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**From media frame to social change?
A comparative analysis of same-sex rights in the United States and
New Zealand press**

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Abstract

This research explored how newspapers in New Zealand and the United States utilised four news frames (conflict, human interest, morality and responsibility) about same-sex rights to construct a cultural reality during a critical three-year period of crisis for the gay and lesbian community in both countries. Through the examination of 277 newspaper articles, this research found striking differences between coverage in these two countries. This research explores the implications of these differences and argues that media, and news in particular, can function as an authoritative version of reality, particularly during such times of crisis when the public are dealing with issues in which they may not have direct experience.

Key Words

Same-sex rights, framing, comparative analysis

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On 26 April 2005, The Civil Union Bill officially granted registered same-sex couples in New Zealand recognition and relationship rights that are equal to that of traditional marriage. In a relatively short time, the country was successful in its pursuit for same-sex equality while the United States continued to remain in an impasse on this issue. While there are certainly cultural differences between the two countries, this research explores how newspapers in New Zealand and the United States actually could have helped orchestrate a cultural reality within each country. Rather than examining manifest usage of specific terms found in each country's respective newspapers, this research examines more latent differences in media discourse, such as sources used, insertion of religious perspectives, integration of personal stories, a reliance on 'horse-race' reporting, utilization of a civil rights frame, reference to legal precedent, and employment of terms such as 'special rights' and 'sin.' In doing so, this research argues that media, and news media in particular, could have contributed to the success of New Zealand passing this social policy and the failure of the United States to do the same.

Same-sex Rights in the United States

Since the 1970's organizations such as the Human Rights Campaign and the American Civil Liberties Union have been actively lobbying for the equal rights of same-sex couples in the United States. These organizations have met staunch opposition from organizations such as the Christian Coalition and Focus on the Family – both organizations that are openly supported by the majority of Republicans in Congress and President George W. Bush. Presently, sixteen states have constitutional amendments explicitly barring the recognition of same-sex marriage and twenty-seven states have legal statutes defining marriage to two persons of the opposite-sex. A further small but growing number of states ban any legal recognition of same-sex unions ("Marriage/Relationship Recognition", 2007).

At the federal level, the Defence of Marriage Act was passed in 1996 by then President Bill Clinton, which defined marriage as a legal union between one man and one woman. This bill gave no federal recognition to same-sex marriages and allowed U.S. states to disregard marriages performed in other U.S. states. President George W. Bush more recently argued for the passage of a Federal

Marriage Amendment, which would have explicitly banned marriages between those of the same-sex at the federal level. Throughout the long debate in the United States, there has been no movement to introduce legal civil unions for same-sex couples at the federal level.

Massachusetts is the only state in the United States to recognise same-sex marriage. However, this recognition may soon be removed given that there is a 2008 ballot initiative planned in Massachusetts, which would ban same-sex marriage without establishing civil unions (Lewis, 2005). A handful of other states – California, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Maine, New Jersey and Vermont provide some level of legal equality for same-sex couples through domestic partnerships, civil unions or a reciprocal beneficiary law. Indeed, the exact form of equal rights for same-sex couples, when found, differs widely across the United States. Some civil unions, as the ones found in Vermont, provide exactly the same rights as marriage. According to the Secretary of State for Vermont, these rights include mutual financial support; complete access to laws concerning domestic relations; equal rights to laws regarding child custody and support; equal rights to property law and laws relating to decedents estates and probate; equal responsibilities to tort laws, tax laws and public assistance; access to spousal benefits; the right to make medical decisions for one another and to take family leave; protection against discrimination based upon marital status; laws relating to immunity from compelled testimony and the marital communication privilege; ownership and protections under 'family farm' designations; family landowner rights to fish and hunt; and abilities to apply for absentee ballots (Markowitz, 2005).

Other civil unions that have been proposed, function as a form of domestic partnership with more limitations on rights than traditional marriage. Presently only Vermont and Connecticut provide civil unions in the United States. Domestic partnership rights are available in the District of Columbia, California, New Jersey, and Maine. Partnerships are formed through a contractual agreement and do not allow for all of the rights given under marriage but generally provide couples with rights to legal issues such as joint property. Reciprocal benefits, which are found in Hawaii, operate much the same as domestic partnerships in that they offer limited rights in comparison to marriage but often cover areas such as inheritance, property ownership and banking account access (Silverman, 2005).

As these examples help to illustrate, the American public appears to be decidedly divided on this issue, with most voicing opposition to gay marriage, and slightly more advocating civil unions. A poll taken by the Pew Research Center/Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life in March of 2006 (2006)

found that 51 percent opposed gay marriage. In July of 2005, the same research center found that 36 percent favoured gay marriage and 53 percent opposed it ("Law and Civil Rights", 2005). Over half (53 percent) of those polled favoured civil unions while 40 percent opposed allowing civil unions. Other polls found similar results. For example, a CNN/USA Today Gallup poll done from April 29-May 1, 2005, discovered that 39 percent of the public believed homosexual marriage should be recognised by the law, while 56 percent said that homosexual marriage should not be legal ("Law and Civil Rights", 2005). Finally, an ABC News/Washington Post poll taken from April 21 to 24, 2005, found that 27% of the public supported same-sex marriage, 29 percent supported civil unions and 40% supported no legal recognition ("Law and Civil Rights", 2005).

Same-sex rights in New Zealand

In 1986, the Homosexual Law Reform Act, which decriminalised homosexuality and legalised gay sex, was passed by Parliament, 49 votes to 44 ("Homosexual Law Reform Act", 1986). This highly-contested act laid the groundwork for what would transpire eighteen years later. In December of 2004, New Zealand Parliament passed the Civil Unions Bill, which came into effect the following April. Rather than take the approach of Canada, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and South Africa, which all have legalised same-sex marriage, New Zealand appeared to frame equal rights for homosexual couples in the context of a secular civil union between homosexuals and heterosexuals. The Civil Union Bill established civil unions for both opposite-sex and same-sex couples. In February of 2005, the accompanying Relationships (Statutory References) Act was also passed. This bill removed all discrimination based on relationship status from all New Zealand laws and gave same-sex and opposite-sex couples the same rights and responsibilities as those in a heterosexual marriage. These companion bills also officially recognised same-sex marriages from Canada, South Africa, Spain and the Netherlands as civil unions in New Zealand. By December of 2006, 317 gay and lesbian couples, and 80 heterosexual couples had a civil union in New Zealand. This number is compared to the 21,500 heterosexual marriages during that same time frame ("Marriages, civil unions and divorces", 2007).

Several groups voiced opposition to the bill, namely the evangelical Destiny Church and the Catholic Church in New Zealand. However, there was relatively strong public opinion in favour of the bill and key Christian groups lent their support. A block vote from Labour, the Greens and the

Progressives ensured the bills passage. Three months after its enactment, a majority of New Zealanders said they were happy with the civil union law (Berry, 2005).

It is important to note that same-sex marriages are not allowed in New Zealand. The Marriage Act of 1955 continues to apply only to heterosexual couples. However, in 2005, United Future MP Gordon Copeland sponsored the Marriage (Gender Clarification) Bill, which sought to further clarify that marriage was strictly defined between one man and one woman. This bill was voted down in Parliament by a wide margin of 47 in favour and 73 against. ("Marriage (Gender Clarification) Amendment Bill", 2005).

Framing Theory

This review of government policy clearly illustrates that there are differences between the two countries in their perspectives regarding same-sex rights. These differences obviously stem from a myriad of possible factors. Publicised national events, local celebrities, and major historical moments are only a small part of the collective, shared memory that is institutive to culture. Such a shared memory is perpetuated and shaped, in large part, through the media. This research argues that media have a powerful role in shaping ideology about political issues. How same-sex rights are framed in the media could potentially have a profound impact on social policy.

Framing theory, while commonly applied in communication research, has been unevenly implemented in the field (Entman, 2004). Recent research from Carragee and Roefs (2004) argued that framing studies must begin to examine their results within the 'contexts of the distribution of political and social power' (p. 214). They build this argument upon previous research which broadly, yet directly, linked framing to power and ideology (Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). This linkage is central to assist in the definition and implementation of framing theory. Framing describes how journalists shape news content, and how the audience, who adopt these frames, integrate these perspectives into their world view (McQuail, 2005). As Van Gorp (2007) argues, a 'shared repertoire of frames in culture provides the linkage between news production and news consumption' (p. 61). Frames are the bridge between culture and cognition (Gamson *et al.*, 1992, p. 384).

Research has shown that readers often forget specific elements of media stories, but retain general impressions (Graber, 1988) that later become integrated into their own perceptions of the world (Potter, 1993). This integration of information later plays a fundamental structural role in

decision-making (Gandy Jr., 1982) about the surrounding world and shapes people's perceptions of that which they cannot experience directly (Lippmann, 1921). News in particular is an authoritative version of reality (Barker-Plummer, 1995) that specialises in 'orchestrating everyday consciousness—by virtue of their pervasiveness, their accessibility, their centralised symbolic capacity' (Gitlin, 1980, p. 2). While the relationship between culture and cognition is dynamic and multi-directional, it is predominately the elite, powerful, news media that shape how the public interprets issues and events (Sotirovic, 2000), rather than the other way around. Consequently, the public's only understanding of social issues derives from a construction provided by media over time (Altheide, 1976; Gamson, 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Ryan *et al.*, 1998; Tuchman, 1978).

This construction of news content, or framing, is obviously necessary if any meaningful comprehension and communication is to take place. News, like any other communication system, can be understood as a narrative that has implied meanings. Otherwise stated, 'news and information has no intrinsic value unless embedded in a meaningful context which organises and lends it coherence' (London, 1993). The 'meaningful context' is the frame that shapes a news story (Entman, 1993).

While sometimes difficult to ascertain on an initial reading, frames purport to view an issue through a macro lens by examining the central theme of an issue. Gitlin (1980) has defined frames as 'persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organise discourse' (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Hertog and McLeod (1995) state that 'the frame used [for interpretation] determines what available information is relevant' (p. 4). Thus, the frames of a story determine the relevant pieces of descriptive information that attaches to that concept. This construction of power and relevance is integral in understanding the frame's significance and alludes to the assimilation of frames by the receiver.

In further integrating public opinion and causality into the explication of framing, Entman (1993) wrote that frames increase the salience of particular aspects of a story by promoting a specific 'problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.' A frame 'suggests what the issue is' (Tankard Jr. *et al.*, 1991), given their role as 'organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world' (Reese *et al.*, 2001, p. 11) Thus, the frames of a story influence how the public thinks of an issue through definitions of the issue itself, who is responsible

and what should be done. This cognitive dimension of an issues' attributes asks who or what is the cause of a problem, what is the prognosis, and what actions need to be taken (Klandermans & Tarrow, 1988).

Examining News Frames

Employing content analysis to examine media frames is essential in uncovering the embedded and powerful meaning behind texts. Through manifest coding of a series of variables, it is possible to detect more latent meaning structures that are often implicit in the text, but generally go unnoticed (Neundorf, 2002). In examining media frames, content analyses tend to be either inductive or deductive. In line with the previous work of Gamson (1992), the inductive approach first begins with a loose, preconceived idea of media frames that may exist in content and then slowly proceed in an attempt to reveal additional frames that may not have been considered. These studies can be difficult to replicate and are quite labour intensive (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The second deductive approach involves first defining the frames one wishes to search for in content and then proceeding with a comprehensive examination. While a drawback to this method is that one may not discover all the frames present, these studies can be easily replicated and can detect subtle differences between media (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). It is through the deductive method that this research examines the issue of same-sex legal rights in the American and New Zealand press.

Frames that have been commonly found in general political coverage in the United States are the conflict frame (Capella & Jamieson, 1997), the responsibility frame (Iyengar, 1991), human-interest frame and morality frame (Neuman *et al.*, 1992). These frames account for a large majority of frames found in American news (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). It is important to note that none of these frames have been linked to any particular topic, but rather to news stories in general. This makes intuitive sense if one considers frames as 'characterised by some level of abstraction.' In doing so, frames 'should be applicable to (entirely) different issues' (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 66). It is also suggested that frames should also be applicable to different, yet similar, cultures as a point of comparison.

Studies that have examined common frames in news coverage throughout New Zealand could not be found. That being said, the media systems in New Zealand and the United States are very similar, which makes these two countries particularly conducive for a comparative framing

analysis. The media in the United States have a long tradition of strong commitments to ethical norms such as balance, fairness (Singer, 2006) and objectivity (Deuze, 2005). New Zealand also adheres to this model and has a strong tradition of maintaining responsible news values (Norris, 1992). New Zealand broadcast journalists have been described as using a rhetoric of “social responsibility to inform” (Winter, 1993, p. 18). This sense of responsibility has been said to be fuelled by the “populist discourse of ‘relevance’ which celebrates the common-sense thinking of ‘ordinary New Zealanders’” (Winter, 1993, p. 19). New Zealand journalists, like their American counterparts, often conceptualise themselves as the ‘voice of the public’ (Rupar, 2006). Like the United States, there is a strong reliance on both local and national reporting in New Zealand, whereby journalists tend to draw upon both elite and non-elite sources (Comrie, 1999). Given these similarities, at least in terms of respective journalistic approaches, framing theory offers an interesting perspective to explore potential differences in content. However, it is important to note that while these parallels are meaningful, some authors (i.e. Masterton, 1992) have suggested that news values and practices have worldwide application, particularly in regards to issues where norms and values are often seen as crossing national barriers (Dunwoody & Peters, 1992).

The first frame that this research explores is the conflict frame. Neuman et. al. (1992) first argued that media emphasise the conflict frame between individuals, groups, or institutions as a way of attracting audience attention. These authors found that the conflict frame was the most common frame found in political news. This finding was replicated in election campaign news (Patterson, 1993) and has been found to induce public cynicism (Capella & Jamieson, 1997). Conflict is usually demonstrated through ‘horse-race’ reporting (Benoit et al., 2005), whereby one person or issue is reported as ‘gaining or losing ground.’ Such poll-driven content has been found to decontextualise issues (Rosenstiel, 2005) while also having strong effects on public attitudes toward the issue or person at hand (Farnsworth & Lichter, 2006).

Second only to the conflict frame, the human-interest frame can often be used to introduce emotion to an issue, event or problem (Neuman et al., 1992). This attempt to emotionalise the news is often relied upon to capture audience interest (Bennett, 1995) as readers often relate to stories that have had some sort of personal impact on another human being. Through human-interest frames, the audience presumably feels a stronger emotional connection to the issue at hand.

In another attempt to personalise or bring emotion to an event, news often adopts a morality frame. This puts the event, problem or issue in the in the context of religious doctrine or moral resolutions. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) agree with Neuman et. al. (1992) that these references may not be direct. Because of professional journalistic norms, reporters may often introduce morality into content via an outside interest group that mentions these issues through quotation or reference.

Finally, the responsibility frame, first discussed by Iyengar (1990), argues that news implicitly assigns responsibility for the event, issue or problem at hand. This responsibility is often passed to the individual, the government, business, the legal arena or civic change organizations to 'solve' or correct the problem.

The four frames of conflict, human-interest, morality and responsibility have been used to study other areas of news content. However, no studies could be found that applied these frames to the issue of legal rights for same-sex couples and certainly not through a comparative framing analysis across countries. This is an important omission in the literature. Far too much research remains centered on one nationality or geographic region without examining how these representations might compare across our globalised world. Such comparisons are important to better understand how these frames are created and to what effect. The issue of same sex rights offer an interesting case study for examination given that it affects every country in the world.

Research Questions & Hypotheses

This research principally aims to compare media in two different countries. Therefore, the research questions are:

R1: Are the frames surrounding the legal rights for same-sex couples significantly different by nation of newspaper publication?

R2: If the newspapers are different between countries, in what way do they differ?

The second aim of this research is to examine specific media frames used in the content of United States and New Zealand newspapers. Given the success of New Zealand in granting legal equality to same-sex couples, and the failure of the United States to do the same, the following hypotheses were offered to test corresponding media content in each nation:

H1: United States newspapers will rely on the conflict frame (as evidenced by mention of politically-affiliated official sources, 'winning', and 'contest' in content) more than New Zealand newspapers.

H2: United States newspapers will suggest that individuals are the responsible entity for 'solving' the issue of legal equality for same-sex couples, via citizen voting referendums, more than New Zealand newspapers.

H3: United States newspapers will be less likely than New Zealand newspapers to utilise the human-interest frame (as evidenced by mentioning personal perspectives) in content.

H4: United States newspapers will be more likely than New Zealand newspapers to utilise the morality frame (as evidenced by 'sin', 'special rights', religion, legal rights, civil rights, discrimination, 'marriage', equating marriage to a legal union) in content.

Methodology

This research analysed news media content from 2003-2005 with the root-word 'same-sex' in the headline or lead paragraph of an article. This time period was used as it includes the recent debate in the United States surrounding same-sex marriage in Massachusetts and the Federal Marriage Amendment as well as the debate and passage of the Civil Union Bill in New Zealand. The newspaper article was the unit of analysis.

A grouping of twelve New Zealand newspapers, indexed by the Factiva database, was used for this comparative study. This grouping includes the major national paper, *The New Zealand Herald*, as well as smaller New Zealand papers such as the *Timaru Herald*, *the Waikato Times*, *The Dominion*, and *the Taranaki Daily News*. *The New Zealand Herald* is read by an average of 530,000 people on a typical day ("Herald Readership", 2005). Given that just over four million people live in New Zealand ("Rank order - population", 2005), *The New Zealand Herald* readership constitutes a substantial portion of the population. The New Zealand Press Association (NZPA) was also included in the pool of news samples for New Zealand. Factiva indexes the NZPA articles separately. However, so that there was no overlap between categories of content, care was taken so that no NZPA articles were included in any other newspaper category. In total, 131 New Zealand newspaper articles were found and included in this study.

In an attempt to obtain relatively comprehensive newspaper data from a country as large as the United States, a major newspaper from each of the three geographic regions (west coast, the Midwest and east coast) was chosen for the study as well as two other major newspapers that were selected due to their reach and ideological position. The aim was to select news content that had geographical and ideological diversity given the often politically divisive issue of legal rights for same-sex couples. This resulted in the inclusion of *The New York Times*, *The Seattle Times*, *The Chicago Sun-Times*, *USA Today*, and *The Wall Street Journal*.

The *Wall Street Journal* (daily circulation 1,800,607) was also included in an effort to analyse content from what is largely seen as a conservative newspaper, given that the publication primarily covers U.S. and international business and financial news and is owned by Dow Jones & Company ("Wall Street Journal", 2005). Conversely, the *New York Times* (daily circulation 1,132,000) has long countered charges of its liberal bias, particularly on social issues ("New York Times", 2005). Conservative critics cite the newspapers' inclusion of gay and lesbian couples in the 'Wedding Announcement' section and the continual barbs directed at social conservatives from A.O. Scott's film reviews. However, newspapers, unlike magazines, still often are free of ideological labels because of the 'norm of objectivity' that is a guiding principle of news reporting. It should be noted that the purposeful inclusion of *The New York Times* was beneficial to give a fuller barometer of what all Americans were reading due to the powerful influence that *The New York Times* has on other papers throughout the country (Reese & Danielian, 1989). Similarly, *USA Today*, with a year-end circulation reach of over 2.25 million in 2003 ("USA Today: An economy of words, a wealth of information", 2006), purports to relatively large section of the United States population.

The final two U.S. newspapers, *Chicago Sun-Times* and *The Seattle Times* were selected because they both stand as the leading newspapers in their geographic region outside of the east coast. *The Chicago Sun-Times* is the most profitable newsstand publication in Chicago, and *The Seattle Times* has a weekly circulation of more than 1.5 million, making it the region's most widely read daily newspaper ("Overview of The Seattle Times", 2005). Like all newspapers around the world, there are certainly charges of 'liberal' and 'conservative' bias levelled at these two newspapers as well. However, these charges have not been sustained over time or to such a degree that any purported ideological divisions can be used as a categorization for this study. In total, 584 articles were found. In order to achieve some level of parity with New Zealand articles, every fourth article was randomly selected. This resulted in 146 American newspaper articles included in this study.

Coding Scheme

Two coders were asked to examine variables within the structure of the four frames detailed earlier: the conflict frame, the responsibility frame, human-interest frame and the morality frame. In examining the conflict frame, coders were asked to note whether the article presented 'supportive' positions on legal rights for same-sex couples; presented 'unsupportive' positions on legal rights for

same-sex couples; presented both 'supportive' and 'unsupportive' positions on legal rights for same-sex couples; or presented neither 'supportive' or 'unsupportive' positions on legal rights for same-sex couples.

Within the conflict frame, articles were also coded according to their reliance on the 'horse race' aspect of the issue. Meaning, if an article mentions which side is 'winning' or mention the term 'contest' in article content, this was coded. This coding scheme was developed to reveal if content had a focus on the contest of the issue rather than the issue itself.

All sources in an article were coded according to their political affiliation and official standing. Sources were coded as either 'for' or 'against' the legal rights for same-sex couples. These variables were developed to reveal what type of sources newspapers depended upon to tell their stories and how these sources combined to form an ideological position, if any, on same-sex rights.

For the responsibility frame, coders noted whether the article discussed legal proceedings, governmental debates, individuals only or civil rights organizations. Coders were also asked two more questions to gauge the responsibility frame in content. The first was, 'Did the article make any mention of a responsible agent for 'solving' the issue of legal rights for same-sex couples?' If the answer to the first question was yes, coders were then asked who the primary responsible agent for 'solving' the issue of legal rights for same-sex couples was. They were given the options of the courts, the government, individuals (through a public citizen's vote referendum), or civil rights organizations.

In examining the human-interest frame, coders were asked to note examples from individuals who claim that legal equality for same-sex couples has had either a positive or negative personal effect on their lives. The valence of this impact was coded as 'in support of same-sex rights' or 'in opposition to same-sex rights'. These personal examples were an important category as they put a human face to what can be seen as an abstract social issue.

In examining the morality frame, coders searched for instances that both supported a moral prescriptive and a legal response. In doing so, coders were instructed to mark instances of noted discrimination, civil rights and legal rights in content. Conversely, they also coded mentions of 'sin,' 'special rights' or religion. This served as an important benchmark to discern if some newspapers presented the issue as one based in religion doctrine or civil rights.

Finally, a generalised 'in support of same-sex rights', 'in opposition to same-sex rights', 'neutral', or 'both' newspaper article frame was coded by the research assistants. This coding

category was important to examine over time and across newspapers.

Results

Through use of the Cohen's kappa measure of agreement, two coders generated a relatively high 81.67 percent inter-coder reliability agreement for all variables coded in media content. An association was operationalised as a statistically significant relationship between the nation of newspaper publication and variables constructed to gauge the conflict, morality, human interest and responsibility frame. This test was necessary to determine if U.S. newspapers were more likely to portray same-sex rights negatively than New Zealand newspapers.

Significance was measured through chi square p values and strong adjusted residual scores, or the difference between expected and observed counts that demonstrates actual effects of this relationship. Strong effects of a particular case of one variable on a particular case of another variable were found if not more than 20% of the cells have expected values less than 5. Within these cells, adjusted residual scores that depart markedly from the model of independence (well above +2 or below -2) demonstrated added strength in relationships and suggested a directionality of the relationship.

Newspaper content was divided almost equally between nations (Figure 1). Due to the wide dispersion of content across all eighteen newspapers sampled, this research examined results based on nation of origin rather than individual newspapers.

Overall, 40.8 percent of total primary sources supported same-sex rights, while 31.4 percent did not and 18.1 percent were neutral. Secondary sources followed a similar pattern: 52.1 percent supported same-sex rights. This relative uniformity continued across all newspapers and the relationship between citing a primary source ($p = .110$) or a secondary source ($p = .113$) and the nation of publication was not found to be significant. Further, there was no significant relationship between the supportiveness of the source cited and the nation of publication ($p = .096$).

That being said, U.S. newspapers were far more likely to present the political affiliation of the primary source ($p = .001$) than New Zealand newspapers. When New Zealand papers did present a political affiliation, it was more likely to be liberal source than would be expected by chance alone (3.9). The political affiliation of the primary source remained largely unknown in U.S. newspapers (47.7 percent), but when political affiliation was noted, it was more likely to be conservative (23.5

percent) than liberal (18.1 percent). American newspapers were much more likely to state the official standing of the primary source ($p = .000$). Lawyers and judges (3.4), government officials (3.1) and businesspeople (2.9) were presented as official sources for U.S. newspapers more than would be expected by chance alone, whereas New Zealand newspapers presented the official standing of sources far less than would be expected by chance.

The relationship between nation of publication and the use of the term 'contest' ($p = .045$) and mentioning that one side of the debate appeared to be 'winning' ($p = .009$) was found to be significant. When examining adjusted residuals, the United States mentioned 'contest' (2.0) and 'winning' (3.7) more than would be expected by chance alone while New Zealand mentioned 'contest' (-2.0) and 'winning' (-3.7) less than would be expected. Therefore, Hypothesis 1, which stated that United States newspapers would rely on the conflict frame (as evidenced by mention of politically-affiliated official sources, 'winning', and 'contest' in content) more than New Zealand newspapers, was supported.

The relationship between discussion of legal proceedings and the nation of publication was found to be significant ($p = .000$). When examining adjusted and expected residuals, it was found that New Zealand did not mention legal proceedings far more than would be expected by chance alone (-7.2), whereas U.S. newspapers discussed legal proceedings more than would be expected (7.2). The valence of legal proceedings and nation of publication was also found to be significant ($p = .008$). When legal proceedings were mentioned in U.S. newspapers they were far more likely to be supportive (5.7).

The relationship between discussion of governmental debates and the nation of publication was also found to be significant ($p = .003$) as well as the valence of governmental debates and nation of publication ($p = .013$). New Zealand was found to present governmental debates more than would be expected (3.4) and it was found that New Zealand presented governmental debates as neutral more than would be expected by chance alone (3.6), whereas their U.S. counterparts presented a neutral governmental debate far less than would be expected (-3.6).

The relationship between discussion of civil rights organizations and the nation of publication was found to be significant ($p = .000$) but results revealed a high number of cells with an expected count less than 5, so the results could not be examined for this variable.

New Zealand newspapers were significantly ($p = .000$) less likely to present a 'solution' to the legal rights of same-sex couples (-8.4) than U.S. newspapers (8.4). When explored further, U.S.

newspapers were more likely to suggest that the government (5.7) and the individuals, through a public citizen's vote referendum, (6.2) were the responsible agents for 'solving' the legal rights of same-sex couples than would be expected by chance alone. Thus, Hypothesis 2, which stated that United States newspapers would suggest that individuals are the responsible entity for 'solving' the issue of legal equality for same-sex couples more than New Zealand newspapers, was supported.

The relationship between nation of newspaper publication and the use of a human-interest frame was found to be significant ($p = .019$) with newspapers in New Zealand more likely (2.1) to show a personal perspective on the issue than U.S. newspapers. The valence of human-interest frames and nation of publication was also found to be significant ($p = .023$). When examining the valence of these human-interest perspectives, New Zealand was more likely to present the personal impact of legal rights in a neutral way (3.4) than their U.S. counterparts. Therefore, Hypothesis 3, which stated that United States newspapers would be less likely than New Zealand newspapers to utilise the human-interest frame in content, was supported.

There was no significant relationship between the mention of 'sin' ($p = .859$), special rights ($p = .567$), or religion ($p = .999$) and nation of newspaper publication. Conversely, there was no significant relationship between legal rights ($p = .110$), civil rights ($p = .148$) and nation of newspaper publication. However, there was a significant relationship between the mention of discrimination and the nation of newspaper publication ($p = .010$). The adjusted residuals revealed that U.S. newspapers did not mention discrimination (2.3) more than would be expected by chance alone.

The relationship between nation of newspaper publication and use of the term 'marriage' in content was found to be significant ($p = .000$), with U.S. newspapers mentioning marriage more than would be expected by chance alone (3.5) and New Zealand newspapers mentioning marriage less than one would expect (-3.5). The Yates' Correction for Continuity, used for 2 by 2 tables, resulted in a value of 11.410 and an associated significance level of .001. Conversely, the significant relationship between unions and nation of newspaper publication ($p = .000$) found that New Zealand papers mentioned unions more than one would expect (8.4) and U.S. newspapers less than would be expected (-8.4). The relationship between the equation of union to marriage and the nation of publication was found to be significant ($p = .000$). The Yates' Correction for Continuity resulted in a value of 67.947 and an associated significance level of .000. New Zealand equated marriage and union more than would be expected (4.5). Taken together, Hypothesis 4, which stated United States

newspapers would be more likely than New Zealand newspapers to utilise the morality frame (as evidenced by 'sin', 'special rights', religion, legal rights, civil rights, discrimination, 'marriage', equating marriage to a legal union) in content, was only partially supported.

Finally, the two research questions asked broadly if media content about the legal rights for same-sex couples differed and, if so, in what way. There certainly appeared to be a difference between the newspaper content of the two nations given that 3 out of the 4 relationships of significance tested here were supported. While all relationships did not appear to support the same position completely (i.e. all four hypotheses being found to be fully supported), all significant relationships found suggested that New Zealand treated the issue of same-sex legal rights more favourably than the United States press (Table 1).

In coding the content, the valence of same-sex legal rights was found to have a significant ($p = .016$) relationship with the nation of newspaper publication. Coders deemed that same-sex rights were presented neutrally in U.S. newspapers more than would be expected (2.8), while same-sex rights were presented positively in New Zealand newspapers more than would be expected by chance alone (2.1). Thus, it appears there was indeed a difference between each nations' newspaper content and that difference appeared to suggest that the United States did not support the legal rights of same-sex couples to the degree of the New Zealand press.

Discussion

These findings suggest that there is at least some relationship between culture and content. Contrary to some claims of 'universal' values embedded in journalism, this study suggests that broader, cultural factors, that certainly surround each journalist, play an important role in dictating content. The findings here do not present a monolithic portrayal of American newspapers against same-sex legal rights in United States and New Zealand papers supportive of those same rights. Rather, the findings present a mix of factors that suggest opposition to the legal rights for same-sex couples in United States newspapers and relative support of legal rights for same-sex couples in New Zealand. These findings should lead future research to further explore the relationship between the media frames found here and exactly how these frames were sponsored by political actors and how audience members interpreted these frames. At this stage, this research returns to the tradition of

Gitlin (1980) and Tuchman (1978) to explore these findings against cultural ideology and social power.

There were two central findings from this research. The first discovery was the propensity for New Zealand publications to cite liberal sources more than U.S. newspapers did. Given the conflation of opposition to the legal rights of same-sex couples and conservative parties in both countries, the increased reliance of New Zealand papers on liberal sources suggests that the issue of legal rights for same-sex couples was given more sympathy from the sources cited. Support for this notion comes from recent history whereby the conservative Republican Party led the proposal to introduce a federal ban on same-sex marriages in the United States and the conservative National party created the main oppositional force to the Civil Union Bill in New Zealand.

If indeed, news stories, 'become a forum for framing contests in which political actors compete by sponsoring their preferred definitions of issues' (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 216), then one has to consider why and how these sources gained access to the newsroom. Certainly, this could be the result of personal relationships with individual journalists but is more likely the result of the 'economic and cultural resources available to sponsors to promote frames' (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 219). During the period of study here, the more liberal Democrat party had lost political power in the U.S. while the more liberal Labour party had retained its political power in New Zealand. This political standing in society is clearly reflected by these frame sponsors' relative political power in the press. This relationship between political power and content brings into question the separation between the press and government. However, in the end, the use of liberal sources is a decision made by the media, not by the politicians themselves. So, while it may appear that liberal sources in media content are a reflection of framing *through* the media, the use of these sources is more clearly an example of framing *by* the media (Van Gorp, 2007).

A second central finding that arose from this study is the propensity for American newspapers to overlook the humanity of same-sex rights, while New Zealand publications focused on the larger cultural theme of humanity via a multitude of frames. A constructionist approach certainly recognises that one person may be exposed to a news story and ignore a particular media frame, while another may strongly consider the salience of that same frame. However, when cultural frames actually 'constitute the central framing idea, there is probably a stronger basis for resonance between the media text and the schema of the receivers' (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 69). Therefore, if the representation

of same-sex rights was framed within a larger theme of humanity, there may have been a stronger propensity by the audience to oppose the discrimination of these individuals. Obviously, the framing of 'humanity' in media content was often not direct. Through this analysis, several manifest frames were examined in concert with one another, and a more latent but persistent pattern in content emerged.

For example, newspapers in the United States cited the official standing of their sources much more than New Zealand newspapers did. These sources tended to be lawyers, judges, government officials and business people rather than more the generally communal social change activists, community services representatives, religious leaders, private citizens or scientific experts. The use of United States newspapers to place these elite agents into a conflict frame of contest, where one side wins and the other side loses, further distracted the reader from the issue at hand. The conflict frame was not found to be as prevalent in New Zealand papers and, again, this could have been seen as a contributory factor to New Zealanders' feeling more bonded to the humanity of same-sex couples.

Legal proceedings were discussed more in U.S. content, and were seen more positively than in the New Zealand press, where there was an emphasis on governmental debates. Discrimination was also found less in the U.S. press than one would expect. Thus, it appears that even though U.S. papers did discuss legal processes, it does not seem that these legalities were contextualised in the very real result of discrimination.

So, while American papers focused on elite sources, conflict, and legal action (coupled with a lack of discrimination on same sex couples), New Zealand papers were far more likely to present a neutral human-interest frame. This human-interest frame, in combination with a lack of conflict frames in New Zealand content, may have created an important connection between the audience and the issue of same-sex rights. By removing the issue out of the conflicted, institutionalised, legal courtroom and into the fundamental cultural theme of humanity, New Zealand newspapers may have had a much more resonating and direct connection with the receiver's basic schema on this issue. Therefore, conflicting counter-frames, if encountered, were most likely marginalised by the audience (Festinger, 1957) or attributed to a peripheral and relatively inconsequential factor (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

But, what is it about the American press that so readily overlooked the basic humanity of these individuals? Why did New Zealand journalists embrace these frames? Certainly, the role of culture can not be overlooked. Previous claims of universal news values should be re-examined and culture should be explored as a fundamental component in the creation of news. It is possible, in the case of same-sex rights, that strong cultural factors such as religion, education, and morality may have played a role in the creation of content. After all, culture is often examined in the reception of media frames. As Van Gorp argues (2007), 'by locating frames in culture, the framing process, which is often conceptualised as a matter of individual cognition, is directed by the larger culture' (p. 73). However, relatively little content analysis explores cultural dimensions in the creation of media frames. Further study should examine these and other important cultural factors on a global scale to better understand the role that they may play in news content.

Clearly, media do not exist in a vacuum and this research does not suggest that social policy in each country was dictated by newspaper content. However, just as media content does not exist in a vacuum, neither does social policy. It is argued here that social policy may have been influenced by media coverage and the reverse may have also been true – that politicians influenced the media. What is certain is that through this detailed framing study, a cohesive picture emerged of newspaper content that constructed a personally-disconnected contest between official elites about marriage that had only legal ramifications without any resulting discrimination in the United States. The United States has yet to pass any law that allows for legal equality between same-sex and opposite-sex couples. Conversely, New Zealand content appeared to use unofficial liberal sources in relatively neutral debates that focused on issues other than traditional 'horserace' reporting to present a personally connected human-interest story of civil unions that equated to marriage. New Zealand recently passed the Civil Unions Bill guaranteeing equal legal rights for same-sex couples.

This paper does not argue that these relationships are one to one. However, this paper does urge that the standing of social issues, such as the one of same-sex legal rights, should be contextualised against media coverage. Just as media coverage and social policy can not exist in a vacuum, neither can mass communication scholarship. Examining media frames within the broader political and social world allows scholarship to explore the power of these frames in society.

This study should be seen as only the first step in a broader research agenda. These findings clearly need to be replicated within a larger sample base and with a more detailed framing scheme to

discover even more latent and nuanced differences between coverage in the two countries.

Conducting in-depth interviews with reporters in both New Zealand and the United States would also help elucidate some of the deeper meanings behind content and the reasons for their existence.

Further interviews and focus groups with readers in both nations would also help to examine a more causal and direct agenda-setting link between coverage found and the social policy that resulted.

Figure 1

Content of Newspapers Sampled

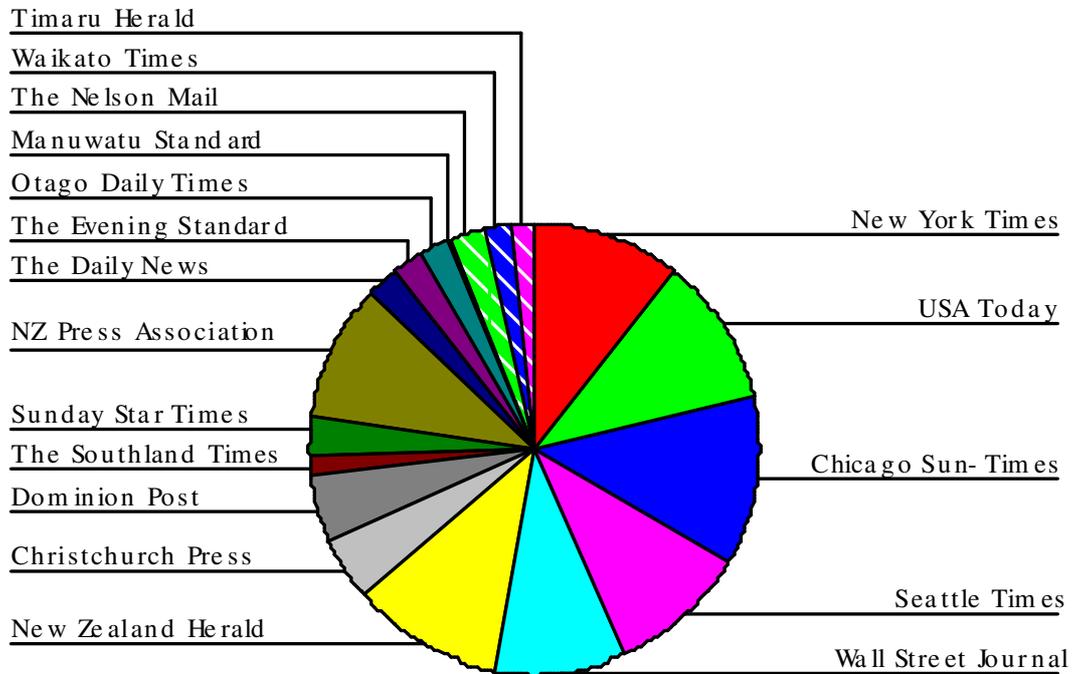


Table 1

Relationship with Nation of Newspaper Publication X...	Probability Value	Adjusted Residuals (Direction of relationship)
<i>Conflict Frame</i>		
Citing a Primary Source	.110	
Citing a Secondary Source	.113	
Supportiveness of Sources	.096	
Political Affiliation of Source	.001	NZ: Liberal Source
Official Standing of Source	.000	US: Lawyers/Judges US: Government officials US: Businesspeople
Term 'contest'	.045	US: 'Contest' use
One side in debate 'winning'	.009	US: 'Winning' use
<i>Responsibility Frame</i>		
Discussion of legal proceedings	.000	US: Legal proceedings
Valence of legal proceedings	.008	NZ: Negative legal process
Discussion of government debates	.003	NZ: Government debates
Valence of government debates	.013	NZ: Neutral gov't process
'Solution' to same-sex legal rights	.000	US: Government US: Individuals (citizen vote)
<i>Human Interest Frame</i>		
Human interest	.019	NZ: Human interest frame
Valence of human interest frame	.019	NZ: Neutral human valence
'Sin'	.859	
<i>Morality Frame</i>		
'Special rights'	.567	
Religion	.999	
Legal rights	.110	
Civil rights	.148	
Discrimination	.010	US: No mention of discrimination
'Marriage'	.000	US: more mention of marriage
'Unions'	.000	NZ: more mention of unions
Equation of marriage to union	.000	NZ: more mention of equation of marriage to union
Valence of same-sex legal rights		
Central frame	.016	US: same-sex legal rights neutral NZ: same-sex legal rights positive

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