

FRAMING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH:
THE NEW YORK TIMES
COVERAGE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH 2006-2011

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

COVERAGE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH 2006-2011

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A candidate for the degree of Master of Arts of Journalism

And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

The Catholic Church is portrayed by the media in many different ways. Identifying these portrayals will help discover the audience's perceptions of the Catholic Church in the United States. Guided by the communication theories of social construction of reality and framing, this study explores the question: What are the media frames used to portray the Catholic Church in *The New York Times*? This mixed methods qualitative research study narrows the focus and examines *The New York Times* coverage of the Catholic Church from October 2006 to October 2011. Through a qualitative content analysis of 55 articles, this research revealed three frames portraying the Catholic Church: The Catholic Church is divided, the Catholic Church suffers a loss of membership and the Catholic Church is increasingly irrelevant to parishioners. This research provides a foundation for further research studying the possible salience transfer of the frames presented to various audiences about the Catholic Church. It is also important for the Catholic Church media relations, as well as for the relationship between the church and its member

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

Within American society, the Roman Catholic Church adds its voice to the many debates concerning a wide range of issues such as, shelters for the poor, national healthcare, education, abortion, and same sex marriage. Within the national debate framework, the church is also engaged in an internal dialogue concerning celibacy, the role of women, and the shortage of priests. As a religious institution, the church claims to speak from a moral position. The church attempts to provide clear teachings and works to interact with the community and the media. The Catholic Church presents frames to society and the media, to shape opinion regarding what they view as important. In turn, the media likewise has the ability to shape the discussion by the frames they employ to report on the Catholic Church. This further shapes public opinion. How Catholics and non-Catholics view the church is to some extent, based on how the church is portrayed in the media. Movies, television dramas, and situational comedies all serve to frame and portray the church in various ways to its audience. These portrayals could be significant because of the study conducted by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw on television violence. This study supports the theory that people tend to view their society as much more violent because of the violence they witness on television dramas and news programs. This is an indication of some salience transfer from the media to the audience (McCombs & Shaw 1972). Could this type of salience transfer be happening in how the media portrays the Catholic Church and consequently, how the public views or constructs its subjective reality of the church? Due to the lack of previous work conducted on this topic, a foundational study consisting of a mixed methods approach is warranted. The study can then be add to the limited literature on this subject

and used as a foundation for further study on Catholic Church, media frames and any possible salience transfer to the audience.

This study is a qualitative content analysis to determine what media frames are used to portray the Catholic Church. For this study, the researcher does not purpose to examine the whole berth of media that may portray the Catholic Church, as it is beyond the current scope of time and resources of the researcher. Instead, this study narrows its focus to one newspaper. The purpose of this study is to explore the question: What are the media frames used to portray the Catholic Church in *The New York Times*?

Explanation of Concepts, Terms and Definitions

The New York Times with a circulation size of 877,000 was chosen for examining media frames for two reasons. First, it is the nation's largest metropolitan newspaper and has a national audience. Second, *The New York Times* has often been cited by the Catholic League for Civil Rights and Religious Rights (CLCRR), as not accurately reporting on the church.

An important pro- catholic group, "The Catholic League for Civil Rights and Religious Rights" (CLCRR), refers to an anti-defamation and civil rights group founded in 1973 that acts as a defender of Catholic rights. CLCRR President, Bill Donohue, has published many articles about the church in the New York Times to inform the American Community and respond to events involving the Catholic Church in the American community. Within the study, the term "American Community," refers to all American citizens living in the United States regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status or age.

Two media theories form the basis for this study. The first theory is the "Social Construction of Reality." This is defined as symbols created by the media, used by an active audience to make

sense of the world. Hence, the views of the audience are subjective reality that is interpreted to be true and not actually objective reality. “Framing,” forms the second basis of this study. Defined here, framing is the alternate ways of defining issues and highlighting certain aspects of issues leading to the possibility of influencing individuals’ perceptions.

Research Questions

This study explores the media frames *The New York Times* employs to portray the Catholic Church within the United States. By a qualitative content analysis of *The New York Times*, frames will be identified and examined to explore the possible relationship to the audience with the two theories used as the bases of this study. It will also support subsequent quantitative studies of content analysis and form the bases for exploring the question of salience transfer from these frames to the audience.

Identifying these frames is important and may help to discover the audience’s possible perceptions of the Catholic Church in the United States. Studies like McCombs and Shaw mentioned above, support the theory that mass media contributes to the formations of individuals’ opinions. Thus, guided by the social construction of reality and framing theory this study examines the question: What are the media frames used to portray the Catholic Church in *The New York Times*?

In answering the main question, this study seeks to explore three additional sub-questions. First, what are the predominate frames used to portray the Roman Catholic Church among the selected sample? Are certain frames given more importance than other frames in article placement or coverage within the newspaper? Third, what frame if any is presented by the media regarding the sexual abuse scandals within the church?

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

The Catholic Church and the mass media

Criticism regarding the Catholic Church has been around since its foundation. In the early 20th century, the media became more effective with technology, acting in its traditional role of watchdog for the public. This also had the effect of providing a national platform for criticism of public institutions, including the Catholic Church. Today, some groups among the clergy, laity and non-Catholics, state that the media is using opposing views on social issues and the pedophilia scandals, as a means to attack the church's credibility, faith and traditions. A reference to the amount of perceived negative media coverage on the Catholic Church is used to support this view. Others see a more ominous plan of action against the church.

Many in the church view the scandals, as a means to attack the church on positions taken in society. Cardinal Norberto Rivera, who was seen as a possible successor to Pope John Paul II, views the media coverage as an orchestrated plan for striking at the Catholic Church. He also states that past persecutions of the church start with the delegitimizing individuals of the church (Allen, 2002). This interview is noteworthy by the fact that Cardinal Rivera is a highly placed member of the church and is reflective of at least part of the media's coverage. Also of importance, he personally knows Cardinal Bernard Law of the Boston diocese, where the first major stories of sexual abuse were reported. These views are not only shared by many inside the clergy but other groups as well.

The CLCRR views the media coverage of church scandals, as an attack on the church. CLCRR president Bill Donohue says that Catholics are being targeted by the phenomena of collective guilt, which is the hallmark of bigotry. He attempts to link the media, in what he says are increased attacks on the Church (Donohue, 2010). His views are as important as Cardinal Rivera's because of his high profile within the church. It is also reflective of the views within the clergy and laity leadership. While he says that the church is responsible for its actions, the on-going coverage (attacks) on the church is unsubstantiated (Donohue 2010). Donohue and the CLCRR have voiced similar concerns since 1996. Saying the media consistently attacks the Catholic Church through its portrayals, Donohue claimed the media portrays the Catholic Church in the United States in one of four different ways: 1. The Catholic Church is Intolerant and anachronistic, 2. The Catholic Church is conservative on issues of morality, 3. The Catholic Church is liberal on social issues, and 4. The Catholic Church is a refuge for sexual deviates and pedophiles (Donahue, 1996).

Reverend Andrew Greeley, writing in a national Roman Catholic magazine, claims *The New York Times* has launched an attack on the priesthood. Greeley also says that the media is attempting to expand on the sex abuse scandals, by reporting that 1.8 percent of American priests are sex abusers. He believes this implies the church harbors sexual abusers. Greeley sees this as a non-issue and states that the percentage of abusers matches the general American population (Greeley, 2003). *Catholic Advocate* president Deal Hudson, terms the coverage of the sexual abuse scandals as bias. Hudson terms the coverage as, "media bashing" of the Church, by *The New York Times*. He points additionally to the negative amount of coverage on the pope as an indication of this bias (Hudson, 2010). Although many clergy and laity in the Catholic Church,

as well as many non-Catholics, may share these views of biased media coverage, others may not. This sort of criticism of the church is not new however.

Since its foundations, the Catholic Church has been accused of covering up alleged sexual abuse and misconduct by the clergy. Rumors and stories of priests being transferred to other areas, quietly retired, or sent on sabbatical, have persisted for centuries (Isely, 1997). The American Catholic Church has not been immune to these allegations, nor the stories of cover-ups. In 1984, Louisiana reporter Jason Berry reported extensively on the sexual abuse of children in the Louisiana diocese and the associated cover-up by the church leadership. There was relatively little reporting on the incident by the national media and little public outcry. Even after 1987, when it was discovered that the American Catholic Church had transferred up to thirty-five priests to different dioceses after abuse allegations, there was barely a whisper of public concern (Cannon 2002). This however, changed in 2002. That year, the Boston Globe uncovered ongoing sexual abuse by the now defrocked Boston priest, John J. Geoghan. Geoghan was eventually accused of sexually abusing over 542 children. He was convicted in 130 cases and was sentenced to life in prison. After the Boston Globe uncovered the abuse and attempted cover-ups by the church leadership, there was a large public outcry against the Catholic Church. Following this, dozens of new sexual abuse cases against priests in the United States came to light (Hart, 2002). Whatever the reason for the increased news coverage of the church centering on the sex abuse issues, the media effects on the U.S. audience could impact how the American community views the Catholic Church (Ronan, 2009). Were these increased news coverage of the scandals within the church a result of suspected anti-religious bias in the secular press (Mattingly, 1993), or is it more a result of suspicion by the church and ignorance by the press (Seigenthaler, 2000, p.2)?

Social conflict events typically have the elements that define news, thus noncontroversial actions and events in the church tend to be passed over by most reporters. This results in clergy leaders tending to be distraught by what they say is a negative image given to the church as other matters are not deemed news worthy and so are not reported on (Dart & Allen, p.18). In addition, Moore (2003) found by examining the coverage of the Rev. Jesse Jackson scandal, nonreligious explanations may be just as likely as religious ones to explain the media coverage of conflicts within a religion or any social organization. In the case of religion news, misdeeds or doctrinal arguments in the church are social conflict events that are codified by the value of maintaining the “social order” (Gans, p.62).

Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) assert that human beings evolutionary imperative has made humans “hardwired” for risk determination and thus for conflict news. As such, it helps to protect them from risks in their environments (Shoemaker, 1996, P. 44). In this way, the media is seen to serve people as identifying risks to our environment and disturbance in our “social order.” Recent research in this however has generally been inconclusive of these assertions, resulting in more questions than answers.

A content analysis on the frequency of conflict stories concerning religion published in Atlanta and Houston newspapers did indicate that the size of the denomination was relative to the number of stories written about it, but the amount of coverage deemed negative (conflict) increased in one paper and declined in the other during the same time period (Fred Vultee, Stephanie Craft and Matthew Velker, p. 159, 2010). This study looked quantitatively at religion in general and overall faith and values, which when published in the newspapers, were non-religion specific and at times non-value specific, thus making their coding and textual analysis problematic.

Why the Coverage Matters

Is there any merit to the argument that the American media coverage of the church is inherently anti-Catholic and an attempt to attack the Catholic Church? Or is it just a public relations response to “legitimate” news the church feels is damaging? To date there is little research to support or dismiss the CLCRR’s claims of media bias against the church. A study that analyzes the frames the media uses to portray the Catholic Church, will explore this issue. This will aid further research into the effects these frames may have on the public perception of reality regarding the Catholic Church. For this study, I will use a qualitative method using content analysis. While this analysis can be subjective in nature, I believe this method is best for answering my research question. I can discover not only what is portrayed on the surface, but what is not said, or is inaccurate. I will specifically use *The New York Times* as the primary sources for a content analysis of the frames the media uses to portray the Catholic Church in America. I will work from two theories: Social Construction of Reality and Framing. Both theories can be best explain how the media portrays a major religious institution, regardless of the faith and values issues or conflict written about.

Social Construction of Reality

The Roman Catholic Church has been with us for nearly two millennia. During this time, the Catholic Church has had a significant role in western civilization and is intertwined with our present day reality. McQuail (2010) defines social construction of reality as “The process by which events, persons, values and ideas are first defined or interpreted in a certain way and given value and priority largely by mass media, leading to the personal construction of larger pictures of reality” (p.101). Similar to framing the pictures of reality, are selective constructs made up of

fragments of factual information, that are bound together and given meaning by a particular frame (McQuail, 2010, pg. 101). Thus, reality is a perspective, constructed by the person doing the framing. In this way, media can be very effective at selective and biased views of reality and thus, are very influential in what most people believe to be reality (Berger-Luckman 1967, pg. 20). Johnson-Cartee (2005) comment on perceptive reality:

Reality is created through the social process of communication. What one knows and what one thinks one knows are both shaped by the communication process. Thus, what one responds to is a subjective reality created through the process of social interaction (p. 1-2).

The mass is media is a form of communication, thus, social realities can come from mass communication. So what people think, is not objective reality. It is a subjective reality they have interpreted to be true, so they conduct their lives as if it was true.

The Catholic Church, like all things of news value, is subject to framing by journalists. This will affect the audience perceptions of reality about the Church. This study does not attempt to explore these realities but will explore the perspectives of realities presented by the media frames used to portray the Catholic Church.

Framing Theory

In its coverage of the church, the media has created several frames into which the faith has been communicated to the public. The church claims that it is a house built on the cornerstone of Christ. Church history has revealed that it's also a house built with many different frames of conflicting themes. However, this study is looking specifically at the content of American media sources. It looks at the Catholic Church's portrayals in a secular newspaper, *The New York Times*. Knowledge of church history informed the study on the Catholic Church portrayals in the

media. Framing theory and the social construction of reality guides the research as it discovers how the Catholic Church is portrayed in the secular newspaper.

Much like a historian gives interpretations to isolated historical events of the past, the same can be said of the journalist. McQuail (2010) writes, “Framing is a way of giving some overall interpretation to isolated items of facts.” In the journalist context, framing occurs to give the audience a reference to a common-sense notion or some determined news value, which connects one event with other similar ones. By referencing some particular news value that connects one event with other similar ones, stories are given meaning (McQuail 2010, p.380).

Like weavers of fabric, journalists weave or link references together to make sense of the stories they supply to the audience. In doing so, the journalist has produced a blanket that the audience accepts to some degree as fact or reality. Again, framing is a way of giving the big picture or overall interpretation to isolated statements or facts. McQuail (2010) writes, “It is almost unavoidable for journalists to do this and in so doing, depart from pure objectivity and to introduce some unintended bias” (p.380).

Put another way, journalistic framing can be compared to the framing of a church, a building or a house. Cappella and Jamieson (1997) write, “Like the framing of a house, a new frame creates a structure on which other elements are built. There is much in the house that is not the frame, but without the frame there is no house. And the frame determines the shape of the house” (p.38). Applying this to the Catholic Church, arguments could be made both for the strength or weakness of the Catholic house.

McQuail (2010) observes that framing undergoes changes that reflect the goals of sources as well as changing realities. This can be seen during the war with Iraq, as the shift from a master

narrative of patriotic endeavor to a more augmented and ambivalent view as the war dragged on. The framing analyses of the Iraq war offer a convincing impression of underlying meanings and assumptions (p. 382).

Framing does not only happen with the journalist or the communicator. According to Entman (1993), frames have four locations of relevance; the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. At each location, selection and highlighting of information is conducted. The highlighted information is used to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and or solution (p.53). This study focused on the frames present in the text, but it's important to discover where else frames exist. Tankard (2001) states that there are 11 framing mechanisms for identifying news frames: headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logs, statistics and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs (p. 101). By examining these 11 framing mechanisms, a greater understanding of the news frames within the text can be made. This helps to identify the frames as well.

The study of news frames involves two ways of identifying them. According to De Vreese (2005), the first way refrains from analyzing news stories with any prior knowledge of the frames that are to be found. Hence, researchers discover the frames through their source material. The second way of identifying frames is the deductive approach of investigating frames that have been defined prior to beginning the research (p.53). Most scholars favor the deductive approach to framing because the inductive approach in which frames are determined during the analysis can lead to too broad results and usually relies on a small sample that is difficult to replicate (De Vreese, 2005, p. 53-54). Due to the lack of prior research on this topic, this study will use the inductive approach, seeking to discover the frames being used by The New York Times.

The limitations to framing must be noted however, two people might see the same thing differently based on their demographics, so that what one could see a certain way, another would not. This, of course, is all set in the locations and mechanisms for framing. In addition, researchers cannot create frames without any basis for those identifications which can lead to an over reliance on official sources. Under this circumstance, journalists can still have roles in framing a story because they have chosen whom to interview, but when these same sources appear in multiple articles on a subject; it creates standardization in framing (Johnson-Cartee, 2005, p. 223).

Framing effects are also encompassed within framing theory. Cappella and Jamieson (1997) write, "Framing is a very general phenomenon whose specific effects cannot be anticipated until the nature and structure of a particular message frame have been uncovered (p.56). Although this study identifies frames in *The New York Times*, used to portray the Catholic Church, it does not explore or comment on the effects these frames have on audiences. An examination of the media frames is first needed in order to support later research on the media effects provided by these frames.

CHAPTER 3: Research Design and Methodology

This study explores portrayals of the Catholic Church in the mass media by using *The New York Times*. Guided by the social construction of reality and framing theories, this study examines the following research question: What frames are used to portray the Catholic Church by *The New York Times*? Qualitative content analysis is the chosen method for the analysis of sample news stories from *The New York Times*.

The *New York Times* was primarily chosen because it is in the nation's largest metropolitan area with the third largest circulation in the United States. It has a bureau in Washington DC, which is also the headquarters of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, so it has the readily available access to Catholic Sources. Its databases could be readily accessed for copy from the years 2006 thru 2011. The Times has also been at odds with the CLCRR and the Catholic Church over stories presented in the paper.

The sample of news stories from *The New York Times* were taken from the dates ranging October 01, 2006, to October 1, 2011. This span of five years gives a variety of different frames the media portrays the Catholic Church in, while exploring if some frames are more dominate then others. The frames discovered qualitatively during this time period, also sets the foundation for further textual analyses and salience transfer research studies.

In order to ensure the analysis of an appropriate sample, a Lexis-Nexis search was conducted using the search term "Catholic," "Catholic Church," and "Catholic Religion," Each term was chosen so only articles that had a relevance to the Catholic Church appeared. The Lexis-Nexis

search yielded 137 articles in *The New York Times*. Due to this large amount of articles, only articles from section A of the Newspaper were used. Certain types of articles were removed from this initial sample as they yielded inefficient analyses. These types include reviews, news briefs and summaries, corrections, and obituaries and editorials. Duplication of articles and magazine articles were also removed from the initial sample. After the removal of the above articles, 55 articles provided the sample size. This sample size provided a thorough content analysis within the eight week time frame given for this study.

This study primarily identified the frames employed by *The New York Times*. The researcher will note when frames begin occurring frequently in the samples. The researcher also explores the frequency and dominance of these frames and explores their meaning and importance. Hence the study uses the inductive approach to frame analysis.

This study uses the qualitative method of content analysis as its research method. Content textual analysis looks at the hidden meanings of the text that might not be revealed through quantitative content analysis and its accompanying coding. According to Peter Larsen (1991):

The inadequacy of quantitative analyses stems from the methods themselves: when trying to establish the meaning of texts by breaking them down into quantifiable units analyst in fact destroy the very object they are supposed to be studying, since the atomistic character of the resulting data precludes a relevant examination of the relations within each text as a meaningful whole.

This allowed the researcher to take into account all aspects of the content of the articles.

This study is best served by qualitative content analysis rather than quantitative content analysis because in its search to see how the Catholic Church is portrayed, the researcher looked at what is both hidden and what is omitted, not just what can be seen on the surface in the newspaper articles. A qualitative content analysis of how the Catholic Church is portrayed

requires this study to look beyond the simply obvious. Therefore a mixed method of qualitative content analysis and quantitative content analysis was the preferred method over just a quantitative content analysis.

Part of the qualitative content analysis is the superstructure of the news stories. Van Dijk (1991) writes that they follow a “hierarchical schema” that includes headline, lead, main, events, context, history, verbal reactions and comments. He also mentions that the most important information is expressed first and that this adds a “relevance structure” to the text (p.115). To this Van Dijk writes that an alternative way of saying more or less with different words is the style and rhetoric in the text. As a result, the choice of one word over another can reveal a reporter’s opinion or bias about the events in the news story (p.116).

Method Procedures

Guided by framing theory and social construction of reality, 55 articles from *The New York Times* were examined. Key words presented themselves when the researcher conducted the analysis. Certain words and phrases were indicative of the frames discovered. The researcher was aware of the media portrayals of the church claimed by the CLCRR, but did conduct the analysis specifically looking for the frames to support this claim. Hence, inductive reasoning was maintained throughout the analysis. Based on previous studies using qualitative content analysis of newspapers articles (McQuail 2010), the following protocol for analysis was used wherever and whenever extent possible with the digital database of Lexis-Nexis; Content, theme, structure, style and rhetoric and what is not said in the article. An outline for content analysis coding is provided here:

I. Content

a. What is the story topic?

This is the first indication of the frame being used by determining what the subject is.

b. What is the headline?

Is the eye catcher a negative, positive or neutral tone?

c. What page does it appear on?

Topics that are deemed more important are usually placed closer to the lead page.

d. What are the main events?

The events make up the topic. Are they consistent with the topic?

e. How much background is provided?

Does the coverage provide adequate background for the audience or does it assume a certain level of understanding already exists.

f. How many sources are used? Are they named? Are they official or unofficial?

g. What quotes are used? How are quotes used?

II. Theme

a. What is the theme?

Is the theme of the story providing a positive, negative or neutral connotation toward the topic and subject?

b. How do the headline and lead tie to the theme?

Is the theme and headline relative one to the other or is it an indication of a bait and switch method to get the reader to use.

III. Structure

- a. In what order is information presented? What is the top half of the story? What is the bottom half of the story?

IV. Style and Rhetoric

- a. What do specific word choices reveal?
- b. What metaphors, exemplar, catch phrases and depictions are used in the text?

V. What is not said in the article?

Chapter 4: Data Findings

Overview

Fifty-five articles from section A of *The New York Times* were analyzed in this study. The analysis was conducted with the expectation of identifying the frames used to portray the Catholic Church. Three frames were identified from the sample size. The identified frames were:

1. The Catholic Church is divided.
2. The Catholic Church suffers a loss of membership.
3. The Catholic Church is increasingly irrelevant to parishioners.

The first frame was most dominant within the sample. Closely related, the second was common but less dominant than the first. The third frame occurred less frequently. The researcher had expected to find additional frames about the sexual abuse scandals within the church, but none were clearly evident. When sexual abuse was mentioned, it was in the context of supporting the more dominant first two frames. All three frames did share certain themes throughout which will be discussed following in the summary.

Identified Frames

The Catholic Church is divided

A dominant frame within the results was “The Catholic Church hierarchy is divided.” Articles were often structured as arguments between the Vatican or church hierarchy and church laity,

liberal Catholic groups and unspecified sources. This is the case in the July 16, 2010 *The New York Times* article, “Vatican Revises Abuse Process, But Causes Stir.” The church hierarchy says something, and the other side responds. The article alternates quoting conservative church officials and laity sources within the church. For example, the Vatican spokesman, Rev. Federico Lombardi, stated that the changes in the Vatican’s internal laws, showed the church's commitment to tackling child sexual abuse with rigor and transparency. The article immediately includes a response from un-named laity advocates of priestly abuse victims, who dismissed the changes as tweaking existing laws, rather than a bold overhaul.

This article employed other framing techniques as well. Even though the headline suggests the Vatican has caused a stir in how it revised the abuse process, the lead says something different. It says, “The Vatican issued revisions to its internal laws on Thursday making it easier to discipline sex-abuser priests, but caused confusion by also stating that ordaining women as priests was as grave an offense as pedophilia.” The inclusion of “ordaining women as priests was as grave an offense as pedophilia,” presents the reader with information that suggests the church views pedophilia and attempting to ordain women as equally grave offenses. Most of the article itself did not relate to the headline. Instead it was a report on the issue of women as priests.

How the church leaders are identified is also an important framing technique. The article identifies the Vatican, as embattled leaders, traditionalists or conservative and the laity as liberal Catholics and reform groups. These labels reinforce the notion of a divided church. Sometimes labels go beyond embattled or reform groups. In the November 12, 2009 article, “Rep Kennedy and Bishop In Bitter Rift Over Abortion,” the author says Rep Kennedy a Democrat in his eighth term, questioned why the church had vowed to fight any health care bill that did not explicitly ban the use of public money for abortions. Inclusion of the word “Democrat,” implies a political

liberal view that is pro-abortion, which also would suggest a counterview such as the Bishop Tobin's as Republican. If party membership were not included, the article would present little notion of Catholics who favor abortion rights as liberal or as Democrats.

In the, July 31, 2011 article, "Catholic Group Based in Chicago Leads Protest Against Church," the lead also includes language that hints at the church divided frame used in the article. It says a neighborhood is leading a high-profile protest among that challenge the Roman Catholic Church's ban on ordination of women. In the same sentence, the lead says what the Vatican wants and what the neighborhood want. Many of the articles take this approach, including the December 26, 2009 article, "Catholic Health Group Backs Abortion Compromise." The first sentence, which is also the lead as it is in many of the articles in this newspaper sample, immediately lays out the desires or thoughts of both the church bishops and the Catholic healthcare group. This beginning set-up initiates the out of touch frame.

The rest of "Catholic Health Group Backs Abortion Compromise," is structured as a debate between the bishops and the Catholic healthcare group that overseas hundreds of hospitals. The Catholic Health Association said it was "encouraged and increasingly confident that such a compromise can achieve the objective of no federal funding for abortion." This was immediately followed by a statement from the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops calling the compromise "morally unacceptable." The article says differences between the two groups reflect the different application of church teachings against "cooperation with evil," and that each side is seeking to influence church members, congress and voters.

The May 5, 2010 *New York Times* article, "Catholics Criticize Pope on Abuse Scandal, but See Some Hope," also frames the Catholic Church as divided and offers a view of what some

members of the laity believe about the sexual abuse scandals within the church. The second paragraph says, “Catholics in the United States are estranged from the hierarchy in Rome, with most saying the Vatican is out of touch with the needs of Catholics and more than three out of four saying it is not necessary to believe in the pope's authority to be a good Catholic.” The division within the church is between the hierarchy on one side and the American laity on the other. The Vatican, the pope, and the bishops are framed as culpable, while the American laity is the victims. The article later says that the “Vatican and many American bishops have reacted to the scandals by attacking the news media.” The article’s author does not attribute this observation to any official or unofficial sources; therefore, the statement appears to come from the author. The observation further supports the divided church frame because the article suggests that those who attend Mass regularly are even more critical of the news media than those who don’t.

The May 12, 2011 article, “Critical Letter By Catholics Cites Boehner On Policies,” frames the church as divided by conservative and liberal almost immediately. Even in the headline, “critical” and “on policies” refer to division within the church faithful. The second paragraph cites speaker of the house John A. Boehner, a Roman Catholic, as violating the basic teachings of the Catholic Church with his policies. The division frame takes hold early in the article and sets up what is to come. The article relies on key quotes to reinforce the division frame as well. According to the author a letter from more than 75 professors at Catholic University and other prominent Catholic colleges, says that the “Republican-supported budget he shepherded through the House will hurt the poor, the elderly and the vulnerable, and that he therefore has failed to uphold basic Catholic moral teachings.” Another example is the quote saying "Mr. Speaker, your voting record is at variance from one of the church's most ancient moral teachings." In reference

to Mr. Boehner speaking at the Catholic University, the bishops are quoted as saying that “Catholic universities should not honor Catholics who had publicly disagreed with church teachings.” This quote affirms the alluded to division within the church which is reinforced by the statement about President Obama speaking there in the past which caused an uproar from the conservative Catholics due to the President’s stance on abortion and gay rights.

Certain topics surfaced that were used extensively as an illustration of division within the church. The issue of abortion was also prevalent here. In the October 5, 2008 article, “A Fight Among Catholics Over Which Party Best Reflects Church Teachings,” The article lays out the different views as opposing camps. The author says “It is a contest for credibility among observant Catholics, with each faction describing itself as a defender of life. The two sides disagree over how to address the intrinsic evil of abortion.” He fails to attribute that to any source, so the assumption must be made that it is own thoughts. Most of the article however, is presented by the author as alternating views and quotes from both sides of the issue, adding to the division within frame. He quotes an un-named bishop as saying:

Being 'right' on taxes, education, health care, immigration and the economy fails to make up for the error of disregarding the value of a human life," the bishop wrote. "It is a tragic irony that 'pro-choice' candidates have come to support homicide -- the gravest injustice a society can tolerate -- in the name of 'social justice.

In response he cites an un-named coalition of liberal lay Catholics as pushing back by criticizing the bishop’s message by “neglecting other aspects of life talked about in Catholic social teachings, like concern for the poor. This is also followed up by a story about a nun collecting signatures of prominent Catholic leaders urging people to vote for Senator Barack Obama.

Another article that uses the issue of abortion to frame the church as divided is the September 17, 2008 article, “Abortion Issue Again Dividing Catholic Votes.” The author quotes prominent Catholic leaders such as Nancy Pelosi and Joe Biden using Catholic theologians, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, to support their pro-abortion stance. This of course is countered by many within the church both clergy and laity. Other articles such as “Obama View on Abortion May Divide Catholics,” on August 7, 2008 and “Catholic Aid For Abortion Creates Stir In Virginia,” on July 3, 2008, follow a similar format of alternating arguments and the effects it’s having on the church.

Language plays an important role in the articles that fall under the church divided frame. In addition to the inclusions of “conservative” or “liberal,” and traditionalist or reformist, these articles employ war terms and metaphors. Articles include references to “civil war,” battles, “fights”, waterboarding, and “combat.” Nowhere are the war metaphors more evident than in the May 15, 2009 article, “A Marine For Catholics Sees a Time Of Battle.” Phrases such as “mount the attack,” and “vicious attack,” or “militant atheist” and “the marine forward unit of the church” are used though out to illustrate the church divided frame. Through the use of war language, the article frames the church a war between two sides; conservative Catholics and liberal Catholics with their secular allies. Using war metaphors also suggests that the issues within the Catholic Church are filled with high stakes and clears sides that will not be crossed.

The Catholic Church suffers from a loss of membership

The second dominant frame found in the newspaper sample was “The Catholic Church is suffers from a loss of membership.” Most of the articles that fell under this frame feature the church as a whole (laity and clergy), losing members to other denominations, secularism or

trying to establish their own brand of Catholic. Also prevalent within many of these articles, were reporting on how the church is attempting to stem this loss.

In the October 21, 2009 *Times* article, “Vatican Bidding To Get Anglicans To Join Its Fold.” Certain phrases and words point to, or allude to, the loss of members the church is undergoing. The third paragraph says:

It was unclear why the Vatican made the announcement now. But it seemed a rare opportunity, audaciously executed, to capitalize on deep divisions within the Anglican Church to attract new members at a time when the Catholic Church has been trying to reinvigorate itself in Europe.

The phrases “attract new members at a time,” and “reinvigorate itself,” suggest one process in how the church will replace lost members. Other articles allude to the loss of members as well. In the September 21, 2010 article, “To Save Them, A Plan to Prune Catholic Schools,” the lead says:

For more than a quarter-century, while Roman Catholic leaders around the country have closed parochial schools by the dozens in the face of rising costs and falling enrollments, the Archdiocese of New York has conducted a more stately retreat. It has shuttered schools a few at a time, in a reluctant if relentless downsizing that has come to be known among some church leaders as “the melancholy rite.”

The phrase “falling enrollments,” and “relentless downsizing” suggests the church is losing its members. In addition, the phrase melancholy rite, suggest the loss is inevitable.

Other articles use more direct language. In the November 23, 2010 article, “A New Leader Confronts Disaffection In Catholics,” the lead uses very direct language:

Archbishop Timothy M. Dolan of New York, elected president of the nation's Roman Catholic bishops last week, said Monday that the bishops faced the urgent task of stopping the huge exodus of Roman Catholics from the church of their birth.

The phrase “huge exodus of Roman Catholics from the church,” is quite clear, as is the task of the church to stop it. This sets the stage for the remaining portion of the article in which the Archbishop is quoted numerous times as being the time to address internal issues. The researcher placed this article under the “loss of member frame” as additional portions in the article illustrated the number of members lost since 1978 as well as brief discussion on social issue positions within the church.

The *New York Times* August 21, 2011 article, “Nuns, a 'Dying Breed,' Fade From Leadership Roles at Catholic Hospitals,” also falls under the frame of the church losing members. This time it’s an account of the Catholic hospitals changing to laity, or even secular leadership, due in large part to the dwindling number of nuns left in the church. This article employed another framing technique as well. Even though the headline began with a report on the state of the leadership of Catholic hospitals, midway through the article, it transitions to the state of religious orders in the church. The author writes that the “near extinction” in American hospitals is due to the “drastic decline of religious orders that accompanied the women's movement, the sexual revolution, ethnic assimilation and the Second Vatican Council's opening of the church to lay leadership.” It then chronicles a brief history of the declining woman’s vocations in the church. The author continues to suggest the reason for this is part of the overall loss of members in the church as a whole due to a loss of relevance.

The frame that the church is losing members is often presented with cases of the Catholic laity doing staring and running their own parishes. This technique is evident early on in the

November 17, 2010 article, “Catholics In Belgium Start Parishes Of Their Own.” In addition to the title, the third paragraph says, “Mr. Delsaert, 60, and his fellow parishioners are discreetly pioneering a grass-roots movement that defies centuries of Roman Catholic Church doctrine by worshiping and sharing communion without a priest.” The use of the words, “defies” and “discreetly” also suggest the frame as the church divided. The researcher classified this article as the church losing members however, due to the preponderance of the article illustrating the loss of members, the rise of alternative pseudo catholic churches, and the reason the author believes this is happening.

Although most of the articles under this frame mainly featured the loss of catholic membership, some also went in the direction of the church taken action to prevent the loss of catholic members. This is evident in the March 23, 2010 article, “A Flock Grows Right at Home For a Priest In Ukraine.” This article also suggests the Vatican may be willing to make exceptions to policy for the Ukrainian Greek Catholics, which are loyal to the pope in Rome. The article says “the Vatican appears to have tolerated the traditions and attitude toward celibacy of the so-called Eastern Rite Catholics in order to retain a foothold in regions where Orthodox Christianity has dominated.” The article also suggest that the church recognizes the loss of members and is attempting to stem the tide and may be willing to compromise when seen as directly competing with the eastern orthodox church.

Another example of this type of church suffers loss of membership frame is the October 22, 2009 *Times* article, “Pope's Invitation to Anglicans Raises Prospect of Married Catholic Priests.” Giving hope to those that believe priest should be able to marry; this article has a double intent, to allay the dissatisfaction within the Catholic Church and an attempt to lure the more conservative elements of the Anglican Church to Rome, thus adding to its membership. The

article goes onto to say “for liberal groups, usually ignored by the church hierarchy, the Anglican ruling was a rare, if mixed, moment of hope. Allowing married priests, liberals noted, could go a long way to overcoming the deep shortages of priests in the developed world.” Harking back to the divided frame as well, the article says “the overture toward the Anglicans speaks to a central theme in Benedict's papacy: his desire to bring in traditional believers at all costs to help Catholicism become a "creative minority" in increasingly secular Europe.”

The *New York Times* October 25, 2009 article, “For an Episcopal Parish, a Path to Catholicism,” presents a similar approach in the frame of church losing membership. The lead says “When the Vatican announced last week that it would welcome groups of traditionalist Anglicans into the Roman Catholic Church, leaders of one Episcopal parish celebrated as if a ship had arrived to rescue them from a drifting ice floe.” Sticking with the theme of the pope trying to stem the loss of Catholics by inviting other conservative believers into the fold, the article presents the same similar reasons. The article says the episcopal parish has “strenuously opposed the Episcopal Church over decisions like allowing women and gay people to become priests and bishops.” Mass is celebrated in the style of traditional Catholic churches, with incense, elaborate vestments and a choir that may sing in Latin. This is important in that it implies that the Catholic Church is luring conservative members from other religions to make up for loss of membership while at the same time, strengthening the conservative core within the church.

The Catholic Church is increasingly irrelevant to parishioners

The frame “The catholic Church is increasingly irrelevant to parishioners” was not found as frequently as some of the more dominant frames, but nevertheless, the articles that fell under this

frame help reveal how *The New York Times* portrays the Catholic Church. Related to a “church divided” and “loss of membership frames,” the articles suggest the church no longer matters to parishioners. The November 27, 2010 article, “Catholic or Protestant? Few Seem Troubled,” is a portrait of the religious practices of newly elected Marco Rubio of Florida and other Hispanics in Miami. Mr. Rubio worships at both Catholic and Evangelical churches. According to the author, this is a non-issue among Hispanics, even though many practices within the Southern Baptist church, with which the Evangelical Church is associated with, are “alien” to the Catholic Church. According to Juan Martinez, associate dean for the Hispanic Center at Fuller Theological Seminary, in Pasadena, CA, Catholic identity in the Hispanic community may be more cultural than religious. He says that many people say “I am Catholic, which often means, I still identify culturally as part of the community, although my religious practice is in this other congregation.”

This may be an example of cultural bias as well. As the Hispanic community is made up of Mexican-Americans, Cuban Americans, and Puerto-Rican Americans to name just a few. Each community has their own distinctively cultural differences and Catholic traditions. The clearest illustration of the irrelevance frame is in the closing sentence of the article, “in America, religious distinctions matter less all the time.”

Another example of this type is the May 31, 2009 article is, “Sotomayor Would Be Sixth Catholic Justice, but the Pigeonholing Ends There.” Catholic by cultural identity or just by name seems to be one avenue to framing the church as increasingly irrelevant. The author states, “there are indications that Judge Sotomayor is more like the majority of American Catholics: those who were raised in the faith and shaped by its values, but who do not attend Mass regularly and are not particularly active in religious life may be what religion scholars call a cultural Catholic. The

author here indicated no source other than the ambiguous term “religious scholars for her statement, so it could be assumed it is be her own.

The frame of the Catholic Church as increasingly irrelevant is also presented by articles reporting on the resignation of clergy who continue to serve society as part of the church and separate from it. In the May 9, 2010 article, “For Priest, Intersection Of Faith And Doubt,” the author says. “Mr. Bowers, who had been a vocal critic of the church leadership and was exhausted from the fight to keep his parish open, took a sabbatical.” Mr. Bowers is a former parish priest now working at the Paulist Center, a Catholic community in downtown Boston that is dedicated to social justice and service to the poor. The author left out any indication or reason that Mr. Bowers took a sabbatical or under the conditions he is now not a priest. This article also uses another framing technique. The title “For Priest, Intersection Of Faith and Doubt” is not entirely accurate as Mr. Bowers is actually a former priest. The title suggests that he is still a priest. In addition, immediately following the lead which has an elderly woman asking if a person can love God and not go to church, the author has Mr. Bowers presented as Father Bowers responding "You are redefining what it means to be Catholic, to be Christian, a religious person, a believer at all. The litmus test used to be: Do you go to church every Sunday? Yes. Do you support your pastor? Yes. Do you go to Mass and Communion and confession?" The author presents this as part of the interview and event she witnessed. Later in the article, the author does refer to Father Bowers as Mr. Bowers and mentions that he used to be a priest.

The use of Polls and voting data is included to support the frame that the Catholic Church is becoming increasing irrelevant. In the November 11, 2008 article, “U.S. Bishops Urged to Challenge Obama,” the author cited a Poll that 54% of Catholics voted for Obama. This was interpreted that they did so, regardless of his stance on abortion. Going further, the author quotes

un-named Bishops as stating “it showed that social and moral issues were not primary concerns for voters, including Catholics, this year.”

CHAPTER 5: DISSCUSION

This study set out to answer the following research question: What are the media frames used to portray the Catholic Church in *The New York Times*? Using textual analysis and guided the theories of social construction of reality and framing theories, 55 articles from *The New York Times* were analyzed for this study.

Two dominate frames were found in the sample; “The Catholic Church is divided,” and “The Catholic Church suffers a loss of membership.” A less frequent but noteworthy frame is “The Catholic Church is increasingly irrelevant to parishioners.” The first frame, present exclusively in in twenty-six articles and was found overlapping in two articles with other frames. This frame fell into two main categories of division; division between the hierarchy and the laity, division between conservatives (traditionalist) and liberals (progressives). It was often structured in the form of argument and rebuttal to illustrate debates between two sides, and war language and metaphors were often used. The second frame closely related to the first, “The Catholic Church suffers from a loss of membership,” was presented exclusively in sixteen articles and in six other articles in which frames were overlapping. The losing members frame consisted of various topics ranging from loss of catholic schools, healthcare, mass attendance, and attempts to lure other elements of conservative Christians to the catholic faith. The final frame “The Catholic Church is increasingly irrelevant to parishioners,” was placed mainly in the contexts of political elections and debates. This frame was present exclusively in seven articles and overlapped with losing members in four others. The results differed from what was expected after a review of literature on framing the Catholic Church.

Social topics were overwhelmingly dominant in the newspaper results. There were no specific trends discovered on subject or frame reporting as all were more or less evenly spaced across the sample period on reporting from 2006 thru 2011. As a result, articles mentioned for illustration were not presented in any particular content or chronological order.

All frames had some degree of oppositional relationships between viewpoints. Oppositional relationships deal with the topics of abortion, healthcare rights, celibacy, woman priest by which were used to support the individual frames found in the sample. Although mention of the sexual abuse scandals within the church were mentioned in various frames, it was dealt with over all, very sparingly and was not considered by the researcher to be a major contributing factor to any of the frames.

The two most dominant frames; “the Catholic Church divided,” and “The Catholic Church suffers a loss of membership,” could be categorized as conflict frames within the framing trend of conflict. Debate and argument is just another type of conflict. This means the majority of dominant frames dealt with some type of conflict, whether that conflict was between leadership, clergy, and laity or between conservatives and progressives. This would seem to support earlier work on social conflict and restoring order to the system as the primary motive for media reporting news.

Similar to this study, Morris and Clawson (2005) found conflict to be prevalent in their media coverage of another institution in the 1990’s. They conducted content analysis of more than 2,600 news stories and found that government is often framed as conflict between two parties. Their study relates to the current study because research found conflict frames to be present in portrayals of the Catholic Church as well.

“Conflict is a recurring theme in all storytelling whether the stories told are journalism, literature or drama” (Brooks, Kennedy, Moen, & Ranly, p.6). They also categorize conflict as one of the most important elements in journalism and advise reporters to look for the conflict in a story (Brooks, et al., 2008, p. 5-6, p. 202). Conflict is a way to grab the attention of readers and viewers; therefore, it is often employed in the framing process (Morris and Clawson 2008). The conflicts presented are power struggles within the church. They are struggles between women and men, between scholars, theologians and the Vatican as each attempt to control the power of belief.

The frame of “The Catholic Church is increasingly irrelevant,” was often framed within the element of conflict, when it was used as a reason for members leaving or between Catholic American politicians and the church. Conflict however was not the only tendency of this frame. Un-supported comments such as “religion no longer matters,” were often seen in this frames.

Two frames often overlapped in dominance in the newspaper sample. The frames, “The Catholic Church is divided,” and “The Catholic Church is suffering membership loss,” were the most dominate in the sample. Their frequency in the sample suggests that an overall sense of conflict exists within the Church. This also supports the conflict framing trend and does not substantiate the portion of the literature review conducted earlier that suggest, the media is using the sexual abuse scandals to attack the church. Although it was mentioned at times, it was clearly not the focus in any article of the sample and actually only mentioned it a few articles.

The most dominate frames in The York Times samples dealt with conflict. The conflict in the sample was generally between Catholics in the church. The newspaper articles employed war language and metaphors to support conflict frames. The dominance of these two frames suggest

a prevalence of conflict frames, specifically conflict frames between Catholics that are used to portray the Catholic Church. Care however, must be given not to conflate journalist tendencies to report on conflict with the division frame. One can have conflict without division, such as marriages, relationships and our political system. Likewise a report on a public figure's illicit affair is conflict in that the media may be attempting to restore the social order, but this does not fit the division frame.

Summary

The purpose of this study is to explore the question: What are the media frames used to portray the Catholic Church in *The New York Times*? These frames are important as they can shape opinion and perceptions of the Catholic Church. How Catholics and non-Catholics view the church is to some extent, based on how the church is portrayed in the media. This study found three frames used by The New York Time: The Catholic Church is divided, the Catholic Church is losing members, and the Catholic Church is increasingly irrelevant.

This study found little data to support the CLCRR claims that the media portrays the church as; Intolerant and anachronistic, or a refuge for sexual deviates and pedophiles. While social issues and sex scandals were presented as background for some articles, analysis did not indicate overt or dominate frames in this portrayal. Data did support CLCRR claims that the Catholic Church is conservative on issues of morality and liberal on social issues. These portrayals however only served as the landscape for; the church is divided frame and to a lesser extent, the church is losing members frame. Conservative and liberal were not presented more or less favorable than the other. What frames the media use to portray the Catholic Church are important to understanding the public views and perceptions of the church. This is true also to

understanding the issues the church takes a stance on. Research did find the journalistic framing trend of conflict but did not find an overtly negative bias in how the *New York Times* covers the Church as the Catholic League suggests (Donohue 2010). As American citizens, we rely on the media to present information as accurately and as objectively as possible. In this role, *The New York Times* presents the Catholic Church by conflict frames.

Limitations

This study does have limitations. It reveals how the Catholic Church is portrayed in *The New York Times*, but it does not look at either the editorial process (gate-keeping and agenda setting), or the audience reception and interpretation of the news stories. This study while relative in and of itself is the for-runner to further research on content analysis and salience transfer. This study focuses solely on the news stories, not on how it's produced and not on how people use or interpret it. In addition, the researcher may interpret the text differently than another scholar might.

Areas of Further Research

Even with its limitations, this study can serve as a basis for further research in the editorial process or audience reception of these texts. It also will further the research in the field of portrayals of religion in the mass media as well as providing the foundation for further research in salience transfer about the church via media. There is little research in the area of the Catholic Church portrayals in the mass media, so this study will help fill the gap in that area of scholarship.

APPENDIX 1:

Protocol to Guide Analysis of Newspaper Frames

- I. Content
 - a. What is the story topic?
 - b. What is the headline?
 - c. What page does it appear on?
 - d. What is the lead?
 - e. What are the main events?
 - f. How much background is provided?
 - g. How many sources are used? Are they named? Are they official or unofficial?
 - h. What quotes are used? How are quotes used?
- II. Theme
 - a. What is the theme?
 - b. How do the headline and lead tie to the theme?
- III. Structure
 - a. In what order is information presented? What is the top half of the story? What is the bottom half of the story?
- IV. Style and Rhetoric
 - a. What do specific word choices reveal?
 - b. What metaphors, exemplar, catch phrases and depictions are used in the text?
 - c. What is not said in the article?
- V. What is not said in the article?

APPENDIX 2

Newspaper Articles Analyzed

Banerjee, N. (October 2, 2006), Archbishop's Call for Court Blessing, Steers Clear of Issues. *The New York Times*, p. 12.

Banerjee, N. (November 14, 2006). Catholic Bishops Take Up Contraception and Gay Issue. *The New York Times*, p. 14.

Banerjee, N. (November 15, 2006.). U.S. Bishops Adopt Guidelines on Gays. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Broder, J. (February 7, 2007). Edward's Bloggers Cross Line, Critic Says. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Banerjee, N. (February 27, 2007). Backing Abortion Rights While Keeping the Faith. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Goodstein, L. (March 23, 2007). Bishops Denounce Writings Of a Catholic Theologian. *The New York Times*, p. 15.

Goodstein, L. (April 26, 2007). Study Says Hispanics Alter U.S. Catholicism. *The New York Times*, p. 18.

Bradsher, K. (July 1, 2007). Pope Appeals for Reconciliation Among China's Catholics. *The New York Times*, p. 3.

Banerjee, N. (November 15, 2007). Catholic Bishops Offer Voting Guide, Allowing Some Flexibility on Issue of Abortion. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Burns, J. (December 23, 2007). Blair, a Regular at Mass, Is Now Catholic. *The New York Times*, p. 8.

Onishi, N. (April 6, 2008). On Japan's Catholic Outposts, Faith Abides Even as the Churches Dwindle. *The New York Times*, p. 9.

Reuters, (April 9, 2008). Report Details Catholic Role in Nazi Abuses. *The New York Times*, p. 8.

Goodstein, L. (April 14, 2008). In U.S., a Pained and Uncertain Church Awaits Pope. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Toner, R. (April 15, 2008). With Faith in the Spotlight, Candidates Battle for Catholic Votes. *The New York Times*, p. 15.

Banerjee, N. (April 18, 2008). At University Visited by Pope, Students Find a Catholicism That's Not in Your Face. *The New York Times*, p. 18.

Santos, F. (April 20, 2007). A Populist Shift Confronts the U.S. Catholic Church. *The New York Times*, p. 33.

Goodstein, L. (May, 14 2008). McCain Backer Regrets Comments on Catholics. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Urbina, I (July 3, 2008). Catholic Aid For Abortion Creates Stir in Virginia. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Vitello, P. (July 13, 2008). For Catholics, an On-Air Mix of Sacred and Silly. *The New York Times*, p. 25.

Romero, S. (August 1, 2008). Sympathetic to Chavez, A New Church Draws Fire. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Broder, J. (August 7, 2008). Obama's View on Abortion May Divide Catholics. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Kirkpatrick, D. (September 17, 2008). Abortion Issue Again Dividing Catholic Votes. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Benhold, K. (September 30, 2008). Spurning Secularism, Many French Muslims Find Haven in Catholic Schools. *The New York Times*, p. 6.

Kirkpatrick, D. (October 5, 2008). A Fight Among Catholics Over Which Party Best Reflects Church Teachings. *The New York Times*, p. 30.

Steinfels, P. (November 8, 2008). Catholics and Choice (in the Voting Booth). *The New York Times*, p. 21.

Goodstein, L. (November 11 2008). U. S. Bishops Urged to Challenge Obama. *The New York Times*, p. 15.

Vitello, P. (January 18, 2009). For Catholic Schools, Crisis and Catharsis. *The New York Times*, p. 29.

Steinfels, P. (January 31, 2009). The Holocaust Furor and the U. S. Bishops. *The New York Times*, p. 22.

Hernandez, J. (February 8, 2009). Major and Bishop Announce Plan to Turn 4 Catholic Schools into Charter Schools. *The New York Times*, p. 25.

Steinfels, P. (May 9, 2009). Roman Catholics War Over Abortion. *The New York Times*, p. 17.

Vitello, P. (May 15, 2009). A Marine For Catholics Sees a Time of Battle. *The New York Times*, p. 17.

Goodstein, L. (May 31, 2009). Sotomayor Would Be Sixth Catholic Justice, but the Pigeonholing Ends there. *The New York Times*, p. 20.

Kirkpatrick, D. (August 28, 2009). Despite Church's Plan on Issue, Some Bishops Assail Health Plan. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Donadio, R. (October 21, 2009). Vatican Bidding To Get Anglicans To Join Its Fold. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Donadio, R. (October 22, 2009). Pope's Invitation to Anglicans Raises Prospect of Married Catholic Priest. *The New York Times*, p. 6.

Donadio, R. (October 24, 2009). African Bishops Urge Catholic Politicians on Continent to Repent or Step Down. *The New York Times*, p. 4.

Goodstein, L. (October 25, 2009). For an Episcopal Parish, a Path to Catholicism. *The New York Times*, p. 14.

Goodnough, A. (November 12, 2009). Rep. Kennedy And Bishop In Bitter Rift On Abortion. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Donadio, R. (November 20, 2009). Anglican Leader Defends Faith as Vatican Welcomes His Members. *The New York Times*, p. 4.

Kirkpatrick, D. (December 26, 2009). Catholic Health Group Backs Senate Abortion Compromise. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Oppenheimer, M. (February 27, 2010). Catholic Defender of Waterboarding Gets an Earful From Critics. *The New York Times*, p. 4.

Levy, C. (March 23, 2010). A Flock Grows Right At Home For a Priest in Ukraine. *The New York Times*, p. 4.

Freedman, S. (May 1, 2010). Lessons From Catholic Schools for Public Educators. *The New York Times*, p. 17.

Goodstein, L. (May 5, 2010). Catholics Criticize Pope on Abuse Scandal, but See Some Hope. *The New York Times*, p. 13.

Seelye, K. (May 9, 2010). For Priest, Intersection Of Faith and Doubt. *The New York Times*, p. 18.

Donadio, R. (July 16, 2010). Vatican Revises Abuse Process, But Causes Stir. *The New York Times*, p 1.

Vitello, P. (September 21, 2010). To Save Them, A Plan to Prune Catholic Schools. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Donadio, R. (September 22, 2010). Behind Shared Smiles and Prayers, Tensions Linger Between Pope and Anglicans. *The New York Times*, p. 7.

Carvajal, D. (November 17, 2010). Catholics in Belgium Start Parishes Of Their Own. *The New York Times*, p. 6.

Goodstein, L. (November 23, 2010). A New Leader Confronts Disaffection in Catholics. *The New York Times*, p. 18.

Oppenheimer, M. (November 27, 2010). Catholic or Protestant? Few Seem Troubled. *The New York Times*, p. 12.

Goodstein, L. (May 12, 2011). Critical Letter By Catholics Cites Boehner on Policies. *The New York Times*, p. 17.

Johnson, D. (July 31, 2011). Catholic Group Based in Chicago Leads Protest Against Church. *The New York Times*, p. 23.

Sack, K. (August 21, 2011). Nuns, a Dying Breed, Fade From Leadership Roles at Catholic Hospitals. *The New York Times*, p. 12.

APPENDIX 3

Newspaper Articles Frames

| Frame | Number of Times Frame is In Article Exclusively | Number of Times Overlapping with other Frames | Total Articles On Page One of Newspaper |
|--|--|--|--|
| The Catholic Church is Divided | 26 | 2 | 3 |
| The Catholic Church is Losing Members | 16 | 6 | 2 |
| The Catholic Church is Increasingly Irrelevant | 7 | 4 | 0 |
| Total | 49 | 12 | 5 |

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