

How national and regional U.S. newspapers framed abortion and the glass ceiling effect,

2000-2005

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

“Feminism” is a term that conjures up different images and meanings in people’s minds. One such image might be the initiatives spurred by the women’s movement from the 1800s to the early 1900s, when women united to fight for equality and the right to vote. Early women’s rights advocates such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton fought for these rights through door-to-door solicitations and by using rhetoric in the public forum. Another powerful image might be one that might have evolved from the civil rights movement of the 1960s, when affirmative action and equal pay became major social issues. The laws of the land were challenged when women advocated for their reproductive rights. Champions of women’s rights, such as Margaret Sanger, became deeply entrenched in these issues when they led a crusade for a woman’s right to choose. The images and associations “feminism” summons in people’s minds lead one to assume that there are equally powerful mechanisms that might have influenced this multiplicity of understandings. One such mechanism is the mass media.

Indeed some connotations associated with the term “feminism” are negative, as seen when people equate feminists to “man-haters,” “feminazis,” and “lesbians.” Others see feminists as radicals; that is, people who feel alienated by a long history of gender oppression and who are now bent on taking power away from men. Still, others focus their definitions on more positive attributes, such as “women’s rights” and “equality for all.”

Feminisms: Theories and Definitions

Webster’s dictionary (1995) defines feminism as: “1) a doctrine advocating social, political, and economic rights for women equal to those of men; 2) a movement for the

attainment of such rights” (p. 490). Although this definition has changed over time, different values are assigned to the term that leads to very qualitatively different symbolic meanings.

The evolution of feminism as an important phenomenon is linked directly to the women’s rights movement and the academic support it was able to muster over the years. This 72-year campaign for equal rights began when Elizabeth Cady Stanton recognized that women should be considered equal to men. Advocates of the movement went door-to-door, made speeches, petitioned Congress and the President, and formed organizations to disseminate information all over the nation. In 1848, during the Women’s Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, NY, a Declaration of Sentiments was written in the same style as the Declaration of Independence, declaring women’s right to equality. In 1882, Stanton laid before the Congress for the second time the Married Woman’s Property Act which promulgated that married women have the same rights to property as single women.

The list of historical events that led to the enfranchisement of women is long. It hammers home the point that the fight for equal gender rights was a long and hard battle, one that did not occur overnight. The movement realizes that the fight is far from over and did not end with the right to vote. As the book *The Second Sex* asserts, “women must be considered first and foremost as human beings” (Johnson, p. 1). Today, scholars still claim the need for feminism—some 85 years after receiving the right to vote—because “sexism exists and feminism is therefore still necessary” (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003, p. 21).

According to Ivy and Backlund (2000), a feminist is “a person—male or female—who believes in equality, especially sex and gender equality” (p. 11). There are many feminisms or interpretations and approaches to achieving the goal of sexual equality,” they explain (p. 12). Kemp and Squires (1997) agree to a plural vision of the movement, arguing

that feminisms “reflect both the contemporary diversity of motivation, method, and experience among feminist academics, and feminism’s political commitment to diversity—its validation of a multiplicity of approaches, positions, and strategies” (p. 3). This is so, according to Dicker and Piepmeier (2003), because feminism is wrapped up in socially constructed identities. They suggest that to understand feminism, people must understand that individual identities are tied to the intersections of race, gender, ethnicity, class, and sexuality. Stanley adds: “Feminism is the analysis of old knowledge and the source of new knowledge” (p. 1). To know feminisms is to acknowledge that it “countervails that which is not feminist; analyzes injustice; insists upon change; encounters difference; dissent and disagreement within; struggles to accept the epistemological ramifications of difference—difference in knowing as well as difference in being” (p. 1).

From these definitions, academics have developed several theories of feminisms. According to Ivy and Backlund (2000), currently there are currently three main feminist theories: liberal, socialist, and radical feminism. Liberal feminism is “the theory of individual freedom for women” (p. 490). Specifically, this theory addresses issues of political and social theory, where “liberal reforms center around reproductive rights, equity in employment, and increased public consciousness of women’s rights” (p. 490). Socialist feminism “believes that women are second-class citizens in patriarchal capitalism which depends for its survival on the exploitation of working people” (p. 490). This theory focuses on the interaction between patriarchy and capitalism to exploit women. Finally, radical feminism argues that “women’s oppression comes from being categorized as an inferior class on the basis of gender” (p. 490). This theory approaches feminism from a sex-class system; it posits that to achieve equality, feminists need to destroy that system.

Kemp and Squires (1997) believe that feminist theory is interdisciplinary. They suggest that current trends in feminism “denounce totalizing theories, celebrate differences, recognize ‘otherness,’ and acknowledge the multiplicity of feminisms” (p. 4). Caine et al. (1988) also claim that sex and gender distinction, so crucial in the early 1970s feminist theory, also “displays this acceptance of the division between bodies on one hand and culture on the other” (p. 62). Humm (1992) explains that the multiplicity of feminist theories “questions sexual stereotypes and the orthodoxies of socio-psychological theories” (p. 54).

The theories of feminisms evolved from different characterizations of the movement over the years. The first wave occurred between 1830-1920 and is “characterized by its grounding in a classical liberal rights perspective and its focus on campaigns for women’s enfranchisement and the extension of civil rights to women” (Kemp & Squires, 1997, p. 3). According to Basu (1995) “after the vote was won in 1920, the women’s movement continued on a smaller scale as suffragists turned their attention to other issues, working for peace, family planning, workers’ rights to unionize, and other social reforms” (p. 438). During this time, the feminist movement was described as a “fragmented” movement. Since its common thread, the right to vote, has already been achieved, the scattered efforts kept the movement tied together.

The second wave started in the 1960s, created by conditions that fostered the feminist revival. These were, among others, the “widespread growth in educational opportunities, coupled with [women’s] entry into various previously all-male professions, the establishment of legislation on abortion and equal pay, and the introduction of widely available birth control [measures]” (Kemp & Squires, 1997, p. 3). To Kemp and Squire (1997), the second wave of feminism was characterized by the “feminist commitment to political change” (p. 6).

Indeed, during the 1970s and throughout the 1980s, “a feminist establishment began to evolve in Washington, D.C. to influence public policy and mobilize support for feminist legislative initiatives” (Basu, 1995, p. 449). Thus, the second wave of feminism again united women in the fight for equal pay and equal rights in the workplace and beyond.

During this time, another leader, Betty Friedan, founder of the National Organization for Women and the Women’s Strike for Equality, emerged. She authored the book *The Feminine Mystique* that indicted educators, psychiatrists, anthropologists and all others who since World War II have preached Freud’s dictum—the “mystique” that a woman can find self-fulfillment only as a wife and a mother” (Sherman, 2002, p. 3). Friedan suggests several mechanisms to establish equality. Among them are severance pay and pensions to women at the break up of a marriage (Sherman, 2002). In a sequel titled *The Second Stage*, Friedan discusses the problems of the women’s movement, “the super woman phenomenon, the changes in the workplace, and the need for women to work with men” (Sherman, 2002, p. 53). Friedan goes so far as to suggest that “Ronald Reagan declared a war on women by weakening the laws against sex discrimination, cutting back on programs that benefit women, and confronting the celebrated ‘gender gap’ with mere tokenism” (Sherman, 2002, p. 59). Through the course of the second wave, women like Friedan “dramatically re-conceptualized knowledge itself, which academic feminism reflects in new institutional practices (i.e., the discipline of women’s studies)” (Humm, 1992, p. 56). As a result, people’s “understanding about gender emerged in a number of disciplines” (Humm, 1992, p. 56).

The third wave of feminism extended the “benefits of the women’s movement to girls, freeing them from oppression and expanding their opportunities” (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003, p. 10). Many third wave feminists thought that feminism’s second wave was

“repressive and restrictive” (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003, pp. 14-15). Essentially, third wave feminism’s political activism on behalf of women’s rights is “shaped by—and responds to—a world of global capitalism and information technology, post modernism and post colonialism and environmental degradation” (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003, p. 10).

Today, feminist scholarly work is characterized by an “overtly political nature” and a “commitment to material and social change” (Kemp & Squire, 1997, p. 4). The movement still is considered fragmented although now this scattered framework is seen in a positive light because it addresses a variety of concerns that contemporary women face. One such concern is the “scarcity of highly placed women in university administrations, corporate America, and government...demonstrating our very real need for continued feminist activism” (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003, p. 3). Another is that there are fewer women in the fields of science, engineering, and mathematics. Some of today’s feminists argue that it is imperative for women to move into these technical fields, and into “decision making positions so that their interests are reflected in the future” (Caine et.al, 1988, p. 3). According to Humm (1992), “the fundamental claim of contemporary feminism is that in order to speak about the condition of women, it needs to speak in a new way about women’s lives” (p. 56).

Over the past 20 years, “certain themes have dominated feminist theory: the notion that patriarchy is ubiquitous; that the public and private divisions of traditional politics devalue women’s experiences, and that the celebration of women’s experiences and diversity are a necessary part of liberation” (Humm, 1992, pp. 59-60). While today’s feminists acknowledge the movement’s many dimensions, academic feminists are committed to finding a common ground.

Common Ground: Two Feminist Issues

The multiplicity of perspectives engendered by modern feminism acknowledges that there are issues that still bedevil the feminists' equal rights ideal. Among them is the notion of "choice" as it relates to abortion rights. Such an issue has caused and continues to cause intermittent social tremors. The tremors arise because of conflicting understandings and perspectives about the right to choose. Even President George W. Bush understood there are "great differences on this issue of abortion, but I believe reasonable people can come together and put good law in place that will help reduce the number of abortions" (Gordon, 2005, p. 1). On the other hand, women's rights activists insist that women have the right "to decide for themselves whether they shall become mothers, under what conditions, and when" (Sanger, 1920, p. 326).

In the social arena, people look at the issue of abortion as something that is either morally right or morally wrong; there appears to be no middle ground. In the past several years, abortion has become a major religious tinderbox. Many look to religious doctrine to help shape their opinions of abortion. In addition to being a moral battlefield, it has also become an issue characterized by intense political struggle. In the 2004 presidential elections, abortion was an issue that topped the charts. In his rhetoric, President Bush made it very clear that he thinks abortion is wrong, but he also thinks it is acceptable in certain circumstances, such as in a rape case. However, his overwhelming political view has been that abortion is wrong and that he will work hard to ensure that America is "morally sound." Finally, there is also an economic dimension to abortion because many clinics that provide abortions receive money from the government, a subsidy that the President had vowed to reduce in his second term.

Another issue often associated with feminism is that of equal pay as economists consistently contend that women still are not making the same wage as men. According to Ray Martin, a personal financial advisor, the latest census (2000) results indicate that women are making seventy six cents to a man's dollar. This is so, he suggests, because men work in more hazardous jobs while women leave their professions for motherhood. Although this may partly account for the income gap, income disparities by gender exist in most professions. Female neurosurgeons, for example, are making \$337,000 per year while male neurosurgeons make \$487,000 per year, on the average. Denise Kingsmill (2001), deputy chairman of the Competition Commission, concurs: there are few environments where women feel they cannot compete equally, but when it comes to pay, the odds are still weighed against them. According to her, "women are still getting paid less than men, resulting in a financial deficit that could add up to as much as \$250,000 over a lifetime" (p. 1). For the most part, women have been unsuccessful in breaking the "glass ceiling" that keeps them from reaching the highest positions in corporations. According to the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (2004), "only 7% to 9% of senior managers at Fortune 1000 firms are women...This is compelling, considering women make up almost one-half of the nation's workforce" (Velasquez, 2004, p. 1).

The glass ceiling effect issue also foment a variety of frames of reference and interpretations. Unlike abortion, however, it appears to be a problem that is not given much attention. The fact that very few women are CEOs and presidents of companies seldom get the media attention feminists claim it deserves. According to *USA Today* (2003), there are only "eight Fortune 500 companies [that] have female CEOs." Although the media spotlight women achievers and success stories, the disparity in income statistics is staggering. The

eight women who broke the Fortune 500 companies' glass ceilings "on average, are better executives than their male counterparts" (*USA Today*, 2003). When it comes to Fortune 500 companies, Max Messmer, CEO of Robert Half International, claims that gender "borders on irrelevance," seemingly unaware that there are only eight women CEOs when over half the general population is women. Although more women are joining politics, the glass ceiling issue is not often one they address. To many, the fact that women are still not making the same amount as men in similar professions has become a dead issue. About this topic, the media appear to be silent.

Indeed how the mass media cover important social issues influences people's understanding of these issues. How has the media coverage of these two feminist issues changed over the last five years? Are the media projecting negative connotations of feminism as many claim? Does the nature of the coverage differ from one newspaper to the next?

This study examines the portrayal of two feminist issues in regional and national newspapers to determine intensity of coverage and the frames used to explain reproductive rights and the glass ceiling effect issues to their respective audiences.

These two issues are very much different on several respects. On the one hand, abortion has been at the forefront of the media agenda for quite some time now and is very much a part of President George W. Bush's second term agenda. The glass ceiling effect, on the other hand, is considered a "back-burner" issue, receiving only scant media attention.

This study hopes to add to the rich body of knowledge on feminist history by looking at how the media may affect the way people view feminist issues. By examining trends over a five-year period, this study attempts to gain insight into the ways in which the media can

affect public opinion. In addition, this study aims to provide insights as to how national and regional newspapers covered the two issues. Finally, this study hopes to contribute to the scant body of quantitative research on feminism and feminist issues.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Feminism is a movement that has been around for more than a century. There are several issues feminism encompasses, all of which deal with upgrading the status of women. This study closely examines mass media coverage of two of these issues, abortion and the glass ceiling effect, specifically focusing on how the media have presented these issues over a five-year period. The coverage of national and regional newspapers will be compared.

In their study of public attitudes toward feminism from 1974-1998, Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) found that people's "attitudes have continued to liberalize and converge with the exception of abortion attitudes" (p. 1). Several reasons have brought about more liberal attitudes toward gender roles, including "a strong movement for gender equality, the increased presence of women, especially mothers, in the public workforce, shifting demographics of family and parenthood, and more open laws and norms regarding birth control, sexuality, and abortion" (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004, p. 1).

The theoretical frameworks they used to explain these attitude shifts were rooted in both *interest-based* and *exposure-based* approaches (p. 3). The *interest-based* approach holds that individuals develop feminist attitudes based on need. If, for example, a woman needs or will benefit from gender equity because she works, then she is more likely to hold feminist attitudes. Men can also benefit from the interest-based perspective if they are dependent on their wives who work and make money.

In the *exposure-based* approach, Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) say "individuals develop or change their understandings of women's place in society and their attitudes toward feminist issues when they encounter ideas and situations that resonate with feminist

ideals” (pp. 3-4). This means that people who are *exposed* to feminist attitudes through personal experience, education, or socialization are much more likely to align their opinions with those of feminism and more progressive attitudes regarding gender. One way women become exposed to feminism is by entering the workforce where they may experience discrimination and inequality and are more likely to realize these issues still exist when they speak to other working women. Another way in which women are exposed to feminism is through education. Through the enlightenment effect, people who are educated are exposed to the ideas of feminism. Finally, they suggest that women are exposed to feminism by socialization through which people become exposed to the ideals of feminism based on, for example, their mother’s experiences. Another powerful agent of socialization is the mass media.

The Framing Theory of Mass Media Effects

To examine the impact of the media on people’s attitudes toward feminism, framing theory is instructive. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2003), framing refers to “1) how the media agenda is set and 2) how the media chooses to portray the issues they cover” (p. 409). They suggest that “framing analysis recognizes that the media can impart a certain perspective, or ‘spin,’ to the events that they cover and that this, in turn, might influence public attitudes on an issue” (Wimmer & Dominick, p. 409). In a study, Andsager (2000) analyzed the attempts by interest groups to frame the abortion debate of the late 1990s, and the impact of their efforts on the news media. She found that the pro-life group was more successful in getting their interpretation into the press coverage.

Framing theory, however, has been bogged down for years because of what Entman (1993) calls “scattered conceptualizations” (p. 51). “Studies that have used this analytical

framework have lacked clear conceptual definitions and relied on context-specific, rather than generally applicable operationalizations” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 1). Because of this, Brosius and Eps (1995) cautioned that the theory can degenerate into “a metaphor that cannot be directly translated into research questions” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 1). Rising to the challenge, Scheufele (1999) defined the theoretical propositions of framing more explicitly and how they can be used in research.

According to McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997), framing is, in fact, an extension of agenda setting (p. 1). They used the term *second-level agenda-setting* to describe the impact of the salience of characteristics of media coverage on audiences’ interpretation of these news stories” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 1).

McQuail (1999) situates framing theory and effects on the fourth and present stage of the history of mass media effects which started in the early 1980s. This stage is characterized by social constructivism that ushered in a new era of powerful media effects. It suggests that the “mass media [can] have a strong impact by socially constructing reality” although these effects can be limited by the ongoing interaction between the mass media and their audiences (Scheufele, 1999, p. 3).

According to Scheufele (1999), the “mass media actively set the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events” (p. 3). From a constructivist viewpoint, “audiences rely on a version of reality built from personal experience, interaction with peers, and interpreted selections from the mass media” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 3). That is, a person becomes informed through the media’s “construction” of issues and events which, for it to become a part of a person’s cognitions, needs to be based on that person’s already existing schemas.

Framing research has also been defined as “the interplay between two levels: (1) between individuals who operate actively in the construction of meaning, and (2) the socio-cultural processes that offer meanings that are frequently contested” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 4).

Scheufele (1999) also distinguishes between media frames vs. individual frames. Media frames are “devices embedded in political discourse,” while individual frames are “internal structures of the mind” (p. 4). Media frames can include the intent of the sender, but the motives can also be unconscious ones. Individual frames are defined as “‘mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information’” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 5). They are the overarching framework of ideas, concepts, and attitudes learned about a specific topic or issue.

Media frames and individual frames can thus be seen as independent or dependent variables. “At the media level, journalists’ framing of an issue may be influenced by several social-structural or organizational variables and by individual or ideological variables” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 5). At the audience level, “frames as the dependent variable are examined mostly as direct outcomes of the way mass media frame an issue” (p. 5).

Media frames can be a dependent variable because there are factors that may potentially influence how journalists frame a given issue. Among them are “social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 7). But media frames can also be seen as independent variables that have “an impact on attitudes, opinions, or individual frames” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 8).

Scheufele (1999) says there are two factors that influence media content. The first is journalist-centered influences, where journalists are expected to collect information and then

make sense of it in a way that the audience can understand (p. 13). The second factor influencing the framing of news is “the selection of frames as a result of factors like the type or political orientation of the medium, or what Gans (1979) called ‘organizational routines’” (p. 13).

Scheufele (1999) surmises that “it is likely that this frame-building function of the mass media has a greater impact for relatively new issues” (p. 14). In this way, frames are used to influence people by stressing certain things as more important than others. For example, abortion has been on the forefront of news coverage over the past several years as a major feminist issue, whereas the glass ceiling effect, divorce, rape, and childcare have not. Therefore, the American public, because of the media agenda, has deemed one issue as more important or more worthy of discussion.

Framing Feminist Issues

Framing has been used by researchers to examine the impact of media frames on audience frames. A study by Ferree (2003), for example, takes a “quantitative comparison of German and United States newspapers in the period 1970-1994, showing how differences in discursive opportunity affect both the strategic use of frames in feminist repertoire about legal abortion and their long-term success” (p. 1). Here, Ferree (2003) discusses how framing enabled her to look at the issues surrounding feminism, especially abortion. She found that “framing language can obscure how power relations shape the dominant discourses and through them affect movement of speech, channeling what challengers will attempt to say and how they say it, as well as affecting how they are heard” (p. 2). She found evidence that the media in the United States and Germany affected public attitude about abortion. The mass media, she observed, can make movements look like “sound bites” (p.

5). She notes that the mass media contribute their own interests and standpoints in selecting and diffusing what becomes the “mainstream” of ideas and claims (Ferree, 2003).

The first frame she uncovered sees “abortion as a matter of choice, which women, like men, should be able to exercise freely as right-bearing citizens, and is squarely situated in the mainstream of liberal political theory” (p. 11). The success of this frame is based on society’s ability to acknowledge “women’s moral competence to make abortion decisions; a state not only withdraws its coercive power from a significant arena of women’s life but also symbolically recognizes women’s full personhood” (p. 11). The second frame she found in the media reports on abortion was autonomy, which highlights women’s need to be protected from social coercion or to be free. An important theme of this frame is that abortion is a consumer choice. That is, a person has the right to birth control as a consumer.

Through framing, Ferree (2003) examined how attitudes toward abortion have changed. During the days of Margaret Sanger, birth control and abortion were seen as part of a person’s right to protect one’s family by having fewer children and by providing a better life for the children they have. Today, however, women are seen as abusing this right by exhibiting risky sexual behavior.

Relatively few studies have closely examined the frames built by the media to explain the glass ceiling effect. Albrecht and Bjorklund (2003) defined the glass ceiling effect as “the phenomenon whereby women do quite well in the labor market up to a point after which there is an effective limit on their prospects” (p. 2). The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995a, p. 2, iii) defines the concept as the “artificial barriers to the advancement of women and minorities” in business and corporate environments (Cotter et. al, 2001, p. 2).

In common terms, the glass ceiling refers to “what keeps women from rising up the corporate ladder without regard to their qualifications and achievements” (Cotter et. al, 2001, p.3). In their study, Albrecht and Bjorklund (2003) found that the glass ceiling effect did exist in Sweden in the 1990s as evidenced by the wage gaps between genders even after controlling for the impact of education, age, immigration status, sector, and industry of employment on their panel (p. 3). The authors suggest that working in the private sector has a large payoff in the top of the wage distribution, and many more men than women work in the private sector” (Albrecht & Bjorklund, 2003).

Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia, and Vanneman (2001) also found manifestations of the glass ceiling effect in the United States. Among the Fortune 500 companies, the first woman CEO was Carleton Fiorina who was promoted to that position by Hewlett-Packard only in 1999 (Cotter et. al, 2001). Examining longitudinal data and controlling for several variables, including education, employment, and location, Cotter et. al (2001) found that “women’s disadvantages at higher earnings levels may simply reflect their lower experience levels” (p. 9). However, they also found that “at each year of work experience, holding constant the other variables in the model, women and African Americans have lower earnings chances than white men” (p. 15). Although women have steadily improving chances of reaching the white men’s 75th earning percentile, those chances fail to improve as quickly as those of the white man. With each year of experience, they fall further behind. Generally speaking, the glass ceiling effect appears to impact women more with respect to men’s advancement in corporate America later in life (Cotter et. al, 2001).

In another study, Snyder, Verderer, Langmeyer, and Myers (1992) estimate that “women hold 15 % of entry-level management positions, 5% of middle-management slots,

and only 1% of top-level positions” (p. 2). Studies using broader samples continue to find that gender-related factors, such as the lack of advancement opportunities, are far more likely to be reported as the antecedents of women’s behavior and attitudes about work” (Snyder et al, 1992, p. 2). Snyder et al. (1992) claim that “the potentially most serious theoretical barrier to women’s upward mobility is the proposition that in many types of task-oriented situations, women have less positive self- and organization-referent attitudes” (p. 4). They posit that “the creation of comprehensive approaches to the elimination of gender-based glass ceilings will undoubtedly prove to be a management challenge that extends well into the 21st century” (p. 16).

A study by Stout et al. (2003) looked at how the glass ceiling effect is played out through promotions and the number of senior faculty members at the University of Texas. “While one might expect a more equitable environment within [the] academe, research indicates the contrary, particularly in regards to women’s career advancement” (p. 2). They claim that several factors contribute to the discrepancies women face, such as inhospitable environments, underpayment for years of service, and unequal access to resources at the university. This study was guided by the “pipeline” theory, which states that time will resolve traditional inequities following the push by second-wave feminism in the 1970s and its accompanying pro-women federal legislation. Using focus groups, they examined the perceptions of female associate professors in six colleges. Their participants claim that motherhood, the lack of support for scholarship, and sex discrimination were major stumbling blocks to being promoted in the academe. Generally speaking, the “women expressed concern about unclear and variable standards for merit recognition and promotion” (Stout et. al, 2002, p. 10). Finally, they suggested the creation of a set of standards so that all

faculty members know what is expected of them for promotion. Such standards can gauge the extent to which the glass ceiling effect exists.

Another study done by Baxter and Wright (2000) focuses on the glass ceiling hypothesis which posits that not only is it more difficult for women to be “promoted up levels of authority hierarchies within workplaces but also that the obstacles women face relative to men become greater as they move up the hierarchy” (p. 1). In other words, “the relative disadvantages women face in getting jobs and promotions are greater on the upper levels of managerial hierarchies than at the bottom” (p. 2). To prove the existence of a glass ceiling, it is thus necessary to demonstrate two things: “(1) that the ratio of the probabilities of women compared to men being promoted into or entering a given level of management declines as they move up the managerial hierarchy, and (2) that this deterioration in relative promotion probabilities is due to the intensified barriers to promotion as opposed to some other mechanism” (p. 3).

Baxter and Wright (2000) systematically explored the extent of and the variations in the manifestation of the glass ceiling in three countries (the United States, Sweden, and Australia) through two cross-sectional telephone and mail surveys. Controlling for residency, occupation, hours spent at work per week, education, age, children, marital status, and gender, the results indicate that “in each country, the odds of a woman being a bottom-level supervisor instead of a non-management employee are significantly less than those of men” (p. 11). Although their study design did not allow for a definitive test of the glass ceiling hypothesis, the authors observe that “in the United States at least, there is little evidence for larger and systematic glass ceiling effects” (p. 15). The low representation of women at the top gives a false impression of the glass ceiling effect. They add that “even

though the results of this study must be taken as very tentative, the basic message here is nevertheless clear: Claims about the existence of a glass ceiling are quite vulnerable to observational misperceptions” (pp. 15-16).

The Effect of Journalistic Norms and Values on Media Frames

Using framing theory, this study compares the coverage of national and regional newspapers in terms of the frames they used, capitalizing on media frames as a dependent variable following Scheufele’s (1999) conceptualization. In this case, did journalistic routines and organizational factors inherent in national and regional newspapers affect the way abortion and the glass ceiling syndrome were framed by these newspapers?

Looking at how frames are used in the media, Scheufele (1999) suggests that at least five factors potentially influence how journalists frame a given issue: “(1) social norms and values, (2) organizational pressures and constraints, (3) pressures of interest groups, (4) journalistic routines and (5) ideological or political orientations of journalists” (p. 7). The mass media frames they produce can then “actively set the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 3). This study examines media frames (the dependent variable) as affected by journalistic routines, norms and values (the independent variables). It can be assumed, according to Scheufele (1999), that the “formation of frames can be explained by an interaction of journalists’ norms and practices” (p. 8). This suggests that differences in the way journalists perform their tasks following the organizational frameworks and routines inherent in their scope of responsibility—national versus regional—may produce or build different media frames.

Other than the journalists’ norms and practices, the media organization’s requirements may also influence frame building. “At the media level, journalists’ framing of

an issue may be influenced by several social-structural or organizational variables” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 5). By virtue of their larger service area, national newspapers face higher scrutiny because they may also be distributed all over the world. Some may also contend that pressure and constraints may be less intense in organizations that cover only a specific region of the country. Considering these differences, do national and regional newspapers that differ in routines also vary in how they frame issues or package them for efficient relay to their audiences?

Research Questions

Considering the foregoing literature review and using framing theory as the analytical framework, this study asks:

RQ1: How intensely have the print media covered two feminist issues—the glass ceiling effect and abortion—over the past five years?

RQ2: Does the coverage of these two issues intensify during presidential election years? Is there a difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of coverage intensity in election years?

RQ3: Does the intensity of the coverage of these two issues differ between regional and national newspapers?

RQ4: What were the frames the newspapers used to report the two feminist issues to their publics? Is there a difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the frames they used? What is the pattern of frame use over time?

RQ5: What was the attitude of the stories’ frames regarding the two feminist issues? Is a feminist backlash evident in the newspapers’ coverage? Is the intensity of this backlash different between regional and national newspapers?

RQ6: What sources were most frequently cited in the newspapers' coverage of reproductive rights and the glass ceiling effect? What is the pattern of source use over time? Is there a difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of sources used?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

A content analysis of two regional and two national newspapers was conducted to examine how they framed two feminist issues: abortion and the glass ceiling effect. This methodology was selected because of its ability to show what factors may have contributed to the shaping of media frames and public opinion. A content analysis is also pertinent in this case because the media are the major sources of information of people all over the world, especially with the advancements in communications technology that allow for information to be passed from source to source instantaneously. Wimmer and Dominick (2003) outline several discrete stages in conducting a content analysis. Following their lead, this chapter lists and describes the procedures for data gathering and data analysis.

Wimmer and Dominick (2003) caution that a “content analysis should not be conducted simply because the material exists and [the occurrence of something] can be tabulated” (p. 145). This study compares how regional and national newspapers framed two feminist issues. The research questions outlined at the end of Chapter 2 call for a quantitative and qualitative look at newspaper stories about these two issues. Laying out the research questions is step one in Wimmer and Dominick’s (2003) roster of content analysis activities.

Step two requires defining “the population in question” (p. 145). In this step, “two dimensions are usually used to determine the appropriate universe for a content analysis—the topic and the time period” (p. 146). For this study, the universe encompasses all articles published in four newspapers (two national and two regional) that specifically discuss abortion and the glass ceiling effect from January 1, 2000 to December 31, 2004.

Step three calls for selecting “an appropriate sample from the population” (p. 145). There are several things to consider when selecting the sample. The first stage usually involves taking a sample of content sources. This study limits the scope of inquiry only to two national and two regional newspapers. The two national newspapers selected for analysis were the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The two regional newspapers examined were the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Des Moines Register*. Because the objective here is to report trends in frame use, only articles published from January 1, 2000 to December 30, 2005 will be analyzed.

Step four involves selecting and defining “a unit of analysis” (p. 145). A unit of analysis is “the smallest element of a content analysis but also one of the most important” (p. 148). For this study, the unit of analysis will be the complete article about abortion, the glass ceiling effect, or both.

Step five requires constructing “the categories of content to be analyzed” (p. 145). It is suggested that each category be defined such that the list is exhaustive and mutually exclusive. A category system is “mutually exclusive” if a unit of analysis can be placed in one and only one category” (p. 150). In addition to exclusivity, the category system should also be exhaustive. By that, they mean that “there must be an existing slot into which every unit of analysis can be placed” (p. 151). Therefore, this study examines each article to determine (1) its length in terms of number of words, (2) the first three frames present within the article, (3) the article’s attitude toward the two feminist issues evident in those frames and (4) the sources cited in the article. By doing this, each frame and each source cited can be assigned a specific attitude that does not cross over to other frames, themes, or source category.

Step six calls for establishing “a quantification system” (p. 145). In this study, each newspaper was assigned a code. One variable of interest here is the type of newspaper, where 1 = national and 2 = regional. The date of publication is another. The length of each article and the number of articles on the two topics published each year were also recorded. Sources was coded as 1 = government official or agency, 2 = national or multinational corporations, 3 = advocacy groups, 4 = non-governmental organizations other than advocacy groups, 5 = private/individual citizens, 6 = university official/faculty, 7 = religious organizations or officials, 8 = no affiliation. The articles were coded as discussing 1 = abortion, 2 = glass ceiling effect, or 3 = both. The top three frames in each story were identified as open-ended categories, and their attitudes toward the two feminist issues were ascertained by categorizing the story orientation as either 1 = positive, 2 = negative, or 3 = neutral.

The issue of abortion has several frames. Examples of the legal frames include “the right to know act was vetoed by Ventura,” “the South Dakota governor signs law banning most abortions,” and “Judge rules Maryland law that creates buffer zones around abortion clinics is unconstitutional.” Examples of the economic frames include “the House of Representatives to decide if the United Nations population fund will not receive aid from U.S. on mistaken belief that money helps China force abortions,” “The President should not cut off funding to international family planning organization over the issue of abortion,” and “Bush administration denied \$34 million to United Nations Population Fund to satisfy abortion-opponents.” Examples of religious and moral frames included “Roman Catholic Church issues a guide on social issues, reiterating position against abortion,” “Merging three Duluth hospitals raises concerns over Catholic church’s control,” and “Reverend laments,

senators support abortion rights.” Examples of medical frames include “7,000 women with crisis pregnancies travel to England to have abortions,” “Some doctors do not feel comfortable providing RU-486,” and “half of all unplanned pregnancies in U.S. end in abortion.” Examples of advocacy issues include “League of conservative voters provided a scorecard on abortion issue that is biased,” “Hundreds of thousands of abortion rights supporters rallied at Capitol and vowed to elect a new president,” and “NARAL supports abortion resolution.” Examples of political frames include “Presidential race is too close to call for preservation of abortion rights,” “debate between Lazio and Clinton polarized on issue of abortion,” and “abortion activist creates new liberal political action committee.”

The issue of the glass ceiling effect has several frames. Examples of people shattering the glass ceiling include “Carol Mosely Braun’s presidential candidacy puts one more chip in the glass ceiling,” “Alsop attempts to break ranks into the boys club of top-tier conductors,” and “Joan Gomez-Franco worked for NBC and was a trailblazer for women in advertising.” Examples of legal issues and lawsuits include “New glass ceiling involves parents suing and winning for job discrimination,” “Wisocky and Kosen responsible for landmark lawsuit over gender discrimination,” and “After being let-go Atkinson files lawsuit for discrimination.” Examples of political frames includes “More men and women claim they would vote for a woman president than eight years ago,” “Few New York women have broken glass ceiling in politics,” and “Women with families face double-bind when trying to enter politics.” Examples of educational frames include “With history and momentum behind them women have not soared in astronomy field,” “The district approach is pushing students by thinking of reading as glass ceiling,” and “Iowa is below average for women as superintendents.” Examples of organizational frames “Petersen settles for \$75,000 when she

claimed to be passed over for promotion because of her gender.” Examples of economic frames include “Women are still making less money than men for the same job.”

Step seven asks for the training of coders and the conduct of a pilot study. Due to the small number of articles gathered, the researcher was the sole coder, eliminating the need for inter-coder reliability.

Step eight requires coding “the content according to established definitions” (p. 145). A coding sheet was thus developed to include all variables with values representing discrete categories. The codes were then tabulated for later analysis using SPSS.

The Sample

Because it is expected that the glass ceiling issue will be covered less extensively by the four newspapers, all articles published during the five-year period that dealt with the glass ceiling effect was examined. But because abortion continues to be a “hot” topic in the media agenda, a random sample of articles that discussed this topic was analyzed. Using a simple random sample technique, a list of all articles regarding abortion in the four newspapers were compiled. Using a random start, every 13th article on the list was selected until a sample size equal to the number of glass ceiling articles was reached.

Variable Measurement and Data Analysis

RQ1: How intensely did the print media cover the two feminist issues—the glass ceiling effect and abortion—over the past five years?

RQ2: Does the intensity of coverage of these two issues differ between regional and national newspapers?

RQ3: Does the coverage of these two issues intensify during presidential election years? Is there a difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of coverage intensity in election years?

Intensity of coverage was determined by counting the number of articles about the two feminist issues published in the four newspapers per year. Descriptive statistics were used to answer RQ1 and RQ2. The intensity of coverage was plotted against time to answer RQ3.

RQ4: What were the frames the newspapers used to report the two feminist issues to their publics? What was the pattern of frame use over the five-year period? Is there a difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the frames used?

The top three frames used in each story were identified using a qualitative analysis of the text. Frame use was then plotted against time. The difference in frames used by national and regional newspapers was ascertained using chi-square tests.

RQ5: What was the attitude of the stories regarding the two feminist issues? Is a feminist backlash evident in the newspapers' coverage? Is the intensity of this backlash different between regional and national newspapers?

For each frame identified in RQ4, attitude was determined by categorizing the valence or orientation of each frame toward the two issues on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means "very negative" and 5 means "very positive." The difference in the attitude of national and regional newspapers was ascertained using independent samples t-tests.

RQ6: What sources were most frequently cited in the four newspapers' coverage of abortion and the glass ceiling effect? Is there a difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of sources cited? What is the pattern of source use over time?

For each of the stories in the sample, the top three most frequently cited sources were determined. This enables an analysis of the voices present in the national and regional coverage of the two feminist issues. The difference in sources cited between national and regional newspapers were ascertained using chi-square tests. The pattern of source use was analyzed by plotting frequency of use against time.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study examines how national and regional U.S. newspapers framed two feminist issues, abortion and the glass ceiling effect. It focuses on frames used by two national newspapers, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* and two regional newspapers, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Des Moines Register*. All the articles on abortion and the glass ceiling effect published in these four newspapers over five years (2000-2005) were collected. In order to assess frames, a random sample of 125 articles on abortion was selected from each of the four newspapers because the topic was the subject of heavy coverage. All stories regarding the glass ceiling effect over the same time period were analyzed because coverage of the topic was relatively light. Coding was done following the protocols developed for this study (See Appendix A for the codebook). After data entry, the data set was analyzed using SPSS v. 11.

Intensity of Media Coverage

The first research question asks: How intensely have the newspapers covered the two feminist issues—glass ceiling and abortion—over the past five years?

Figure 1 graphs the number of stories about abortion published in the four newspapers from 2000-2005. In general, the national newspapers covered the issue almost twice as intensely as the regional newspapers, and that performance was fairly consistent over time. In 2000, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Des Moines Register* had a combined total of 328 articles about abortion. This pales in comparison to the 1,258 articles on the topic printed by the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* the same year. In 2001, the regional newspaper coverage dropped to a total of only 165 articles, while the national

newspapers published five times as many (922). In 2002, regional newspaper coverage climbed a little to a total of 321 articles as the national coverage dipped to a low of 703 articles. That year, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* published almost the same number of stories about abortion (356 and 347, respectively). The *Des Moines Register* printed the least number of stories in 2003 (105) which, combined with the *Minneapolis Star Tribune's* coverage, constituted a total of 246 stories. There was also a slight increase in national newspaper coverage of abortion to 763 articles. In 2004, the *New York Times* coverage of the issue surged again to 517 articles, bringing the national combined total to 910 stories. The regional newspaper coverage, however, mirrored the 2002 performance, with the two newspapers producing only 331 stories on abortion.

In general, as Figure 1 shows, coverage of the abortion topic was heavy and intense, producing a total of 5,947 stories in a span of five years in the four newspapers under study. The lack of newspaper interest on the glass ceiling effect is very evident in that over five years, the four newspapers produced only 108 discernible stories that dealt with the issue. This scant coverage is clear across all four newspapers. Figure 2 graphs the number of stories about the glass ceiling effect published in the four newspapers over the same time period. For this issue, the trend in intensity seems more haphazard. The *Minneapolis Star Tribune* published only one story and the *Des Moines Register* only four. In 2001, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Register* printed only four articles on the issue while the *Washington Post* coverage slipped to five stories in contrast with the 15 articles from the *Times*. In 2002, the *Star Tribune*, *Register*, and the *Washington Post* had four articles each; the *New York Times* had seven. In 2003, the *Des Moines Register's* coverage climbed to eight articles, outperforming even the *New York Times* that had seven articles. The *Register*

kept the momentum in 2004, producing ten articles compared to six stories in the *New York Times*. For 2004, the *Washington Post* coverage was non-existent.

In general, however, the topic was clearly a very minor item in all the newspapers' agenda.

Figure 1 shows that the regional coverage of abortion fluctuated a little, but for the most part was stable. The two national newspapers had a watershed year in 2000 when abortion coverage was at its peak. It declined consistently from 2001 to 2003, but showed a slight rebound in 2004.

The scant coverage of the glass ceiling effect was fairly consistent over time with the *Times* producing the most number in 2001 (15 stories). Regional coverage, however, overtook the national coverage beginning in 2003 when the *Des Moines Register* released eight stories, and in 2004 when it came up with ten. The *Star Tribune* clearly did not consider the topic of any importance, producing only nine articles about the issue over five years. The *Washington Post* interest continuously dropped until it completely ignored the topic in 2004.

The results indicate that abortion was an important feminist issue that garnered a large amount of coverage in the four newspapers. Overall the number of stories tended to be higher for the two national newspapers whose headquarters are in closer proximity to legislators and national decision-makers. In both election years (2000 and 2004), the intensity of coverage was highest, indicating the importance of the topic in presidential candidate's platforms.

Figure 2 demonstrates that the glass ceiling is yet to gain much ground as a feminist issue. Very few articles were written about it in any of the four newspapers. That the *Des Moines Register* increased its coverage of the topic over time suggests that the glass ceiling

effect has become an important issue in Iowa. The two national newspapers did not pay much attention to it, suggesting that at the national level, the glass ceiling effect is still a non-issue.

Intensity of Coverage During Presidential Election Years

The second research question asks: Does the coverage of these two issues intensify during the presidential election years? Is there a difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of coverage intensity in election years?

The period of study covered two presidential election years, 2000 and 2004. Figure 1 shows that the coverage of abortion increased during these election years in both regional and national newspapers. In 2000, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* had 136 articles on the topic while the *Des Moines Register* had 192. The *Washington Post* published 472 stories and the *New York Times* had 786. In 2004, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* produced 153 articles while the *Des Moines Register* was up slightly to 178 stories. The *Washington Post* had 393 and the *New York Times* had 517. The figures show that coverage of abortion was more intense in 2000 than in 2004, indicating public worry about the issue as President Clinton wrapped up his second term in 2000. Speculations as to how the next president will treat women's reproductive rights might have considerably drummed up the coverage.

The two regional newspapers followed a similar trend in their coverage of the topic. Both newspapers' coverage intensified during the presidential years, but was also up in 2002. This suggests consistency in coverage intensity through the years. The regional newspapers tended to focus more on the morality of abortion (a fairly persistent frame) and less on the politics of the issue (a frame that changes much over time).

The two national newspapers, on the other hand, seem to follow a U-shaped trend in coverage. Both newspapers' coverage of abortion was most intense in 2000, but showed a slight bump in 2004, suggesting that during election years, the two national newspapers take a stronger interest on abortion as a political issue. Many of these articles focused on legislators' stand on abortion, how lawmakers voted on the issue in the past, and what type of legislation (for or against) might they support. The national newspapers also covered advocacy and interest groups extensively.

The slightly strong showing of the glass ceiling effect in 2000 dropped a little in 2004 (Figure 2). In 2000, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* had only one article on the topic while the *Des Moines Register* had four articles. The *Washington Post* began with ten articles in 2000 while the *New York Times* had 14. In 2004, the *Star Tribune's* coverage was the same. The *Des Moines Register* had ten articles. The *Washington Post* did not see it fit to publish anything on the topic, and the *New York Times* came up with only six. In general, there were very few articles written by the four newspapers in any year, with the highest coverage occurring in 2001 when the *New York Times* printed 15 articles.

What was striking was the two regional newspapers' performance on this issue. The *Minneapolis Star Tribune* had only one story about the glass ceiling effect in 2000 and 2004. The *Des Moines Register*, however, had four in 2000 and ten in 2004, indicating that the topic was viewed as more important in Des Moines. As such, glass ceiling coverage intensity showed no correlation with presidential election years in the regional papers.

The two national newspapers also varied in their coverage of the glass ceiling effect. The *Washington Post* started with ten articles in 2000, tapering to five articles in 2001, until there was no coverage at all in 2004. The *New York Times*, on the other hand, had 14 articles

on the topic in 2000, increased its coverage in 2001 to 15 articles, before dropping off to seven articles in 2002. It then maintained this level over the remaining years. This suggests that the glass ceiling effect is a topic that does not have news value in the eyes of the national newspapers' gatekeepers.

Election years offer an opportunity to bring a variety of issues into the public arena through campaign speeches, debates, and advertisements as the candidates fight for their place in the polls. Figure 1 suggests a positive correlation between the intensity of abortion coverage and election years. The issue seems to be an important part of candidates' political agenda, one that can make the difference between getting elected or not. On the other hand, the glass ceiling effect, an issue that should be gaining importance as more women become highly educated and well trained for the workforce, did not constitute a major part of the media agenda. Presidential election years do not seem to jumpstart coverage of this issue at all.

Difference Between National and Regional Newspapers in Coverage Intensity

The third research question asks: Does the intensity of the coverage of these two issues differ between regional and national newspapers?

As Figure 3 shows, the regional newspapers' performance on abortion pales in comparison to the very heavy and intense national coverage. Over time, the national newspapers' coverage followed a U-shape, starting in 2000 with 1,258 stories. This then declined to 922 stories in 2001 and to 703 stories in 2002. It rebounded a little in 2003 to 763 stories, and continued an upper trend until 2004 when they produced 910 stories. The regional newspapers, on the other hand, showed a fairly consistent coverage over time, from 328 stories in 2000, which dipped to 165 in 2001. This then sprang to 321 in 2002 before

falling in 2003, but climbed to 331 in 2004. The national newspapers coverage of the glass ceiling effect, however, shows a steady decrease year by year, from 24 articles in 2000 to only six articles in 2004. The regional newspapers, exhibited the opposite trend, gradually intensifying its coverage of the topic over time. Intensity moved from a low of four stories in 2001 to 11 articles in 2004.

Figure 3 clearly shows that abortion is more prominent in the two national newspapers' agenda. This was expected considering that the two national newspapers are located in the hub of political activity where abortion is a hotly contested topic year after year. The regional newspapers' coverage fluctuated little. Figure 4, however, shows a different trend in the glass ceiling coverage. The two national newspapers started their highest coverage in 2000, which continued to drop over time. In Washington, D.C., coverage totally dissipated in 2004. The two regional newspapers started off slow, but steadily increase their coverage over time, suggesting that the glass ceiling effect has captured attention. This might be due to the fact that both these regions heavily recruit young men and women into the workforce. Since women have been gaining access to upper management positions over the course of their careers, glass ceiling was given some newspaper space.

The Framing of the Two Feminist Issues

The fourth research question asks: What were the frames the newspapers used to report the two feminist issues to their publics?

The newspapers, in general, produced a number of frames to report abortion to their respective publics. These include (1) legal issues, such as laws being considered by Congress, (2) economic issues, such as how much funding is allocated to family planning agencies, (3) religious or moral issues, such as the Catholic church's action against abortion,

(4) medical issues, such as specific procedures involved in abortion, (5) advocacy issues, such as the efforts of interest groups to keep abortion a hotly contested topic in the political arena, (6) political issues, such as who votes for or against abortion rights, and (7) “other” issues, which include frames that do not fit into the above six categories.

The glass ceiling effect was also reported by all four newspapers using a variety of frames. These were (1) women who have risen to upper management positions in the corporate world, (2) legal issues, such as legal action taken by women who have experienced discrimination in the workplace, (3) political issues, such as legislation to secure women’s rights, (4) education issues, such as the increased training women are receiving to compete in the corporate world, (5) organizational issues, such as what corporate giants are doing to eliminate the glass ceiling, (6) economic issues, such as gender differences in wages for the same job, and (7) “other” frames, which include those that do not fit into the above six categories.

As Figure 5 shows, political frames were most dominant in the abortion coverage (used 305 times), followed by the legal frame (used 137 times). The religious or moral frame also figured well in the discussions about abortion.

Women shattering the glass ceiling was the most common frame found in the glass ceiling coverage across all four newspapers (used 33 times), followed by political frames which were detected 25 times (Figure 6).

Is there a difference between the frames used by national and regional newspapers to discuss abortion?

In the assessment of frames, the three most prominent story-telling strategies in each story were determined by analyzing the content of complete articles. Thus, each story

produced three coded frames. A chi-square test was done to determine the difference between national and regional newspapers' use of these three prominent frames. For the first frame, the results in Table 1 show that the difference between national and regional newspapers was not statistically significant ($X^2 = 12.35$, $p = 0.09$, $df = 7$). This was the same for the second abortion frame ($X^2 = 10.52$, $p = 0.104$, $df = 6$) as shown in Table 2, and with the use of the third frame ($X^2 = 5.30$, $p = 0.506$, $df = 6$) as shown in Table 3. These suggest that national and regional newspapers did not differ in terms of the frames they used to discuss abortion. The results, therefore, do not lend support to the tenets of framing theory which state that the frames employed by national and regional newspapers should differ due to variations in resources, journalistic traits, and organizational demands.

Is there a difference in national and regional newspapers in the frames they used to discuss the glass ceiling effect?

As in the abortion issue, each glass ceiling article was analyzed to code for the three most prominent frames. As Table 4 shows, no statistical difference between national and regional newspapers was detected for the first glass ceiling frame ($X^2 = 8.90$, $p = 0.113$, $df = 5$). Neither was the difference statistically significant for the second frame ($X^2 = 0.88$, $p = 0.972$, $df = 5$) as shown in Table 5, and the third frame ($X^2 = 4.28$, $p = 0.640$, $df = 6$) as seen in Table 6. Once again, the lack of statistically significant difference between newspapers with national coverage and those distributed regionally does not lend support to framing theory.

What was the pattern of frame use over time?

In the abortion issue, the political frame out-performed all the other frames in overall coverage across the years. The use of legal frames surged in 2003, but went into a steep

decline in 2004. The religious frame was used more and more sparingly from 2000 to 2003, but made a come back in 2003 and 2004 (Figure 7).

The pattern of frame use over time for the glass ceiling effect issue was dominated by stories of women who successfully shattered the glass ceiling (Figure 8). Although this frame was used most heavily in 2000, its use sharply decreased with time. Another dominant glass ceiling frame had to do with political issues whose use increased rapidly in 2003 and 2004. The use of educational and organizational frames was erratic. Organizational frames became prominent in 2002, declined in 2003, and rebounded to the 2000 level in 2004. The educational frame was used the most in 2000, almost neglected in 2001, and used moderately from 2002 to 2004.

Frame Attitude Toward the Two Issues

The fifth research question asks: What was the attitude of the stories' frames regarding the two feminist issues?

In general, the attitudes of the frames toward the two feminist issues were slightly negative (Figure 9). A total of 308 articles were negative about the two topics, 298 articles showed a positive stance, and another 298 were neutral. The two national newspapers had seven very negative articles, whereas the two regional newspapers had 23 articles that demonstrate a negative attitude. As shown in Figure 10, the national newspapers were slightly more positive toward the two issues. There were 137 very negative articles published in the national newspapers; 171 in the regional newspapers. Some 155 articles in the national newspapers were coded neutral while 143 of these stories were found in the regional newspapers. A total of 160 positive articles were detected in the national

newspapers; 129 in the regional ones. There were no very positive articles observed in the national and regional newspapers.

When coding articles the research tried to think of the frames as neutral until something near the words abortion or the glass ceiling effect gave a negative or positive perspective about the issue. An example of a story orientated “very negative” was “Abortionist and feminists are to blame for 9/11.” Whereas an example of a story orientated “very positive” was “women are reaching the highest level in several fortune 500 companies suggesting the glass ceiling is beginning to shatter.”

Is there a difference between national and regional newspapers in their attitude toward the two issues?

To determine the newspapers’ attitude toward the two feminist issues, each of the identified frames (three for abortion and three for the glass ceiling effect) were analyzed for their orientation toward the feminist issue being discussed. A frame’s orientation was measured on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means “very negative,” 2 means “negative,” 3 is “neutral,” 4 is “positive,” and 5 means “very positive.” National and regional newspaper orientations were then compared using independent samples t-tests.

For both issues, each article was analyzed and coded for the coverage of each frame. For the first story orientation the national newspapers had a mean of 3.0563 while the regional newspapers showed a mean of 2.8229 a statistically significant difference ($t=3.44$, $p=0.001$, $df=606$) as shown in Table 7. This suggests that in the first frame they used, the national newspapers were approaching positive while the regional newspapers were approaching neutral. For the second frame orientation the national newspapers had a mean of 2.9714 while the regional newspapers scored a mean of 2.6880. The difference between these two

means was also statistically significant ($t = 2.32$, $p = 0.021$, $df = 228$) as can be seen in Table 7. This indicates that both national and regional newspapers were exhibiting neutral attitudes with the national newspapers being closer to neutral. The national newspapers' third frame attitude had a mean of 2.8235 while that of the regional newspapers was 3.0741, suggesting that the national newspapers were more neutral while the regional newspapers were leaning more toward the positive. This difference, however, was not statistically significant ($t = 1.18$, $p = 0.241$, $df = 86$) (Table 7). In general, the t-test results lend support to framing theory since there were statistically significant differences between national and regional newspapers in terms of orientation of the first two frames applied.

Thus, the attitudes regarding the two feminist issues were generally neutral, with a slightly negative leaning. This suggests that overall, the articles were not too controversial, which is somewhat surprising given such emotionally charged issues. However, the sample presented a balanced orientation over time. Because the articles lean a little toward the negative, a slight feminist backlash is evident. The two national newspapers lean slightly toward the positive, while the two regional newspapers lean more heavily toward the negative. This might be due to the fact that the national coverage was most focused on political events rather than on the merits of the issues. On the other hand, the two regional newspapers focused more on the moral aspects of the issues. These articles, for example, question what organizations are doing to abolish glass ceilings. When does life begin also permeates the abortion debate.

Sources Used

The sixth research question asks: What sources were most frequently cited in the newspapers' coverage of the two issues? As Figure 11 shows, the sources most frequently

cited in the stories about the two issues were government officials, advocacy groups, non-governmental organizations, private citizens, university officials and faculty, national or multinational corporations, and religious organizations, in that order. Of these, government sources were the most dominant, overwhelming the coverage of both issues.

Clearly, source use over time leaned heavily on government officials (used 322 times), drowning out all other voices or perspectives. A pale second are advocacy groups who were constantly cited (80 times), as well as private citizens (cited 69 times). Interestingly, the religious groups had been quoted most infrequently (used only 22 times).

Regarding the pattern of source use through the years, as Figure 12 shows, national or multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations, university officials, and religious organizations were used less frequently as sources by the four newspapers. In 2000 and 2001, government officials were most frequently cited. This dropped in 2002 before rebounding in 2003 and then dropping again in 2004. In 2000, advocacy groups were cited somewhat frequently, followed by a rise in 2001, a drop in 2002 and 2003, and a rise again in 2004. In 2000, private citizens were also cited, but their use declined in 2001 and 2002, before rising in 2003 and 2004. All other sources were not cited frequently over time.

Is there a difference between national and regional coverage in terms of sources cited?

Each of the articles was coded for the first three sources cited within it, producing three sources per story. To answer the research question, chi-square tests were conducted. The results indicate that national and regional newspapers did not differ in the first source they used in their stories about the two feminist issues ($X^2 = 6.85$, $p = 0.553$, $df = 8$) as shown in Table 8. The same is true regarding the use of the third source ($X^2 = 9.973$, $p =$

0.267, $df = 8$) as indicated in Table 10. In these instances, government officials and agencies were cited the most. National and regional newspapers, however, were different in their use of the second source ($X^2 = 24.246$, $p = 0.002$, $df = 8$) (Table 9). In this case, the national newspapers cited political or university experts more frequently, while the regional newspapers quoted private citizens and advocacy groups the most. Therefore, the results provide only partial support for framing theory which postulates that these two groups should differ in source use because of differences in their available resources and journalistic routines.

The results mirror the distribution of sources shown in Figure 13. It shows that national and regional newspapers used government officials most frequently over time. The national newspapers also frequently cited advocacy groups and university officials. This might suggest that national newspapers were more concerned with finding sources that are unbiased (or at least can present multiple sides of an issue). On the other hand, the regional newspapers used advocacy groups and private citizens more frequently. This indicates that in the regional newspapers' area of service, local people rise in importance as sources of information and attributions.

Figure 1. Number of stories about abortion published in the four newspapers, 2000-2005

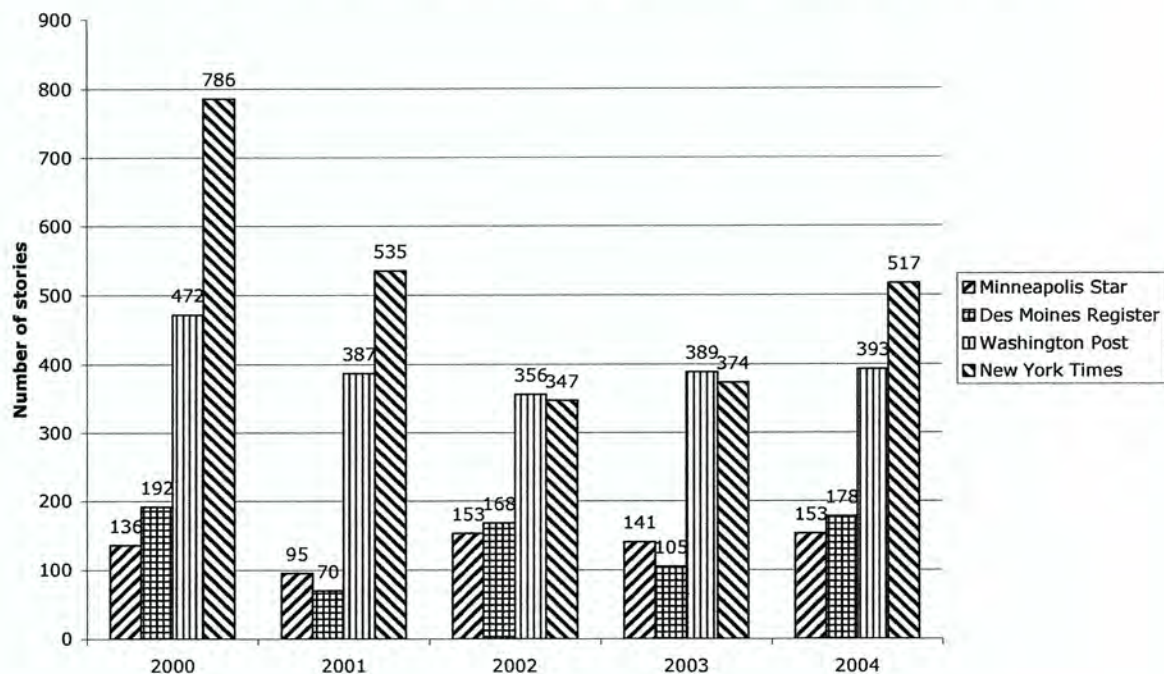


Figure 2. Number of stories about the glass ceiling effect published in the four newspapers, 2000-2005

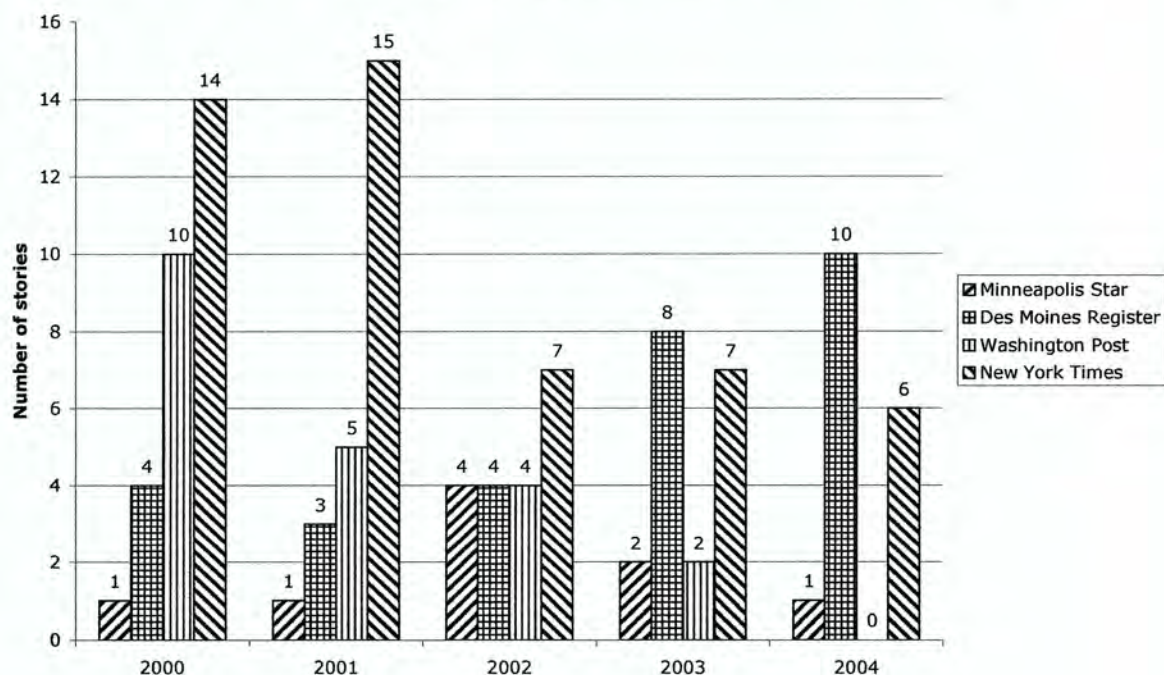


Figure 3. Intensity of coverage of abortion in regional and national newspapers, 2000-2005

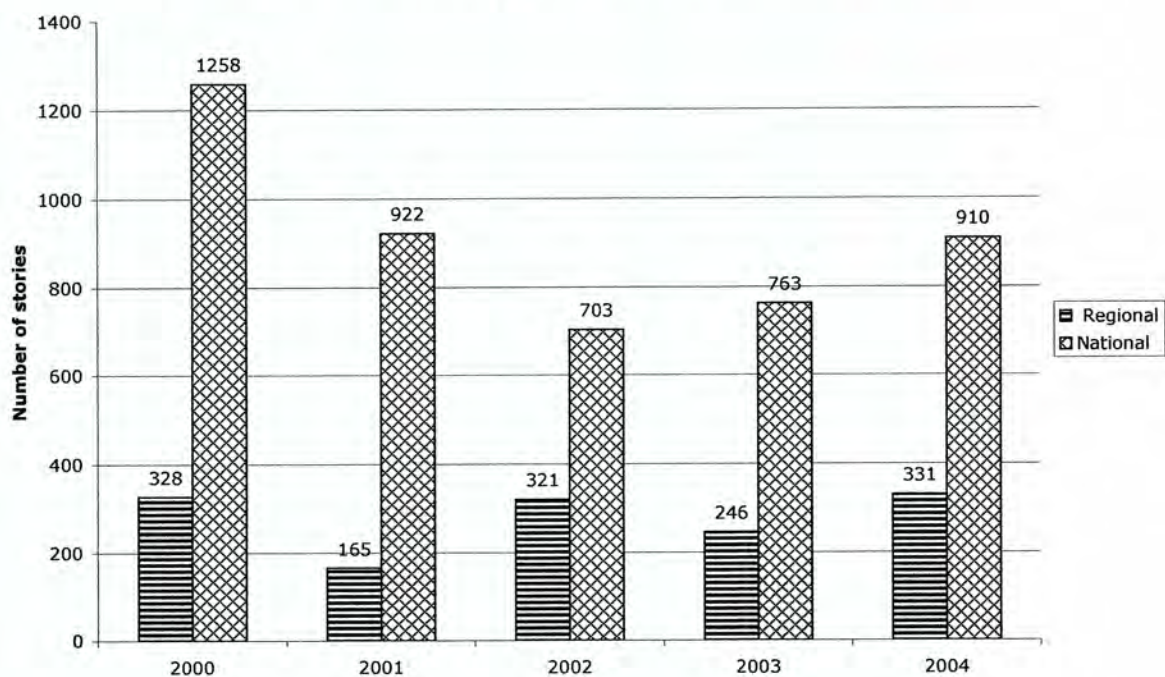


Figure 4. Intensity of glass ceiling coverage in regional and national newspapers, 2000-2005

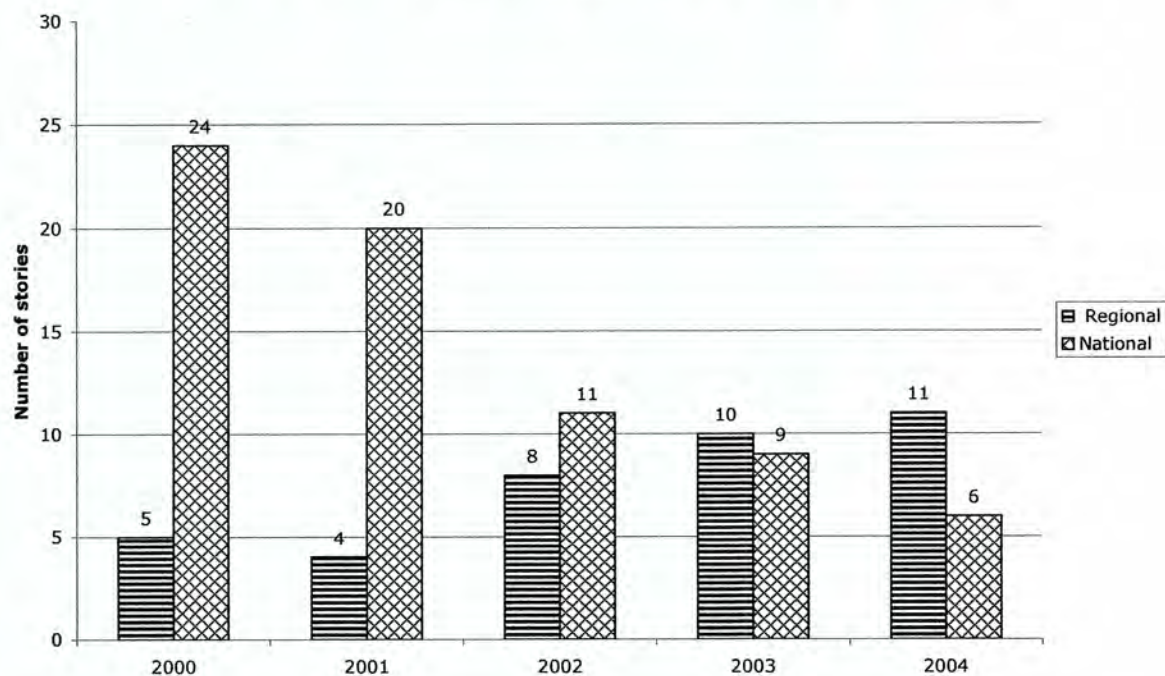


Figure 5. Frames used by national and regional newspapers to report abortion

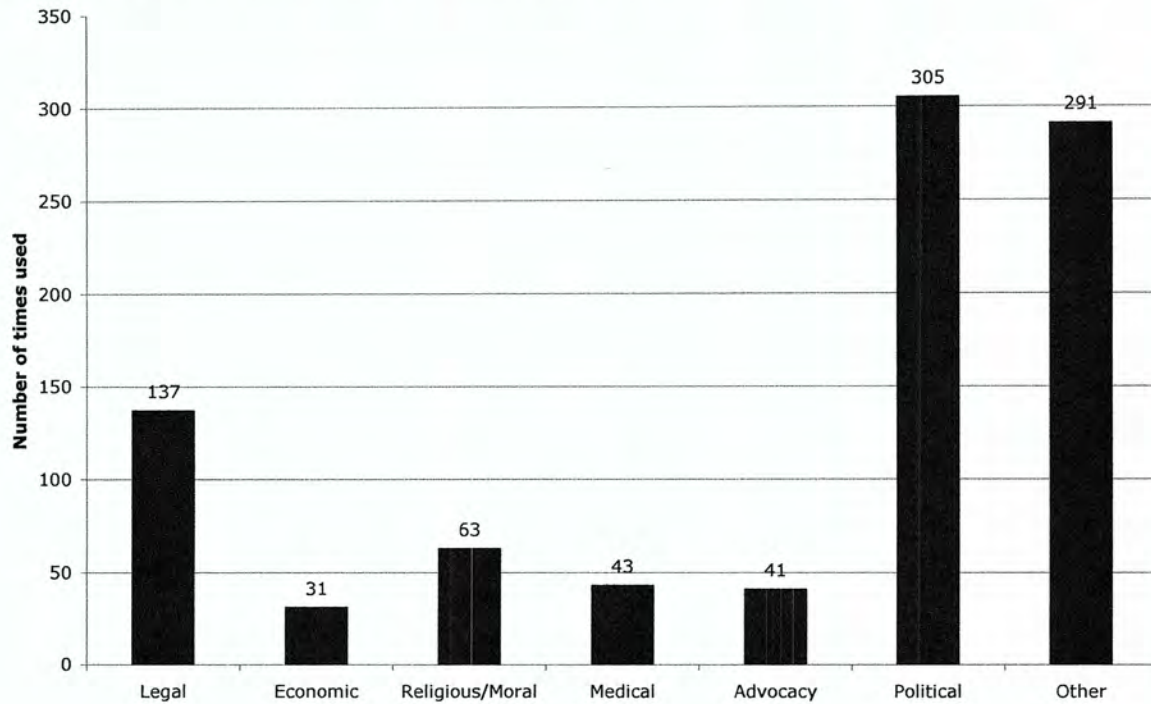


Figure 6. Frames used by national and regional newspapers to report the glass ceiling effect

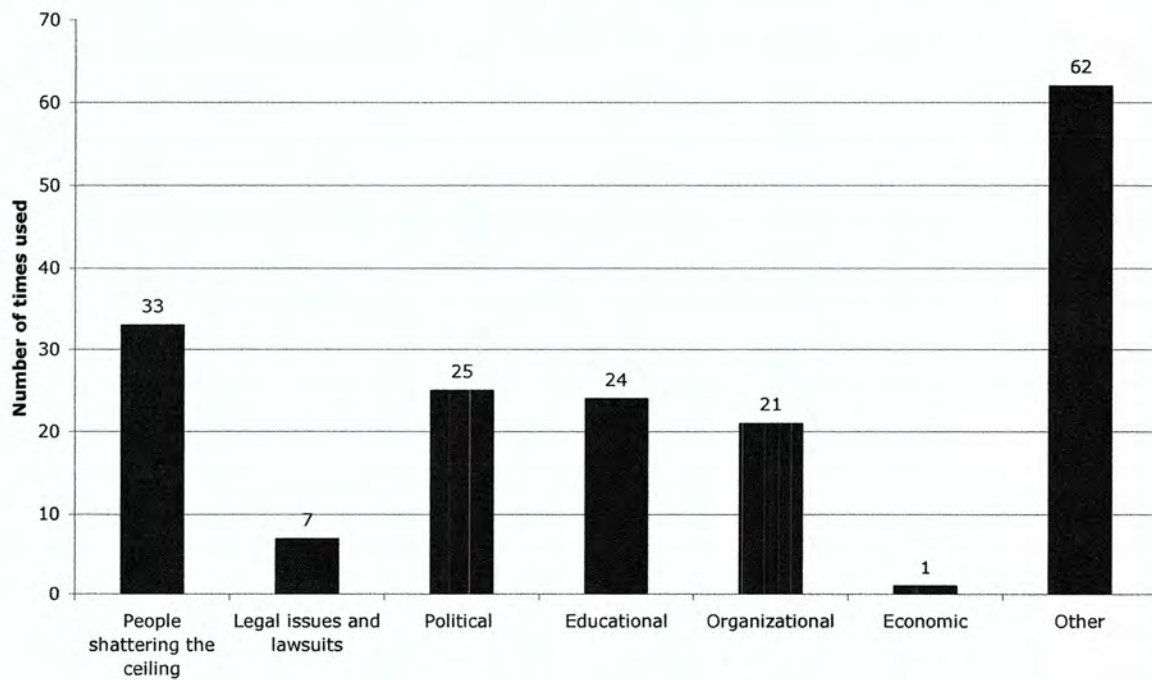


Figure 7. Pattern of frame use for abortion coverage over time

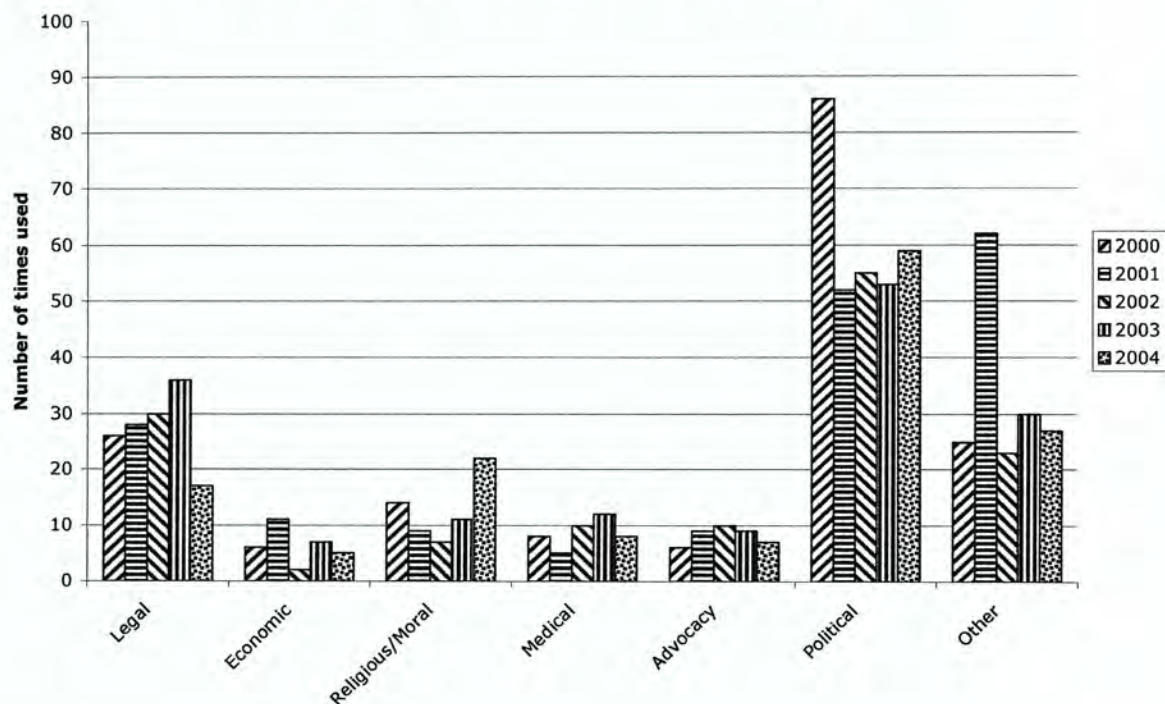


Figure 8. Pattern of frame use for glass ceiling coverage over time

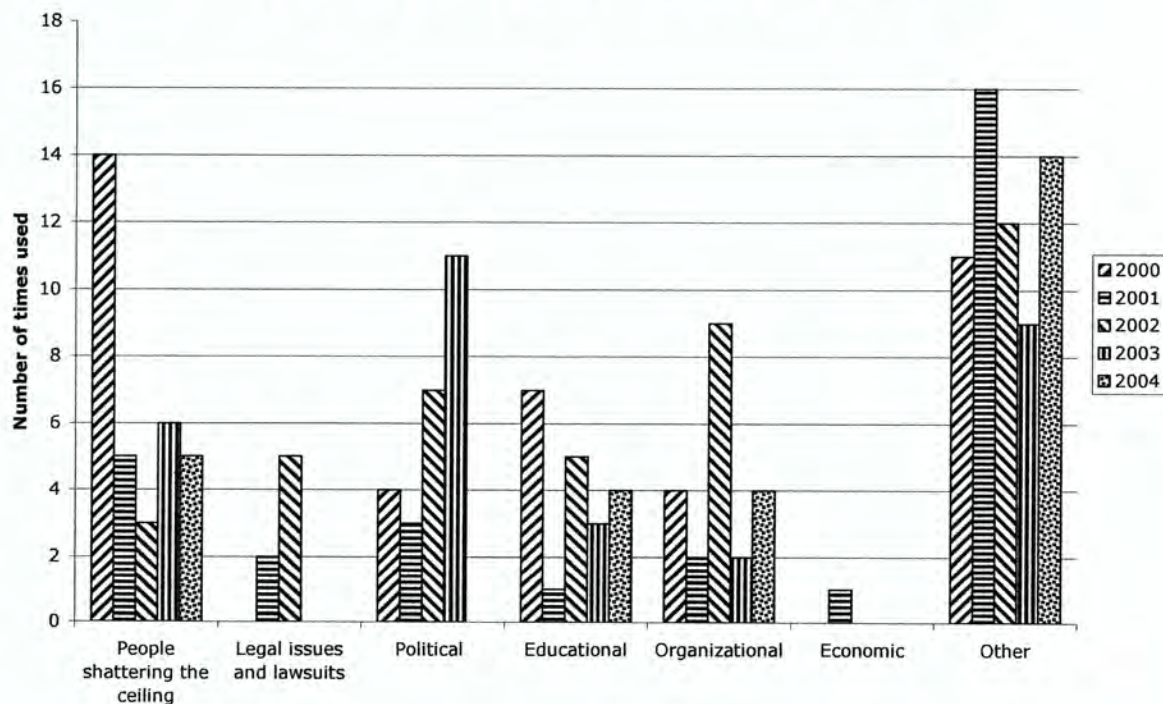


Figure 9. Attitudes of the newspapers' frames toward the two feminist issues (combined)

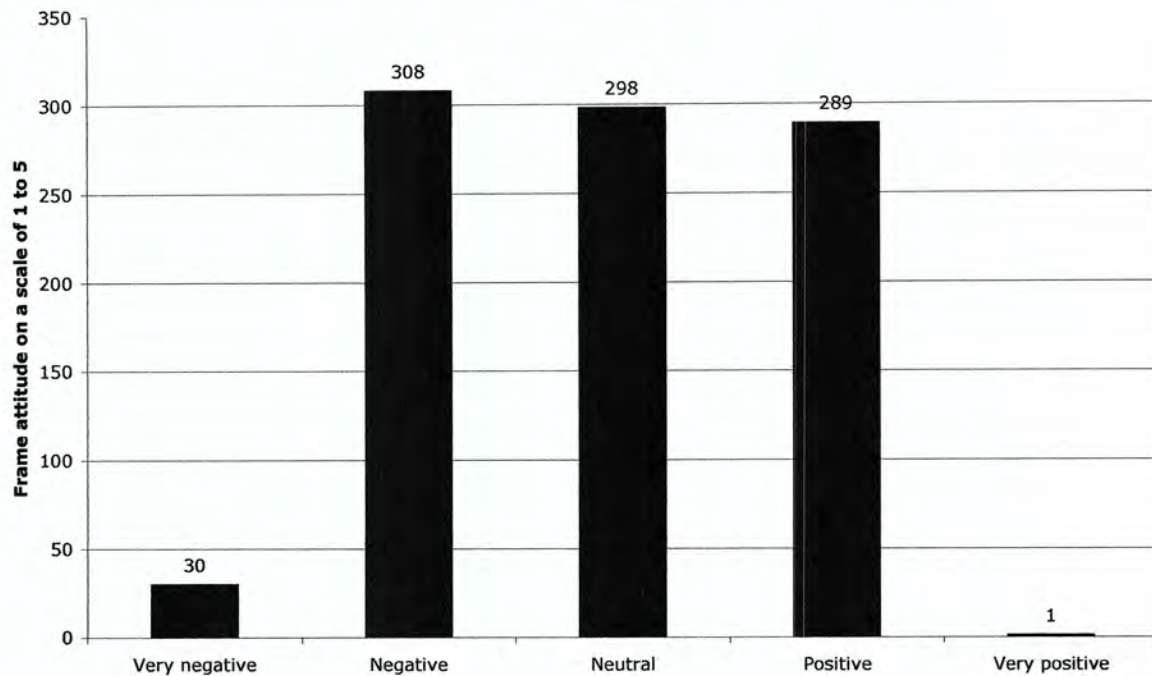


Figure 10. Frame attitudes of national vs. regional newspapers regarding the two issues

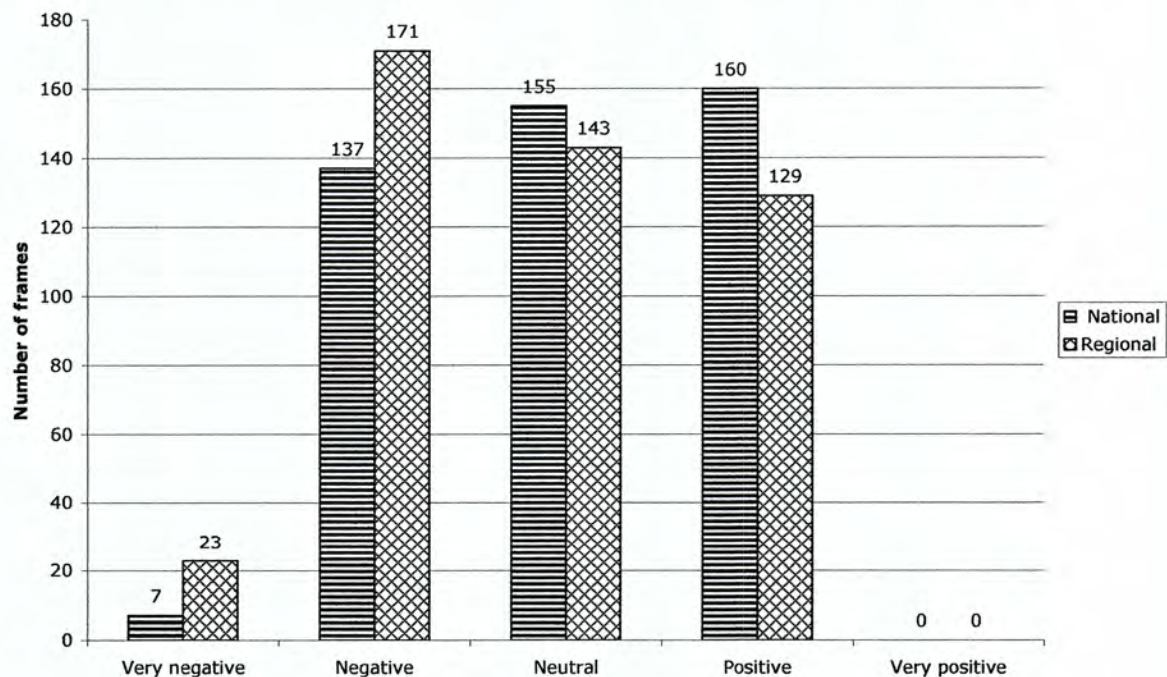


Figure 11. Sources cited in articles about abortion and the glass ceiling effect across all newspapers

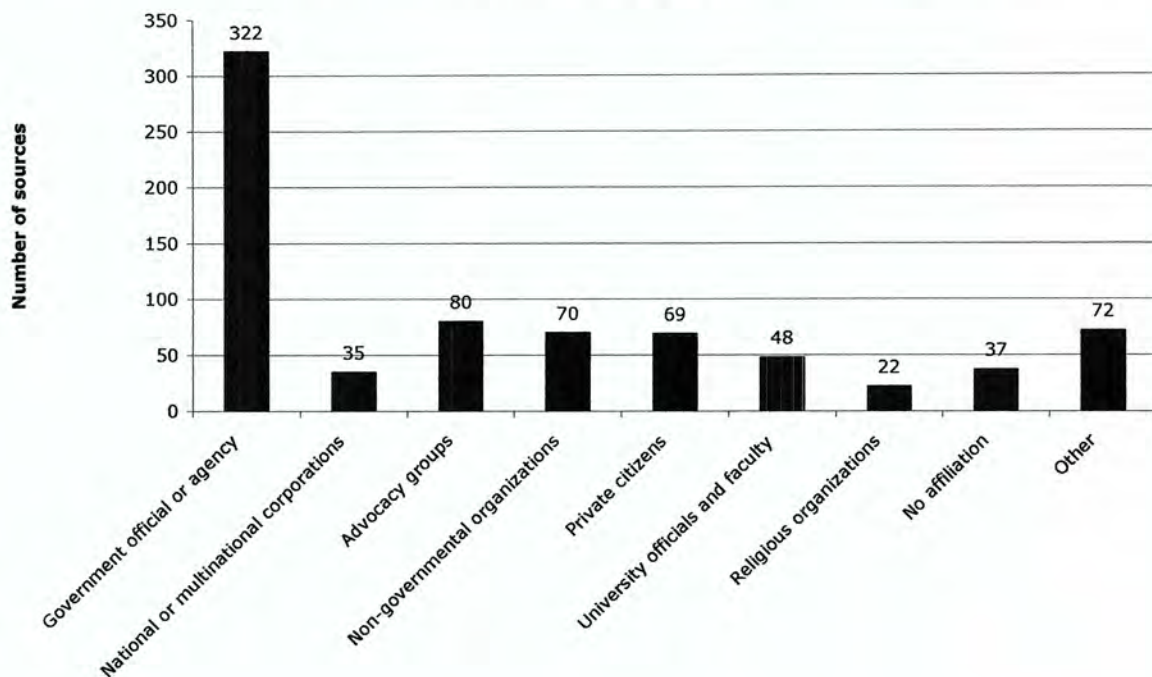


Figure 12. Pattern of source use over time across all newspapers

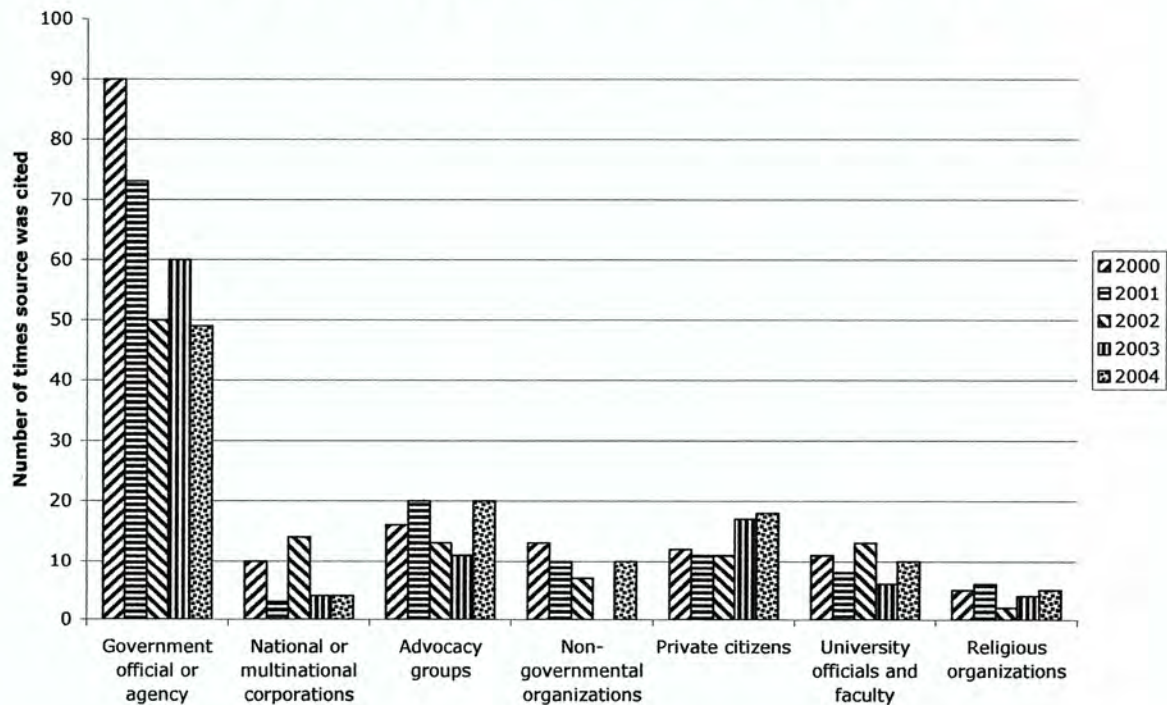


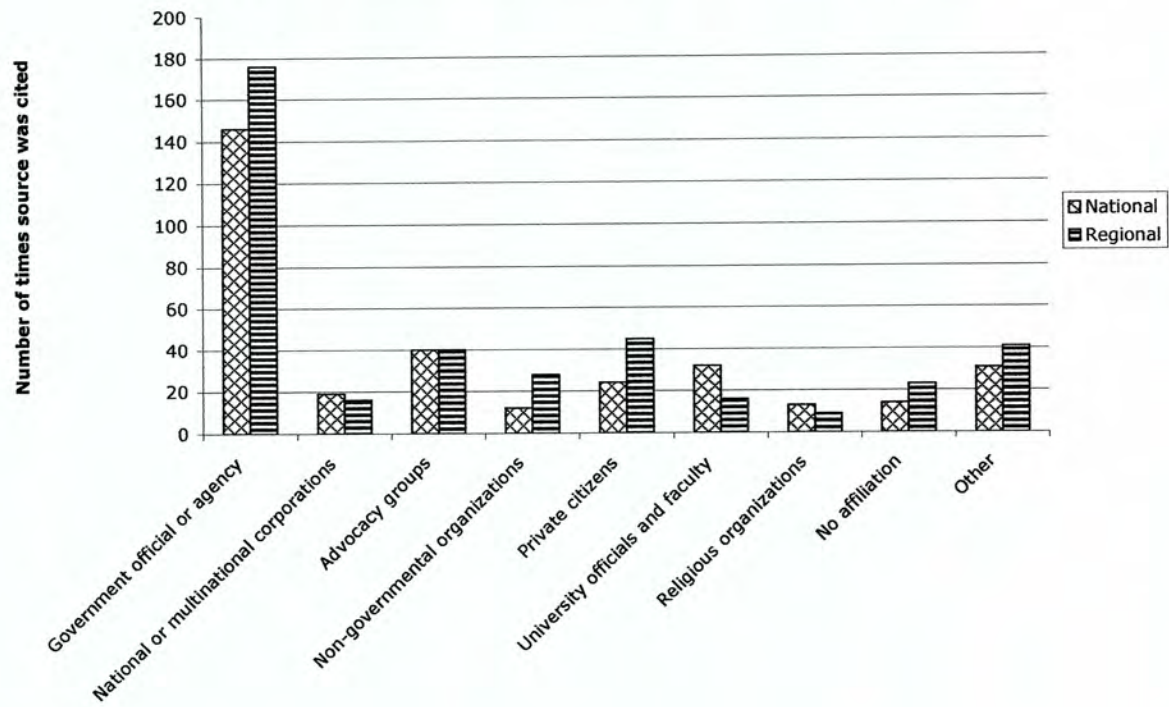
Figure 13. Sources cited in national vs. regional newspapers

Table 1. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the first abortion frame used (N = 500)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------|------|-------|
| | | frame 1 coded | | | | | | | | Total |
| | | legal issues | economic issues | religious or moral issues | medical issues | advocacy issues | political issues | other | 9.00 | |
| coverage of paper | national | 36 | 9 | 18 | 8 | 14 | 105 | 59 | 1 | 250 |
| | regional | 53 | 7 | 20 | 16 | 13 | 104 | 37 | | 250 |
| Total | | 89 | 16 | 38 | 24 | 27 | 209 | 96 | 1 | 500 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | 12.353(a) | 7 | .090 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 12.856 | 7 | .076 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 6.471 | 1 | .011 |
| N of Valid Cases | 500 | | |

Table 2. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the second abortion frame used (N = 183)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------|--|-------|
| | | frame 2 coded | | | | | | | | Total |
| | | legal issues | economic issues | religious or moral issues | medical issues | advocacy issues | political issues | other | | |
| coverage of paper | national | 8 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 9 | 35 | 11 | | 78 |
| | regional | 21 | 4 | 14 | 8 | 3 | 42 | 13 | | 105 |
| Total | | 29 | 9 | 20 | 12 | 12 | 77 | 24 | | 183 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | 10.520(a) | 6 | .104 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 10.748 | 6 | .096 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 2.950 | 1 | .086 |
| N of Valid Cases | 183 | | |

Table 3. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the third abortion frame (N = 70)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------|-------|
| | | frame 3 coded | | | | | | | Total |
| | | legal issues | economic issues | religious or moral issues | medical issues | advocacy issues | political issues | other | |
| coverage of paper | national | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 11 | 4 | 27 |
| | regional | 14 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 8 | 43 |
| Total | | 19 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 19 | 12 | 70 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|------------------------------|----------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | 5.299(a) | 6 | .506 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 5.334 | 6 | .502 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 2.182 | 1 | .140 |
| N of Valid Cases | 70 | | |

Table 4. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the first glass ceiling frame used (N = 108)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------|-------|
| | | frame 1 coded | | | | | | Total |
| | | people shattering glass ceiling | legal issues | political issues | educational issues | organizational issues | other | |
| coverage of paper | national | 19 | | 7 | 7 | 11 | 26 | 70 |
| | regional | 7 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 13 | 38 |
| Total | | 26 | 3 | 13 | 13 | 14 | 39 | 108 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|------------------------------|----------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | 8.897(a) | 5 | .113 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 9.719 | 5 | .084 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | .062 | 1 | .803 |
| N of Valid Cases | 108 | | |

Table 5. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the second glass ceiling frame used (N = 47)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------|-------|
| | | frame 2 coded | | | | | | Total |
| | | people shattering glass ceiling | legal issues | political issues | educational issues | organizational issues | other | |
| coverage of paper | national | 2 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 27 |
| | regional | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 20 |
| Total | | 4 | 3 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 16 | 47 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | .877(a) | 5 | .972 |
| Likelihood Ratio | .881 | 5 | .972 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | .178 | 1 | .673 |
| N of Valid Cases | 47 | | |

Table 6. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the third glass ceiling frame used (N = 18)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | frame 3 coded | | | | | | Total |
| | | people shattering glass ceiling | legal issues | political issues | educational issues | organizational issues | economic issues | |
| coverage of paper | national | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 7 |
| | regional | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 11 |
| Total | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 18 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|------------------------------|----------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | 4.275(a) | 6 | .640 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 5.270 | 6 | .510 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | .069 | 1 | .793 |
| N of Valid Cases | 18 | | |

Table 7. T-tests testing the difference between national and regional papers in terms of the attitude exhibited by the three frames used for both issues

| Group Statistics | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|-----|--------|----------------|-----------------|
| | coverage of paper | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
| story orientation toward feminist issue | national | 320 | 3.0563 | .80162 | .04481 |
| | regional | 288 | 2.8229 | .87148 | .05135 |
| story orientation toward feminist issue | national | 105 | 2.9714 | .92463 | .09023 |
| | regional | 125 | 2.6880 | .91947 | .08224 |
| story orientation toward feminist issue | national | 34 | 2.8235 | .93649 | .16061 |
| | regional | 54 | 3.0741 | .98770 | .13441 |

| Independent Samples Test | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|------|------------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---|--------|
| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | t-test for Equality of Means | | | | | | |
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
| | | | | | | | | | Lower | Upper |
| story orientation toward feminist issue | Equal variances assumed | 7.248 | .007 | 3.439 | 606 | .001 | .2333 | .06786 | .10007 | .36660 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 3.424 | 585.213 | .001 | .2333 | .06816 | .09947 | .36719 |
| story orientation toward feminist issue | Equal variances assumed | .097 | .756 | 2.323 | 228 | .021 | .2834 | .12203 | .04298 | .52388 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 2.321 | 220.773 | .021 | .2834 | .12209 | .04282 | .52404 |
| story orientation toward feminist issue | Equal variances assumed | .006 | .939 | 1.182 | 86 | .241 | -.2505 | .21200 | -.67199 | .17091 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 1.196 | 73.089 | .235 | -.2505 | .20943 | -.66792 | .16684 |

Table 8. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the first source used (N = 381)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| | | affiliation of source 1 | | | | | | | | | Total |
| | | government official or agency | national or multinational corp. | advocacy groups | non-governmental organization other than advocacy groups | private/individual citizen | university official/faculty | religious organizations or officials | no affiliation | other | |
| coverage of paper | national | 91 | 8 | 20 | 7 | 15 | 15 | 6 | 12 | 12 | 186 |
| | regional | 87 | 7 | 15 | 8 | 27 | 13 | 5 | 12 | 21 | 195 |
| Total | | 178 | 15 | 35 | 15 | 42 | 28 | 11 | 24 | 33 | 381 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|------------------------------|----------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | 6.846(a) | 8 | .553 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 6.924 | 8 | .545 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 1.788 | 1 | .181 |
| N of Valid Cases | 381 | | |

Table 9. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the second source used (N = 214)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| | | affiliation of source 2 | | | | | | | | | Total |
| | | government official or agency | national or multinational corp. | advocacy groups | non-governmental organization other than advocacy groups | private/individual citizen | university official/faculty | religious organizations or officials | no affiliation | other | |
| coverage of paper | national | 38 | 5 | 15 | 3 | 6 | 12 | 5 | | 12 | 96 |
| | regional | 56 | 6 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 11 | 118 |
| Total | | 94 | 11 | 29 | 14 | 17 | 13 | 7 | 6 | 23 | 214 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | 24.246(a) | 8 | .002 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 28.341 | 8 | .000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 1.448 | 1 | .229 |
| N of Valid Cases | 214 | | |

Table 10. Chi-square test testing the difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of the third source used (N = 130)

| Crosstab Count | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------------|-------|-------|
| | | affiliation of source 3 | | | | | | | | | Total |
| | | government official or agency | national or multinational corp. | advocacy groups | non- governmental organization other than advocacy groups | private/individual citizen | university official/faculty | religious organizations or officials | no affiliation | other | |
| coverage of paper | national | 17 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 49 |
| | regional | 33 | 3 | 11 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 9 | 81 |
| Total | | 50 | 9 | 16 | 11 | 10 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 16 | 130 |

| Chi-Square Tests | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----|-----------------------|
| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
| Pearson Chi-Square | 9.973(a) | 8 | .267 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 9.949 | 8 | .269 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | .324 | 1 | .569 |
| N of Valid Cases | 130 | | |

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

This study examined how two national and two regional newspapers covered two feminist issues, abortion and the glass ceiling effect, from 2000 to 2005. The coverage of the two national newspapers, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and the two regional newspapers, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Des Moines Register* were analyzed for their intensity, differences in frames used, attitudes, and sources cited.

The results show that abortion was intensely covered over time by the four newspapers, but especially by the two national newspapers. The glass ceiling effect received only scant coverage over the five-year period. This suggests that while abortion has been one of the longest standing feminist issues, the glass ceiling effect has never picked up the momentum feminists hoped it would. It seems to be more of a local issue, with coverage greater in the regional newspaper arena.

Coverage was found to be particularly intense during presidential election years. During 2000 and 2004, the two national newspapers covered abortion strongly. Although the two regional newspapers could not maintain the same level of intensity, they also increased abortion coverage during those years. Overall, this shows that abortion is still a hotly debated topic, one that figures very importantly in presidential campaigns.

On the other hand, the glass ceiling coverage started out weak and ended with a whimper in 2004. The *Washington Post's* coverage of ten stories in 2000 dropped to nothing by 2004. This obviously shows how the issue has been losing steam in the media through time.

There were several differences between the national and regional newspapers in terms of coverage intensity. The abortion issue was far more intensely covered by the two national newspapers, demonstrating a strong U-shaped pattern that starts with a high of 1,258 stories in 2000 and a strong finish with 910 stories in 2004. The intensity of abortion coverage in the two regional newspapers starts much slower at 328 stories and finishes with 331 stories, a stable trend over time. This finding was expected considering that the national newspapers would more strongly cover this issue due to the political climates in Washington, D.C. and New York. It was somewhat surprising, however, that the two regional newspapers did not cover the issue as intensely since Iowa and Minnesota were both considered “swing states” whose awareness of many issues may change voting mood.

A lack of newspaper interest was evident in the glass ceiling coverage. In the national newspapers, it even underwent serious decline. This suggests that the glass ceiling effect is not likely to gain any momentum unless a triggering event brings it to national attention. The regional papers found this topic more important than the national newspapers, suggesting that it is more of a local issue.

The frames used for abortion were mostly focused on the political and legal issues surrounding it, with some emphasis on the religious and moral issues. This shows that abortion is a multi-dimensional and multi-faceted topic that continues to demonstrate strong appeal to reporters.

The frames used for the glass ceiling effect were mostly focused on women who were shattering the glass ceiling, political issues, and educational issues. This shows that although this issue did not gain much coverage, such coverage can be enhanced by the increasing number of women in executive positions and other stories of success.

The chi-square tests employed showed no statistical differences between national and regional newspapers in their use of frames. Over time, the frames used were fairly consistent with the political frame as the most dominant in the abortion coverage and women shattering the glass ceiling as the most used in the glass ceiling effect coverage. The strong political frame must have sustained the intense coverage over time. The glass ceiling effect connected more to women that break glass ceilings, having a more economic bent that received limited coverage.

The attitude of the newspapers toward the two feminist issues was generally neutral, with a slightly negative leaning. In general, the national newspapers tended to be more positive than the regional newspapers. Over time, however, the coverage shows a slight feminist backlash. The t-test results showed support for framing theory as two of the three frames' differed by newspapers' area of coverage.

Government officials were the sources cited most frequently in the four newspapers. Other commonly cited sources included advocacy groups, non-governmental organizations, and private citizens. Source use over time tended to follow the same trend, with government officials most frequently cited during all the five years. The difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of sources cited was statistically significant with the regional newspapers tending to cite private citizens followed by advocacy groups as secondary sources, whereas the national newspapers tending to cite advocacy groups followed by university officials. The difference between national and regional newspapers on this regard supports the tenets of framing theory.

The findings of this study suggest that the framing of these two feminist issues has been strategic. That is, the four newspapers tended to pick specific frames and sources to

promote certain overarching ways of presenting stories over the years. The results lend only partial support, however, to framing theory in that national and regional papers did not differ in terms of the frames of reference they used to explain the two feminist issues to their respective publics. Area of coverage and the resulting journalistic resources assumed to go with limited versus expanded areas of coverage did not influence frame use.

Some difference in source use, however, was evident in that the regional papers made more attributions to private citizens and their opinions compared to the national papers that heavily depended on government officials and advocacy groups. This indicates that the regional reports placed more importance on the local impact of the issues within their service areas.

Limitations of the Study

This study analyzed only two feminist issues which considerably limits the scope of discussion. It also examined only two national elite newspapers and two regional newspapers which constraints the generalizability of findings. While other studies have spanned several decades, the years selected for this study were 2000 through 2004 to include two presidential election years. A time frame that covered a more liberal administration will likely produce different frames. Also, the five years covered limited the research being conducted.

The selection of the two regional newspapers the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Des Moines Register* shaped the results of this study. If two different newspapers had been selected such as a local newspaper in Kansas where abortion is a very polarized issue, the results found might have been different.

In addition the issue of the glass ceiling effect might have changed the results since the equal pay discussion also addresses some of the same issues as the glass ceiling effect. Over time this issue will become clearer as a feminist issue or another issue will come to the forefront.

The difference between national and regional newspapers in terms of resources, organizational culture and journalistic practices were only assumed. In other words, no empirical evidence was provided to support actual differences between national regional papers on those criteria.

Finally, only one coder was used for this study due to the same sample size. This invariably brings greater bias to the study.

The issues of abortion and the glass ceiling effect are far from over. They will continue to be played out in the media for some time to come. As scholars continue to examine how people develop opinions about issues, the news media and their rapid expansion are expected to play more and more critical roles as purveyors of news and shapers of public opinion.

The study of feminist issues is a vast and fertile ground. As some issues fade into the background, others will continue to hog the limelight. A longitudinal look at how these issues ebb and flow in the media agenda will be critical in thorough analyses of the factors that influence the feminist struggle.

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APPENDIX

CODEBOOK

| Variable name | Variable label | Values |
|---------------|--------------------------|---|
| Newspaper | Name of newspaper | 1 = <i>New York Times</i> |
| | | 2 = <i>Washington Post</i> |
| | | 3 = <i>Minneapolis Star Tribune</i> |
| | | 4 = <i>Des Moines Register</i> |
| | | |
| Papercov | | 1 = national |
| | | 2 = regional |
| | | |
| Date | Date of publication | Month-date-year |
| | | |
| Length | Number of words | |
| | | |
| Intensity | Number of stories/year | |
| | | |
| Issue | Feminist issue discussed | 1 = abortion/reproductive rights |
| | | 2 = glass ceiling/equal pay |
| | | 3 = both |
| | | |
| Source1 | Name of source 1 | |
| Title1 | Title of source 1 | |
| Org1 | Affiliation of source | 1 = government official or agency |
| | | 2 = national or multinational corp. |
| | | 3 = advocacy groups |
| | | 4 = non-governmental org. |
| | | 5 = private/individual citizen |
| | | 6 = university official/faculty |
| | | 7 = religious organizations or official |
| | | 8 = no affiliation |
| | | 9 = other |
| | | |
| Source2 | Name of source 2 | |
| Title2 | Title of source 2 | |

| Variable name | Variable label | Values |
|---------------|---------------------------|---|
| Org2 | Affiliation of source | 1 = government official or agency |
| | | 2 = national or multinational corp. |
| | | 3 = advocacy groups |
| | | 4 = non-governmental org. |
| | | 5 = private/individual citizen |
| | | 6 = university official/faculty |
| | | 7 = religious organizations or official |
| | | 8 = no affiliation |
| | | 9 = other |
| Source3 | Name of source 3 | |
| Title3 | Title of source 3 | |
| Org3 | Affiliation of source | 1 = government official or agency |
| | | 2 = national or multinational corp. |
| | | 3 = advocacy groups |
| | | 4 = non-governmental org. |
| | | 5 = private/individual citizen |
| | | 6 = university official/faculty |
| | | 7 = religious organizations or official |
| | | 8 = no affiliation |
| | | 9 = other |
| TotSource | Total number of sources | |
| Frame1 | First frame used in story | |
| Orient1 | Story orientation | 1 = very negative |
| | | 2 = negative |
| | | 3 = neutral |
| | | 4 = positive |
| | | 5 = very positive |
| Code1 | Frame coding in story | |
| | if issue is abortion | 1 = legal issues |
| | | 2 = economic issues |
| | | 3 = religious or moral issues |
| | | 4 = medical issues |
| | | 5 = advocacy issues |
| | | 6 = political issues |
| | | 7 = other |

| Variable name | Variable label | Values |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Code 1 | Frame coding in story | |
| | if issue is glass ceiling | 1 = people shattering glass ceiling |
| | | 2 = legal issues and lawsuits |
| | | 3 = political issues |
| | | 4 = educational issues |
| | | 5 = organizational issues |
| | | 6 = economic issues |
| | | 7 = other |
| | | |
| Frame2 | Second frame used | |
| Orient2 | Story orientation | 1 = very negative |
| | | 2 = negative |
| | | 3 = neutral |
| | | 4 = positive |
| | | 5 = very positive |
| | | |
| Orient2 | Story orientation | 1 = very negative |
| | | 2 = negative |
| | | 3 = neutral |
| | | 4 = positive |
| | | 5 = very positive |
| | | |
| Code 2 | Frame coding in story | |
| | if issue is abortion | 1 = legal issues |
| | | 2 = economic issues |
| | | 3 = religious or moral issues |
| | | 4 = medical issues |
| | | 5 = advocacy issues |
| | | 6 = political issues |
| | | 7 = other |
| | | |
| Code 2 | Frame coding in story | |
| | if issue is glass ceiling | 1 = people shattering glass ceiling |
| | | 2 = legal issues and lawsuits |
| | | 3 = political issues |
| | | 4 = educational issues |
| | | 5 = organizational issues |
| | | 6 = economic issues |
| | | 7 = other |

| Variable name | Variable label | Values |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Frame3 | Third frame used | |
| Orient3 | Story orientation | 1 = very negative |
| | | 2 = negative |
| | | 3 = neutral |
| | | 4 = positive |
| | | 5 = very positive |
| | | |
| Code3 | Frame coding in story | |
| | if issue is abortion | 1 = legal issues |
| | | 2 = economic issues |
| | | 3 = religious or moral issues |
| | | 4 = medical issues |
| | | 5 = advocacy issues |
| | | 6 = political issues |
| | | 7 = other |
| | | |
| Code 3 | Frame coding in story | |
| | if issue is glass ceiling | 1 = people shattering glass ceiling |
| | | 2 = legal issues and lawsuits |
| | | 3 = political issues |
| | | 4 = educational issues |
| | | 5 = organizational issues |
| | | 6 = economic issues |
| | | 7 = other |
| | | |
| | Frame coding in story | |
| | if issue is glass ceiling | 1 = people shattering glass ceiling |
| | | 2 = legal issues and lawsuits |
| | | 3 = political issues |
| | | 4 = educational issues |
| | | 5 = organizational issues |
| | | 6 = economic issues |
| | | 7 = other |

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