in the content of the *E! News* articles, the use of sexuality or drama in the headlines compensated for the difference. Regardless of the main subject of the content, the headlines were used as less of a description of what the online audience could expect to read than as “click bait” to entice readers. Sex/Sexuality was mentioned only 25% of the time, and sexual abuse was only mentioned 20%. Yet, the insinuation of promiscuity of one or more of the Duggar women was also at 25%, two more articles than *People* and *Us Weekly* combined.

In the article “Growing Up Duggar: 5 Most Surprising Revelations from the Family’s New Book!,” journalist Chima Simone writes: “These 20-year-old-virgins (and older) are absolutely against sex and cohabitating before marriage....But they’re also against hand-holding, kissing and actually dating” (2014). Simone seems to be making fun of the Duggar women’s decision to remain abstinent before marriage and tries to make them part of a joke by writing “These 20-year-old virgins (and older).” Secondly, the Duggars’ views on courting are commonly covered in articles on the family. However, unlike other articles, Simone seems to allude that their courtships should not be considered dating. In doing so, she seems to equate dating with physical intimacy, and further reinforces a social stigma of their conflicts between evangelical Christians and sexuality.

While the next example was technically instigated by television, *E! News* reinforces stereotypes in “Law & Order: SVU’s Twisty Take on the Duggars Will Leave You Reeling” by Chris Harnick. Shortly after the news of Josh Duggar’s sexual abuse broke, *Law & Order: SVU* chose to take their own spin on the event. However, in doing so, the makers of *Law & Order* and Harnick

reinforce the naivety frame through a young Christian girl. Harnick writes: “the SVU team investigates a famous reality TV family when it’s discovered that one of the virtuous 13-year-old daughters is pregnant....My being pregnant is God’s will,” Lane says in the clip below. “I just didn’t think God would let it happen until I was married” (2015). While this certainly places no blame on the girl’s fictitious character, it does affect stereotypes of Christian women. By associating this sort of thought process of this fictitious character likely meant to be Jessa or Jill Duggar, they are inherently sharing the blame not only with Josh Duggar but also with the Christian faith and their parents.

Additionally, in the article “Pregnant Jill Duggar Got Married 90 days ago, but is 93 days along: Here's Why That Doesn't Mean She Had Premarital Sex”, reporter Bruna Nessif does an investigation into the likelihood that Jill Duggar and Derick Dillard became pregnant prior to their wedding.

“In other words, the counting begins about two weeks before you have even conceived,” JustMommies.com explains. She was already married (barely, but still) when they had sex. Mystery solved! *Whew.*”

The use of “barely” in this instance serves to make it sound like Jill was being promiscuous. However, most would agree that you can either be “married” or “not married,” and the use of barely to qualify it is inappropriate in this context.

Finally, in just one example of many found in the research on *E! News*, “Jill Duggar and Derick Dillard Share Passionate Kiss, but Is it Steamier Than Past Family PDA Moments?” by Mike Vulpo tries to sexualize an Instagram post of the couple kissing. We have all heard the phrase “sex sells.” It appears that reporters from E! News are trying to capitalize on this belief.

In one paragraph of the article, Vulpo writes “Get ready for another Duggar PDA moment!” (2014). Subsequently, he describes it as a “sweet moment” in another paragraph. By most people’s standards, it would simply be seen as a fairly typical “kissing selfie.” Yet, in order to turn what would typically would not be considered a newsworthy topic into something sellable, the journalist amps up interest through the speculation of the kiss being “steamier.”

GENDER DISPARITY

Men were rarely framed as household leaders or the women as submissive to men in this entertainment news source. While you do see the occasional terms of “matriarch” and “patriarch” thrown around, there were only two articles that had substantial stake in this topic. Arguably Michelle sounds submissive to Jim Bob in “Michelle Duggar Reveals Struggle with Bulimia as a Teenager” by Jordana Ossad. She is quoted saying, "You can't keep secrets from the man you want to share your life with. I shared this struggle with him and he said he would help me and help keep me accountable" (2014). Some may not view this is a submissive attitude coverage, but there are hints that lead one to question if Jim Bob has more of the control in their relationship. Admittedly, others could interpret this in a very different way. Similarly, the Law & Order SVU episode discussed early does make Christian women and, indirectly, the Duggar women appear submissive to men. Even though the women were not directly featured and the show did not exactly replicate the situation, it did reinforce a “male dominance” culture.

EVANGELICAL IDENTIFIER

As has perhaps come to be expected based on the trends in the previous two sources, God and Jesus received much more emphasis than the *Bible* throughout the *E! News* articles. In “Jill Duggar’s Baby Bump Is Getting So Big!--See the Pic!,” Jill talks about how she wants as many children as God would give her (Bacardi, 2014). Amy Duggar’s Instagram caption was included in “Amy Duggar and Dillon King are Engaged --See Her Ring!”: “He loves the Lord, he makes me laugh uncontrollably, he's loyal, he's patient, he's my best friend! Of course I said yes!! I love you so much! @kingdillpickle #DillandDuggsforever” (Bacardi, 2015). In “Find Out Michelle Duggar’s Latest Pregnancy News,” Michelle says that God has provided for their family throughout their lives (Arrow, 2011). These are just a few examples of many.

In all the previous examples, none of Silk’s frames are apparent in the writing. However, if looking at “Pregnant Jill Duggar Got Married 90 days ago, but is 93 days along: Here's Why That Doesn't Mean She Had Premarital Sex,” Nessif described the Duggars “super-conservative” and “traditional” (2014). Even though the mention of their religious beliefs was not incorporated in this sentence, it could easily be assumed that these terms are associated with her Christian faith.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

Revisiting the goals of this research, the questions that were explored include:

RQ1: Which of the frames outlined in Mark Silk's *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America* are used in depictions of the Duggar women in entertainment news?

All of Silk's frames appeared at some point in the research, with some appearing more frequently than others. Slightly under half fell into one or more of Silk's frames, despite his research not initially including "entertainment" news. However, the frames analyzed in this research were not confined to those outlined by Silk, as would be expected, and some articles were not framed with those typical of has traditionally been observed in religion news coverage. The places where the frames were most apparent were articles from *E! News* where personal opinions could be readily found due to the more casual approach to their writing. Additionally, it was typical for these articles to be centered on non-newsworthy topics, so opinions were used to fill out the text where rich information was lacking.

I was not shocked to see Silk's frames appear in this study. I would have initially expected more than 50% of the articles to have fallen into one or more of Silk's frames, with the "Supernatural Believers" appearing most frequently. Some frames were unsurprisingly transferred from woman to woman in the Duggar family due to their closeness in age, their activities (courtship, marriage, pregnancies, childbirth) or lack of activities (boundaries for physical intimacy). Since Jill and Jessa are just a year apart in age and demonstrated many of the same desires of their parents with regard to wanting to have many children, it became easy

for journalists to naturally return to the same frames once covering another pregnancy or another wedding. The Duggars are a unique study as their claim to fame is their large family and their evangelical beliefs. However, by having all three entertainment news magazines consistently placing a focus in their articles on their extreme views on lack of physical intimacy in courtships and decisions to have as many children as God deems appropriate, journalists run the risk of perpetuating extremist stereotypes in these two areas, such as evangelical Christians condemn those who use birth control.

A major shift in the framing took place in mid-2015 due to discovery of Josh Duggar's alleged sexual abuse and subsequent admittance of unfaithfulness to his wife. No matter the initial subjects presented by the headlines, the topics always veered toward the hypocritical actions of Josh Duggar. Anna naturally became caught up in this coverage as she is his wife and the mother of his children who decided to adhere to her marriage vows despite the turmoil. While this on occasion caused framing of Anna as "loyal to a fault," she was most frequently framed by journalists as "naïve." This was sometimes executed by describing her upbringing and her parents' strict rules that caused her innocence; in other instances, it was all about her choice to keep her marriage alive. Likewise, Jill and Jessa, two victims of Josh Duggar's teenage years, too were framed in a similar manner. This shows that situations, not just people, can have a major impact on framing. One could argue Jill, Jessa, and Anna would have reacted differently to Josh's actions had they had different upbringings; however, by showing any signs of forgiveness of Josh related to or unrelated to faith, they became subjected to this frame of naivety, as if they did not understand the gravity of his actions. In a world where gender equality is on the forefronts of conversations in the U.S. and where feminism is gaining

prominence, promoting stereotypes of helplessness, weakness, or submissiveness toward men in evangelical women could create public animosity toward other women of this faith.

When considering the fact Silk first suggested these frames in the 1990s, it is easy to become concerned about the integrity of the coverage of evangelicals by journalists unfamiliar with the religion beat. With the prevalence of these frames, and others, in this study, it seems that stereotypes are multiplying and producing new stereotypes without replacing the ones first identified in the news media. Furthermore, with the more widespread adoption of digital-first platforms, it will become even simpler for these stereotypes to spread more quickly through framing. As Millennials, especially, continue to get their news online, through social media or other means such as entertainment magazines, we must be aware of how frames will impact their views of evangelical women. As journalists, both traditional and nontraditional, we must seek to change the norm of resorting to stereotypes or frames to describe religion, especially those from which we are far removed. We must seek to understand evangelicals before seeking to be understood in order to progress toward more fair coverage, which may be easier said than done in the midst of a time when journalism is struggling financially.

RQ2: Are there framing differences between the more traditional entertainment news media and digitized entertainment news?

There appears to be a difference between traditional news media framing and digitized entertainment news. While major topics such as weddings, childbirth, and the Josh Duggar scandal were consistent throughout all three sources, *E! News* often reported on low importance topic and sought to infuse drama into the situations. *E! News*, unlike *Us Weekly* and

People, did not start off as a magazine but rather as a television show. Therefore, its first goal was entertainment, and that persists in its digital platform. One could argue that digital-only platforms can get by with reporting on topics that by most people's standards are not newsworthy due to the demand for immediacy of the content. However, there is a push to make online content "entertaining" in order to gain readership and increase revenues through clicks. Therefore, the *E! News* reporters use dramatic and sexualized headlines to provoke its online audience to click.

Finally, a key purpose of this research was to evaluate the extent to which entertainment news media feed into or create stereotypes of evangelical Christian women. Surprisingly, while the Duggars are frequently referred to as evangelical Christians today, they were only referred to as "evangelicals" two times out of the 60 articles. The only article that blatantly spoke to their desire to spread their faith through their television show was expressed by Jim Bob Duggar in "The Duggars: Their Next Moves:

"After two months of "near-constant" and "intense" conversations about the future of the show, the source says Jim Bob was not fond of one option being considered: a spinoff centered on Jill and Jessa. "He absolutely wanted to be back on TV and was never thrilled about the show suddenly shifting focus" (Tauber, 2015).

One theory for this is that "evangelical" was less of a buzzword between 2008 and 2015. During the 2016 Presidential election, evangelicalism became a consistent topic of conversation. It would be interesting to study articles on the Duggars from 2016 and determine if there is a difference in the count of references to Duggars as evangelical Christians.

LIMITATIONS

Time and resources are the greatest limitations to this study. Due to time constraints for this study, a limited number of articles can be analyzed. Since there is only one primary researcher throughout this process, there may be elements missed or misinterpreted when gathering results. This is true from the process of identifying and accumulating articles from the various sources to the carrying out the analysis. There are also limits to the amount of analysis a single person can fulfill within this semester-long period. While 60 articles are extensive enough to carry out this study, taking on a greater number over more sources would be ideal. Additionally, only one specific show was the focus of this research which leads to the question of how transferable the results will be to other Christian women in television and print entertainment. Finally, it is necessary to mention some inherent bias that may exist in the suggested findings drawn from the research. While I sought to remain as objective as possible and carried out intracoder reliability tests to ensure improved validity in my coding, it is possible that my life experiences have influenced my answers to an extent. To try to overcome this natural tendency to make assumptions, I sought to base the majority of my findings on quotations found in the articles to substantiate findings.

RESEARCH ON FRAMING OF RELIGION AND MEDIA LITERACY

As discussed in the literature review, this is not the first time that Silk's frames have been critically applied in research to news media. However, this is the first time that his frames have been applied to articles in entertainment news media, which often take a very different journalistic approach as compared to more traditional news sources. Because all Silk's frames

considered for this study appeared in at least one of the 60 articles, with some appearing many times across the three sources, we can reasonably assume that Silk's frames can be considered for multiple different types of news media, thus contributing to a more expanded view of framing religion.

Additionally, this study promotes and enhances media literacy, especially as it pertains to entertainment news media and religion. Media literacy is all about arming news consumers with the resources to better understand and analyze media (Collins & Quijada, n.d.). As the news media continues to transform in the digital era, media justice continues to play a greater role in taking into "account history, culture, privilege, and power" (n.d.). As this study suggests, there is reason to believe there is a history in framing and inherently misrepresenting the religious, as indicated by Silk. Using tools such as the knowledge of the use of Silk's frames will allow us to better recognize the use of stereotypes, understand the media's role in shaping societal perceptions, and "evaluate media messages based on our own experiences, skills, beliefs, and values" (n.d.). This will be crucial to consider both as readers and as journalists.

FUTURE RESEARCH

While all of Silk's frames were not present in each source, they each did appear throughout the course of this study. Sometimes two or more of his frames coincided to form a variation of the initial frames, which suggests that these different frames, or stereotypes, of evangelical women do contain some interacting tendencies that feed off one another. The fact that nearly half of the articles analyzed were coded as either "Overly-friendly/Over-Tolerant," "The Hypocrite," "Good Works," or "Supernatural Believer" should lead future researchers to be more confident

in considering these frames when analyzing coverage of religion in entertainment news. Some may question the transferability of these findings considering only one overarching subject was researched; however, by choosing to analyze the Duggar women, not just a singular woman within the family, we are able to gain more nuances that should hopefully present representative characteristics seen in the evangelical women population in the U.S.

As mentioned above, the limitation of time was especially influential in determining the key focus of my study. While the research questions addressed in this study regarding framing and differences in reporting between platforms are significant, there is still much more to be investigated. To begin with, it would be beneficial to expand this study beyond just the Duggars. This could include subjects such as individuals featured in current and former shows including the stars of *Duck Dynasty*, *Sister Wives*, *Preachers' Daughters* and more. This would allow for a more comprehensive analysis that could provide data on more than just the Duggar women. A similar study could be conducted on Christian men.

Additionally, I would like to explore further how the frames used in the media compare to the realities of evangelicals today, comparing the findings to the constructs of popular culture stereotypes and the actual demographics of the evangelical Christian women in the United States. This could be more deeply explored by looking into how the media influences these stereotypes through focus groups with Millennials as well as interviews with reporters to gain further insight into how their backgrounds could influence coverage.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ARTICLES ANALYZED FOR THE STUDY

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APPENDIX B: QUESTIONS INCLUDED IN CODING SHEET

The original coding sheet was housed in Excel to be able to simplify the quantitative analysis.

Basic Information

- Article Number
- Which of the Duggar Women are Featured?
- Title of the Article
- Date of the Article
- Author of the Article
- Name of Magazine
- Are Photos Included?
 - How many?
 - Who is featured?

- How large are the photos?

Occupation

- Is her occupation revealed? Yes/No
- Is the individual described as a mother-figure? Yes/No
- Is her education/educational level mentioned? Yes/No
- Is there a connection made between career choices and faith? Yes/No

Appearance

- Is apparel addressed? Yes/No
- If photos are included, which of these elements are found:
 - Long skirt
 - High neckline
 - Hair in bun
 - Other
- Is modesty brought up? Yes/No

Sex/Sexuality

- Is sex/sexuality brought up? Yes/No; Was premarital sex mentioned? Post marital sex?
- Is the subject of having children or family planning brought up? Yes/No
- Is there discussion of sexual abuse?
- Is there discussion of dating or marital status? Yes/No
- Is there any allusion of the woman featured acting “promiscuous?”

Gender Disparity

- Are gender roles highlighted?
- Are the husbands described as the household leaders? Yes/No
- Are the women described as submissive to men? Yes/No
- Is she described as a homemaker? Yes/No

Evangelical Identifiers

- Is the Bible brought up? Yes/No
- Is God or Jesus brought up? Yes/No
- Is the subject of church brought up? Yes/No
- Is there discussion of converting others to Christianity? Yes/No
- Is the word “evangelical” included in the article? Yes/No
 - If so, how many times?

Frames

- **Over-friendly/Tolerance**
 - Love
 - Extreme Happiness
 - Friendliness
 - Patience
 - Other
- **The Naive One**
 - Innocence
 - Oblivious
 - Protected
 - Childlike
 - Other
- **Hypocrite**
 - Condemns
 - Helps the afflicted
 - Desire for social reform
 - Strong moral compass
 - Other
- **Supernatural Believer**
 - Ghosts/Spirits
 - Miracles
 - Signs from God
 - Prayerful
 - Other