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Competing for Attention: A Comparative Study of Social Movements and News Media in Abortion Debates

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COMPETING FOR ATTENTION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS AND NEWS MEDIA IN ABORTION DEBATES

by

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A DISSERTATION

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COMPETING FOR ATTENTION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS AND NEWS MEDIA IN ABORTION DEBATES

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University of Nebraska, 2016

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Why do some social movements in abortion debates get more attention from the news media than others? Do movements that support the status quo receive more attention than those opposing the status quo? Through quantitative content analysis of eight major newspapers in South Korea, Ireland, and Canada and fieldwork in South Korea and Ireland, I theorize that anti-status quo groups – whether they are for or against abortion rights – may reopen debate conditions in their countries by strategically using international human rights norms and frames and gaining standing in the news media in environments that tend to be hostile to their views.

“A word after a word
after a word is power.”

- Margaret Atwood, from the poem “Spelling”

For Mike, who makes me believe in my power.

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CHAPTER ONE Introduction, Question, and Cases

In late 2009, a debate about abortion erupted in the Republic of Korea (South Korea). In Korea, abortion has been illegal in most cases since 1953, but it has been widely available and practiced, the laws rarely enforced, and abortion is not a “political lightning rod” (Wolman 2010). However, in 2009, amid growing concerns about the low birthrate in Korea, a small group of about 600 doctors mobilized and called on the government to enforce the abortion laws in the country and end illegal abortion. As I learned in interviews I conducted in Korea in 2012, women’s rights groups organized demonstrations and participated in the debate to counter these voices. The issue of abortion became much more contentious than ever before. Yet, most of the attention from the news media went to those opposed to abortion, despite the fact that abortion is considered socially acceptable (at least in some cases) by a majority of the population (Korea Times “Doctors,” 2013; *World Values Survey* 2010-2014). Why did anti-abortion rights activists representing a minority of the population garner so much news media attention?

This dissertation examines the question as to why some movements in public debates about abortion receive more news media attention than others in different country contexts. I approach this question by studying the strategies social movements utilize to attract news media attention across three countries as well as the criteria journalists may use to choose news subjects.¹ The discussion presented in this dissertation links to

¹ I use Tarrow’s (1994) definition of a social movement as “Sustained interactions between aggrieved social actors and allies, and opponents and public authorities” (33),

broader debates in the literatures of social movements and political communication by elucidating the process through which social movements and the news media interact, and how this may have implications for changing the political and social landscape of the abortion issue, in particular, how debate conditions in a country may be changed by social movements seeking to defend or challenge abortion rights (Walsh 2010).

I. Social Movements and News Attention

Edelman posits, “the experienced political world hinges on what interest groups can induce the media to report and what experiences those reports displace” (Edelman 1988, 102). What appears in the news media has a real effect on politics not only because of the attention attracted to one perspective or issue, but also because of the attention that is deflected from another. Attention from the news media is an essential step on the path to achieving the goals of most social movements (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Ferree et al 2002; Barakso and Schaffner 2006; Andrews and Caren 2010; Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013; Boydston 2013; Yoon 2013), and this is still the case even with the increasing relevance of new media forms online (Skogerbø and Winsvold 2011). Media attention is part of the process of agenda setting and when the media focus more attention on an issue, the public perceives this issue as more important² (McCombs and Shaw 1972; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Iyengar 1991; Terkildson and Schnell 1997; McCombs 2004). Ladd and Lenz (2009) even suggest that newspapers can influence the voting

and Tilly (1984) uses a similar definition. Anti- and pro-abortion rights movements easily fall within this definition.

² Uscinski (2009) suggests that in some circumstances public attention will influence media coverage. However, he finds that this is only the case in issue areas that are not comprised by “spectacular events.” Abortion likely falls into this category as it tends to be represented in the media as an emotive issue (Gruszczynski 2013).

decisions of the mass public. Thus, the issues that receive the attention of the media often make their way onto the agenda of policymaking bodies (Jones and Baumgartner 2005; Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013).

Even without the direct potential effect of success in policy change, Gamson and Meyer (1996) argue, “the media spotlight validates the movement as an important player. This suggests that the opening and closing of media access and attention is a crucial element in defining political opportunity for movements” (285). For social movements, attention from the news media remains important even though they cannot always control what kind of coverage they receive and which of their messages will be reported (Entman and Rojecki 1993; Tarrow 1994; Baylor 1996; Barakso and Schaffner 2006). Mazur (2009) suggests that, when it comes to news media attention, quantity is more important for social movements than quality. Indeed, movements may consider news media coverage as one measure of success (Stephanie Lord interview 10-3-14) or one step toward success (Salzman 1998) because, as Amenta (2006) tells us, the range of success and failure of social movements is more dynamic than simply policy successes or failures. Movements that “fail” to achieve policy change or some other demands they sought may still achieve a great deal (Amenta 2006).

However, many scholars have pointed out that news media attention is not allotted based on the actual impact of an issue or even the prevalence of an issue (Hilgartner and Bosk 1988; Brown and Ferree 2005; Boydston 2013). A better understanding of news media attention and why some movements receive more attention than others informs us about the role the media plays in defining the boundaries of public debates by deciding what will make the news, who will be featured in the news, and influencing what social

movements do to make their voices heard during this process. One way to conceptualize this role of the media is by conceptualizing it in terms of power and the way it can be exercised in subtle ways. This will be returned to later, but a taste of what this might look like in terms of the news media can be seen in Ferree's (2005) description of how the media can use "soft repression." Soft repression, as opposed to hard repression, recognizes that social movement contests are not limited to confrontations between a repressive state (that uses military or police force to repress opposition) and a protest group. Soft repression is repression that can be wielded by an array of agents and includes ridicule, stigma, and silencing. The media can take part in all three forms of soft repression, but they are especially responsible for silencing. Who receives news media attention depends on media standards that can vary across countries. Ferree (2005) suggests that social movement theory "might well consider the nature of the media structures and practices that create silences about specific issues or for particular constituencies when attempting to explain the resistance and opposition that movements in civil society confront" (150). This dissertation contributes to this goal and uncovers one piece of the puzzle of news media attention by observing what social movement actors, events, and frames receive news media attention in abortion debates. This is done to understand the interactions between the news media and social movements and why some social movements attract more news media attention than others in different country contexts.

Argument, Theory, and Implications

The argument, theory, and implications will be further discussed in later chapters, particularly in Chapter Two and, regarding the implications, in Chapter Seven. Here, I

offer a very succinct discussion of these. I argue that news media attention is important to social movements for many reasons, one of them being that social movements view it as vital to success (even while success can be measured in different ways by different movements). In addition, I identify several key variables that I contend may influence the amount of attention a social movement receives from the news media. The most important of these include whether the movement is working for or against the status quo on abortion in their country and the framing tactics they use, specifically whether they use human rights frames. These are important because, if a movement is opposed to the status quo, this implies that their domestic environment is likely to be hostile to their messages, which may make turning to the international community and appealing to human rights standards more strategic for them. In turn, the news media may find these groups and their international tactics particularly attractive given media criteria for news stories involving conflict and the timely relevance of issues such as human rights. Therefore, despite the fact that the news media can silence movements, certain characteristics and tactics of social movements may entice the news media into helping movements reopen the debate in countries where the issue has been “settled” in one way or another.

This research points to the subtle power struggles that form the interactions between the news media and social movements and how, under certain circumstances, they may result in social movements opening debate conditions (Walsh 2010) in the arena of the media in democratized countries in order to reopen or revitalize abortion debates. This possibility is the same regardless of a social movement’s ideological views and highlights the importance of studying both pro- and anti-rights movements in rights debates.

Broadly speaking, by observing the way in which social movements compete for and achieve news media attention, the present research provides insight into the question of how social movements change the social landscape of an issue in different country contexts. Because the current research focuses on abortion rights, the findings have significant implications for women's rights and how they are challenged or championed.

Media Criteria and Social Movement Strategies

We know that media attention is important to social movement organizations and that they seek this attention (in most cases) (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Ferree et al 2002; Koopmans 2004; Barakso and Schaffner 2006; Andrews and Caren 2010; Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013; Boydston 2013), and we also know that the media select what makes the news according to a range of considerations (Andrews and Caren 2010; Boydston 2013; Graber and Dunaway 2014; Yoon and Boydston 2014). However, we know little about which characteristics and strategies specifically are most successful in gaining attention and how these vary across countries (McCammon 2010; Snow et al 2014). Social movement literature tells us that movements are more successful in policy change when they pursue tactics of "strategic adaptation" (McCammon 2012a), and findings vary regarding the usefulness of other tactics such as protest, violence, and framing that may aid movement policy success (Gamson 1975; Snyder and Kelly 1976; McAdam and Su 2002). In attempts to attract news media attention, the more successful tactics and qualities of social movements may be different from those involved directly in policy success (Baylor 1996; Andrews and Caren 2010). In addition, the few studies that discuss news attention specifically take a very different approach from the one I present

in this dissertation. Andrews and Caren's (2010) research, for example, only focuses on local news media and the structural qualities of specific movement organizations in competition for news media attention. Instead of focusing on individual organizations, I ask whether some movements are more likely to receive news media attention than their opponents at the national level, and whether there are similarities or patterns across countries. To this end, this dissertation focuses on four central areas and argues that these areas are potentially related to media attention: 1) social movements' position in society (whether they are pro- or anti-status quo), 2) events organized by social movements, such as demonstrations, or events used by social movements, such as legislative action, that open discursive opportunities (Koopmans and Olzak 2004)³ or create "critical discourse moments" (Koopmans and Statham 1999; Brown and Ferree 2005) that present opportunities for actors to frame political and social issues, 3) allies claimed by social movements who may provide resources or legitimacy (or both), and 4) frames used by social movements, or how social movement members explain and describe abortion as a political issue. This dissertation provides empirical tests of the relationships between these four areas and news media attention across three different countries. These criteria are considered potentially important to explaining news media attention because they can be easily connected to several categories of journalistic criteria identified by Graber and Dunaway (2014). In this way, the gap between social movement qualities and journalistic criteria is bridged.

³ Koopmans and Olzak (2004) define a "discursive opportunity" as "the aspects of the public discourse that determine a message's chances of diffusion in the public sphere" (2004, 202).

Because journalists face various incentives, one of which is to sell newspapers (Davenport 2009), Graber and Dunaway (2014) argue that journalists use several criteria to select news stories, including those that appeal to the audience because they involve conflict, violence, death, or scandal, or because they are timely and relevant to their audience (Uscinski 2009; Graber and Dunaway 2014). Activists, then, seek to appeal to these criteria (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Barakso and Schaffner 2006). The four areas covered in this dissertation fall into Graber and Dunaway's multiple criteria by being timely, relevant to audiences, involving conflict, or otherwise involving emotional issues that are likely to attract attention from news media and its audiences. For example, the first area I focus on (listed above) is whether a movement defends or opposes the status quo on abortion in their country. I hypothesize that movements that oppose the status quo will receive more news media attention than their opponents who defend it because they will more frequently fulfill the journalistic criteria that determine who and what gets news media attention. One reason for this is simply because by opposing the status quo, these movements create conflict in an atmosphere of relative complacency (where there is a strong status quo that is either supportive or unsupportive of abortion rights) and this conflict is attractive as a news item. Another reason for more attention going to movements that oppose the status quo on abortion is that these movements will be motivated to use certain strategies more often due to their relative feelings of marginalization and their perceptions that their society is hostile to their views.

Specifically, for reasons that will be discussed further in Chapter Two, movements that oppose the status quo on abortion in their countries may be more likely to use human rights frames and these frames may attract more news media attention for them than

when they do not use these frames. While the historical and current domestic political environments within which social movement activists are working are not neglected in this study, the emphasis lies on developing a broader understanding of how social movements and the news media intersect and interact, and how these interactions are similar or different across several countries. To this end, I observe which social movement actions/statements/characteristics that fulfill various journalistic criteria make it into the media most frequently so that the question of who gets more attention and why may be further realized.

II. Cases

a. Variables, Case Selection, and Boundaries

Variables

The dependent variable of this study is news media attention. The independent variables are the ones listed above concerning movement position in society (whether pro- or anti-status quo), event types, ally claiming, and frames used. Given these variables, cases were selected based generally on a most similar case design (George and Bennett 2005). The three cases chosen share several basic important characteristics and the outcomes in news media attention are different (in some of the countries pro-abortion rights actors receive the bulk of attention and in others anti-abortion rights actors receive the bulk of news media attention overall). This case study design makes sense given that the central question of this dissertation is why some movements receive more attention than others (specifically than their opponents). The outcomes in different countries are different, and independent variables that are apparently similar in all three countries are used to explain these varying outcomes in attention (Gerring 2007).

Case Selection

The countries included in this comparative study are South Korea, Ireland, and Canada. Among these countries, there are both differences and similarities, though as will be shown, there are similarities in several key areas that are the most important in ensuring that the independent and dependent variables in each country can be adequately compared. Each of these countries is quite different from the others geographically and culturally, particularly religiously, with Catholicism dominant in Ireland, Buddhism and (increasingly) Christianity in Korea, and rising numbers of Canadians claiming no religious affiliation (Pew Research Center 2013). Because this dissertation studies social movements and their attention from the news media, these geographic and cultural differences explain important context and background in each country. However, I argue that these differences cannot explain the variation seen in levels of news media attention to different social movements in each of these countries. For example, in Canada, where more people are identifying as religiously unaffiliated and abortion is legal and accepted as a woman's right, anti-abortion rights actors receive large amounts of news media attention. Why? To explain this, the similarities in certain aspects across these three countries make them excellent cases to study and compare.

All three countries under study are stable democracies and may be considered developed economically (similarities that are necessary for comparisons involving political and media processes). These are, perhaps, the most important factors for the purposes of this dissertation because they have resulted in relatively open and free

societies that allow for freedom of the press and the formation of social movements. The case of South Korea offers some cultural and geographical diversity but is still more easily comparable to Canada and Ireland than some other countries given its historical experience with the United States and the resulting exposure to Western ideas and norms.

In addition, within each country in this study there is what I will call an “issue minority” movement, i.e. a social movement that goes against a strong status quo on abortion in their country, as well as an “issue majority,” i.e. a social movement that defends the status quo by opposing the issue minority. However, the positions of the social movements in each country vary. This variation tends to come from the fact that the three countries under study have widely varying abortion policies (see table below), and the issue minority and issue majority in each country can generally be determined by the status of the abortion law. In Canada, the anti-abortion rights movement fulfills the position of “issue minority” because abortion is legal and socially accepted. In Ireland, it is the pro-abortion rights movement that fulfills this issue minority role due to the illegality of abortion and strong cultural resistance to its legalization (largely due to the influence of the Catholic Church). Determining the issue minority in South Korea is less straightforward. Abortion is illegal in Korea, yet historically it has been easily accessible and there is general social acceptance of abortion as a necessary medical procedure. Therefore, I argue that the anti-abortion rights movement is the issue minority because, in this particular case, the law does not seem to match public opinion and social practice (on page 1 I cited the *World Values Survey* which found that people in Korea are largely supportive of the right to abortion in most cases). While in each country the policies on abortion may be relatively established, there are clearly debates about abortion (to

varying degrees) in each country, and within these debates different groups get varying amounts of news media attention.

The issue minority/majority variable regarding the position of social movements relative to the status quo emerges as one of the central and most compelling explanatory variables for news media attention in my study, which is another way in which this research design fulfills the most similar research design criteria: I test several independent variables that appear across several cases and find that differences in one of them explains much of the variation in the dependent variable (George and Bennett 2005, 50). In this dissertation, I provide evidence that “issue minority” movements may receive unexpected amounts of attention (for example, more than their opponents who can be seen as representing a majority of the population) and that factors such as their choices of frames may also contribute to this outcome. The similarities among these three countries make comparing them possible and desirable and help explain variation in news media attention to social movements within several countries.

Temporal Boundaries

Within each of the countries under study, the cases are temporally bounded (Creswell 2013) with the central unit of analysis being the interactions between social movements concerned with abortion and the news media. In particular, a content analysis of newspaper articles provides the majority of the data on these interactions.

Table 1.1: Temporal Boundaries of Content Analysis

Ireland	January 1, 2009 – January 1, 2014
Canada	January 1, 2009 – January 1, 2014
South Korea	January 1, 2007 – January 1, 2014

The content analysis of newspapers in Ireland covers articles about abortion between January 1, 2009-January 1, 2014. Between 2011 and 2013 there were several major events related to abortion that occurred in Ireland. Analyzing these five years allows me to see any trends or changes over time and during times when abortion as an issue has both high and low saliency in the country. The same logic for choosing temporal boundaries for the other two cases applies. In Canada, newspaper articles on abortion between January 1, 2009 and January 1, 2014 are included. The saliency of abortion as a political topic is always relatively low in Canada during this time, but there are several peaks of media attention around major events regarding abortion. Finally, in Korea, the time period is expanded to cover January 1, 2007-January 1, 2014. This is for two reasons. First, Korea's debate on the abortion issue in recent years (or by some accounts, ever), reached its peak in 2009-2010. Thus, coverage for the years leading up to this and the years following it were deemed desirable. Second, the coverage of abortion in Korea is very low, even with this temporal coverage. The expansion over time allowed me to collect more articles and track the issue over time. More on the data collection and methods used will be described in the methodology chapter. A more detailed description of the social and political circumstances surrounding abortion in each of the countries included in this study is provided in the following section.

b. Historical, Political, and Social Context

As mentioned above, South Korea, Ireland, and Canada have very different abortion laws, though it is legal in at least some cases in each country. The table below offers a visualization of the differences among these laws, and in the following sections the circumstances surrounding these laws are described.

Ireland

In Ireland abortion policies are the least liberalized of the three countries. Despite a case in the Irish Supreme Court in 1992 (called the “X” case) that ruled that abortion is legal when a woman’s life is in danger, including due to threat of suicide, legislation on abortion was absent in Ireland until July 2013. Thus for the years between 1992 and 2013, there was great confusion among doctors over how to strike a balance between their responsibility to their patients and the law. The Eighth Amendment of the Constitution of Ireland (effective in 1983) says that the mother and the fetus have an equal right to life, thus creating a Constitutional ban on abortion (Bacik 2013, 385).

Table 1.2: Circumstances for Legal Abortion by Country

	Ireland ⁴	Canada	South Korea
To save a mother’s life	X		X
To save a mother’s health			X
Threat of suicide	X		
Due to rape/incest			X
Fetal abnormality/genetic disease			X
Social/economic reasons			
No restrictions		X	

⁴ During the majority of the time period covered in the content analysis of this study (January 2009-2014 in Ireland), Ireland had no law regarding abortion on the books and only had the Constitutional ban on abortion and the judgment of the “X” case. However, in 2013 the law was clarified via legislation. In Canada and South Korea, there was no change in the law throughout the time period under study (January 2009-2014 in Canada and January 2007-2014 in Korea).

However, the Supreme Court “X” case in 1992 found that in cases such as a threat to a woman’s life (as opposed to health) due to pregnancy or suicidal intent, abortion is Constitutional. Because my content analysis covers the years 2009-2014, much of the data collected concerns the legislation that took place in 2013.

The 2013 legislation came about in the aftermath of several key incidents, including the European Court of Human Rights ruling on the “ABC” case in December 2010. This case involved three women who accused the state of Ireland of infringing on their human rights by not allowing them to have legal terminations in Ireland and therefore effectively forcing them to travel outside of the country for abortions. The Court ruled that in one of the women’s cases a violation had occurred and that Ireland must legislate for the “X” case in order to clarify the legal status of abortion in Ireland. Another key event leading up to the legislation was the death of a pregnant woman named Savita Halappanavar. While having a miscarriage, she requested an abortion. However, she was denied this until there was no longer a fetal heartbeat, by which time she had developed sepsis, which led to her death. One of the nurses in the hospital responded to Savita’s requests for a termination by explaining that this was not possible because, “this is a Catholic country,” words that were oft repeated in the abortion debate to argue against the power and hegemonic status of the Catholic Church in Ireland.⁵ Activists used these events as discursive and political opportunities, and they quickly mobilized around them and framed them in resonant ways. As will be discussed later, the

⁵ These words also point to a racial dimension of the abortion debate, particularly concerning the situation faced by women and girls who are immigrants and cannot easily leave the country for abortions. While this is not the focus of this dissertation, the racial aspect of the debate surrounding Savita’s case and, later, the case of a young woman known as “Ms. Y,” would be an interesting aspect to study.

pro-abortion rights movement in the debate was able to insert their frames into the debate in ways that were quite successful in creating master frames about women's human rights and right to life, which forced the anti-abortion rights movement to respond to their frames (Snow and Benford 1992). For example, the Catholic Church at times found it necessary to release statements directly addressing women's rights (Clifford, 2013).

I conducted fieldwork in Ireland in September and October 2014 and discussed the ongoing debate with activists there. Some pro-abortion rights activists considered the law that was put into effect at least a partial success, but others argued it was a total failure and only allowed for women to be further criminalized (the penalty for giving or procuring an abortion is up to 14 years in prison under the new law). Indeed, it is telling that Prime Minister Enda Kenny repeatedly stated that the law, called the "Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act" (the title originally specified that it was to protect the mother's life, but this was taken out during revisions), did not actually change the legal status of abortion in Ireland, but clarified it. Yet, anti-abortion rights activists also tend to be unhappy with the passage of the law, viewing it as one step toward liberalization. In Ireland, the abortion debate is certainly not over despite the passage of legislation.

South Korea

South Korea's abortion policy environment has become complicated in recent years. As seen in the table above, abortion is illegal in many cases in Korea, and has been illegal since 1953. Through the years, however, this law has rarely been enforced, and the restrictions limiting abortion were loosened in 1986 to allow for exceptions such as rape and incest (see table above). When Korea was developing economically in the 1960s and

1970s, the government even sanctioned abortion and sterilization in its attempts to decrease the population, which was seen as important to economic success.

While the government has become more and more concerned with increasing the birthrate in recent years due to concerns about replacing the labor pool in the future and supporting an aging population, there were no major attempts to crack down on abortion until after debate was sparked in 2009. Arguably the first extensive debate about abortion,⁶ the debate that began in 2009 came about as anti-abortion rights activists capitalized on government concern about low birthrates and called for enforcement of the restrictive abortion laws. These calls have since been met with prosecutions of abortion providers and women who undergo the procedure. Consequently, abortion since 2010 has become difficult to procure, and many women have resorted to abandoning babies after birth, seeking unsafe and expensive abortions, or, if they can afford it, traveling to other countries such as China to have abortions.

As I learned during fieldwork in Korea in 2012, family issues are not often discussed in public, and women do not use birth control pills at high rates despite their availability over-the-counter, at least partially due to social taboos. At the same time, there is a stigma surrounding unwed mothers and the children of unwed or single people. Thus, abortion has been accepted as an undesirable but necessary part of society. Yet, the debate shed light on confusion over the position of abortion in Korea, as can be seen in

⁶ In an article in the *Korea Herald*, sociology professor Lee Na-young from Chung-Ang University stated that, "Unlike in other countries, there have been almost no disputes on the issue here. Because society has secretly sympathized with abortion, even feminists here don't need to stage a pro-abortion movement" (Lee 2009). However, after the debate was opened, feminists did stage protests and awareness campaigns in attempts to protect the availability of abortion.

comparing two rulings handed down by two different courts (one a district court and one an appellate court) in Korea concerning whether or not abortion ought to be punishable. In 2013, a district court handed a doctor a six-month prison sentence for performing an abortion and a two million won (roughly \$1,800) fine to the woman who had had the abortion. The court stated that, “Abortion is a grave crime that violates the fetus’s right to live. This case doesn’t meet the conditions for exceptions allowing abortions in the Mother and Child Protection Law” (Kim, 2013). Just a few months earlier, an appellate court postponed sentencing for a group of doctors accused of performing abortions, saying “Women's right to choose what's best for them is not to be taken lightly, and abortion is socially condoned here. The court can’t hold only the accused responsible” (Korea Times “Doctors,” 2013). The contrast between the language and arguments used by the two courts is stark, and signals the complexity of the abortion issue in Korea, as well as the existence of conflicting interpretations of human rights in the abortion debate.

Canada

While Korea has a law on the books that has rarely been enforced, Canada has had no law restricting abortion for nearly thirty years. In the case *R v Morgentaler* in 1988, Canada’s Supreme Court decided that the abortion provision in the Canadian Criminal Code was unconstitutional. While the Court left it to the legislature to create a more liberal abortion law that respected women’s rights to personal security, no law has managed to come to fruition. There were several attempts in the early years after the decision, but in more recent years politicians have tended to avoid the topic of abortion. Stephen Harper, the current prime minister (as of August 2015), has repeatedly stated that, although he is a Conservative and some of his constituents favor restrictions on

abortion, he will not “reopen” the abortion debate because a majority of Canadians are content with the status quo.

Most Canadians are content with the status quo, with a poll by Ipsos in 2010 (during the period under study) finding that only 34% of Canadians want the abortion debate “reopened” and the rest of Canadians either do not care one way or the other (17%) or argue that things should be left “as they are” (46%) (Ipsos 2010). A more recent poll conducted by Angus Reid Global in July 2014 (so just slightly after the period under study in this dissertation) found that 59% of Canadians are “fine” with having no law restricting abortion in Canada, while another 23% say that “some restrictions” would be appropriate. However, a small contingent of anti-abortion rights activists counter such findings of general consensus by organizing an annual “March for Life” and supporting Members of Parliament (MPs) representing (often rural) conservative constituencies who put forth bills for incremental change regarding the status of abortion. One of the most intriguing aspects of the Canadian anti-abortion rights movement has been in its framing.

The dominant, or master, frame on the pro-abortion rights side highlights the consensus in Canada and the idea that most Canadians do not want to have a debate about abortion. Anti-abortion rights actors have challenged this by framing abortion as a human rights issue for the fetus as well as, in particular, a women’s and girls’ human rights issue. Their claim is that while Canadians may generally think abortion should be legal, they are not all comfortable with allowing abortion in certain circumstances, such as for sex-selective abortion (also called “gender-selective” abortion)⁷. One MP proposed a bill

⁷ Sex-selective abortion refers to the practice of aborting a fetus based on its sex. In practice, female fetuses are often aborted (generally due to patriarchal cultural beliefs and practices).

in 2012 to make it illegal to test for fetal sex in Canada because of research that showed that there was (tentative) evidence suggesting sex-selective abortion was occurring among certain ethnic groups in Canada.⁸ In the same year, anti-abortion rights social movement organizations coordinated the March for Life under the theme “End Gendercide Now,” and rallied around the claim that “‘It’s a girl’ shouldn’t be a death sentence.” While the bill was unsuccessful (it wasn’t allowed to go to a vote), the strategy involved in creating these frames and coordinating them across different venues (Wang and Soule 2012) in a climate that tends to be hostile to their voices suggests why these actors are able to attract news media attention despite their minority status in the debate. As Clément (2012) points out, Canada has historically been a particularly strong leader in international human rights politics. Given the findings of the present study, this can help explain why framing anti-abortion messages in the terms of human rights is particularly effective in Canada, though this dissertation asserts that the use of human rights frames by both anti- and pro-abortion rights actors is not limited to Canada.

Conclusion

Empirical research testing a series of hypotheses regarding the interactions between social movements and the news media in all three of the countries discussed here is provided in the following chapters. Why some social movements attract more attention than others is answered by studying the tactics, actors, and characteristics of social movements that are most frequently given news media attention in newspapers. Data was collected through quantitative content analysis of 8 newspapers across these three countries of interest. This content analysis is supplemented and the results from it are

⁸ Once again, this abortion debate has clear racial undertones that are not within the scope of this project but are ripe for exploration in future work.

reinforced and given context through qualitative interview data from fieldwork conducted in Ireland and South Korea and qualitative analysis of social movement materials in Canada. More on the data and methodology is provided in Chapter Three. This dissertation makes key contributions to several different areas of study. These are briefly outlined here, while the contributions are described and discussed in more detail after the hypotheses and the theory have been explained in full (at the end of Chapter 2).

One central contribution is to the literature on political communications and the other is to the literature on social movements. By bringing these two areas together, I am able to observe the interactions between the news media and social movements, something that is often neglected in the literature. Instead of focusing either on social movement behavior and strategies or on news media behavior and criteria, I link these two areas together to observe how both of them influence the amount of news media attention social movements receive. In particular, as described earlier in this chapter, I study four central characteristics and tactics of social movements that are potentially related to news media attention and compare these to several types of criteria that have been recognized as influencing journalist decision-making. In the empirical portion of this dissertation, I observe which characteristics and tactics of social movements appear in the news media reports I sample most often and use this information to draw conclusions on why some social movements are more successful than others in attracting news media attention.

The comparative nature of this study – specifically that multiple newspapers of various ideological perspectives and multiple countries are included – is also a major contribution to the field. The area of political communication and framing has focused on

news media in the United States (existing exceptions include Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad 1998; Brown and Ferree 2005, Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013, and Yoon and Boydston 2014), while the study of social movements employs comparative methods more often but rarely studies discourse in a systematic (especially employing quantitative content analysis), as well as comparative, way (exceptions include Ferree et al. 2002). Furthermore, in identifying the role that a social movement's position relative to the status quo on abortion in their country can play in influencing their behavior and the amount of attention they receive from the news media, I study both "sides" involved in the abortion debate (though as I repeat throughout this dissertation, the abortion debate is more complex than pro-abortion or anti-abortion, but the news media present the picture of two battling factions and thus this is how it is studied here because the study is interested in the news media). This is relatively rare in the social movement literature, particularly because I find that a movements' relative position in the debate matters, and this may contribute to how they choose the frames they use regardless of their ideological stance.

Finally, by studying news media attention both as a potential step on the way to policy success and as one way of measuring success in itself, my research recognizes the dynamic nature of success, the key role news media attention plays in social movements, and the resulting importance of studying why some social movements get more news media coverage than their opponents. These are a few of the most influential contributions this dissertation makes to the field. In the remainder of the current chapter, a full outline of the dissertation is provided.

III. Dissertation Outline

Chapter Two provides the theoretical framework for this study, which is anchored in the literatures on social movements and political communication, as well as human rights and women's rights. Based on these literatures and my own theoretical contribution to them, Chapter Two will also detail eight hypotheses regarding news media attention to social movements abortion debates. Few in the study of social movements or political communication have looked at the interactions between news media attention and social movement activities across countries (Ferree et al. 2002 is an exception, though their focal point is discourse). Bringing these two fields together provides new opportunities for observation of social movement and news media behavior. Particularly in the field of political science, the cross-national study of media is rare, and linking the important role of the news media in shaping and interacting with social movements has also been rare in political science. Studying this and looking at the role of attention rather than policy outcomes elucidates the processes of social and political change in different country contexts.

Chapter Three explains the data collection process and methods used to test the hypotheses, though the chapter primarily focuses on the data collection process involved in the content analysis and qualitative research. The specific statistical methods used in the empirical tests are explained in the text as they are presented with the results. While this study utilizes multiple methods, the primary method is a quantitative content analysis of newspapers in each country under study, creating a large and unique dataset. In Canada and Ireland three major national newspapers are used in the content analysis, while in Korea two major national English language newspapers are used. The strengths and limitations of this approach are discussed. Data from fieldwork in Ireland and South

Korea and analysis of social movement websites and press releases in Canada form another part of the methodology and provide important context for the quantitative data as well as contributions to the formulation of hypotheses and reinforcement of findings. The role of this fieldwork in the study of news media attention and social movements is discussed in this chapter.

The empirical tests of the hypotheses laid out in Chapter Two will begin in Chapter Four. The idea that we can explain much of the variance in news media attention by looking at the position of social movements within a country's abortion debate is tested in Hypotheses 1 and 2. In particular, whether a movement is supportive or against the status quo is hypothesized to matter when it comes to the amount of attention they get, measured by how often they receive standing (Ferree et al 2002). The position of a movement in the debate is determined by the laws in the country where they are organizing as well as other indicators such as the promises political leaders have made about abortion and public feelings toward abortion. For example, in Canada, abortion is legal, the Prime Minister has promised not to "reopen" the issue, and public opinion supports the status quo. Therefore, the anti-abortion rights movement is considered the "issue minority" in Canada for the purposes of this study. Discussion of false equivalencies and the media's tendency to be attracted to conflict will be included, as well as some discussion related to size and positioning of social movements. The findings in this chapter are varied across the countries, though tests within two of the countries under study support my theory that position relative to the status quo in a country matters in explaining news media attention. This finding is further explicated in the other empirical chapters.

Chapter Five includes tests of Hypotheses 3 and 4 regarding the types of allies and the events that inspire the statements made by those granted standing. Some activists “name-drop” by mentioning people or groups of consequence that support their causes. When they do so, they implicitly signal a certain legitimacy that suggests they are to be taken seriously. For example, a pro-abortion rights activist in Ireland might “name drop” the European Court of Human Rights in Ireland when describing why legislation clarifying the laws on abortion is necessary (even though many pro-abortion rights activists were not happy with the legislation that resulted, there were many who called for some kind of legislation). Hypothesis 4 considers the types of events that are used by activists in order to get attention. These include demonstrations, awareness campaigns, or legislation or court rulings that create discursive opportunities for movements to get their messages heard in the news media. Quantitative event data collected via the content analysis as well as qualitative data from interviews with activists in Ireland regarding their strategies will both be included. This data does not reveal the universe of events in each country, but it does show which events get the most attention out of those that make it into the newspaper. This offers a sense of the events that find their way into the news and how they are weighted against one another as well as showing how issue minority events fare against issue majority events. Once again, the findings are not uniform within or across the countries. There is little support for Hypothesis 3 in any of the countries. There is some support for Hypothesis 4, particularly in highlighting the interaction between social movement position and events and suggesting that events that support the issue minority create important discursive opportunities for issue minority speakers.

Chapter Six will test the final hypotheses, 5, 6, 7 and 8. These hypotheses concern the use of frames to attract attention from the media. Hypothesis 6 posits that social movement actors will use human rights language to attract media attention, and Hypotheses 7 and 8 take this further by testing whether such language increases the attention a movement receives relative to their expected (if the relationship was random) attention. The central data used will be the content analysis data, with discussion of data collected through interviews and examples provided from newspaper articles included in analysis. The first three hypotheses tested in this chapter rely on descriptive statistical data showing the proportions of domestic versus international frames and which ones appear most often in the news media reports in each country. Hypothesis 8, however, requires several statistical models to elucidate the relationship between the use of human rights frames and news media attention. The results show support for my theory that issue minorities will use human rights most often. This is based on the reasoning that for those opposed to the status quo there may be fewer satisfying and resonant domestic frames available. However, whether these frames actually help them attract more news media attention than when they use domestic frames is more complicated. I find a positive relationship in Canada between the use of human rights frames and news media attention for the issue minority. While the tests in other countries do not fully support my theory, this finding points to the importance of future research, particularly research of challenges to abortion rights in countries where abortion rights have been granted and are part of a strong status quo.

Finally, Chapter Seven will serve as a conclusion and discussion of the implications of the study. While the contribution of this research is discussed in Chapter Two and

concerns methodological considerations as well as filling the gap in social movement theory regarding how social movements attract news media attention and the importance of studying human rights framing of abortion in domestic contexts (as opposed to using human rights to talk about another country), the conclusion chapter focuses on discussing the potential implications of the results. In particular, I link the research conducted here to a broader discussion of debate conditions, especially regarding how social movements opposing the status quo may strategize to open debate conditions in their countries by attracting news media attention and the potential consequences that may result for women's rights.

CHAPTER TWO Influences on News Media Attention

As established in Chapter One, attention from the news media is important to social movements (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Ferree et al 2002; Barakso and Schaffner 2006; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007; Andrews and Caren 2010; Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013; Boydston 2013). The news media select news stories to report based on a variety of factors. Some stories selected for reporting are obvious choices, such as the reporting on the terrorist attacks of 9-11 (Boydston 2013), and some scholars argue that the news media reflect the reality of the world (Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman 1972). But usually news media journalists face more potential news stories than they have room to report, so they use other criteria for choosing news stories. Yoon and Boydston suggest that the media are heavily driven by what is going on in government and among governmental elite in some countries and not in others (Yoon and Boydston 2014). Graber and Dunaway's (2014) criteria say journalists select news stories with their audiences in mind and this is also supported by other research in communications and media studies (Koopmans 2004). Clearly, there is disagreement on how stories are selected for the news.

Because the motivations behind journalists' selection processes are difficult to decipher, the most reliable way to study news attention and why some social movements receive more of it than others is to observe what stories and events make it into the news, who is chosen to speak, and what frames are reported (Gans 1979; Ferree et al 2002; Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013; Yoon and Boydston 2014). By looking at the characteristics of what gets reported in the news media, the factors contributing to why

some social movements get more news media attention than others become clearer by revealing the characteristics and strategies that are most influential in attracting news media attention. Comparing news media attention across several newspapers within multiple countries is particularly effective in providing confidence in the findings and whether there are similarities across countries despite some expected variation. This is the approach used in this dissertation.

Regarding news attention and/or social movement strategies, some studies conclude that more organized and seemingly legitimate actors will receive attention (Andrews and Caren 2010) and some say that large spectacles such as demonstrations will attract attention (Baylor 1996; Starr 2011). Overall, however, determining which strategies used by social movements garner the most attention in the news media is understudied. There is research on what strategies work best for social movements to be successful in their ultimate goals of social or policy change (Gamson 1975; Jenkins and Perrow 1977; Wolfson 1995; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Joachim 2003; Saletan 2004; Merry 2006; McCammon et al 2007; McCammon 2012a). These include strategies such as strategic adaptation (McCammon 2012a) or the importance of having influential allies and building coalitions (Jenkins and Perrow 1977; Van Dyke and McCammon 2010). But focusing on ultimate success does not allow for consideration of the ways in which social movements strategize for smaller victories in necessary components while working toward the larger goals of achieving political or social change. Looking at success only through the lens of policy change ignores the fact that success and failure are dynamic concepts (Amenta 2006) and may risk overlooking the ways in which movements can achieve a great deal without ever actually achieving policy success (Tarrow 1994). It also

overlooks that in some cases, social movements may not aim for policy success in the near future or at all, and may focus instead on “changing hearts and minds” (Saurette and Gordon 2013).

One type of social movement “success” involves news media attention because by garnering media attention actors have the potential to reopen debates, raise awareness on a new issue, or reach new audiences, even if they do not achieve policy success. In the case that policy change is seen as secondary to “changing hearts and minds,” news media attention is important because it contributes to raising awareness, circulating and legitimizing a movement’s message. In Chapter One I listed four areas (movement position *vis à vis* the status quo, events, ally-claiming, and framing) that are potentially influential in determining the amount of news media attention movements achieve. In particular, I argue that the position of a movement relative to the status quo and the frames, specifically human rights frames, that are used by social movement actors are key in explaining the news media attention they receive. From these four areas I develop a series of hypotheses that are nested within the literatures that helped formulate them in the following sections. These hypotheses are then tested empirically in later chapters of this dissertation.

I. Social Movement Position, Allies, and Action

The first hypotheses concern the characteristics and strategic activities that distinguish social movements, relating to their position in society, events, and allies (from the four areas potentially related to media attention discussed earlier). The size of a social movement has been suggested to be important in whether or not it achieves success in getting its issues on the government’s agenda and in getting news media attention (Oliver

and Meyers 1999; Johnson 2008). Johnson explains that larger movement organizational infrastructure allows movements to claim more adherents and increase their available resources and, in turn, increases its odds of achieving policy change (Johnson 2008, 975). Though logical and fitting with the idea that social movements seek to mobilize as many members as possible, other studies find no relationship between movement size and political outcomes (Gamson 1975; Wolfson 1995; McCammon 2001). In studying the anti-drinking and driving movement in the United States, Wolfson (1995) finds that characteristics relating to a movement's legitimacy were influential on the passage of law, but that the movement's membership size was not. However, Oliver and Meyers (1999) find that having large attendance at demonstrations was helpful in social movements' getting news media attention, especially if they were also sponsored by national level social movement organizations. These mixed findings may depend on how size is measured and whether the outcome of focus in the study is policy change or news media attention. Instead of attempting to measure movement size, which would be difficult because I am interested in movements as a whole rather than particular organizations within social movements, I focus on whether a movement is supportive or opposed to the status quo on abortion in their country as variable related to, but different from, size.

Position Relative to the Status Quo

I hypothesize that a movement's position relative to the status quo on abortion in the society and debate is important to how much attention they receive from the media. This focus on position rather than size involves studying both "sides" in the debate rather than just one, which is uncommon in social movement research. These sides include the issue

minority, or the movement that is opposed to (and challenges) the status quo, and the issue majority, or the movement that defends the status quo against the issue minority (this movement is not necessarily solely a countermovement and may also have its own agenda. However, in general the issue majority is opposed to the issue minority). One hypothesis regarding whether a movement is supportive of or opposed to the status quo on abortion in their country and how this might affect the news attention they receive is tested.

H₁: Movements opposing the status quo will receive more attention than those defending the status quo, meaning they will appear more frequently as speakers in news stories.

Gans (1979) conducted a content analysis of the television news media and found that social movements that used confrontational tactics such as protests or riots received a large proportion of attention among “Unknowns,” or actors appearing in the news who represent regular citizens as opposed to politicians, government representatives, celebrities, or experts, for example. Indeed, in his study Gans did not even include anti-Vietnam protestors and yet the category of demonstrators received 40% of all the attention among “Unknowns.” This gives credence to the “conflict” criteria put forth by Graber and Dunaway (2014). Indeed, Bonafont and Baumgartner (2013) explain that journalistic norms “imply attention to conflict rather than consensus: the ‘horse race’ questions of what political actor is ‘winning’ and which is ‘losing’ rather than the substance of public policy” (70). Edelman (1988) points out that the people involved in making, reporting, and editing news share an interest in making news attractive to their audiences. Thus interest groups, public officials, and journalists can be expected to make news dramatic and simplified (for example, reducing the abortion issue to a battle

between “pro-life” and “pro-choice” voices is a simplification of the issue, yet it is the dominant way it is reported in the news media, which is the reason I study it this way) (1988, 90). While the idea of the news as “spectacle” (Edelman 1988) does not necessarily suggest that those against the status quo will get more attention, it does imply that this is a possibility due to their oppositional position, or that they will receive more attention than would otherwise be expected based on their position and popularity in the society (for example, that they will get equal amounts of attention, which would not be expected considering they are “minority” voices).

Alternative Explanation to Hypothesis 1

Alternatively, previous literature may be interpreted as suggesting that what I refer to as the “issue majority” social movement may be more organized, more likely to use formal channels for their advocacy tactics (Soule and Olzak 2004; Andrews and Caren 2010), and it might have more access to important allies such as those in government because of its status as a defender of the status quo. This means they may have been in existence for longer and fall into the Graber and Dunaway (2014) journalistic criteria of “familiarity,” and they might also be able to claim to represent a majority of the population, increasing their perceived relevance. In this way, they could attract more news media attention than the challengers to the status quo, who may be viewed as radical or fringe movements.

Beyond familiarity, Andrews and Caren (2010) find that, at least at the local level in North Carolina, more formal and organized groups that use routine tactics receive more news attention than groups that are confrontational or advocating on behalf of a new issue. Because the issue majority in abortion debates is likely already a part of the

political and social landscape and thus can be expected to use more routine tactics and also may not be seen as introducing new issues, they can be expected to be given more news media attention than their opposition.

When faced with a choice between familiarity and conflict, what will journalists choose at the national level across three different countries? Will they grant more attention to those who are creating the conflict (issue minorities) or those who are defending the status quo and, perhaps, using more routine measures or more familiar messages? If there is variation across countries, this would suggest very different journalistic practices depending on the country. However, if the null hypothesis were rejected for Hypotheses 1 in all three countries, this would suggest that, when it comes to national news, journalistic practices on selecting whom to cover in the abortion debate follow similar standards across countries, and these standards favor conflict (in the form of issue minorities) over familiarity.

In addition to specific characteristics of social movement actors in each country and how this might affect how frequently they receive news media attention, I also coded a general “Article Focus” category to get a sense of the actual number of articles that were written about either anti-abortion rights or pro-abortion rights actors in each country. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the central unit of analysis in my coding scheme was usually the statement rather than the article. In this case, however, I wanted to see how many articles tended to focus on either pro-abortion rights or anti-abortion rights topics, issues, or actions. To determine this, I primarily relied on the way the article was titled, whether it had a focus on the anti-abortion rights or pro-abortion rights actors or issues (or if it mentioned both and seemed neutral). While the full article may have not

maintained the focus on either pro- or anti-abortion rights topics, this gives us a sense of what social movements attracted attention in the form of headlines. Headlines are also important in news media attention (Dor 2003; Andrew 2007; Weatherly et al. 2007; van Dijk 2013). Indeed, many people scan headlines (Dor 2003) even though headlines often do not give an accurate depiction of what the articles are actually about (Andrew 2007). Therefore, collecting data on which “side” in the abortion debate got the most attention in newspaper article focus tells us about another aspect of attention. The hypothesis formulated regarding article focus is similar to Hypothesis 1 and considers the possibility that issue minority topics will attract attention because of the actors’ position of conflict within society.

H₂: Newspaper articles will focus on topics relating to issue minorities more frequently than those relating to issue majorities.

On the other hand, of course, it might not be possible to reject the null hypothesis, which would call for consideration that newspaper articles will focus on issue majority related events and actions, instead, or that newspaper article headlines were most often neutral, presenting both “sides” in the debate equally. Whether or not there is support for Hypothesis 2, the results will form a nice comparison to the results of Hypotheses 1 by considering both the article level and the statement level of analysis. Beyond the possibility that the issue minority or majority position of a movement may matter (the newness or familiarity of a given movement making them more desirable in the eyes of journalists), there is also the possibility that the position can influence the strategies and tactics social movements choose, with more creative tactics seen as necessary by issue minorities. The next hypotheses cover some of these tactics that may result in increases of news coverage.

Name-Dropping and Events

The next hypotheses turn to the events or strategies actively engaged in by the movements and the allies these movements claim that help them gain legitimacy. Hypothesis 3 introduces the idea of “name-dropping” and how actors involved in the abortion debate may use it to attract attention from the news media by allowing them to borrow legitimacy from those whose names they mention in statements.

H₃: Activist speakers who claim the support of allies such as international human rights organizations, politicians, or “the people” by “name-dropping” will receive more media coverage than those who do not.

The legitimacy received from these allies that are claimed by activists may help them attract attention from the news media. Soule and Olzak (2004) study when movements mattered to the state-level ERA ratification process and find that the presence of elite allies increases the effect social movement organizations have on ratification (see also Cress and Snow 2000). While allies can help social movements in very tangible ways that effect policy change, for example, if social movements form coalitions with oppositional political parties or sympathetic legislators (Jenkins and Perrow 1977; Kriesi et al 1992; Soule and Olzak 2004; Almeida 2010; Isaac 2010), having well-known people or groups as allies can also help movements in a more symbolic fashion. Movements that can say they are supported by other major players (the “Knowns,” to borrow from Gans 1979) may be given more attention from the news media because this support confers legitimacy onto the movement (Joachim 2003, 251) and because the “Knowns” tend to be more likely to receive news media attention (Gans 1979). Borrowing from literature on human rights and transnational feminism offers a more detailed explanation as to how the symbolic use of allies can help social movements get news media attention.

Within the human rights literature, Simmons (2009) argues that human rights norms can be used symbolically to place pressure on governments to revise their behaviors and align them with human rights standards. She shows how, in this way, human rights treaties and norms act as leverage for social movements such as women's rights movements, who can use these to place pressure on governments and effect change. Governments, in turn, pay attention to the movements when they claim human rights because these domestic movements have linked themselves to a larger international movement for human rights (other scholars identify similar interactions between the domestic/culture and the international with varying levels of success in creating policy change, including Brysk 1993; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Ropp and Sikkink 1999; Naples and Desai 2002; Merry Engle 2006; Bob 2007; Basu 2010; Walsh 2010b).

A similar process involving claiming allies by "name-dropping" is hypothesized in this dissertation. Activists may claim in public that respected or well-known actors such as politicians, doctors, or international human rights organizations support them, or they may claim that the majority of "the people" are on their side. Either way, I propose that they will use such "name dropping" techniques to borrow legitimacy from allies. This may help them get news attention and, once in the news, it will signal to the public that they have broader support and are serious actors, just as appearing in the newspaper also signals legitimacy. An illustration of how this process occurs can be seen when in Ireland, beginning in 2011, pro-abortion rights movements argued that the government had to legislate on the "X" court case because the European Court of Human Rights had ruled that they must. They also claimed that "other modern countries" had legalized abortion, suggesting that Ireland must do so in order to keep up with the rest of the world.

This process of shaming the government and bringing attention to Ireland's international responsibilities and duties and how domestic laws tarnish Ireland's reputation internationally is very similar to what Simmons describes in her analysis (2009). My inclusion of "name-dropping" extends this analysis of leverage to include sources of leverage and legitimacy that can be borrowed domestically, as well, through doctors, politicians, or other "experts," or even through name-dropping "the people."

While name-dropping is a relatively unique variable that comes from an extension of human rights literature, the events planned by social movements to create spectacles to attract attention are well established as a social movement strategy (McAdam 1996). The image of protest, violence, and other types of disruptive activities is what comes to many people's minds when they think of social movements, though there are many tactics social movements use to pursue their goals. Tilly (1978) points to a "repertoire of collective actions" (151) available to social movements. These include campaigns to increase awareness, proposing bills or motions (with the help of political allies), court cases, or research, all of which may be employed by social movements to attract attention and to otherwise further their goals. In addition, there are events that are not always within the control of social movements but that create discursive opportunities that social movements use to gain attention from the news media and the public. These include the injuries, deaths, or other personal experiences of people that can be related in some way to the social movement and used to create discursive openings. For example, in Ireland the death of Savita Halappanavar was a mobilizing event for activists and gave greater news media attention to the issue of abortion in general, which in turn increased

opportunities for activists and others involved in the movement to have their statements reported in the media.⁹

Another potential event that can be used by social movements, if not created by them, is international involvement or pressure (Brysk 1993). Indeed, McAdam (1996) argues that when discussing political opportunities for social movements, scholars often overlook the international or global processes that can influence social movement opportunities (34). This is a point that is especially important in the next section when I discuss the role of international human rights in the abortion debates in the countries under study.

Other events can involve legislative activity not directly involving social movements, actions or statements of other institutions such as religious bodies, or government actions or statements that can open discursive opportunities (Ferree et al 2002; Koopmans and Olzak; McCammon et al. 2007). These can all contribute to the ability of social movements to get their voices heard. While many tactics are important (including those created by movements), movements that take advantage of the changing environment around them and use events out of their control to further their goals – a process similar to what McCammon (2012a) calls “strategic adaptation” – may be more successful in gaining news media attention.

Because this dissertation centers around the question of why some social movement groups get more attention than others, and because I am especially interested in why some social groups that are “issue minorities” can sometimes receive large amounts of attention (larger than their opposition or, perhaps, large relative to their

⁹ Stephanie Lord, Interview, October 3, 2014 (Dublin); Laura Fitzgerald, Interview, September 23, 2014 (Dublin).

representativeness in the population of the country as a whole), it makes sense that the events they plan (or attach themselves to) could influence their amount of media attention (Gans 1979; Baylor 1996). Some scholars have argued, for example, that violent tactics are useful to social movement groups in achieving their goals (Gamson 1975; McAdam and Su 2002). Yet Snyder and Kelly (1976), in studying Italian worker strikes, find the opposite; they find that violent strikes are less likely to help workers achieve their goals. Given that journalistic norms are often thought to prioritize reports on violence or tragedy (giving rise to the adage “if it bleeds it leads”), we would expect that violence by movements could attract news media attention. Beyond violence, social movements may use other tactics such as demonstrations or civil disobedience to disrupt the status quo and attract attention. While both issue minorities and issue majorities may hold events and create awareness campaigns in order to draw attention to their messages, it could be expected that issue minorities would get more news media attention due to the conflicting nature of their messages (Gans 1979; Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013; Graber and Dunaway 2014). Hypothesis 4 follows this theoretical reasoning.

H₄: The campaigns, demonstrations, and violent or illegal activities of issue minority (anti-status quo) actors will attract more attention than those of issue majorities.

While the category of events that I coded for is much larger and includes a greater array of event/tactic types than just activist events (such as those events to which activists might attach themselves but do not plan themselves), this is the only hypothesis that is created out of this category. However, the category of events is also included as a control variable and can be used descriptively to show the levels of attention certain types of events or tactics attract to the abortion issue (relative to others) on either side of the debate, or what frames are associated with particular events. Events create important

“critical discourse moments” (Brown and Ferree 2005) that offer an array of social and political actors opportunities to attempt to frame the issue of interest. Information on what events are covered most and what frames are most likely to occur with these events sheds light on how news media attention influences the way in which the meaning of an issue is defined in various cultural and institutional contexts.

The literature (and the hypotheses based in it) that has been discussed to this point has focused primarily on social movements and news media attention. Now I will turn to the literature on framing, which goes deeper into the subfield of political communication. Within this discussion, literature on social movements, human rights, and women’s rights will also be critical to the formation of the hypotheses surrounding social movement framing and its affect on news media attention.

II. Framing: Domestic Frames and the Role of Human Rights

A frame is a “central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them ... [and] generally implies a policy direction or implicit answer to what should be done about the issue” (Gamson and Modigliani 1987, 143). These frames are often presented within a package of related ideas and concepts, at the center of which are the frames that organize these ideas and connect them (Gamson and Modigliani 1987, 143). Social movements, media, international organizations, and political elites all use framing to place their messages within a particular field of meaning and present their ideas in a resonant and appealing way (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1992; Benford 1993; Entman and Rojecki 1993; Iyengar 1994; Baylor 1996; Dillon 1996; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996; Benford 1997; Terkildson and Schnell 1997; Benford and Snow 2000; Cress and Snow

2000; Kellstedt 2000; McCaffrey and Keys 2000; Druckman 2001; Schnell 2001; Ferree et al. 2002; Rohlinger 2002; Smith 2002; Joachim 2003; Yang 2003; Morgan 2004; Barnett 2005; Brown and Ferree 2005; Smyth 2005; Boyle and Carbone-López 2006; Froehlich and Rudiger 2006; Reilly 2007; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007; McCammon et al. 2007; Snow et al. 2007; Vliegthart and Roggeband 2007; Baumgartner et al. 2008; Dardis et al. 2008; Reich and Mendoza 2008; Savage 2009; Schaffner and Sellers 2009; and Kahle 2010; Rasmussen 2011; Rose 2011; Szulecki 2011; Hanggli and Kriesi 2012; McCammon 2012a; Kendhammer 2013; Landy 2013; Saurette and Gordon 2013; Tsetsura 2013; Graber and Dunaway 2014; Heo and Rakowski 2014; Snow et al. 2014; Van der Pas 2014). Social movements in particular may use frames to attract news media attention because journalists are attracted to “colorful quotes” (Ferree et al. 2002, 88; Hanggli and Kriesi 2012). Studying the framing strategies of social movements is an important part of understanding social movement processes and, I argue, it is an important part of understanding the influences of and on that which is the focus of this study: news media attention.

Framing strategies among social movements are well documented in the United States (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1992; Benford 1993; Baylor 1996; Cress and Snow 2000; McCaffrey and Keys 2000; Rohlinger 2002; Barnett 2005; McCammon 2007; Reich and Mendoza 2008; Rose 2011; McCammon 2012a). These studies have observed the types of frames social movements use (Barnett 2005) and how these change or are extended (Rose 2011), how social movements create and share frames (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1992), how they disagree on what frames to use (Benford 1993), and how they counter their opponents’ frames (McCaffrey and Keys 2000;

Rohlinger 2002), among other framing activities. They have also explored how well frames “work” in helping movements succeed in their policy goals (McCammon et al. 2007; Reich and Mendoza 2008) or in explaining changes in public opinion (Terkildsen and Schnell 1997). Studies of framing strategies in other parts of the world are less common.

McCombs (2013) argues that agenda setting, which is related to framing, can occur anywhere in the world where there is a “reasonably open political system and a reasonably open media system” (37). He acknowledges that openness varies and that arguably there is no perfectly open political system, but that there are many countries that are reasonably open in that elections matter and “determine the course of political history” (37). It can also be assumed that where agenda setting occurs, framing by social movements occurs (though framing by political elites occurs everywhere) and the news media determines the frames that will appear in popular use by giving attention to certain actors and frames. Thus, the study of frames in different countries and across countries is important. Currently much of our knowledge on social movement framing (and, indeed, framing generally) is based on studies in the United States, despite calls for further cross-national and comparative studies in this research area (Snow et al. 2014). Some scholars explore social movement framing in particular countries outside the United States (Smyth 2005; Boyle and Carbone-López 2006; Reilly 2007; Snow et al. 2007; Polson and Kahle 2010; Landy 2013; Saurette and Gordon 2013; Tsetsura 2013; Heo and Rakowski 2014; Suh 2014), but very few compare framing by social movements across countries, or include multiple cases in their analyses (exceptions include Ferree et al. 2002 and Szulecki 2011). Yet, the cross-national study of social movement framing is important for

many reasons, one of which is to increase our understanding of the international and global influences on social movements and the way in which the landscapes of social debates in different countries change.

In many of the studies about social movement framing, the focus has been on the domestic context of framing, and the conclusions have generally been that analyses should always take into consideration the domestic level because frames have not converged across countries despite globalization in other areas (Ferree et al. 2002; Smyth 2005), cultural context conditions framing effectiveness (McCammon et al. 2007), and international frames such as the language of human rights are simply not resonant (or are too limiting or controversial) in domestic contexts (Smyth 2005; Boyle and Carbone-López 2006; Savage 2009; Landy 2013; Tsetsura 2013). Therefore, the hypothesis garnered from this literature is that within the domestic contexts of South Korea, Canada, and Ireland, social movement frames that are strategically nestled within the domestic context will make up the bulk of the news media coverage.

H₅: Social movement frames that respond to domestic political, social, and cultural contexts and climate will appear in the news media more frequently than frames that are influenced by international ideas.

There will be more discussion on how to determine which frames respond to domestic circumstances, but generally these are frames that are specific to the country, such as the frames in Ireland discussing whether or not a woman who is suicidal should be legally allowed an abortion, or frames that occur frequently in the country due to specific country circumstances. For example, Ferree et al. (2002) find that in Germany, anti-abortion frames concerning the fetus as having legal rights or a constitutionally protected right to life are more common than in the United States. One of these, the frame

claiming that the constitution recognizes the fetus as life, is possible in Germany because there was a Constitutional Court decision that upheld this right (Ferree et al. 2002), thus giving the pro-abortion rights activists a “steeper slope to climb” (Ferree et al. 2002, 123) when it comes to framing abortion (this reference also hints at the possibility that the position of a movement may matter in that being the issue minority may make it more difficult to succeed in the domestic environment). However, the other frame that says that the fetus has legal rights could also be used in the United States but, according to Ferree et al., it is still less common than it is in Germany because Germany’s domestic institutional context (i.e., the constitution and the Court decision) makes it more resonant than it would be in the United States (where it would be a largely normative statement, i.e. that the fetus *should* have legal rights).

Extending the analysis of Ferree et al. (2002), then, these frames that come from the specific circumstances of the country and its policies should be most common in Ireland, Canada, and Korea, whereas other frames such as those focused on the international human right of women to have access to abortion, which have an international appeal, will be less common. Domestic frames are undoubtedly important because, as demonstrated, they often specifically address the current political environment and this type of “strategic adaptation” (McCammon 2012a) is critical to movement success. The domestic context matters because it shapes the way social movements and other social and political actors talk about abortion, i.e. the discursive opportunity structure (Koopmans and Statham 1999; Ferree et al. 2002; Koopmans and Olzak 2004). Yet, strategic adaptation to domestic circumstances may also lead to framing abortion in terms of human rights and this usage has not been studied in a cross-national comparative

study. In addition, domestic circumstances may not be the only thing social movements consider when strategizing, a possibility that is given more attention later.

While there is no doubt that social movements and other actors rely heavily on the domestic context when it comes to creating and choosing frames and that this constitutes a form of “strategic adaptation” among movements, this does not take into account that to separate the domestic from the international has become increasingly difficult. As McAdam (1996) points out, “movement scholars have, to date, grossly undervalued the impact of *global* political and economic processes in structuring the *domestic* possibilities for successful collective action” (34). While it seems this area of study has been improved since McAdam made the statement in 1996, with more attention paid to international and transnational actors and discussion of larger global processes creating political opportunities for social movements, there is still little discussion dedicated to the role of the global or international in shaping discourse.

Of particular interest here is the role of human rights. Ferree et al. (2002) interpret rights-based frames only as stemming from domestic circumstances – particularly the rights outlined in a country’s constitution or legal framework – and they don’t discuss the spread of human rights norms and language at all. Particularly given ideas of women’s rights as human rights (Bunch 1990) and the ways in which this is obviously relevant to the abortion debate, for example, because the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women recognizes the reproductive rights of women (though as will be discussed there are other, less obvious ways human rights can play a role in the abortion debate), there seems to be a gap in Ferree et al.’s (2002) study. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, this may be due to the fact that during the time-frame of their

study (1962-1994) human rights discourse had not yet become as prominent a topic of study as it has become in the last two decades, and even since the mid 1990s, though of course the topic was being discussed in many circles.

Among studies that do address the role of human rights frames in abortion or women's rights debates, there are many that say either that the frames are used infrequently because they are not considered strategic in the domestic contexts or are drowned out (Smyth 2005) or that the attempts by women's movements to use the concept of "women's rights as human rights" have not been successful locally (Boyle and Carbone-López 2006; Tsetsura 2013). Others focus on the role of translating human rights into the local cultural vernacular (Merry 2006) in order to be accepted. Indeed, Dillon (1996) finds that even the Catholic Church frames abortion in ways that resonate culturally in individual countries rather than relying on doctrinal legitimation (Dillon 1996), which further supports the idea that some international concepts are translated into local contexts. The idea that there is often resistance to outside influences due to deep cultural and social traditions, practices, and beliefs is a convincing one. Yet it does not give enough consideration to the ways in which people within can use ideas from without to attempt to change their societies, whether or not they translate this into the domestic context (or the way in which this tactic may be particularly attractive to some social movements such as those opposing the status quo). Culture is dynamic and can be diverse within one country. What will resonate culturally is not always obvious (Walsh 2010).

There is the possibility that some actors find new ideas with international appeal to be more helpful to their goals, and at times the international may also become relevant to the domestic in ways that create opportunities to instigate change. This could mean that local

contexts shape the way human rights language is used locally (Donnelly 2007; Narain 2013), or there may be times when local actors seek a global audience, either to attract international attention in order to shame their governments into action or to attract international or transnational allies for support. The use of human rights frames may also help actors on the domestic front in attracting news attention from national news media outlets because of the broad appeal, timely relevance, and provocative uses of such frames. To better understand the ways in which the international can become useful at the domestic level, the literature of international human rights is instructive.

III. Human Rights

The usefulness of the language of human rights in making domestic change occur is debated (Starchursky 2010; Szulecki 2011; Landy 2013; Narain 2013; Heo and Rakowski 2014), though how it could be used by social movements working in the abortion debate, particularly those working toward women's rights, is clear. Narain (2013) suggests that for Muslim women in India, human rights discourse contains an emancipatory possibility for equality and points out that "the claim to the universality of human rights has been central to equality-seeking groups who have fought for recognition of their rights using the language of human rights both in the domestic arena and internationally" (Narain 2013, 106). Women's rights activists fighting for women's rights to abortion can make similar claims to the universality of human rights.

However, as mentioned above, many scholars – even those studying the same country – disagree about the emancipatory possibilities of universal/international human rights discourse in domestic contexts. For example, Smyth (2005) argues that in Ireland, especially in the 1980s -1990s, internationally inspired rights-based claims were not

taken seriously due to Ireland's republican traditions and ideals of nationhood and the "common good" (145) rather than ideas of individual rights. She also says that women's movement claims for women's bodily autonomy have been largely marginalized and she is not optimistic that this will undergo any great change. Conversely, Reilly (2007) suggests that Irish women's advocacy efforts of the 1990s led to more engagement of women's groups with human rights discourses and framing in the present. What led to this change is not clear in Reilly's work. Whether it was the groundwork laid by earlier women's rights advocates or other events that led to new political opportunities that made human rights a more strategic frame, this suggests that human rights can be used domestically and this language is not always considered antithetical or useless to a movement's success (Bob 2007; Szulecki 2011; Narain 2013). This is not to discount critiques of human rights discourse (Stachursky 2013; Hodgson 2011) and the colonial past of human rights (Baxi 1998), but social movements in many countries around the world find human rights discourse useful to their causes and this is confirmed by the research of this dissertation.

The questions surrounding human rights are not limited to the use of human rights language. Indeed, there is much scholarship on whether or not international and regional human rights norms and treaties "work," i.e. whether or not they effect change at the domestic level (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Ropp and Sikkink 1999; Lutz and Sikkink 2000; Heyns and Viljoen 2001; Hathaway 2002; Neumayer 2005; Adams and Kang 2007; Avdeyeva 2007; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2007; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2008; Simmons 2009; Hill 2010; Hillebrecht 2012). These studies are often pessimistic in their assessments of human rights (Hathaway 2002; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2007).

Hathaway (2002) even argues that after international human rights treaties are ratified state abuses increase. However, Neumayer (2005) suggests that it only appears this way because our awareness of human rights abuses increases when states ratify treaties and are forced into the open. Hill (2010) finds evidence for both of these perspectives. He finds that the Convention on Torture (CAT) and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) worsen practices but that the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) increases respect for women's rights. These studies look at the direct effects of human rights treaties on domestic policies, but there are other ways in which international human rights can effect change.

Simmons (2009) makes a convincing theoretical and empirical case that human rights treaties and norms can be used in both legal and symbolic ways to increase respect for human rights, and other scholars have also made similar suggestions, pointing to the role of transnational networks and activists in this process (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Ropp and Sikkink 1999). In my own research I find evidence of the symbolic way in which activists can call on human rights in order to frame messages, put pressure on the government, and mobilize members. In addition, these practices may help them attract news media attention. In Ireland, activists I interviewed referred to international human rights norms, court case rulings, and statements to legitimate their claims and place pressure on government¹⁰ and they used these frames in many different contexts, including for demonstration slogans and signs and in frames in the news media.

¹⁰ Laura Fitzgerald, Interview, September 23, 2014 (Dublin).

In particular, movements that are opposed to the status quo in their countries may find human rights frames helpful, as their domestic contexts are already hostile to their messages. On the one hand, a domestic translation of their messages could help make them more palatable to domestic audiences. On the other hand, this may not help them attract news media or other attention as they won't stand out in the crowd, and their message could get watered down. While social movements take into consideration what types of human rights arguments will work best within their domestic contexts, they may find that using human rights language helps them attract attention both domestically and globally and helps them place pressure on government actors. Because in abortion debates social movements often respond to one another (rather than only to the government), they may also borrow from or use similar frames as their opponents (Bob 2012). This process becomes especially important when considering the use of human rights frames because of the way it gives rise to questions about who uses human rights and for what purposes. Therefore, three final hypotheses consider the social movement uses of human rights-based frames.

H₆: Human rights-based frames will appear in use in each of the countries under study by both “issue majorities” and “issue minorities.”

H₇: Social movement activists and allies that are opposed to the status quo in their country will appear in the media using human rights frames more frequently than those supporting the status quo.

H₈: When social movement activists and allies use human rights frames they will receive more news media attention compared to when they do not use human rights frames.

These hypotheses capture a fascinating part of this dissertation: human rights can be used by both “sides” in the abortion debate to attract attention, whether they are pro-abortion rights actors or anti-abortion rights actors. In some cases, this may come in the

form of borrowing frames from their opponents or using similar frames as their opponents for different purposes. Bob calls this “framejacking” (Bob 2012); however, “framejacking” implies that the frames have been stolen from someone or something. This opens a theoretical minefield of questions about who can legitimately claim human rights. Even to track who uses a frame first would be difficult. While I do not wade very far into this theoretical debate and I do not attempt to trace frame ownership, I find the term useful in discussing the fact that both pro-abortion and anti-abortion rights actors use human rights to frame their arguments in some circumstances, and I propose that both pro-abortion rights and anti-abortion rights actors, when they are the issue minority in their country, will find human rights frames useful for their cause due to the domestic circumstance in their countries being hostile to their messages. This leads to creative and provocative uses of human rights frames in some cases, particularly when they are used by anti-abortion rights actors whose claims may require more explanation due to the fact that anti-abortion rights actors tend to be suspicious of international human rights regimes.

Some scholars have noticed that anti-abortion rights activists in recent years seem to be using more “pro-woman” framing instead of focusing on the fetus and using frames describing abortion as murder (Rose 2011; Saurette and Gordon 2013). Others have documented the way in which human rights can be discussed and used in ways to support certain types of rights (such as religious rights) even while those using them are opposed to many other international human rights norms and treaties (Kendhammer 2013; Bob 2012). However, these are the only studies to my knowledge that have studied this type of usage of human rights frames by conservative actors. Generally, scholars seem to

focus on the actions of the movements whose goals more clearly align with UN human rights documents such as women's rights movements. Yet, those who perceive that their human rights have been violated in some way can create human rights issues by making claims to human rights (Bob 2007). Thus, human rights can be claimed or used by anyone; whether or not this usage attracts the attention of the news media is discussed in this dissertation.

IV. Theory and Contribution

The central contention presented in this dissertation is that the amount of news media attention a social movement involved in the abortion debate receives can be explained by two central variables: the status of a social movement relative to the status quo on abortion in its respective country and the frames a movement uses. While I also study name-dropping and events as potentially influential variables, I contend that the position and framing variables have the most explanatory power. In particular, movements that oppose the status quo on abortion in their countries will receive more news media attention than their opponents, and they will receive more news media attention when they use human rights frames than when they do not. I theorize that this is because movements that oppose the status quo on abortion meet certain criteria that journalists have regarding what or who makes a news story. In addition, movements that oppose the status quo on abortion in their countries may be motivated to behave in ways that further fulfill these journalistic criteria, for example, by appealing to frames that are particularly controversial or timely, such as human rights frames that may have both domestic and international resonance and appeal. I came to this theory by bringing together the literatures on political communication and social movements. Within my theory, I argue

that the relevance of the movement position and framing variables to news media attention elucidate the subtle ways in which power relations in society influence movement behavior and their interactions with the news media and with each other. The implications of this research include shedding light on how debate conditions – the public political and social discursive landscape – can be challenged and potentially changed by movements that appear relatively powerless compared to the strong status quo on abortion and its defenders in their home countries. The theory contributes to the literature in several ways, but in particular by suggesting that the importance of a movement's relative position to the status quo on abortion and its use of human rights frames applies to not only women's movements fighting *for* abortion rights, but also to conservative movements fighting *against* abortion rights across several countries.

The theory is detailed below, as are the contributions of this work. Abortion is often considered a controversial topic, yet in different countries it holds a different status. Ferree et al. (2002) point out that in Germany and the United States there is no “genuine consensus” on abortion, and that therefore, there still may be more to come regarding the abortion debate. Of Germany, they say that “the issue is quiet for the moment but the status quo is only grudgingly accepted by German feminists and the broader German women's movement or by the Catholic Church” (44). Genuine consensus may be a very difficult goal to reach on the issue of abortion in any country, particularly because, as Smyth (2005) explains, “Abortion politics takes place on a global level, as its two key actors, the women's movement and the anti-abortion movement, operate trans-nationally” (141). The global level of abortion debates can be seen in each of the countries under study in this dissertation. Smyth cites Ferree et al. (2002) in concluding that abortion at a

global level has not led to a convergence of frames at the domestic levels. This dissertation argues that, while there are many tactics used by social movements to attract news media attention, there has been some convergence in the types of frames they use that appear in the news media.

While frames that are based in domestic events and cultural values are most common, there are other frames that reveal the influence of the international and global on the domestic. In Canada, pro-abortion rights actors claim that there is a consensus and that Canadians approve of the status quo with no abortion law. Yet, anti-abortion actors challenge this claim of consensus by using a range of framing tactics, including those borrowed from international human rights. In Ireland, the Catholic Church has had a hegemonic influence on abortion politics. Yet here, too, there has been an unsettling of this hegemony and pro-abortion rights actors have increased their standing in the news media and gotten their voices heard, particularly by taking advantage of certain events and calling on women's human rights to legitimize their claims. Finally, in South Korea, where there has been so little debate about abortion and abortion has held a rather contradictory position in society (being illegal but widely and safely available), anti-abortion rights actors broke into this silence by using a range of tactics that had both local and international resonance.

Whether or not the international "rights-based" talk is at the center of individual abortion struggles in each country, this dissertation argues that those studying social movements and framing cross-nationally have largely overlooked the importance of its role, often concluding that it is not useful or is not resonant (Ferree et al. 2002; Tsetsura 2013; Heo and Rakowski 2014). Scholars of transnational feminism have seen a larger

role for the global and for human rights, though they are often very cautious in asserting its transformative powers (Naples and Desai 2002; Merry 2006; Della Porta, Kriesi, and Rucht 2009; Basu 2010). Reilly (2007; 2009) highlights the importance of bottom-up, transnational movements to further women's rights, and Brysk (1993) finds that in Argentina an approach that is both top-down and bottom-up, linking international/transnational movements with domestic movements, can lead to some social change, even in cases where movements face authoritarian states and lack conventional power resources (261). Other scholars also recognize the critiques made by postmodernists and critical theorists regarding the hegemonic human rights discourse and its Western, liberal (and potentially homogenizing) tendencies but often concede to the emancipatory role this discourse can play in struggles for equality (Baxi 1998; Hodgson 2011; Narain 2013). I argue that by looking carefully and systematically at the news media level of the abortion debate, we can see the creative way in which social movements integrate human rights talk into national discourse and the amount of attention they then receive from the news media.

When social movements involved in the abortion debate use human rights frames, they may attract news media attention. However, who uses these frames and why do they get attention? My theory is influenced by Simmons' (2009) argument that domestic actors in countries can use human rights treaties for leverage and can therefore place pressure on government actors to respect human rights through threats of legal action or simply through more symbolic threats such as the threat of international shame. In the framework of my dissertation, this leverage comes in a symbolic form wherein social movement actors use human rights to attract news media attention to get their messages

to enter the broader social discourse on abortion. In particular, I hypothesize that those who are opposed to the status quo on abortion in their countries will find international human rights concepts helpful in framing their messages because of their issue minority status in the country.

Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) theory of the second face of power is helpful in explaining the importance of the status or position of a social movement within a country *vis à vis* the status quo. Through the second dimension of power, Bachrach and Baratz explain, "defenders of the status quo ... limit the scope of actual decision-making to 'safe' issues" (952). Thus, the agenda only includes items deemed "safe" (Cobb and Ross 1997) for consideration by those in power. This idea of a second face of power, or even a third face of power (Lukes 2005) that prevents ideas and concepts from ever entering the public agenda or the government agenda is useful to apply to framing. Defenders of the status quo in the abortion debate want their messages heard, but they already have the "powers that be" on their side. For example in Canada, the pro-abortion rights actors not only want to prevent an abortion law from being introduced, but also proactively want abortion to be freely available and more widely accessible in more remote and conservative areas of Canada. This could be seen as a way in which they both challenge existing power relationships and sustain them at different times and to varying degrees (Stammer 1999). However, when it comes to the debate between pro-abortion rights actors and anti-abortion rights actors, the defenders of the status quo in Canada tend to attempt to discredit the opposition and prevent their messages from reaching a broader audience (a type of "soft repression" according to Ferree 2005), while the anti-abortion rights actors attempt to break into the "consensus" and have their messages heard and

considered by a wider audience. This type of power struggle between the defenders of the status quo and those opposed to it takes place in each of the countries under study and is one reason why knowing to whom the media give attention in the abortion debate is so revealing. When anti-status quo issue minorities are able to have their voices heard in the news media, this is a “win,” as many of the people I interviewed in Ireland confirmed.

In domestic conditions where, despite being democratic, the power structures prevent particular “unpopular” social movements from having their voices heard, the use of human rights frames that appeal on an international level can be useful. However, while much of the literature confirms that women’s rights actors can easily appeal to human rights (Ferree et al. 2002; Merry 2006; Simmons 2009), studies tend to ignore the way in which anti-abortion rights actors can also appeal to human rights concepts despite that they are traditionally suspicious of the liberal international human rights regime (Irvine 2012). Stammers (1999) does not discuss the range of actors who can use human rights to challenge existing power structures, but he does state that social movements are particularly important in the creation of human rights and they can use human rights expressively “in seeking to legitimate alternative values, norms, and lifestyles and validate the perspectives and identities of those oppressed by particular relations and structures of power” (988). He suggests that this can be thought of in Gramscian terms as creating a “counter-hegemony.” Whether or not pro-life actors in Canada and South Korea can actually be seen as oppressed members of society who are fighting for human rights (they tend to be fighting for the rights of those who cannot speak for themselves, which Stammers suggests can lead to authoritarian tendencies), the discourse they sometimes use implies that this is how they perceive themselves, or at least how they

want others to perceive them. They claim human rights for fetuses and for women and call for an end to abortion in their countries as an end to these human rights violations.

More specifically regarding how conservative actors, or those not traditionally associated with proponents of human rights, can adopt human rights language, Bob (2012) explains, “does a resonant frame bring opponents to their knees? No. They pull out the hammer and smash it to smithereens. Such unframing holds true even for supposed master frames, such as human rights” (29). Here, Bob identifies human rights as a master frame that can be used by opponents of a movement to reduce the effectiveness of their opponents’ claims regarding human rights (or other frames, as well). Bob argues that right-wing actors in the Brazil debate over gun control “framejacked” human rights to use to their advantage. They argued that having possession of a gun for one’s own protection is a human right, and thus incorporated human rights language into their argument and challenged their opponent’s claims that guns are a threat to human rights. Bob (2012) doesn’t explain the concept of “framejacking” in depth, but mentions it in passing as a strategy that right-wing actors use to challenge their opponents in different countries around the world. The term seems to rely on the assumption that there are certain actors who can legitimately use human rights frames and others who simply hijack or “framejack” them for their own purposes. Or, at least, the term implies some form of ownership of frames and that one actor has stolen a frame from another. Bob explains that in his case studies left-wing actors used certain frames first – including human rights frames – and right wing actors then “framejacked” them. Yet, he does not provide clear evidence of this process, and thus it requires further empirical research. However, the idea of framejacking is useful to the

extent that it identifies the process through which actors one would otherwise not expect to be using human rights (due to a tradition of suspicion of universal human rights institutions and claims) claim human rights ideas and language for themselves, thus challenging their opponent's claims to human rights and, potentially, reducing the effectiveness or resonance of their opponents' frames (or increasing the effectiveness of their own frames) (Kendhammer 2013).

This process is understudied but has been alluded to by other scholars. Kendhammer (2013) suggests that in Nigeria religious leaders use the idea of religious rights as human rights, defining human rights in Nigeria in a way that challenges and detracts from those wishing to use human rights to argue for women's issues. Saurette and Gordon (2013) and Rose (2011) identify a "pro-woman/pro-life" frame used by anti-abortion activists in Canada and the United States, but they do not discuss this in the context of human rights (though, at least in Canada, much of the "pro-woman/pro-life" framing is closely associated with frames involving human rights). More studies tend to study human rights as a one-way street, with those who claim human rights clearly backing the liberal human rights agenda. However, the unexpected ways in which social movement actors frame issues shows us the way in which framing can create a political "spectacle" (Edelman 1988) and thus attract attention to an issue.

Contributions

Human rights scholarship concerning women's issues has often focused on the way in which women's rights movements use human rights and whether this is useful for them (Reilly 2007; Narain 2013; Tsetsura 2013; Heo and Rakowski 2014). Recognizing that international human rights may be used by other actors in ways that are not often studied

in academic scholarship and studying both pro-abortion rights and anti-abortion rights actors and how they frame their messages is an important contribution of this dissertation. In the abortion debate, one of the more common anti-abortion rights frames in recent years has been regarding a fetus's "right to life." While this may sometimes be based in religious concepts, my analysis found that more and more, anti-abortion rights actors are distancing themselves from religious ideas and focusing on the right to life as a human trait supported by or in line with the international human rights agenda. Beyond this, some anti-abortion rights actors even discuss abortion as detrimental to women's human rights because having abortion readily available can lead to sex-selective abortion and discrimination against female fetuses. Some anti-abortion rights actors have also introduced more women-focused frames concerned with women's mental health after an abortion or with women being "forced" to have abortions. While pro-abortion rights movements can easily appeal to women's human rights when it comes to abortion regarding women's rights to determine their own fate and women's rights to life, health, and bodily autonomy that are outlined in major human rights documents such as the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), this dissertation explores several cases where human rights enter the conversation from the anti-abortion rights end of the debate.

Many small/issue minority social movements may have trouble attracting news media attention because they are viewed as fringe groups and, unless they do or say something of interest, they have little relevance to larger audiences. In cases such as the debate over abortion, news media may give some attention to issue minority groups to give the impression of being "balanced." They may even create false equivalencies

between these pro- and anti-abortion rights movements for the sake of creating conflict and drama to appeal to their audiences. Further, as I argue, they may be attracted to the conflict that issue minorities bring into the public arena simply by opposing the status quo. Yet, why the news media sometimes give more attention to issue minorities than they give to issue majorities is less clear. Taking into account human rights frames, as well as other tactics that appear in the news media, may help explain why, as well as how often, the media slant their reports toward one “side” or present them with equivalent frequency.

The news media may pay attention to issue minority groups that appeal to broad ideals of human rights in their frames for a number of reasons. One is that human rights are a current trend and therefore are timely and relevant to newspaper audiences. Second, those who would not be expected to rely on human rights concepts such as anti-abortion rights actors can use human rights provocatively. Further, in an environment that is hostile to a social movement’s message, a message about human rights and the shame a country could endure from the international community if they do not change their practices is resonant to news media criteria because it creates conflict and makes the abortion issue into a larger issue of “saving face” as a nation, which can be considered an important issue for all citizens. These are all reasons the news media may find frames calling on human rights attractive.

The frames may not be inspired from domestic conditions, but in an environment that is relatively closed to a movement’s messages, there are limited domestic conditions that can be used to their advantage. By linking their movement to international human rights norms, issue minority movements borrow legitimacy by making the international

relevant to a domestic issue. They also create a political spectacle that may attract attention. For example, in Canada an article was published that suggested that sex-selective abortion could be happening among certain communities in Canada. Even though the article explained that it is not a widespread phenomenon, Canadian anti-abortion rights actors used this publication to argue that sex-selective abortion is a pressing women's and girls' human rights issue in Canada. While it hasn't resulted in a change in the legal status of abortion, it gained news media attention and created discussion where previously there had been none. This is especially important in Canada where some anti-abortion rights actors have said that their goal is no longer legal change but to "change hearts and minds" (Saurrette and Gordon 2013).

Human rights and societal status or position are, of course, not the only thing that this dissertation discusses. The results from the hypotheses regarding allies, events, and domestic frames tells us more about the tactics and frames that attract attention from the news media and this contributes to the literature on social movements because there is a lack of study of news attention specifically (as opposed to policy attention or attention to frames only). The question of whether the position of the social movement – whether they are opposed to or supportive of the status quo on the legality of abortion – influences how much attention they receive and the strategies they use has been rarely discussed by social movement scholars despite being potentially important to the relative success of a social movement (though media scholars have discussed aspects of this, for example Gans 1979 touches on this when he discusses "knowns" and "unknowns" and some media studies have mentioned familiarity of a group or issue when it comes to news coverage).

The types of frames that appear in the news media other than those concerning human rights are also interesting and are inspired by domestic events and values. Studying these frames and how they appear in the debate reveals the strategic interactions between the news media and social movements and the depth of the abortion issue in each country. For example, in Ireland, one frame that appeared frequently and was used by pro-abortion rights actors was that Ireland “exports” its problems. Pro-abortion rights activists argued that Ireland simply sent women who wanted or needed an abortion to England instead of addressing the deeper problems in Ireland including the need for better support for single mothers and families. This frame attracted news media attention because it was resonant to an Irish audience concerned about austerity policies that some see as ignoring domestic problems and because discussions about women having to travel to England for abortions are emotionally evocative. It also made the political more personal in pointing out that many people in Ireland know of someone who has felt compelled to travel for abortion. I spoke with one Irish man in my hostel about my dissertation topic and he responded that the only thing he knew about abortion was that once in a while he would hear whispers about a friend or acquaintance who “had to go to England.” By tapping into this issue and making it more vivid, pro-abortion rights actors can attract news media attention through domestically based frames.

In addition to the interesting and important content of the analysis presented here, the methods of this dissertation contribute to the literature on social movements and framing. The use of both a large scale quantitative content analysis of newspapers and qualitative fieldwork, including interviews, as well as qualitative analysis of social movement materials, allows the dissertation to cover more ground than most framing

analyses (Benford 1997; Snow et al. 2014), to explore processes in social movements that have been understudied, and to study both “sides” in the debate. The methods will be described in more detail in Chapter 3.

Beyond the methods, the data selection, and more specifically the inclusion of three national newspapers from Canada, three national newspapers from Ireland, and two national English language newspapers from South Korea,¹¹ with diverse ideological editorial stances represented, is also rare. While news framing and discourse studies within one country tend to try to cover more than one news source to account for problems such as editorial bias (Ferree et al. 2002; Brown and Ferree 2005; Ladd and Lenz 2009; Andrews and Caren 2010), there are few cross-national framing studies (Yoon and Boydston 2014), and even fewer cross-national social movement framing studies (Ferree et al. 2002). While Ferree et al. (2002) use two major newspapers in each country for their content analysis in Germany and the United States, this study is an exception. By including multiple newspaper sources from each country under study, I am able to show differences and similarities in news media attention to social movements among countries as well as among newspapers within countries and to ensure that my results are not muddled by editorial bias. Other studies that pull from diverse sources do so qualitatively and so the patterns among or within them are less obvious or systematically documented (Smyth 2005; Reilly 2007; Tsetura 2013; Heo and Rakowski 2014).

King, Keohane, and Verba (1994) assert that researchers should locate their work within existing scientific literature and contribute to it in some way. As mentioned above,

¹¹ The use of English language newspapers in South Korea is discussed at length in Chapter Three, which covers the data collection and methods used in this dissertation.

one contribution I make in this dissertation is in the systematic study of framing among social movements in three different countries. Only Ferree et al. (2002) have conducted a comparable study, yet their research, while also interested in abortion discourse, has quite a different focus from the current study. They use discourse as the unit of analysis and ask how a country's domestic institutions influence this discourse. In my dissertation, I focus on news media attention as the primary dependent variable (as opposed to framing) and the way in which both journalistic criteria and social movement strategies influence the amount of attention social movements receive from the news media. While Ferree et al.'s (2002) research reveals how well the two countries they study live up to the ideals of democratic debate, my research sheds light on the way in which subtle forms of power influence the interactions between social movements and between social movements and the news media, and the insights reveal some possibilities as to how these power relations may be slightly shifted, especially through tactics such as strategic framing, to open debate conditions in the arena of the media in democratized countries and reopen or revitalize abortion debates. This research would not be possible were it not for the extensive content analysis and the original dataset it produced.

Beyond these contributions, King, Keohane and Verba suggest six possible ways a researcher can contribute, including when they "Argue that an important topic has been overlooked in the literature and then proceed to contribute a systematic study to the area" and when they "Show that theories or evidence designed for some purpose in one literature could be applied in another literature to solve an existing but apparently unrelated problem" (17). Through this dissertation, I make contributions in these ways,

primarily contributing to the literatures on social movements and political communications/framing.

Comparative work on the interactions between social movements and news media are rare, but these are particularly rare in political science. This is because cross-national work in political communications is only just beginning to be attempted (Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013; Yoon and Boydston 2014). In this dissertation, I identify the interactions between social movements and the news media, specifically when and why the news media give attention to social movements, as something that has been largely overlooked by the existing literature. I then offer a systematic study of this across three countries and find, by turning to literatures on political communication that study framing and the literature on social movement strategies, that these literatures help explain news media attention to social movements when they are brought together. In addition, I identify two areas that help explain media attention that have been understudied or ignored in scholarship on social movements: the role of human rights frames and the role of social movements' positions in society (whether they are issue minorities or issue majorities). I also turn to other literature, using theories regarding human rights, to discuss the role of human rights in abortion debates and why they are important to social movements and news media attention. My use of sociological works on social movements and discourse as well as the political science research in political communications (and works on human rights and women's rights from multiple disciplines) forms a strong foundation for studying a relatively new subject within my discipline.

In my conclusion I will discuss the broader implications of my findings, including the way that social movements that are issue minorities can use tactics such as human rights frames to reopen the abortion debate in their countries. Walsh (2010) seeks to understand how women's rights are instituted in countries and finds that the quality of debate conditions in critical arenas (including the media) in countries influences whether or not women's rights will be successfully introduced. I argue that studying news attention can help us understand how issue minorities may reopen abortion debates and tells us more about how women's rights and human rights more generally are championed and challenged in countries. In turn, this reveals how social movements have the potential to succeed in changing policy or "hearts and minds" – for better or worse depending on one's perspective.

CHAPTER THREE Data Collection and Methods

Expanding our knowledge about news media attention to social movements in different countries can help answer questions not only about movement tactics, framing and how frames are shared across countries, but also about the competing roles of international and domestic influences on discourse and social movement decision-making cross-nationally. In particular, cross-national framing analysis is an important area of study, especially given the increase in transnational social movement activities (and, in general, the increase in global communications via the internet) and how this compares to the continued importance of domestic contexts (Ferree et al. 2002). And yet, there are few systematic cross-national framing studies, and “frame diffusion across time and space has yet to receive the attention it deserves” (Snow et al. 2014, p. 37). The present research studies news media coverage of social movement tactics, including framing tactics, by using several innovative data collection and research method approaches.

Scholars disagree on how best to conduct cross-national research, but in recent years many scholars have identified an important role for both large-*N* statistical analyses and small-*N* comparative case studies (Collier 1993; King, Keohane, and Verba 1994; Brady and Collier 2010; George and Bennett 2005; Lieberman 2005). Lieberman (2005) argues that a mixture of both of these, in what he calls “nested analysis,” is the ideal. Nested analysis involves large-*N* statistical analysis that leads to the closer, in-depth exploration of one or several case studies. In this dissertation, a variant on this model of multiple-methods research is used. Cases were chosen based on the characteristics described in the first chapter, generally in line with a most similar case study design. After case selection, large-*N* content analyses of newspapers were conducted within each of these countries to

identify the overarching empirical patterns in the types of events, speakers, and frames that appeared in newspaper reports in each country. The relationships and patterns identified in the content analysis were further explored through in-depth case study analysis involving fieldwork in Ireland and South Korea and analysis of social movement websites and secondary sources in Canada (Fearon and Laitin 2003 argue that in-depth case studies do not necessarily require fieldwork but can rely on other primary and secondary sources). These case studies allowed for better understanding of how social movement actors strategize for and perceive news media attention within the political and social contexts of their countries. Finally, the study of frames among multiple actors across multiple countries and over time is a research design that is rare (Snow et al. 2014). In this study, coding of all variables in newspapers across three countries is conducted over the span of five years in Ireland and Canada and seven years in South Korea.

First I will describe the content analysis and fieldwork methods used in this dissertation in detail and will provide information on the many variables accounted for in this study, including the frames used across countries. I will then describe why these methods are appropriate to the study of news media attention among social movements and any weaknesses that need to be addressed.

I. Content Analysis

Newspapers are still an important source of news across a wide array of audiences despite increasing attention to new forms of media such as blogs and other online news sources (Skogerbø and Winsvold 2011; Thrall, Stecula and Sweet 2014). When deciding which newspapers to include in the content analysis in each country, the primary concern

Table 3.1: Newspapers and Dates Included in the Content Analysis

Ireland	<i>Irish Times, Irish Independent, Irish Examiner</i>	January 1, 2009 – January 1, 2014	Articles: 781 Statements: 4,437
Canada	<i>Globe and Mail, National Post, Toronto Star</i>	January 1, 2009 – January 1, 2014	Articles: 319 Statements: 2,346
South Korea	<i>Korea Times, Korea Herald</i>	January 1, 2007 – January 1, 2014	Articles: 35 Statements: 193

was how prominent they were as national newspapers. Because social movements tend to want news media attention, attention from the most well known and highest circulated newspapers may be considered the ideal audience for their messages. Thus, the English-language newspapers with the highest circulation that were available via Lexis Nexis for the time period under study were chosen, with attention also being paid to their ideological spread. The resulting sample of newspaper articles was carefully chosen given the resources available.

The content analysis covers a total of eight newspapers across the three countries under study: Ireland, Canada, and South Korea. These newspapers were accessed via Lexis Nexis Academic. Articles on abortion as a political issue were collected using the search terms: HEADLINE(abortion) or LEAD(abortion). Including only those articles on abortion that were mentioned in the headline or the lead paragraph of the article reduced the number of irrelevant articles returned by this search. The articles returned with this search were then coded for relevancy and only articles that dedicated over 50% of the article to the abortion issue were included in the final sample.

In Ireland, the three leading national newspapers were analyzed, including *The Irish Times*, the *Irish Examiner*, and the *Irish Independent*. According to a report on research conducted by the Audit Bureau of Circulation in 2014, the *Irish Independent* has the highest circulation in Ireland (about 112,000 daily average), with *The Irish Times* closely

following (about 80,000). The *Irish Examiner* has a smaller circulation than some other national newspapers (about 35,000 daily average) but was available on Lexis Nexis for the full time frame under study and also adds some regional variation into the sample, as it is based in Cork instead of Dublin like most other national newspapers (Slattery 2015). Several of the people I interviewed confirmed that these three newspapers represent broadly both left and right leaning ideologies. The *Times* is known as being more left leaning and has a primarily middle-class, urban readership. The other two newspapers are known as cutting across urban and rural divides, particularly the *Examiner* (based in Cork rather than Dublin). The *Irish Independent* has a conservative-leaning ideology and the *Irish Examiner* is centrist/moderate. During the time period covered by the content analysis (January 1, 2009-January 1, 2014), there were a total of 781 articles on abortion as a political issue. This is more than in either Canada or South Korea because there was legislation proposed and passed in Ireland during this time period that garnered a lot of attention, whereas in Canada and South Korea there were no concrete legislative steps taken and thus less attention given to abortion as an issue on the whole. By newspaper, the *Irish Times* included 348 articles with 2,084 statements relating to abortion coded, the *Irish Examiner* included 175 articles with 1,012 statements relating to abortion coded, and the *Irish Independent* included 258 articles with 1,341 statements relating to abortion coded from these articles.

In Canada, the content analysis included the newspapers *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, and the *National Post* between January 1, 2009 and January 1, 2014. These three leading national newspapers are known, respectively, as representative of left-leaning, moderate, and right-leaning ideological perspectives. *The Globe and Mail* is based in

Ottawa and has the highest daily average circulation (358,187) of the three according to Newspapers Canada (2014), with *Toronto Star* next (342,527 daily average, though its weekly average is higher than *The Globe and Mail*) and the *National Post* following (at 182,847 daily average, though it also has a circulation lower than some French language newspapers). While there were legislative motions and large demonstrations regarding abortion during this period, there was no actual legislation and the total number of articles that were considered relevant to the abortion issue (and that had a focus on abortion as an issue) was 319 articles. The *Toronto Star* included 105 articles with 726 statements relating to abortion coded, the *Globe and Mail* ran 86 articles with 616 statements relating to abortion coded, and *The National Post* ran 128 articles with 1,004 statements relating to abortion coded from these articles.

Studying the issue of abortion in the news in South Korea was more difficult than studying the issue in Ireland or Canada. I do not have the proficiency in reading Korean required to conduct detailed content analyses of newspapers, and so was limited to English language newspapers. I am not the only scholar who has used English language newspapers in her research (see Heo and Rakowski 2014), and Korea has several of these newspapers that are well known and enjoy a reasonable circulation among both foreigners and Koreans who want to practice their English language reading skills. While not ideal, these allow me to include Korea as one of my cases even though I acknowledge the limitations of this case. It was my observation of the interesting ways abortion and women's rights were discussed in Korea that led me to the research in this dissertation. While conducting exploratory dissertation research in Korea 2012 I observed that there are many ways in which human rights are used in different contexts and by various actors

to discuss women's issues. I expanded on this observation to include the broader topic of news media attention and why some movements receive more than others and how framing may play a role in this process (among other things that play a role). Because Korea was the inspiration for my dissertation research but I do not have proficiency in Korean language, the cases of Ireland and Canada are the more reliable test cases. However, as discussed in the introductory chapter, the Korea case offers important geographical and cultural diversity and is valuable for capturing a glimpse of what is occurring in Korea, even with its limitations.

Beyond the language difficulty, a less daunting issue is that only two of Korea's English newspapers were available on Lexis Nexis as of March 2014 when the content analysis was initiated. These two were included in the analysis, though this marks another difference between the Korea case and the cases of Ireland and Canada, where three newspapers were included in the analyses. Because there were only two Korean-English newspapers available on Lexis Nexis this limitation was unavoidable, a familiar problem to many scholars who conduct research in multiple countries and/or over time (Ferree et al. 2002).

The two newspapers from Korea that are included in the analysis include the *Korea Times* and the *Korean Herald*. I was unable to determine whether these two newspapers lean in a particular ideological direction; however, I read over the editorials on abortion in each and both were very sympathetic to allowing access to abortion, liberalizing the laws, and eradicating patriarchal attitudes toward women. Therefore, while I used ideological stance of newspapers as a control variable in Ireland and Canada during some of the statistical tests, I did not do this in Korea due to fact that, at least on the issue of

interest to this analysis (abortion), the editorial positions in each newspaper leaned heavily to the left and would be unlikely to introduce any meaningful variance based on editorial ideological leaning. These two newspapers have quite low circulations relative to the population in South Korea, as might be expected considering that they are English language papers. According to the Korean unit of the Audit Bureau of Circulation, the *Korea Herald* has a higher circulation with about 35,500 daily average and the *Korean Times* has the second highest circulation among English language newspapers with about 22,000 daily average (Kim 2010).

Because abortion is a relatively muted subject in Korea, it was important to capture the issue of abortion when it was heavily debated in 2009-2010. Therefore, this content analysis includes the time period from January 1, 2007-January 1, 2014 so as to include any news articles on the issue of abortion running up to and after the peak of the debate. The total number of news articles even in this extended period was low, with only 25 articles on abortion considered relevant from the *Korea Times* with 136 statements relating to abortion coded from this newspaper. There were 10 articles from the *Korean Herald* (and most of these occurring during the short time period when the debate hit its peak in 2010) with 57 statements relating to abortion coded.

Whether or not this low number of articles on abortion (despite the debate surrounding the issue and the many actions on the part of social movements it inspired) is also reflected in Korean language newspapers is unknown. However, when conducting fieldwork in Korea in 2012 several of my informants said the news media had been quiet about the issue despite the fact that the public was engaged in the debate. At the same time when I was in Korea, there was a discussion regarding birth control pills and

whether to keep them available over the counter or not. My research assistant/interpreter at the time said that there were few articles in the Korean language newspapers on this debate and those articles that did appear tended to be buried in less prominent sections of the newspapers. This matches what I noticed in the English language newspapers; thus, similar patterns of coverage may be reflected in both on the abortion issue, though to what extent I cannot say.

As mentioned briefly earlier, within the collection of news articles that were returned with the search criteria containing the term “Abortion” within the title or lead paragraph, news articles were coded for relevancy prior to (and separately from) coding them for speaker, frame, etc. Articles were considered relevant if they a) were concerned with abortion as an issue within the country of interest, b) focused on the issue of abortion as a political, social, or cultural issue, with at least 50% of the article dedicated to this topic. Editorials, letters to the editor, and commentary were not included. These were not included because they are not news articles, but rather tend to be opinion pieces. They tell us little about the selection processes of journalists regarding who gets standing and what events get coverage because they rarely include interviews and they follow different standards. Because the focus is on news attention and who gets it, including items that are not news articles would cloud the picture created by the analysis.

Once relevancy was determined, the main task of coding the content commenced. Many different variables were coded for in the content analysis in each news article and in each individual statement of each news article. Because news articles can be about multiple subjects at once, statements within the news article were the central unit of analysis in the content analysis. Each article was coded for what it was generally about

(usually determined by the headline), called the “Focus” of the article: whether it was focused on pro-abortion rights arguments/actions, anti-abortion rights arguments/actions, or abortion as an issue generally. Then, the individual statements within the article were coded. These were often identified as individual sentences, but not always. Each statement captures a central idea or “package” (Gamson and Modigliani 1987, 143), at the center of which is the frame or frames, and therefore can be several sentences long.

For example, in Ireland, an anti-abortion rights activist might state (or be paraphrased by the journalist as stating) in several sentences that abortion is a dangerous thing to let into the country because once abortion laws are liberalized at all the “floodgates” will be opened and Ireland will become an “abortion nation.” One person or group is representing this idea and the idea focuses on abortion as a threat to Ireland. This would be coded as one statement. This same person might then be quoted as saying that abortion is dangerous for women’s health, and this would be coded as a separate statement with the central idea being that abortion is bad for women. There can be several frames in each statement if they relate to the same general idea (for example, in the example about abortion as a threat to Ireland, there are two frames identifiable according to my coding scheme – one about “floodgates” and the other warning about Ireland becoming an “abortion nation”).

The dependent variable in this analysis is news media attention. The primary independent variables include the position of a speaker or organization (whether they are pro-abortion rights or anti-abortion rights) and the frames that appeared in use by speakers in the news media. Other independent variables included name-dropping, events types, and ideology of newspaper. To collect the necessary data on these variables, within

each statement in each newspaper article, there were several things coded. These included both the independent variables listed above and also some variables I did not end up including in the empirical analysis. The entire list of coded items includes: the speaker (whether they are a politician, an activist, etc.), the sex of the speaker, the event or issue that inspired the statement, names “dropped,” frames, stance (pro-life, pro-choice, or neutral), and tone of the statement. Qualitatively, I also kept track of when the size of a group was mentioned and when leaders were referenced as having made promises about abortion.

The sex of the speaker was coded as either male/female or unknown. Generally the names of speakers or the pronouns used by journalists made the sex of the speaker clear. In cases where this was not the case or where it was a group or organization that was given standing, the sex was coded as “unknown.” Similarly, “stance” was coded based on the position of the person speaking and whether they were arguing for or against abortion rights. If they were making a general statement about abortion and their position was unclear, then their stance was coded as “neutral/unknown.” A speaker might be in favor of abortion in some circumstances and not others, in which case they were coded as “pro-abortion rights.” This doesn’t capture the range of stances that can exist in abortion debates, but it does capture the general anti/pro-abortion rights sentiments on a large scale.

The coding of speaker positions is relatively straightforward. For example, if there was a direct or paraphrased quote included in a statement, the speaker of the quote was coded according to their role in the abortion debate (politician, doctor, activist, etc.).

Where a speaker had more than one role, for example if they were both a doctor and an activist, then their role as an activist was coded if they were speaking on behalf of the organization with which they were affiliated, or their role as a doctor was coded if they were speaking only in their capacity as a medical professional.

If the speaker mentioned a particular person/place that is an ally or supportive of their cause, then this was coded in the “name-dropping” category. To illustrate, an activist arguing in favor of abortion rights might mention that doctors (or a particular doctor)

Table 3.2: Speaker, Event, and Name-Dropping Categories

Speaker	Event	Name-Drop
Politician/government representative	Death or injury/personal experience of woman	Pro/anti-abortion politician
Journalist/Author of article	Legislation about abortion	Constitution or legislation pertaining to abortion
Head of Government/rep.	Court case or ruling about abortion	Head of government
Anti-abortion activist	Church action/statement	Court body, case, or ruling
Pro-abortion activist	Pro/Anti-abortion demonstrations	Pro/anti-abortion rights activist/organization
Citizen or “the people”	Pro/Anti-abortion violence, harassment, or illegal behavior	The people/country
Religious leader/group	Pro/Anti-abortion public awareness campaign	Religious leader/group
Celebrity	Other pro/anti-abortion actions	Celebrity
International/regional organization	Government action/statement regarding abortion (other than legislation)	International/regional organization
Doctors or medical professionals, researchers, “experts”	International involvement	Doctors, medical experts, or research
Judge/lawyer/legal expert		Lawyers/judges or legal experts
Political or other expert		Political or other expert Pro/anti-abortion examples from other countries

support women's rights to abortion because unsafe abortions risk women's lives. Or, another country might be used as an example and "name-dropped" to either shame or warn about abortion. For example, an abortion rights supporter in Ireland might say that England has legal abortion and is doing very well. Alternatively, an anti-abortion rights actor could use England as an example of a place where abortion rights were given in a few cases and this led to "abortion on demand" or a "culture of death." This is the way in which "name-dropping" functions and it was coded and included as important in this analysis as a form of legitimacy borrowing practiced by both anti- and pro-abortion rights actors. While all of the speakers are capable of name-dropping, the activists' name-dropping tactics are of primary interest in this dissertation.

When coding for events, I coded them as "events inspiring statements." In other words, in every statement in a newspaper article, there was an event that inspired the statement that was coded, whether this was a demonstration being held or a piece of legislation. Therefore, what I collected was not a hard number of events that occurred, but rather the number of statements that occurred surrounding events, i.e. the amount of attention the event gathered to the issue of abortion. Coding events in this way more accurately reflects attention than if I had simply coded once for each event that occurred per newspaper article because it shows how much attention overall certain types of events attracted to the issue of abortion. This coding can show how much attention each event received relative to other events that got news media coverage. As stated, this is a good measure of attention to types of events because it shows which events types get the most coverage relative to other events that receive coverage. However, it is not a measure of attention to events out of the entire population of events, as attempting to count events

based on newspaper coverage is not always very reliable (Earl et al. 2004) and I had no systematic way to count events as they occurred in real time. Because I am not particularly interested in the number of events that appeared in the news media overall and am instead interested in what events received the most news media coverage out of all events that appeared in the news media coverage, this is a reasonable method of coding.

Table 3.3a: Frames and Framing Categories

Fetus/Unborn Focus	
<i>Pro-Life Frames</i>	<i>Pro-Choice Frames</i>
Abortion is Violence	Fatal Fetal Abnormality
Protect Children from Abortion	
Women Harm Children with Abortion	
Live-Birth Abortion	
Religious Considerations Focus	
<i>Pro-Life Frames</i>	<i>Pro-Choice Frames</i>
Religious Morality Forbids Abortion	Abortion is Not a Religion Issue
Culture of Death	
Abortion Results from Immoral Behavior	
Focus on Women	
<i>Pro-Life Frames</i>	<i>Pro-Choice Frames</i>
Women Regret Abortion	Women's Privacy
Protect Women	Women's Choice
"Choose" Life	Abortion Because of Rape
Women have Other Options	Abortion because of Economic Need
Abortion is Bad (General)	Prioritize Women's Lives
	Trust Women
Human Rights Focus	
<i>Pro-Life Frames</i>	<i>Pro-Choice Frames</i>
Women's Human Rights	Women's Human Rights
Girls' Human Rights	Girls' Human Rights
Fetus Human Rights	Forced Pregnancy is Torture/Inhumane
Female Fetus Human Rights	
Abortion is Not a Human Rights	

Among the different types of events that were coded, events including "international involvement" involved those instances when another country's government or a politician from another country (but not a formal international organization) made a statement about the abortion laws in the country of interest. For example, Hillary Clinton was

quoted as supportive of liberalizing abortion laws in Ireland. Political events included legislation, motions, or statements made within domestic government contexts such as parliament. The entire list of event types can be seen in the table above. In the creation of these categories priority was placed on making them clear and easy to understand.

Framing codes were created based on previous work on abortion framing (Ferree et al. 2002) and my own pilot study (in 2013) that included *The Globe and Mail* and *The Irish Times*. The time span covered in this pilot study included September 30, 2010-March 29, 2013 for *The Globe and Mail* (Canada) and December 18, 2012-March 30, 2013 for *The Irish Times* (Ireland). Following Ferree et al. (2002), I coded all frames as falling into three general categories: Pro-abortion rights, anti-abortion rights, or neutral on abortion. A list of frames based on my pilot study was created and used, and frames were added to the coding list as they appeared. It was usually only necessary to add frames to the coding list when a frame that was very specific to one country was used in the newspaper articles. The frames coded are included in tables, placed into categories of frame types.¹²

¹² For the sake of space in the tables and graphs, the terms “pro-life” and “pro-choice” are used to denote what I otherwise refer to as “anti-abortion rights” and “pro-abortion rights,” respectively. The terms “pro-life” and “pro-choice” are frames in themselves and I therefore chose not to use them in the text of the dissertation, though their brevity is convenient for the sake of table and graph labels.

Table 3.3b: Frames and Framing Categories

Medicine/Health Focus	
<i>Pro-Life Frames</i>	<i>Pro-Choice Frames</i>
Women's Safety/Life	Women's Safety/Life
Women's Health	Women's Health
Abortion is Bad for Mental Health	Psychological Stress of Being Denied Abortion
Pro-Abortion is Outdated/Unscientific	Anti-Abortion is Outdated/Unscientific
Abortion is not a Treatment for Suicide	Women Denied Abortions may be Suicidal
Abortion is Different from Medical Need	Ban on Abortion is Not Realistic/Abortion Medically Necessary
Abortion Not Acceptable in case of Rape	Abortion is Not Unhealthy
Abortion is Profitable for Doctors	
Doctors Should Give Life, Not Take Life	
Opposition Focus	
<i>Pro-Life Frames</i>	<i>Pro-Choice Frames</i>
Playing Politics	Playing Politics
Pro-Choice Lies/Inappropriate	Pro-Life Lies/Inappropriate
Abortion Not a Choice	Anti-Abortion Side Wants to Control Women
Legal Focus	
<i>Pro-Life Frames</i>	<i>Pro-Choice Frames</i>
Forced Abortion/Eugenics	Discrimination against Pro-Choice Voices
Discrimination against Pro-Life Voices	Law Needed/Not Needed
Term Limits/Law Necessary	International Comparisons
International Comparisons	
Liberalization of Law Opens Floodgates	
Legal Abortion = Abortion on Demand	

Some of these frames appeared in all three countries to varying extents. For example, the “choice” frame was present in Ireland, Canada, and South Korea. Dr. Marion Dyer, one of my interviewees in Ireland and a member of Doctors for Choice, explained to me that the term “choice” is considered a useful frame because it is an “international” term

Table 3.3c: Frames and Framing Categories

Domestic Environment Focus	
<i>Pro-Life Frames</i>	<i>Pro-Choice Frames</i>
Abortion Debate is Over	Pro-Choice Consensus (Canada)
Abortion Debate is Not Over	Discussion Needed
National Pride (Pro-Life Nation, etc.)	National Pride (Protect Citizen Rights, etc.)
Enforce Laws	Exporting Abortion Doesn't Solve Problems
Pro-Life Promise	
Low Birth-Rates	
Neutral Frames	
Politics of Abortion (Abortion as a political issue)	
Evading Abortion (when speakers skirted around issue of abortion)	
Political Duty to Act/Not Act on Abortion	
Political Martyr (Persevering on abortion issue despite hardship)	

and people know what it means. She admitted that some people who are already very anti-abortion rights might be put off by the term, but insisted that it was useful for the abortion rights movement.¹³ Other frames that appeared across countries were anti-abortion rights frames about abortion as “murder” or some sort of violence against the “unborn” and pro-abortion rights frames discussing abortion as a human right or necessary for women’s health and safety.

As will be shown, human rights frames were used by both anti- and pro-abortion rights actors and often in surprising ways. Pro-abortion rights activists often referred to women’s human right to life and to health when referencing the right to abortion. They also frequently referred to the idea that denying women abortion violates women’s human rights by treating them like “vessels” or by ignoring their right to bodily autonomy. Pro-abortion rights actors were not alone in using human rights frames. While

¹³ Dr. Marion Dyer, Interview, September 29, 2014 (Dublin).

I expected the anti-abortion rights actors to include frames about the human rights of the fetus, it was surprising to me to see that women's and girls' human rights were sometimes also used to frame anti-abortion rights positions. This was a phenomenon about which the pro-abortion rights activists I interviewed in both South Korea and Ireland were very aware.

Just as there were many frames that were shared across countries, there were also frames that were quite specific to country contexts. For example, in Ireland the issue of suicide was a major point of contention in the abortion debate, and this resulted in pro-abortion rights actors framing the lack of abortion as causing mental health issues and anti-abortion rights actors using a frame that argues that abortion is not a "treatment" for suicidal ideation. The issue of suicide does not appear in either Canada or South Korea, and thus these frames surrounding the abortion issue are country-specific. The frequency of these frames versus the international frames will be shown as the descriptive statistics are discussed. The frames that appear most frequently will be explained in more depth and examples of how these frames appear in the newspaper articles will be provided.

Qualitative codes included size and leader promises. When either of these things appeared, a note was taken so that I could refer back to these instances if relevant. For example, in South Korea, almost every time the group of doctors against abortion was mentioned, their size (which was reported to be between 600-700 doctors with variation on the exact number from article to article) was almost always mentioned. When newspaper articles reported on demonstrations held by either anti- or pro-abortion rights groups, counts of attendees were often also included, though these counts often varied across newspapers.

Leader promises were tracked to get a sense of how often the prime minister or president of each country either made a statement or was quoted as having made a promise about abortion. This is because it gives us a sense of the political and social environment surrounding abortion in each country by telling us which way the population is perceived as leaning on the abortion issue. In Ireland, Prime Minister Enda Kenny was often quoted as having promised not to liberalize the abortion laws in Ireland, with one slogan used by anti-abortion activists being “Kenny: Keep your Pro-Life Promise.” He often responded by saying that the legislation that was passed actually did not change any laws, and thus he was, indeed, keeping his promise. Given exchanges like this, it is clear that in Ireland the consensus is popularly considered to lean toward the anti-abortion rights side (although, as many polls have found and as many of my interviewees explained, Irish people increasingly support abortion in certain cases).

In Canada, Prime Minister Stephen Harper reportedly promised not to “reopen” the abortion debate in Canada, so when his backbencher Members of Parliament began putting forward motions about abortion, many pro-abortion rights activists claimed he was breaking his promise by bringing the abortion issue in through the “back door.” Thus, it can be seen that in Canada the popular perception is that most people are content with the status quo and do not want to discuss abortion.

In South Korea, promises about abortion by the leadership were never mentioned, although both anti- and pro-abortion rights actors did accuse the government of not being serious about its stated desires. For example, the government claims to be concerned with low birthrates, and both anti- and pro-abortion rights activists said that despite this claim, the government did not take any serious steps to solve the problem. Interestingly, to solve

this problem both anti-abortion rights actors and pro-abortion rights actors often agree that the government needs to work toward better treatment of women socially and in the workplace and better access to childcare services. However, their ultimate goals are different, as anti-abortion rights activists argued that this would reduce abortions and help the government enforce the law, while pro-abortion rights activists argued that this would help rid the country of patriarchal attitudes that are detrimental to women and women's rights and that abortion should be legalized to further this goal. Keeping track of the size and leader promises variables is helpful in painting the picture of the context and circumstances surrounding abortion in each country.

II. Statistical Tests

As described, the bulk of the content analysis data collected is quantitative data and so I used this data in statistical tests of the hypotheses and to provide descriptive statistics that could also address the hypotheses or provide further information on a variable. Many of the tests used are Chi-Square tests. These are not very complicated statistically speaking, and are a straightforward way of showing whether there are non-random relationships between two variables. I also used linear regressions or negative binomial regressions, depending on how the dependent variable was measured in the test. The dependent variable is news media attention. I used negative binomial regression when the dependent variable was measured in terms of the count of statements by each speaker, which allowed me to control for speaker characteristics at the article level. I used linear regression when news media attention was measured in terms of the percentage of attention on each date as this can offer a more intuitive explanation than the probabilities one gets from negative binomial regression. Within the regressions, interactions were

also performed to see whether two variables included in the test had any interaction effects independent of control variables.

These statistical tests provide ample information regarding the relationships between the variables studied in the content analysis of this dissertation. They allow me to come to some conclusions regarding the role of certain variables in influencing the amount of news media attention social movements receive across several countries. However, they do not reveal important information on the context of these countries, their abortion debates, or the social movements involved in these debates. Qualitative analysis of the newspaper articles included in the content analysis as well as fieldwork in two of the three countries under study was also conducted as a way of both providing supplementary support for the quantitative analysis and detailing the individual circumstance within each abortion debate in each country.

III. Fieldwork and Qualitative Analysis

In addition to the extensive content analysis described above, I used qualitative research methods, including fieldwork in two of the countries under study, to collect further data on the context of each country and to bolster my findings from the content analysis and provide deeper analysis of the results of the content analysis. In 2012, I received a fellowship from the Social Science Research Center called the Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship (DPDF). Using this fellowship, I conducted two months of exploratory research in South Korea interviewing women's groups about reproductive rights. Between June 1 and August 1, I met with ten organizations and women involved in either research or activism relating to women's rights and, often, reproductive rights more specifically. I also attended events related to women's rights

(demonstrations, etc.), kept track of newspaper articles relating to reproductive rights issues and collected other information such as the names of activist websites and useful pamphlets and books. In addition, to enhance my ability to conduct this research, I took a six-week intensive Korean language course.

During fieldwork my knowledge of the situation regarding abortion in Korea increased exponentially and thus the context surrounding the content analysis I conducted is much better understood as a result of this research. In particular, my interviews and experiences meeting with women's rights activists in Korea alerted me to the way in which human rights frames and norms were being used in Korea. Many of the women's rights activists accused their opponents of using the language of women's rights and human rights for causes that are detrimental to women's rights. This was one of the observations that led to my questions about how human rights concepts and norms can be used and by whom, and how this might help social movements attract attention.

Fieldwork in Ireland was conducted September 22 – October 8, 2014. Because this fieldwork was conducted later in the research process and after I had completed a large part of the content analysis, it was useful in very different and important ways compared to my exploratory research in Korea. I formally interviewed four people during this visit, all of whom were abortion rights activists. These included Laura Fitzgerald from the organization ROSA (For Reproductive rights, against Oppression, Sexism and Austerity), Peadar O'Grady of Doctors for Choice, Marion Dyer of Doctors for Choice, and Stephanie Lord of Choice Ireland. I also informally interacted with researchers and members of the Irish Parliament who are concerned with abortion rights. In addition, I attended a press conference put on by some of the organizations and members of

parliament about the introduction of a motion to the lower house (the Dail) to remove the Eighth Amendment from the Irish Constitution, which is the amendment that grants fetuses and mothers equal rights to life and creates what is effectively a blanket ban on abortion in Ireland. I also attended the annual March for Choice, organized by a coalition of abortion rights organizations, and I sat in on a strategy meeting of a pro-abortion rights organization, during which they discussed how to proceed with their activities in the future and, importantly, how to frame their views and attract attention from the populace and press.

The experiences in Ireland listed above demonstrate that many pro-abortion rights activists perceive themselves as fighting against a hegemonic cultural force that is against abortion rights (even while they all agreed that the Catholic Church was losing its grip on Ireland and young people were largely in favor of at least some abortion rights) and that they see themselves as disadvantaged when it comes to having their voices heard in Ireland. Thus, they agreed that they must come up with strategies and frames that are resonant in Ireland and they must strategically take advantage of events and statements that are not in their control but that may help them relay their messages, including the death of Savita Halappanavar and the European Court of Human Rights ruling.

Many of the findings from the fieldwork analysis confirmed what others have observed about social movements and how they strategize, frame strategically, and collaborate across organizations (McCammon 2012a; McCammon 2012b; Wang and Soule 2012) as well as the disputes social movement organizations may have over issue framing and strategy (Benford 1993). For example, one social movement member I spoke

with was critical of another organization because she thought they were too cautious and conciliatory in the way they approached the abortion issue.

The fieldwork also reinforced the reasoning behind many of my own hypotheses and confirmed that, while in general social movements are not always necessarily wedded to the institutions associated with international human rights, they are more than willing to use human rights norms strategically to benefit their cause and to capitalize on international human rights events and statements that bolster their claims, particularly because they perceive themselves as fighting against the grain and therefore needing to attract as much attention to their cause as possible to keep the momentum going. This not only involves using human rights events and frames but also symbolic tactics such as sponsoring motions in the Dail (lower house of Parliament) with no real expectation that they would pass but with the hope that they would make a statement and attract attention to the pro-abortion rights movement and its concerns.¹⁴ In addition, social movement actors in Ireland (as in Korea) also demonstrate an acute awareness of their opponents and the need to counter their tactics and create dominant frames.

A quick glance at circumstances in Canada reveals that anti-abortion rights organizations and actors in Canada use similar tactics to those seen in Ireland being used by pro-abortion rights actors. This is seen in the many motions brought forth in Parliament (and supported by activists) by backbencher MPs and the many claims put forth by anti-abortion rights actors that their voices are being silenced in Canada. In addition, the use of human rights concepts such as “gendercide” and claims that the anti-abortion rights goal is to protect human rights suggests that the framing strategies of the

¹⁴ Laura Fitzgerald, Interview, September 23, 2014 (Dublin).

anti-abortion rights movement in Canada are sometimes similar to those of the pro-abortion rights movement in Ireland. This observation offers credence to the potential importance of studying whether a movement is the issue minority and how this may influence their strategies.

Fieldwork in Ireland was pivotal in providing context to the patterns revealed by the content analysis. While I only spoke with abortion rights proponents in Ireland, this was not for lack of trying. I contacted journalists and anti-abortion rights actors and received no reply from any of them, despite the fact that my IRB-approved contact message used neutral language and asked only to speak to them about the abortion issue in Ireland and their role in the debate. The response from pro-abortion rights activists was strong, and, had I had more time, I could have conducted many more interviews. I don't know why the response rate was so uneven. However, in speaking with one researcher in Ireland who has conducted research on abortion in Ireland, including interviews with anti-abortion rights activists, I came to the conclusion that, while interviews with anti-abortion rights actors would have been helpful, it was not essential because my fieldwork is not the central source of data for this dissertation.

Fieldwork in Canada was not possible due to lack of funding and time. I applied to several grants and fellowships to conduct research in Canada and did not receive any of them. However, to replace fieldwork in Canada, I conducted qualitative analysis of several social movement organization websites, which is a reasonable replacement for fieldwork given the circumstances. According to Fearon and Laitin (2003), in the absence of fieldwork, primary and secondary sources can provide data for case studies (Fearon and Laitin 2003). Beyond newspapers, the sources I analyzed include the websites of the

Abortion Rights Coalition (the largest pro-abortion rights organization in Canada), the Radical Handmaids (a small, loosely organized pro-abortion rights group), ProWomanProLife (a recently founded anti-abortion rights website), and Campaign for Life Coalition (a large anti-abortion rights organization). I analyzed press releases and articles posted on these websites between 2009-2014 or covering the years available on the websites during this time period. The analysis of these websites gave me a better sense of the context surrounding abortion in Canada and, while not systematic, offers a glimpse of the types of frames and events that are utilized and organized by these groups involved in the abortion debate in Canada.

IV. Summary of Data Collection and Methods

These methods, including the use of quantitative content analysis of newspapers (and accompanying statistical tests) and qualitative fieldwork and analysis, combine to create a comprehensive multi-method approach that is able to address the central research question posed in this dissertation: Why do some social movements attract more news media attention than others in abortion debates? The extensive content analysis across three countries is ideal for answering this question because the focus is on what appears in the news, i.e. what gets attention. By using newspapers – which are still one of the major sources of news information across the world and are consistently available – and looking at the issue of abortion within newspapers and how often it appears and in what form, I am able to explain what gets reported in newspapers and how frequently. This reveals, more specifically, the events, people, and frames that attract attention from the news media.

Another study of news media attention also uses multiple methods, though the methods are different from the ones presented here. Andrews and Caren (2010) seek to understand which environmental organizations at the local level in the United States receive news media attention in local newspapers. They content analyze how much news coverage each organization receives and combine this with an organizational survey of each organization. Instead of an organizational survey, I employed interviews and observation techniques in fieldwork and focused more on the strategies and frames used by the movement and less on the organizational structures of individual organizations which make up the focus of the analysis by Andrews and Caren (2010). Deepening the analysis with in-person interviews, observation and qualitative website analysis (of social movement organization websites), I am able to observe the range of behaviors, events, actors, and frames that are active in each country and understand the context within which they work so as to better explain and understand the findings of the content analysis.

No method is perfect, and multi-method research is attractive because it offers a way to minimize the weaknesses of one's research design by including aspects of the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research (Lieberman 2005). Because I am interested in news media attention and the discourse surrounding abortion, content analysis is the best and most viable method, and by combining this with other sources of data, a more complete picture is created.

Quantitative content analysis was chosen over qualitative analysis as the central method. While Neuendorf (2002) writes an entire book on the premise that content analysis is only quantitative (and there is no such thing as qualitative content analysis), I

disagree and follow Berg (1989), who calls for a mixture of quantitative and qualitative techniques when conducting content analysis. My core content analysis includes counts of frequency of speakers, events, name-drops, and frames, and the use of statistical tests in testing my hypotheses with this data. I also use qualitative content analysis techniques when analyzing the social movement organization websites in Canada by reading these websites for cues as to the tactics and frames being employed generally by these organizations. In addition, I paid attention to the context of situations and frames of particular interest to me throughout the content analysis so, even while my central data points are counts, I have notes that detail the context behind many of these counts and give more detail.

My content analysis includes the strength of being systematic and covering three different countries and 8 different newspapers within those countries over 5-7 years and thus allowing me to claim for my results a potentially wider application than would be the case had I focused on one country or year or even one newspaper within each country. I can expect that my results will be as reliable as possible because the same coding procedures were used for each newspaper in each country. I also have the benefit of having a qualitative aspect to my research both in the content analysis and in the fact that I conducted fieldwork in two of the countries under study. The benefit of this approach is that it gives my research more depth and allows me to contextualize the findings of the quantitative content analysis in a way that paints a more vivid picture than would otherwise be possible. The two methodological approaches complement and reinforce one another as well as make up for one another's gaps and weaknesses to a large extent. Of course, with more time and resources an even better methodology could

certainly be possible for studying the question as to why social movements attract news media attention. However, the current approach is strong and the implications of the findings gathered from this approach are extensive.

Readers interested in the study of social movements or news media will learn more about the process of attracting news media attention as opposed to the outcomes of this attention. Through the data and research methods described above, I contribute to social movement and media studies scholarship by showing that a complex mixture of social and political context/institutions, news media standards, and social movement characteristics and tactics can explain the amount of news media attention they receive.

CHAPTER FOUR Issue Minorities and News Media Attention

An article in *The Globe and Mail* in Canada from April 26, 2013 details the actions and messages – and community reactions – to a demonstration involving eight people outside of a Toronto high school. The article, which is lengthy, describes how eight anti-abortion rights activists drew attention from the larger community by standing just off of a high school's property and holding signs depicting bloody aborted fetuses and messages about the fetal right to life. The author of the article explains, “this scene has been playing out with regularity on sidewalks and intersections outside Toronto high schools ... Anti-abortionists are a familiar sight on university campuses, but lately they are focused on a younger, much more impressionable audience, hoping to recruit a new generation of campaigners” (Alphonso 2013). In this scenario, the number of demonstrators is certainly not what drew the attention of the press. Was it the act of demonstrating, the place chosen to demonstrate, or the messages promoted? The reality is that it was probably a mixture of all of these things that drew this journalists' eye to the extent that she chose to write a long article about it. However, the question also arises as to whether the position anti-abortion rights activists hold in Canadian society may have also influenced the fact that they drew the attention of the press.

In the quote above, the journalist appears to take interest in the fact that this small group is attempting to attract more members to their movement, calling attention to their position in opposition of the status quo and their attempts to attract “impressionable” youth. If a pro-abortion rights group organized and demonstrated outside of a high school in Canada, handing out leaflets with information about abortion and where young women can procure an abortion, would this draw the attention of the press in the same way? It is

possible, of course, but there is also the possibility that it is the fact that these groups oppose the status quo that attracts the attention of journalists.

The author of the article seems to have a relatively critical response to the demonstrators, but shares their messages with her audience anyway. One explanation as to why this is the case is that the demonstrators represent a stance of conflict and are participating in a controversial event – standing outside high schools – and this may be of greater interest to the readership of a newspaper in Canada than would be a group of pro-abortion rights advocates defending the status quo or attempting to expand the rights that women in Canada already have. Whether or not issue minorities attract more news media attention than issue majorities is studied in this chapter. It is difficult to control for all of the possible explanations for news media attention. There is a good chance that much attention is due to a combination of factors – i.e. not just the size of a group or the type of event they organize, but also their messages and other characteristics such as the position they hold within their society relative to the status quo. However, conducting statistical tests of significance to observe whether there are systematic relationships between news media attention and particular social movements, and then comparing this attention between social movements, can reveal more about the types of characteristics and strategies that are most important when it comes to attracting news media attention to social movements.

I. Issue Minority Speakers and Issue Majority Speakers

The first empirical tests concern the first two hypotheses. These hypotheses center around the question of whether a social movements' position in society – whether they are working against the status quo or are working against those who oppose the status

quo – plays a role in how much attention they receive from the news media. In these hypotheses, attention is measured by how often particular social movement actors are given standing (are quoted or paraphrased) in news articles on abortion. Below, several graphs present descriptive data on how often individual speakers in each country are given standing.

Figure 4.1: Speaker Percentage in Ireland by Stance

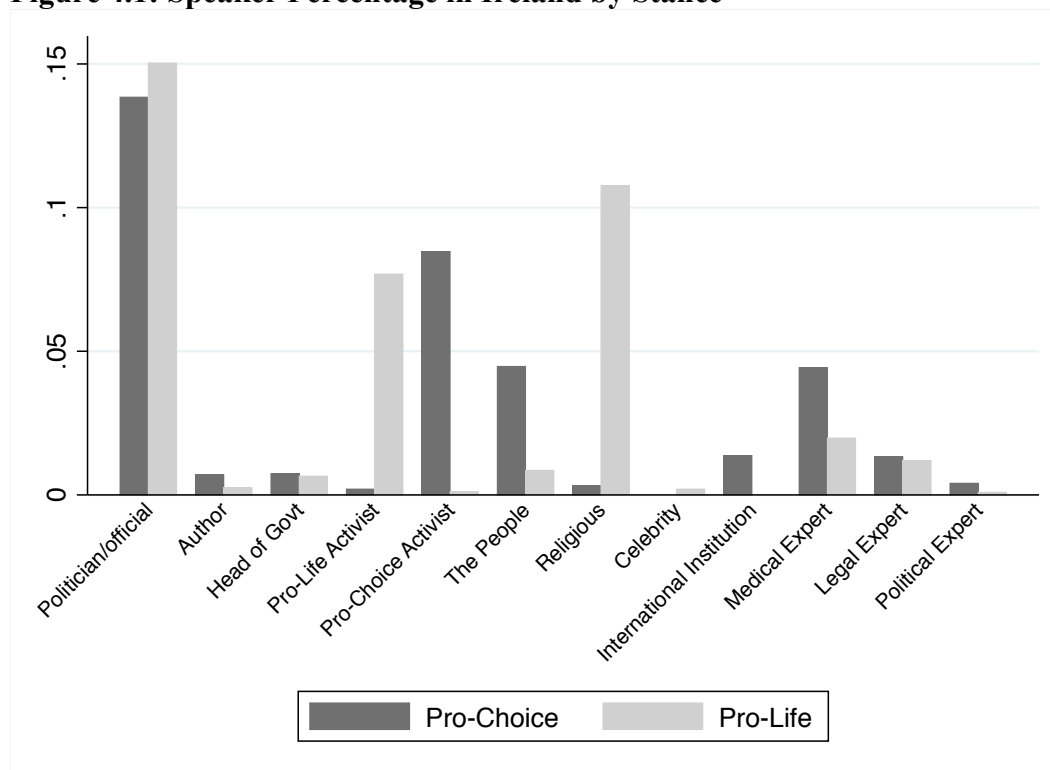


Figure 4.2: Speaker Percentage in Canada by Stance

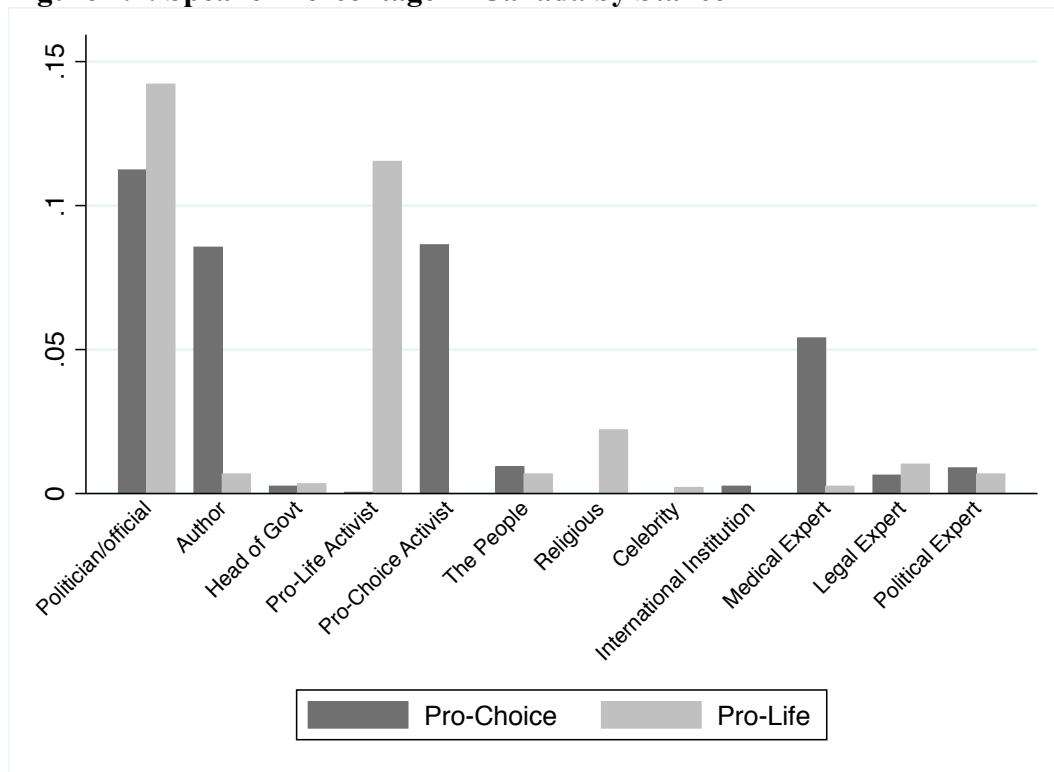
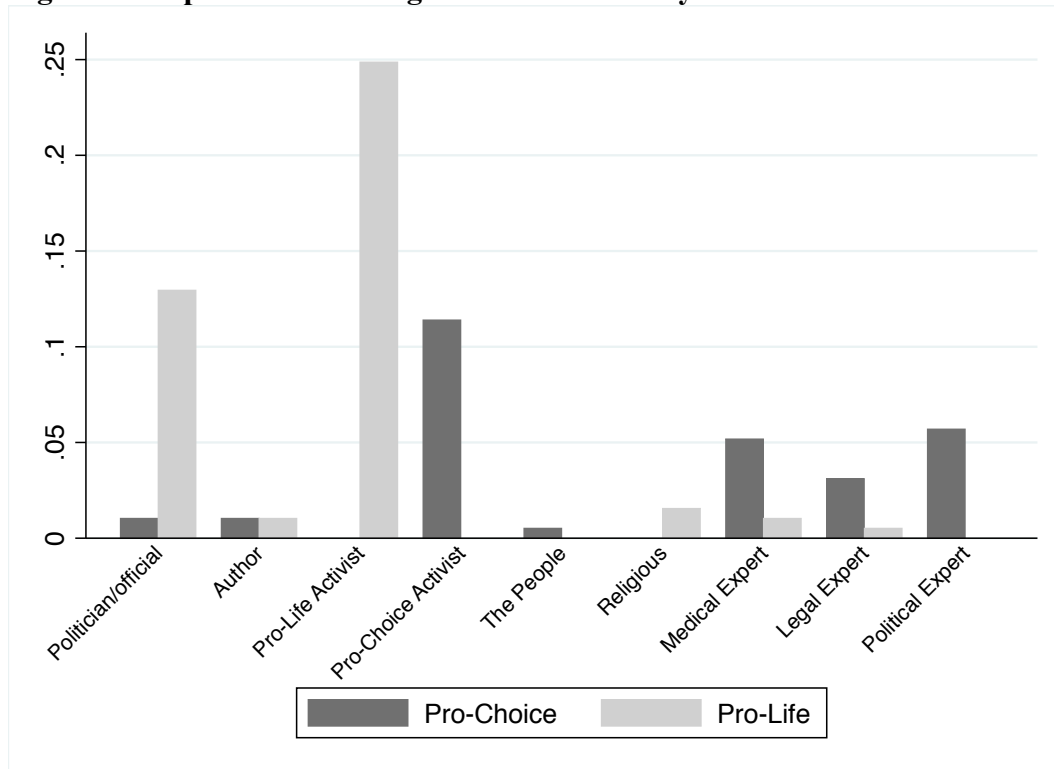


Figure 4.3: Speaker Percentage in South Korea by Stance



In Ireland and Canada, politicians receive the bulk of media attention. This is unsurprising given that politicians and government officials are public actors in institutions that have constant attention from the news media. They also have legitimacy given that they are either elected by the populace or appointed to their positions by an elected official. The fact that in South Korea, when it comes to the abortion issue, politicians receive far less attention than some other actors is quite surprising. Yoon and Boydston (2014) find that in front page news articles in Korea (Korean language articles), politicians and government received an overwhelming amount of coverage, more so than politicians in the United States. One explanation for the lack of attention given to politicians and government officials in Korea is that they were relatively silent on the issue of abortion. However, this is unlikely due to the fact that a public debate had erupted and the government did crack down on abortion during the time period covered in the content analysis. Indeed, abortion became very expensive as more and more women and doctors were prosecuted for illegal abortions, and women who could afford to do so began traveling to China and other neighboring countries for abortions instead of risking having one in Korea. According to my interviewees in Korea, during this time the government consistently claimed that the abortion issue and the low birthrate issue were unrelated. Yet in the English language newspapers, at least, the government appears to be rather silent on the issue.

Because anti-abortion rights activists and politicians generally receive more attention than pro-abortion rights actors in Korea, another explanation for the high rate of attention given to anti-abortion rights activists is that the editors of the English language newspapers sympathized with the anti-abortion arguments and thus gave more attention

to the anti-abortion rights speakers generally. However, this is not the case, as editorials from both newspapers included were very liberal in their stances toward abortion (which is why Korea is not included in the regression that controls for newspaper ideology later in this chapter). An editorial from the *Korea Herald* discussed the debate that was occurring and stated that “Women have the right to exercise control over their fertility and the decision to continue with a pregnancy or to terminate it should be a personal one” (Korea Herald “Editorial,” 2010). The *Korea Times* echoed a similar sentiment and stated that, while Korea has more restrictive abortion laws than either the United Kingdom or the United States, it has a far larger number of abortions. The editorial argued that “Ethical concerns on abortion aside, the nation needs to correct this hypocrisy by liberalizing the law because facing reality is often the first step toward solving the problem” (Korea Times “Editorial,” 2010).

The group that received the bulk of attention among activists in Korea was an anti-abortion rights group made up of doctors called the Pro-Life Doctors Association. These doctors made claims about women’s rights, fetal rights, and the role of doctors in Korea’s society, as well as the concerns Koreans have over the low birthrates in society. Because they were going against the status quo of government silence on abortion and societal acceptance and practice of abortion, their messages may have been particularly resonant to journalists seeking to sell papers by using controversial political “spectacles” (Edelman 1988). That the group was made up of doctors may also play a role, as it seems in Korea “experts” of any kind are given standing (though many of the anti-abortion rights doctors were coded as activists because they were often given standing in the news media in their capacity as activists for the anti-abortion doctors organization). This may

be because abortion is not a highly politicized issue in Korea, thus experts and activists may be seen as more relevant to the issue than politicians.

The speakers given the most standing in each country vary, but overall it seems that the speakers that are against the status quo on abortion in their home countries receive the most standing in the news media. The first hypothesis tested empirically comes from this observation and considers the idea that the position of a social movement relative to the status quo could influence the amount of attention they receive from the news media.

The first hypothesis focuses on the position of a social movement in the society in which it works. Hypothesis 1 suggests that issue minority movements – those who are opposed to the status quo – will receive more news media coverage than issue majorities.

H₁: Movements opposing the status quo will attract more attention from the news media than movements defending the status quo, meaning that their activists will appear more often as speakers.

Hypothesis 1, which proposes that those who are working against the issue majorities and the status quo will receive more attention, relies on research that has found that, as opposed to assuming that those going against the status quo will be silenced, they may actually be given news attention because of their orientation toward conflict (Gans 1979). Issue minorities may actually get more attention than those established movements representing the status quo because they bring new arguments into the democratic realm of debate and create conflict, which is attractive to reporters because it may be helpful for selling newspapers. To make things interesting for readers, journalists are apt to create the sense of one person or side winning and another losing (Bonafont and Baumgartner 2013). Further, there is the possibility that being the defender of the status quo can lead to complacency and thus, while movements may be active and organized, their tactics may

be centered on defense rather than offense, and defensive tactics may be less attention-grabbing.

While I argue that the issue majorities, or those who defend the status quo against its challengers, are less likely than issue minorities to receive news media attention, there is a possible alternative argument that is worth considering. This was discussed in Chapter Two and, because the literature on this subject appears to have no consensus, this possibility is touched on here, as well. The alternative possibility suggests that most newspapers in a country may be sympathetic to the status quo and will view anti-status quo groups as radical or fringe groups. For example, Ferree et al. (2002) suggest that because anti-abortion rights claims for fetal rights can be seen as sanctioned by the Constitution, pro-abortion rights actors face more resistance to their messages (288) and there is a “tilt toward Anti ideas, especially the Fetal Life frame” (208-209). Therefore, issue minority movements can be expected to get less attention because they are not representative of the larger population and may be seen as lacking legitimacy.¹⁵ In the event that the ideological stance of a newspaper’s editorial staff would suggest that it would be less sympathetic to the status quo, ideological stance of newspapers is also controlled for in the regression below. In addition, other research has suggested that groups attempting to bring new issues into the public arena get less attention (Andrews and Caren 2010). While abortion is usually not a new issue, in each of the countries under study debate about it tends to come and go, so those attempting to bring it to the fore of public discussion may face difficulty when it comes to news media attention.

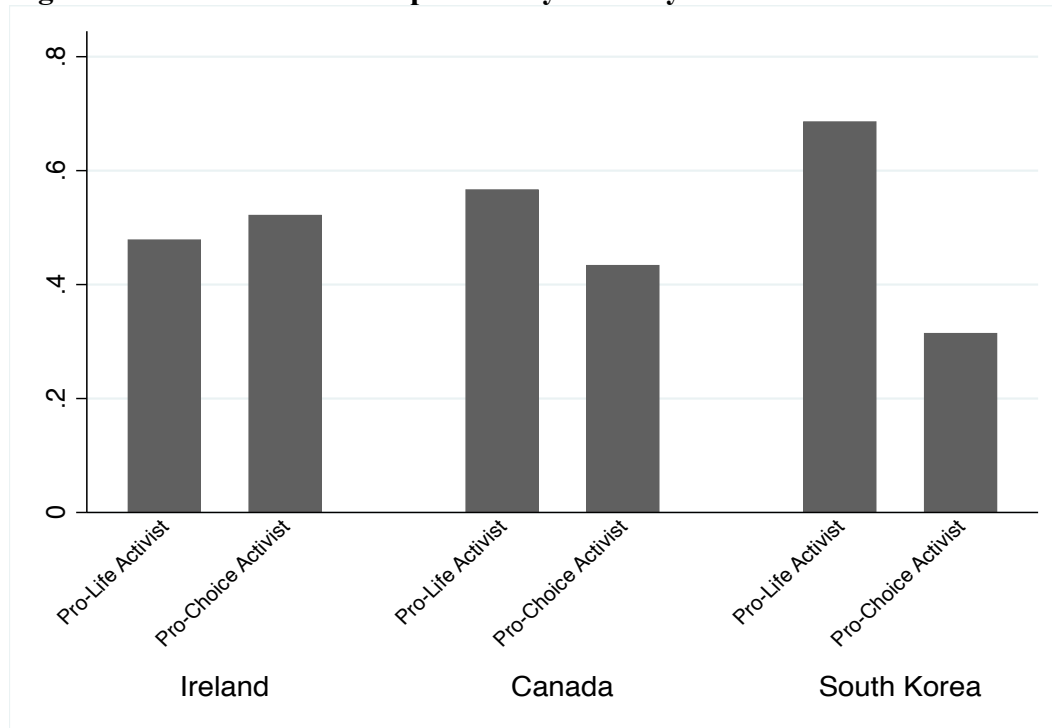
¹⁵ Though Ferree et al. (2002) do point out that nimbleness in “devising and revising framing strategies” (209) is key because circumstances in framing contests can change.

Much of the literature on news media coverage practices gives credence to the possibility that a social movement that defends the status quo in their country against a movement that is either relatively unfamiliar and/or perceived as representing only a small portion of the population will receive greater amounts of attention from the news media because they will be more established, have more resources, have allies in powerful positions, and will be perceived as more relevant to a news agency's readership. If the null hypothesis of Hypothesis 1 cannot be rejected, there may be further support for this idea that even while the issue minority may attract attention to the issue by bringing conflict into the arena or using a particularly resonant frame that attracts news media attention initially, the issue majority actors who oppose the issue minority will get more attention overall in their roles as supporters of the status quo.

The last possibility that remains is that journalists do not give more attention to one side than the other. In this way, they may create false equivalencies between groups that represent the status quo and those that challenge the status quo. They might appear to be holding up journalistic standards of "balance," when in fact this balance does not reflect reality. Whether they receive more news media attention than their opponents or roughly the same amount, issue minority groups can use this news media attention to gain leverage and open debate conditions in their country even if there is a strong status quo that has been resistant to change. Therefore, while this finding of "balance" would require that the null of Hypothesis 1 should not be rejected, it would also not necessarily imply that the alternative explanation that issue majorities receive more news media attention due to their familiarity is necessarily accurate. Descriptive statistics of the

percentage of activist speakers given standing (quoted or paraphrased) in each country are illustrated in the graph below.

Figure 4.4: Percent Activist Speakers by Country*



*Abortion in Ireland is illegal, abortion in Canada is unrestricted (legal) and abortion in South Korea is illegal but has been historically easily accessible and widely practiced.

The graph reveals that in each country under study, among activist speakers, the issue minorities receive more coverage as speakers than the issue majorities. In Ireland, abortion is illegal in almost all cases and the Catholic Church, which is very much against abortion, has a strong presence in society. While some public opinion polls in Ireland suggest that the population would be amenable to liberalizing abortion laws to allow abortion in cases of rape or fatal fetal abnormalities (Collins 2014), overall abortion is seen as a taboo issue and pro-abortion rights activists in Ireland perceive themselves as

fighting against a strong status quo that blocks their voices from being heard despite having some popular support for abortion in some cases.¹⁶

The pro-abortion rights activists who oppose the status quo on abortion in Ireland actually receive more news media attention in Ireland than the anti-abortion rights activists when there are articles on abortion. This does not change the fact that attracting attention to abortion as a political issue in general may be difficult; the Catholic Church and other supporters of the anti-abortion rights movement have good reason to avoid the issue altogether given that this silence would only reinforce the status quo. One activist I spoke with pointed out that it seemed the only time pro-abortion rights activists could get the news to cover the abortion issue was when there was some kind of tragedy such as the death of Savita Halappanavar or something happening in Parliament.¹⁷ However, in the event that abortion does attract attention as a political issue, pro-abortion rights activists actually receive more standing in the news media than anti-abortion rights actors, which is more attention than one would expect given that they are fighting against such a strong status quo.

In Canada, the opposite is true, and anti-abortion rights activists receive the bulk of attention in the form of being granted standing from news media sources. Abortion is often considered a closed topic in Canada. Abortion is legal and the government and population do not want to have the debate reopened. While in Ireland pro-abortion rights activists felt that they tended to be marginalized because of the strong status quo in support of highly restrictive abortion policies, in Canada the anti-abortion rights activists

¹⁶ Laura Fitzgerald, Interview, September 23, 2014 (Dublin); Marion Dyer, Interview, September 29, 2014 (Dublin); Stephanie Lord, Interview, October 3, 2014 (Dublin).

¹⁷ Stephanie Lord, Interview, October 3, 2014 (Dublin).

often claim that they are discriminated against because their views are considered unpopular and silenced (this was a frame that appeared in my content analysis). Yet, the descriptive statistics suggest otherwise; at least when articles about abortion are written in the first place, anti-abortion rights activists get more standing in the news media than their opponents.

Finally, in South Korea, despite abortion being illegal, the anti-abortion rights activists may be seen as the issue minority because of a historical lack of enforcement of abortion laws and a general societal acceptance of the need for safe and accessible abortion. The graph above shows that the anti-abortion rights activists in Korea received more news media attention in the form of being granted standing than pro-abortion rights activists. In fact, the difference in levels of standing they are granted is quite stark. The pattern in Korea fits with the general pattern in each country, with the social movement activists of the issue minorities receiving more news media attention than their opponents. Only the attention that activists are given, as opposed to other actors such as politicians who might also be involved in a social movement, is included in this analysis. However, comparing the attention of activists in each country is important because they are the primary actors that organize movements and counter-movements and attempt to mobilize the populations (with the help of other actors).

Descriptively in all three countries there appears to be results that are consistent with Hypothesis 1. The graph showing how often activist speakers representing two opposite sides in the abortion debate receive news media attention in the form of standing reveals that in each country the activists representative of the issue minority get more news media attention than the issue majority activists. However, whether this attention is

systematically associated with issue minorities in each country remains to be seen in the next table.

Table 4.1: Influence of Activists on Amount of News Media Coverage by Country

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Activists	.023 (.033)	-.060* (.028)	-.203* (.091)
Intercept	.313	.235	.368
N =	246	152	19
p =	.468	.029	.044
R ² =	.002	.030	.193

* p < .05

The table provides the results of a linear regression testing whether there is a statistically significant relationship between attention granted and activist type in each country. The results reveal that in Canada and South Korea, the difference in the amount of attention anti- and pro-abortion rights speakers receive is statistically significant at the .05 level. Anti-abortion rights activists, who are the issue minorities in these two countries, are given significantly more standing in the news media than their opponents. In Ireland, while the issue minorities – pro-abortion rights activists – receive slightly more attention than issue majorities, the difference is not statistically significant. The results in Ireland reflect what may be a false equivalency between the movements, as the difference between the amount of attention issue minorities and issue majorities receive is small and neither side receives more systematically. Journalists may often seek both pro- and anti-abortion rights views in order to create a sense of “balance” in their reporting. The results – that both sides get about equal attention in Ireland – are still surprising given that pro-abortion rights activists in Ireland often lamented that they had trouble getting their voices heard in the news media despite the fact that public opinion toward abortion is softening. Anti-abortion rights activists also appear to think that there is a bias

against them in the news media, as evidenced by a demonstration organized by the Pro-Life Campaign in March 2015 to “challenge and highlight media bias” (Gleeson 2015). They claimed that in a two-week period 33 “pro-choice” articles appeared in the news media while only 1 “anti-abortion” article appeared. Their claims of bias in the media do not hold up to empirical rigor, however, at least not when it comes the number of statements that appear in each article. Later in this chapter the number of articles that have an overall focus on either pro-abortion or anti-abortion rights issues will also be considered.

While there is no statistical significance in the case of Ireland, in all three countries issue minorities receive more news media attention than issue majorities. This supports the idea that controversial figures tend to receive attention (Gamson and Meyer 1996), and it both supports (in Ireland) and challenges (in Korea and Canada) the idea of “balance” in news reporting practices (Gamson and Meyer 1996) and suggests that when journalists are reporting on controversial issues, especially where those issues have been considered “settled,” they may actually give more attention to the challengers of the status quo than the defenders. The fact that they didn’t do so at a statistically significant level in Ireland could be explained by the fact that Ireland was the only country out of the three countries under study where legislation took place. Because there was active debate occurring already in the political sphere (particularly in the last two years included in this study), both sides in the debate may have appeared equally controversial and/or deserving of attention in journalists’ eyes, and the importance of “balance” may have been prioritized. The case is different in Canada and South Korea where debate is at a different stage and the status quo is heavily weighted in favor of abortion rights, with anti-status

quo activists appearing more subversive due to their attempts to break the silence on the issue of abortion and “reopen” debate.

Another potential explanation for the results of this regression analysis could be that there is something distinctive about anti-abortion rights activists that makes them particularly attractive to journalists who make the decisions about who to give standing to as speakers. This is explored in the discussion later in this dissertation about framing tactics. It may be that pro-life activists simply have more interesting or strategic frames and receive news media attention because of them. While I cannot rule this possibility out unequivocally, as I discuss later, I think that this is unlikely compared to other possible explanations. In particular, if this was the case, then we might expect anti-abortion rights activists in Ireland to receive significantly more attention than pro-abortion rights activists just as they do in South Korea and Canada. Overall, though, there is evidence that the null of Hypothesis 1 should be rejected in Canada and South Korea because there is a relationship between the issue minority activists and the amount of attention they receive.

Newspaper Ideology

The newspapers from which articles were collected for the content analysis vary in their ideological stance. Therefore, a further test is conducted to control for ideological stance because this could explain why so much attention is given to one movement as opposed to the other. In Canada, for example, the *National Post* is known as being more conservative. Thus, it is possible that a large portion of the attention given to pro-life activist speakers is due to the ideological leaning of this newspaper. Therefore, ideological stance is added to the earlier linear regression as a control variable. Only

Table 4.2: Influence of Activists and Newspaper Ideology on Amount of News Media Coverage

	Ireland	Canada
Pro-Choice Activists	.024 (.030)	-.049* (.024)
Liberal Papers	.076 (.039)	.015 (.032)
Conservative Papers	.021 (.041)	.055* (.025)
Intercept	.313	.235
N =	246	152
p =	.468	.029
R ² =	.002	.030

* p < .05

Canada and Ireland are included in this regression because in Korea both newspapers held liberal editorial positions regarding the abortion issue and their ideological stances otherwise are unknown. The results of the regression are in the table below.

The table above reveals that the relationship between pro-life activists and newspaper attention persists even after controlling for newspaper ideology. Overall, when controlling for ideology, anti-abortion rights activists still got significantly more attention than pro-abortion rights activists, and the conservative newspaper in Canada (*National Post*) is more likely to give the abortion issue attention than the moderate paper (*The Globe and Mail*). The liberal newspaper in Canada is also slightly more likely to give the abortion issue attention than the moderate newspaper, but this relationship is not significant. In Ireland, controlling for newspaper ideology does not change the relationship between pro-abortion rights activists and attention, and there is no significant difference in the amount of attention given to the abortion issue between the liberal

newspaper (*Irish Times*) and the moderate newspaper (*Irish Examiner*) or between the conservative newspaper (*Irish Independent*) and the moderate paper.

Newspaper ideology seems to have very little to do with how much attention is given to the issue of abortion. However, the test above does confirm the potential that in Canada the liberal and moderate papers may practice “soft repression” (Ferree 2005) against issue minorities and be less likely to discuss abortion generally because they do not want the debate “reopened” and thus avoid allowing it onto the newspaper agenda (Cobb and Ross 1997). This is supported by the fact that the conservative leaning paper includes more coverage of abortion than the moderate and liberal papers. It is surprising that the *Irish Times* in Ireland does not also cover abortion more than other papers because of their liberal-leaning tendencies, especially because my interviewees perceived some journalists at the *Irish Times* as being particularly sympathetic to pro-abortion rights messages. However, the *Irish Times*, like other newspapers in Ireland, appears to focus on balance in their coverage of activists in the abortion debate.

II. Newspaper Article Focus

To further examine the question of whether issue minorities receive more news media attention than issue majorities, it is helpful to observe whether they are put forth as the focus of news media attention or not. How often issue minorities and their concerns are the focus of an article may offer a glimpse into how much of their attention can be explained by their position in society relative to the status quo. If journalists make issue minorities the focus of the headline or first paragraph, this may suggest that they are using their position of conflict toward the status quo to grab readers’ attention and draw them into the article.

As I was coding for speaker, stance, and other variables within each statement within each article, I coded for the overall focus of each article. This was based on the headline of the article and the first paragraph of the article and, to code for it, I considered the central subject of the article according to the headline/first paragraph. For example, an article might be about the abortion debate more generally, but the focus of the headline and the introduction could be on one particular actor in the debate or the actions of a group.

Previous research shows that many people scan headlines rather than read full articles (Dor 2003), yet often headlines are not always representative of the content of the article as a whole (Andrew 2007). For example, a headline might quote a statement by an anti-abortion rights politician but then the rest of the article could discuss a campaign organized by pro-abortion rights activists to which the politician was responding. The focus of the article as represented in the headline and first paragraph is anti-abortion rights, but the article itself might have more statements within by pro-abortion rights speakers or could have a relatively balanced number of views.

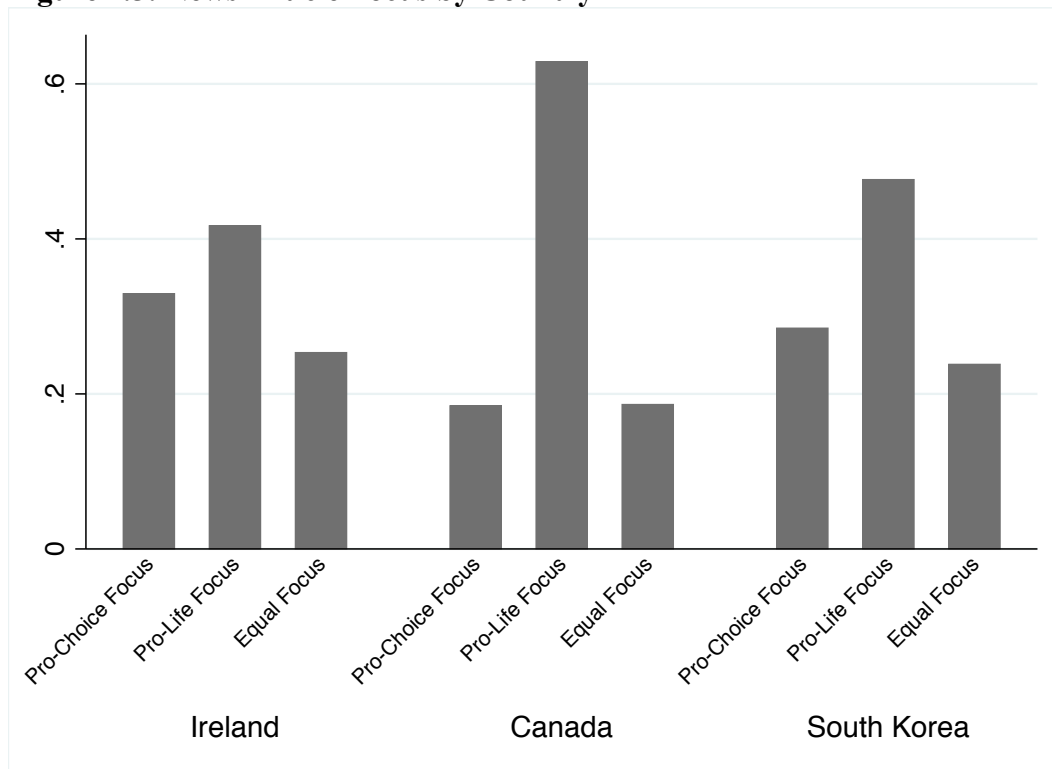
The focus variable that accounts for headline/first paragraph was coded to account for general attention from the news media to a particular side in the debate versus the specific attention that comes from each individual statement within an article. As van Dijk (1988) points out, “Headlines are the most prominent elements of news reports. They subjectively define the situation, and express the major topic of the news report” (221). At least, that is what people perceive headlines as doing (Andrew 2007), and they also may be the first thing that catches a reader’s eye and prompts them to read an article further. Because of this they can reveal another dimension of news media attention,

specifically the general attention given to the “sides” in the abortion debate. Whether this “Article Focus” features pro- or anti-abortion rights issues more frequently can tell us about what journalists view as flashy or controversial enough to be headline-worthy. Because sometimes the headlines were missing in the articles pulled from Lexis Nexis, I included the first paragraph as another indicator of what the central focus of the newspaper article appears to be upon first glance and developed the following hypothesis.

H₂: Newspaper articles will focus on topics or actors relating to issue minorities more frequently than those relating to issue majorities.

Because newspaper article headlines/first paragraphs may be a way for journalists to attract their readers to the article, they might rely on actors and issues that are controversial or conflict-oriented, which could result in a focus on opponents of the status quo.

Figure 4.5: News Article Focus by Country



The graph below shows the percentage of articles focused on either pro- or anti-abortion rights issues in each country. In Canada and Korea, the number of articles focusing on the issue minority (the anti-abortion rights “side”) is as expected according to the hypothesis, with many more articles focused on the issue minority compared to the issue majority.

However, in Ireland, there are more articles focused on the issue majority. Articles focused on anti-abortion rights actors and messages appear more frequently in Ireland than articles focused on pro-abortion rights actors and messages. This is especially interesting considering the results discussed earlier in this chapter wherein pro-abortion rights activist speakers received slightly more attention than anti-abortion rights speakers in Ireland. The amount is still relatively balanced, suggesting again that balance is a priority in Ireland, perhaps because of the legislation that was taking place at the time. In South Korea and Canada, too, anti-abortion rights actors and messages are the focus of articles more often than pro-abortion rights actors and messages. Once again, the question arises regarding whether there could be something specific about anti-abortion rights movements that is attractive to journalists. This question will be returned to later in the dissertation.

Table 4.3: Focus of Articles by Country

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Focus	195 (168)	40 (66)	7 (8)
Pro-Life Focus	266 (293)	141 (115)	15 (14)
<i>Expected counts in parentheses</i>		Chi ² = 23.1 p < 0.001	

The Chi-square tests the significance of the difference between the actual and the expected numbers of articles with a pro- or anti-abortion rights focus in each country. The results show that in South Korea, the expected (in parentheses) and actual numbers are very close and, while the Chi-square is significant, the contributions of the anti-abortion rights and pro-abortion rights focus variables in Korea are not significant (.1 contribution each). The largest contribution to the significance of the Chi-square test is the low number of pro-abortion rights focus articles in Canada (contribution is 10.2), followed by the high numbers of anti-abortion rights numbers (contribution is 5.9). These are both significantly different from the expected number if the relationship were random. Similarly, in Ireland, while the contribution of the anti-abortion rights focused articles is not high, there are significantly more pro-abortion rights articles than expected, with the contribution of 4.3, even though there were fewer pro-abortion rights articles overall. This suggests that the position of a movement (issue minority or issue majority) is important to the attention they attract, even if it does not always lead to more attention overall.

These results are different from the results of the regression showing the relationship between stance and the attention given to activist speakers. While the regression revealed significant relationships in Canada and South Korea, in the Chi-square dealing with Article Focus, there is no significance contributed by newspapers in South Korea. However, this is probably because there were so few articles in South Korea. When breaking the articles into statements, the *N* is increased and the prospect of reliable statistical tests also increases, though compared to the numbers of statements provided by newspaper articles in Ireland and Canada, South Korea still contributes a small *N*.

The surprising result is that even while anti-abortion rights articles in Ireland get more attention overall, pro-abortion rights are the focus of articles significantly more often than would be expected if the relationship were random, while anti-abortion rights are the focus less than would be expected if the relationship were random. So, even though in Ireland the null of Hypothesis 2 cannot be rejected because anti-abortion rights are the focus more often than pro-abortion rights, pro-abortion rights (the issue minority) get more attention in the form of article focus than expected if the relationship were due to random chance.

Returning to the discussion earlier regarding how activists on both sides of the debate perceive themselves as getting less attention from the news media than their opponents, there is little support for this perception. Pro-abortion rights activists may point to the results from the test of Hypothesis 2 and suggest that their concerns are validated, but when it comes to the standing they receive as speakers (as seen in the results of Hypothesis 1) there is very little difference in the attention given to either side in the debate. Anti-abortion rights activists claim that there is a “33 to 1” rule in that pro-abortion rights issues appeared in news articles 33 times in two weeks compared to once in the same period for anti-abortion rights issues (Gleeson 2015). Yet, there seems to be little evidence to support this claim in my analysis. It would be interesting to know where anti-abortion rights activists got the “33 to 1” number. What did they include as “pro-choice” versus “pro-life” articles? Did they include opinion pieces? The answers to these questions could explain why the results of my empirical analysis vary so greatly from the claims of anti-abortion rights activists. Indeed, as the results from the test of Hypothesis 2 show, I found that, when looking at the overall focus of an article, anti-abortion rights

issues get more attention than their opponents' issues. It is still possible that attention in the form of news articles written about abortion may not be given to the abortion issue as often as activists deem it is warranted. This may especially be the case for pro-abortion rights activists who, as issue minorities, have a vested interest in having news media attention paid to abortion in general so that their opportunities to frame the issue increase. However, when abortion does become the subject of a news article, there seems to be little bias in who is granted standing by the news media, though anti-abortion rights issues get more attention in the form of article focus.

In Canada, significantly more articles are focused on anti-abortion rights issues than expected if the relationship were random and fewer articles are focused on pro-abortion rights issues than expected, with more articles focused on anti-abortion rights issues overall. These results are consistent with the hypothesis and with the findings from the test of the first two hypotheses.

In addition to the test of significance above, I ran a logistic regression of article focus that controlled for newspaper ideology to see if this made a difference in the focus of articles, but the results were exactly the same as the results in the Chi-square above. There was no change in any of the relationships and ideology of the newspaper had no significant effect – neither conservative nor liberal leaning newspapers were more or less likely than the moderate newspapers to have articles focused on one particular side in the debate.

The role of the headline is to grab attention from potential readers by synthesizing the central issues and topics of the news into one short statement. The null hypothesis of Hypothesis 2 can be rejected in Canada because the issue minority is used as the central

Article Focus more frequently than the issue majority and more often than would be expected if this relationship were due to random chance. In Ireland the issue minority makes up the focus of articles more often than would be expected if it were due to random chance, however the pro-abortion rights issues do not make up the focus of articles more often overall than anti-abortion rights issues. Journalists may use a pro-abortion rights focus more frequently than expected because it will grab attention as representative of the conflict over abortion. Or, they might do so because, if not for the pro-abortion rights voices in Ireland, the abortion rights debate would not exist.

Similarly, anti-abortion rights (issue minority) actors in Canada may be the focus of articles often because, again, without them the debate might not exist. Without anti-abortion rights activists, pro-abortion rights activists could spend less time defending abortion against anti-abortion views and more time focusing on their goals to increase access to abortion to rural areas and underprivileged populations, so the debate could just shift from being between two social movements to being between the pro-abortion rights social movement and the government. Or, the debate could disappear because there would be no reason for government to oppose the extension of abortion services. The reality, of course, is that anti-abortion rights actors exist in Canada and they may be perceived as central to the debate and worthy of news media attention because they are the central opposition to the status quo. Another possibility is that they attract attention from news media because of their messages, or because of both their messages and their role as the opposition to the status quo. This possibility will be returned to in Chapter Six.

The null hypothesis of Hypothesis 2 in Canada can be rejected. Topics relating to issue minority social movements in the abortion debates tend to make up the Article

Focus more frequently than those relating to issue majorities. However, in Ireland the null hypothesis cannot be completely rejected, though the results still showed that issue minorities are the focus of news articles significantly more often than would be expected if the relationship were random. In South Korea, there was no significant effect, which may be the result of a small *N* of articles on abortion from South Korea, but also could be the result of there being no relationship between whether a movement is the issue minority or not and the frequency with which their actors or issues are the focus of news articles.

III. Discussion and Conclusion

While issue minorities in abortion debates across countries may struggle to attract news media attention to the issue with which they are concerned, they may actually receive more media attention in certain circumstances when the issue does get coverage. The conflict they create may be attractive to newspaper journalists seeking to sell the news and increase readership. The tests conducted in this chapter provide some support for the hypotheses generated from my theory of news media attention and issue minorities. In Canada and South Korea, the activists I have argued are the issue minorities (anti-abortion rights activists in each of these countries) are given standing in news articles on abortion more frequently than activists who are part of the issue majority movement. This relationship persisted even after controlling for newspaper ideology. In Ireland the relationship was in the right direction to support my theory, with the issue minority (pro-abortion rights) activists receiving more standing than issue majority activists, but the relationship was not significant.

There are many possible reasons for the variation across countries. One possible explanation is that there is something else distinctive about anti-abortion rights activists that attracts attention and that it has little to do with their position as issue minorities who create conflict to which journalists are attracted. This possibility will be further contemplated in this dissertation when other variables such as the events, tactics, and frames used by activists and other social movement actors are considered. However, Hypothesis 2 as tested in this chapter provides further support for the idea that a social movement's status as either an issue minority or issue majority does at least have a role in the frequency with which they are given news media attention. While pro-abortion rights activists in Ireland did not receive significantly more attention than anti-abortion rights activists, issues relating to them served as the central focus of articles more often than expected if the relationship were random, while anti-abortion rights issues were the focus less often than expected (though their issues received more coverage as the "focus" overall). The case of South Korea lacked significance when it came to Article Focus, though issue minorities in Korea appear to get more attention than issue majorities. The lack of statistical significance could be due to the small number of articles relevant to abortion that were printed in the two newspapers analyzed in South Korea.

While the null could not be rejected unequivocally in each of the countries under study in each of the tests, for Hypotheses 1 there is reason to reject the null in Korea and Canada, at least, and entertain the possibility that the position of a social movement relative to the status quo is a factor that enters the equation when explaining news media attention to social movements. In two of three countries the issue minority activists received significantly more attention from the news media than the issue majority

activists, and in Canada issue minority issues made up the article focus significantly more often than those of the issue majority. That issue majorities do not receive more attention than issue minorities in all cases suggests that ideas about familiarity and representativeness of the population may not be as relevant to journalists when they consider to whom and what to give attention. It also suggests that the news media do not always simply reinforce existing relationships of power and dominant views in societies, but may challenge them by giving attention to issue minorities, often at rates much higher than would be expected if they were aiming for “balance.” This is especially surprising considering that activists in the issue minority (particularly in Canada and Ireland) often argued that there was a bias in favor of the status quo in the news media. They may be correct that the issue of abortion is difficult to get onto the radar of the media in countries where the issue is often discussed as being “settled.” However, when abortion is covered, issue minority activists are likely to receive as much as or more standing from journalists as issue majority activists. As I will discuss further in Chapter Six, this may be due to the strategic framing tactics employed by social movements that can act to undermine the subtle forms of power that would otherwise marginalize them from the arena of public debate, or, as will be covered in Chapter Five, other tactics may also come into play. In this way, the amount of attention a social movement receives overall from the news media may be the result of complex interactions, power relations, and strategies, rather than determined by either journalistic standards or social movement tactics alone.

It seems that whether a social movement is defending or challenging the status quo does play a role in how much news media attention they receive, at least in debates where there are perceived to be two “sides.” This observation may have limitations, for example

there are many fringe movements that are likely ignored by the news media. However, when it comes to abortion debates that are established by the media as being between two competing sides and taking place at both a domestic and global level, social movement positions in relation to the status quo may matter. They may even matter in surprising ways, with issue minorities receiving more or equal amounts of news media attention than issue majorities, even though issue minority activists often perceive themselves as being disadvantaged when it comes to attracting news media attention. The position of a social movement relative to the status quo is not something they can necessarily influence. Exploring whether certain tactics help social movements attract news coverage will reveal more about how social movements can play a role in the attention they receive as well as reveal how much social movements' positions relative to the status quo matter compared to their tactics (and possibly how their tactics are influenced by their positions).

CHAPTER FIVE Allies and Events

In July 2014, each of the major newspapers in Ireland reported that the United Nations Human Rights Committee chair, Nigel Rodley, had accused Ireland's abortion law of treating women "as a vessel and nothing more." He went on to accuse anti-abortion groups who addressed the committee of "breathtaking arrogance" about the meaning of the right to life in the UN's covenant (Cahill 2014). Several months later, when I attended the annual March for Choice in Dublin on September 27, 2013, many organizations were distributing buttons, signs, and pamphlets with the words "Not a Vessel" inscribed on them and the people I interviewed frequently referenced Nigel Rodley and his words.

This example, while it occurred after the period during which I conducted the content analysis of newspaper articles, demonstrates a key point explored in this dissertation. Social movements claim allies who support them and borrow legitimacy (and frames) from them. In turn, in this example, while the UN Human Rights Committee discussed many human rights concerns during the meeting when Rodley made his statement, the headlines in most of the major Irish newspapers focused on his words regarding the abortion law and its treatment of women. Thus, the frame he used regarding women as vessels was resonant among news media journalists as well as among activists and led to activists claiming Rodley as an ally, one of many strategies social movement activists may employ.

The most common image that comes to mind when considering the strategies of social movements is one of protests or violent acts. Social movements have a wide range of tactics available to them. These tactics are what Tilly (1978) calls a "repertoire of

collective actions” (151). Social movements can demonstrate, campaign, ally themselves with powerful actors such as politicians who will push for their agenda, frame their messages in resonant ways, and more. In this dissertation several specific tactics are studied empirically through the content analysis. Two of these that are specifically relevant to news coverage include the act of “name-dropping” and the use of events that social movement actors organize or that they use as part of the opportunity structure (Koopmans and Statham 1999; Koopmans and Olzak 2004) to have their voices heard.

I. Name-Dropping Allies

Allies play an important role in any social movement. Collective action might be seen as more powerful when it is not only those whose interests are directly and obviously affected who stand up for the cause of a social movement. In some cases, the role as an ally becomes an identity of its own, such as in the case of allies of the LGBTQI community, who identify themselves as allies and have their own campaigning materials based on this identity. While there is certainly power in numbers, there are other types of allies that also may be considered as playing a critical role in a social movement. These allies are those who can contribute monetarily or those who can lend legitimacy to a movement.

From a communications perspective on the role of legitimacy, in the United States, when the editor of a newspaper endorses a political candidate, this influences both the way political candidates are covered and the reception of political candidates by the public (Kahn and Kenney 2002; Chiang and Knight 2011). The effect of group endorsements, or the endorsements of political candidates by interest groups, on voting behavior has been debated but evidence has also been found that this type of endorsement

influences voting behavior in American politics (Mcdermott 2006; Arceneaux and Kolodny 2009). In addition, a study of university students in Canada found that celebrity endorsements of certain political statements have been found to be effective in increasing students' level of agreement with the statements (Jackson and Darrow 2005). In a similar study of eligible voters in the United Kingdom, among voters who have low levels of political engagement, celebrity endorsements increase the likelihood that people would vote for the endorsed political party, though the inverse is true for voters with high levels of political engagement (Veer, Becirovic, and Martin 2010). In the United States, Austin et al. (2008) have found that campaigns that use celebrity endorsements to encourage political engagement can be effective. Given the results of these studies, it is reasonable to consider that legitimacy may be given to a movement or political position through the use of what I call "name-dropping," or claiming the endorsement of certain allies. Name-dropping may also be indicative of other forms of ally support.

Jenkins and Perrow (1977) argue that the success of the farm worker movements in the 1960s was not due to specific characteristics of the movements but rather that the "success of a 'powerless' challenge depended upon sustained and widespread outside support coupled with the neutrality and/or tolerance from the national elite" (253). Social movements need resources and other forms of support from national organizations and other powerful actors, as well as the tolerance (or support) of political elite. Similarly, in their study of the state-level ratification process of the ERA, Soule and Olzak (2004) find that the political environment is important and that the presence of elite allies can influence the success of a movement.

While the environment in which a social movement is developing and working is important to its potential for success (Koopmans and Statham 1999; Joachim 2003; McCammon 2012a), McCammon (2012a) also finds that the internal characteristics of social movements are another contributing factor to a movement's success. She studies women's jury movements in the United States and finds that movements whose organizational structure and strategies allowed them to keep themselves relevant by reading and adapting to their external environment were most successful. This "strategic adaptation" is key to social movement success in policy change. Part of this process includes accurately reading the political and discursive opportunity structures (Koopmans and Statham 1999) so as to use tactics and frames that will be successful. As Joachim (2003) describes, social movements must practice "seizing opportunities" and using these opportunities to create legitimacy for their movements. One way in which movements can make themselves relevant and enhance their ability to get their messages heard is by allying themselves with actors who are seen as legitimate in some way, for example through the power they wield or through their roles as "experts" (Kahn and Kenney 2002; McDermott 2006; Arceneaux and Kolodny 2009; Chiang and Knight 2011).

In this dissertation, the process of claiming allies and their legitimacy is referred to as "name-dropping." While there are many other ways in which to measure ally support (and many other ways in which allies matter beyond the symbolic), for the purpose of understanding why some social movements receive more news media attention than their opponents, the ally claiming that shows up in the media is important because it may be interpreted by readers and potential supporters as an elite or celebrity endorsement of a particular political position, which matters because endorsements have been shown to

influence political participation and voting behavior (Fridkin Kahn and Kenney 2002; Jackson and Darrow 2005; Mcdermott 2006; Austin et al. 2008; Arceneaux and Kolodny 2009; Veer, Becirovic, and Martin 2010; Chiang and Knight 2011) and elite support has influenced movement success in various ways (Jenkins and Perrow 1977; Soule and Olzak 2004). Most social movements (and certainly social movements involved in the abortion debate) claim or are associated with allies to some degree. They might claim that the general populace supports them, or that the government agrees with them, or that doctors and other experts agree with them. A movement might also have the support of certain allies such as celebrities who can speak and campaign on their behalf or politicians who can propose legislation. What types of allies do movements claim? Does claiming allies perceived as legitimate enhance social movements' presence in news media coverage? Hypothesis 3 proposes that it does.

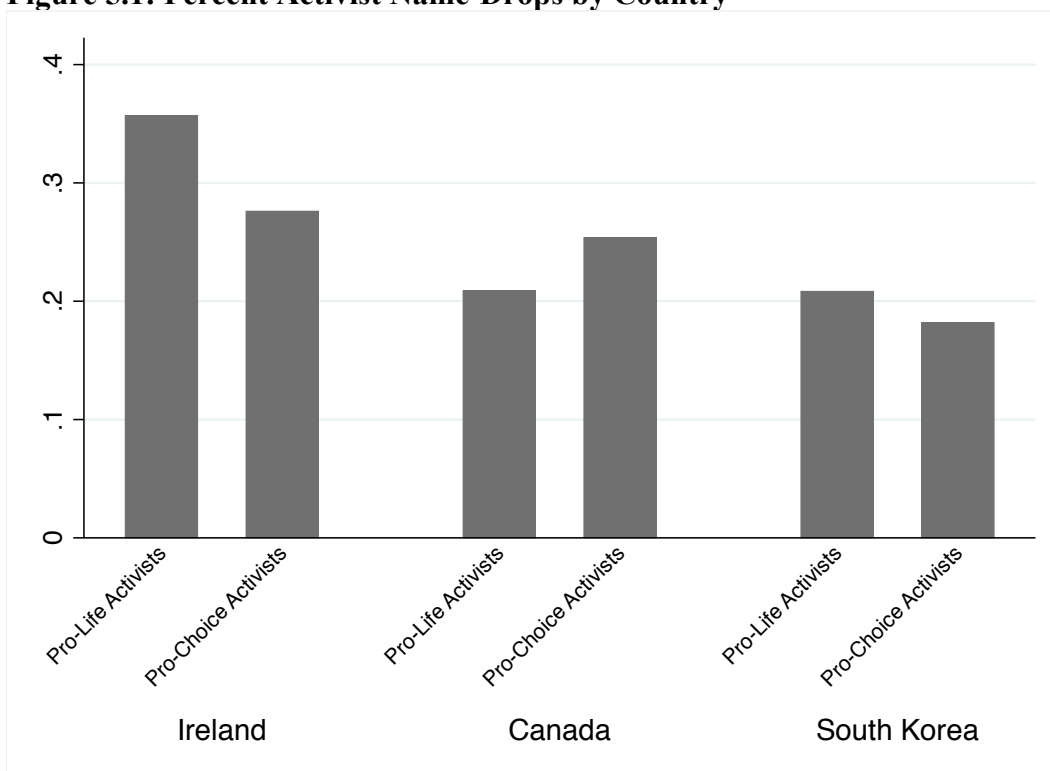
H₃: Activist speakers who claim the support of allies such as international human rights organizations, politicians, or “the people” by “name-dropping” will receive more media coverage than those who do not.

This hypothesis is based on the idea that activists who claim the support of powerful and/or legitimizing allies (who may or may not be active members of a social movement) may be seen as more legitimate in their own right than those who do not. For example, the media may view activists as more serious players in the debate when activists can claim to have the ear of a respected politician or to represent the majority of people. This could lead journalists to give them more standing than activists who do not name-drop. The activist who name-drops appears to have the support of individual people or organizations that hold power or are perceived as having some other credentials relevant to the issue. For example, a politician has some amount of power (by having the ability to

create policy), while a doctor has the expertise to be able to speak about abortion authoritatively. At the very least, an activist who name-drops is introducing a new element into the debate – well-known people or organizations – and this may make them appear more up-to-date and mainstream (McCammon 2012a).

To measure the act of name-dropping during the content analysis, each time a speaker mentioned the name of someone who supported his or her cause, the type of name was coded (for example, a medical expert, a politician, an international organization, etc.). For the purposes of this dissertation, assessing whether there is a relationship between name-dropping and a speaker being given standing in the news media gives insight into the role of legitimacy in determining what actors are given news media attention and how

Figure 5.1: Percent Activist Name-Drops by Country



important the mention of powerful actors is to journalists when they are writing their news stories.

In the graph above, the percentage of activists who name-dropped and their respective stance in the abortion debate is shown. In Ireland, the act of name-dropping was especially important, with more anti-abortion rights activists reported as name-dropping than pro-abortion rights activists. In Canada, pro-abortion rights activists appeared to name-drop more frequently. This may be because there are more allies readily available

Table 5.1: Percentage of Names Dropped by Country

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
PC The People	10.9	16.7	11.8
PL The People	8.7	9.3	5.9
PC Intl Institution	7.9	1.2	5.9
PL Intl Institution	1.9	1.2	0
Constitution or Law	19.9	6.4	17.7
High Court	7.8	2	0
PC Intl Example	6	5.9	20.6
PL Intl Example	6	5.7	14.7
PC Medical Expert	2.4	6.8	0
PL Medical Expert	5.9	3.2	5.9
PC Politician	3.3	3.4	2.9
PL Politician	4.4	18.2	0
PC Religious Actor	0	0	0
PL Religious Actor	5.7	.74	0
PC Activist	3	2	5.9
PL Activist	3.1	5.7	0
PC Head of Government	1	3.2	0
PL Head of Government	1.8	7.6	8.8
PC Celebrity	0	0	0
PL Celebrity	1	.25	0

to the issue majority to name-drop in each country, though this does not account for the anti-abortion rights activists in Korea name-dropping marginally more than pro-abortion rights activists.

Knowing the types of names that were dropped in each country is also enlightening. In the table above, in bold are the two highest percentages of names that were mentioned by speakers in each country. In Ireland and Canada, “the people” were one of the most common allies activists name-dropped.

As is seen by the “PC” denotation before “the people,” this included references to “the people” as supporters of abortion rights. This is quite interesting because in Canada, where abortion is legal, pro-abortion rights actors are reported as claiming that the people support them, whereas in Ireland, where abortion is illegal, pro-abortion rights actors still frequently appear in the news claiming that the people of Ireland support them. In Ireland the anti-abortion rights actors also claim that the people support them, but are reported as doing so less often. In Korea the law was frequently name-dropped, which makes sense considering that this would be a convenient way for anti-abortion rights activists to argue against abortion (“abortion in Korea is illegal, therefore the law should be enforced”). In Ireland the Constitution was often mentioned for similar reasons – mothers and fetuses have an equal right to life according to the Eighth Amendment. Interestingly, the most frequent type of name-drop in Korea was that of pro-abortion rights international examples. This includes references to other countries (often calling on them as examples of how developed and democratized countries should behave) where abortion is a woman’s right. In Canada, the reliance of the anti-abortion rights movement on strong supporters among politicians is evident. The most common category of names dropped in

Canada included anti-abortion rights politicians, who are few in number in Canada but tend to be quite active.

These descriptive statistics suggest that name-dropping is a strategy that both pro- and anti-abortion rights activists use. This can be seen as a way of borrowing legitimacy or conferring legitimacy on a cause, as well as a way of creating the perception of consensus on the abortion issue in each country, even when real consensus may not exist (Ferree et al. 2002). The chi-square table below tests whether or not name-dropping is effective in getting activists more attention than would be expected if the attention they received was assigned randomly.

Table 5.2: Name-Dropping Among Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Activists in Ireland

Speaker	<i>Name-Dropping</i>	
	No Name-Dropping	Name-Dropping
Pro-Life Activist	227 (241.9)	126 (111.1)
Pro-Choice Activist	278 (263.1)	106 (120.9)
*Parentheses = Expected count		Chi ² = 5.58 p = .018

Anti-abortion rights activists in Ireland name-drop more than pro-abortion rights activists, and they name-drop significantly more than would be expected to happen due to random chance. Pro-abortion rights activists, however, are reported as name-dropping significantly less frequently than expected if the relationship were due to random chance. Perhaps this is because of the fact that in Ireland there are fewer prominent people who are willing to attach their names to the pro-abortion rights cause, even while they may support it. Dr. Peadar O'Grady of Doctors for Choice, for example, explained that of the

many official members of Doctors for Choice, none of them are gynecologists.¹⁸ It is interesting because one would expect gynecologists to be most in favor of women's rights to abortion as a part of their ability to offer the full range of medical treatments to their patients. However, the silence among gynecologists is probably due to fears over being accused of giving women illegal abortions if they become politically engaged with the issue. During interviews in Ireland, Laura Fitzgerald (of the pro-abortion rights organization ROSA) explained that abortion is still a taboo issue in Ireland and so finding domestic allies among the famous or powerful is difficult.¹⁹

Anti-abortion rights activists appear in the media name-dropping more than would be expected if the activist type did not influence the frequency of name-dropping. Anti-abortion rights activists may find this to be a good strategy for them because they have far more opportunities to name-drop in the context of Ireland and when they name-drop they may get more news coverage because of interest in the allies who are claimed and the legitimacy that these allies lend.

Table 5.3: Name-Dropping Among Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Activists in Canada

Speaker	<i>Name-Dropping</i>	
	No Name-Dropping	Name-Dropping
Pro-Life Activist	216 (210.7)	57 (62.3)
Pro-Choice Activist	156 (161.3)	53 (47.7)

* Parentheses = Expected count Chi² = 1.35 p = .246

¹⁸ Dr. Peadar O'Grady, Interview, September 24, 2014 (Dublin).

¹⁹ Laura Fitzgerald, Interview, September 23, 2014 (Dublin).

In Canada, there is no significant relationship between name-dropping and activist stance. Neither pro- nor anti-abortion rights activists name-drop often (at least as it appear in the news coverage), with anti-abortion rights activists name-dropping slightly less frequently (21% of the time) than pro-abortion rights activists (25% of the time). While not significant, the results align with the results in Ireland, with the issue majority name-dropping more often than the issue minority, perhaps because there are more pro-abortion rights supporters who are available to mention as allies in the domestic context of Canada.

Table 5.4: Name-Dropping Among Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Activists in South Korea

Speaker	<i>Name-Dropping</i>	
	No Name-Dropping	Name-Dropping
Pro-Life Activist	38 (38.4)	10 (9.6)
Pro-Choice Activist	18 (17.6)	4 (4.4)

*Parentheses = Expected count Chi² = .066 p = .797

As in Canada, activists name-dropped in South Korea at nearly the same rate regardless of their stance. Pro-abortion rights activists name-dropped about 18% of the time and anti-abortion rights activists name-dropped 21% of the time. While there is no significance in the relationship between activist type and name-dropping activities, it is interesting that the anti-abortion rights activists name-dropped slightly more often than pro-abortion rights activists. This highlights the position of ambiguity the issue of abortion holds in Korea due to its being illegal but widely available and accepted until 2009. It may be that because anti-abortion rights activists have the support of the law,

they find it easier to name-drop generally, so that their name-dropping tactics are more successful at attracting news coverage.

To further explicate the relationship between news coverage and name-dropping, the results of negative binomial regressions in each country are included in the table below. This regression is done using the count of statements in each article as the unit of analysis. Therefore, these results can be interpreted as predicting the amount of coverage activists will be likely to receive in an article when they name-drop.

The results show that in Ireland, pro-abortion rights activist speakers receive more news coverage overall when controlling for name-dropping. Name-dropping is negatively associated with news media coverage when controlling for activist type. In Canada, there is no difference in news coverage between pro-abortion rights and anti-abortion rights activists when controlling for name-dropping, though all activists receive less news coverage when they name-drop. Finally, in South Korea pro-abortion rights activists get less coverage overall when controlling for name-dropping and there is no significant effect of name-dropping on news media coverage when controlling for activist type.

Table 5.5: Probability of Coverage as a Function of Activist Stance and Name-Dropping

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Activist	.237** (.075)	-.113 (.122)	-.445* (.219)
Name-Drop	-.242** (.078)	-.317** (.102)	-.060 (.214)
Intercept	.819** (.054)	1.09** (.108)	1.25** (.151)
N =	314	184	24
p =	.001	.008	.129

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors clustered by article.

When name-dropping and activist speaker stance is interacted, there is a slight change in the results of the regression. In Ireland, pro-abortion rights activists still receive more news media coverage in articles overall when controlling for name-dropping, and the relationship between name-dropping and coverage becomes clearer. Indeed, the interaction reveals that pro-abortion rights activists receive more news coverage in articles until they name-drop. When they name-drop, pro-abortion rights activists are likely to receive less news media coverage, and this relationship is significant at the .05 level.

In Canada, when pro-abortion rights activists name-drop they tend to get less news coverage than when they do not name-drop. When activist stance and name-dropping are interacted, however, pro-abortion rights activists tend to get more news coverage when they name-drop than anti-abortion rights activists. This relationship is significant at the .01 level. Finally, in South Korea, there is no statistically significant effect of name-

Table 5.6: Probability of Coverage as a Function of Activist Stance and Name-Dropping Interactions

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Stance	.365** (.097)	-.249 (.143)	-.429 (.269)
Name-Drop	-.043 (.100)	-.547** (.132)	-.036 (.298)
Pro-Choice*Name-Drop	-.399* (.157)	.519** (.198)	-.082 (.367)
Intercept	.752** (.063)	1.16** (.108)	1.24** (.166)
N =	314	184	24
p =	.0002	.0004	N/A ^a

^a = Not enough observations

* p < .05, ** p < .01

dropping on whether activists receive news coverage, even when interacted with activist type. However, this lack of significance could be the product of the small N .

There appears to be very little association between name-dropping and news media coverage of activists in any of the countries under study. In Ireland in particular, name-dropping is negatively associated with activist news media coverage, with an interaction effect showing pro-abortion rights activists receiving more news media attention in the sample of news articles overall until they name-drop. The only exception seen in the above results is when considering Canada. There is no difference in levels of news media coverage for pro- and anti-abortion rights activists when controlling for name-dropping, but the interaction shows that when pro-abortion rights activists name-drop this is positively associated with news media coverage and they receive more coverage than their anti-abortion rights activist opponents. While there are no significant results in the analysis regarding South Korea, the results in Canada and Ireland give rise to the possibility that name-dropping is only an effective strategy for activist members of the issue majority. This could be due to the fact that these activists who are aligned with the status quo have more allies who are willing to publicly support them and lend them their legitimacy.

One caveat to this, of course, is that it could be that pro-abortion rights or anti-abortion rights activists in some countries simply name-drop more often than others. Because I was unable to secure this data (that would include actual counts of name-dropping), I cannot rule out this possibility. However, there is no reason to expect this to be the case given the research that confirms the importance for movements and political candidates of gaining legitimacy and support through ally endorsements (Jenkins and

Perrow 1977; Kahn and Kenney 2002; Soule and Olzak 2004; Jackson and Darrow 2005; Mcdermott 2006; Austin et al. 2008; Arceneaux and Kolodny 2009; Veer, Becirovic, and Martin 2010; Chiang and Knight 2011). While some movements may have a broader selection of allies from which to choose and on which to rely (for example, as mentioned earlier, one of my interviewees in Ireland specifically said that pro-abortion rights activists find it difficult to get the open support of celebrities, while anti-abortion rights activists find it less difficult), there are always ways around this, for example by claiming other types of allies such as politicians or doctors, or looking outside of the domestic arena and claiming the support of international organizations. Therefore, though these allies may not be as helpful or lend as much legitimacy compared to those of a movement's opponents (as is suggested by the tests above), there is no particular reason to expect that there would be systematic differences in the amount of name-dropping occurring between the social movements.

Before moving on to the next hypothesis, one last test is included to further understand the role of name-dropping in attracting news media attention. Rather than only observing whether name-dropping is an effective strategy for activists, all speakers are included in the following analysis, divided as to whether they are pro- or anti-abortion rights sympathizers. The interaction between speaker stance and name-dropping is also included.

Table 5.7: Probability of Coverage as a Function of Speaker Stance and Name-Dropping Interactions

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Stance	.114* (.053)	-.065 (.093)	-.019 (.225)
Name-Drop	-.278* (.061)	-.517** (.096)	-.060 (.279)
Pro-Choice*Name-Drop	-.291* (.087)	.193 (.139)	-.492 (.355)
Intercept	1.15** (.038)	1.36** (.066)	1.14** (.145)
N =	1117	417	44
p =	.000	.000	.0312

* = $p < .05$ ** = $p < .01$ *Standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors clustered by article.*

The results of the negative binomial regression include all speakers rather than just activists, and in Ireland these results are consistent with the results of the test including only activist speakers. Again, pro-abortion rights actors tend to get more news media coverage overall when controlling for name-dropping until they name-drop. Name-dropping is negatively associated with news media coverage for all actors when controlling for speaker type. However, when pro-abortion rights speakers name-drop they receive less news media attention than anti-abortion rights speakers. In Canada, many of the relationships are similar to those seen in the earlier regressions, but the significance of some of the relationships does not persist. All activists receive less news media coverage out of their total coverage when they name-drop, and there is no difference in coverage levels when name-dropping is interacted with speaker type. Finally, in South Korea, there appears to be no statistically significant effect of name-dropping on news media coverage.

According to the data available and the tests conducted here, there is little evidence that the practice of name-dropping influences the amount of news media attention activists receive, specifically compared to their opponents within the sample of media coverage used. The null hypothesis for Hypothesis 3 certainly cannot be rejected in South Korea. In Canada and Ireland, there may be a slight advantage for issue majority actors who name-drop because they tend to get more news media coverage when they name-drop than do their opponents. This relationship could be due to the fact that they have more opportunities to name-drop as the issue majority in the country. They may have more people willing to openly support their cause because they represent the status quo and doing so is less threatening politically or socially, which, if this is the case, is further evidence that whether a movement is an issue majority or minority influences the behavior of its members and the attention it receives from society. Another possibility is that the allies claimed through name-dropping by issue majority actors are perceived as more legitimate compared to the allies claimed by the issue minority in the eyes of the press. As discussed earlier, while there is no reason to assume that there are systematic differences in the amount of name-dropping done by pro- and anti-abortion rights activists in each country because issue minorities may turn to other actors or non-domestic allies for support, it may be the case that issue majorities have access to more powerful or popular domestic allies and attract attention in this way.

Following the thread above, the Chi-square test in Ireland does leave open the possibility that anti-abortion rights actors receive more news media coverage when they name-drop. The interaction of the speaker type and name-dropping variables further elucidates this relationship and shows that name-dropping is negatively associated with

news media coverage overall and that pro-abortion rights actors actually get less coverage than anti-abortion rights actors when they name-drop than when they do not. Thus, it could be considered an effective strategy for anti-abortion rights actors (again, perhaps because the people/organizations they can name-drop are viewed as more legitimate or relevant to the population by journalists). Similarly, in Canada, while name-dropping is negatively associated with news media coverage overall when controlling for speaker type, pro-abortion rights activists get more attention than anti-abortion rights activists when they name-drop. These results are mixed. It still appears that name-dropping has little to do with news media attention. However, when there is a contest between pro-abortion and anti-abortion rights actors who are name-dropping within the sample of news media coverage created in this content analysis, in Canada and Ireland the issue majorities have the advantage and receive significantly more news media coverage when they name-drop than when they do not.

Despite the somewhat mixed results, it seems that there is little support for Hypothesis 3 and that claiming allies in statements to the press may not be an effective tactic for getting one's voice in the news in many circumstances, even if it is an effective tool to mobilize supporters (which previous research suggests it is). It could be that, given the evidence that suggests that journalists pay attention to conflict, name-dropping implies consensus and journalists are less attracted to this message. There is also the caveat that I do not have data on how often movements name-drop overall. However, as discussed above, there is no reason (logically or based on qualitative research) to expect systematic differences in the amount of name-dropping done by social movements in each country. Even if issue majority movements have wider access to more powerful

allies domestically, as my discussion of human rights reveals, there are always actors outside of the domestic sphere to which issue minorities can turn. Literature on transnational movements supports this contention (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Even so, I cannot rule out the possibility that the results seen in the tests of Hypothesis 3 are simply reflections of the amount that social movements actually name-drop. Yet, even if this were the case, at the very least the current research can still reveal some ideas that are worth consideration.

One idea is that name-dropping is a tactic used by both anti- and pro-abortion rights actors in all countries and that it appears in use by certain social movements more than by others. If this is because of their ability to find more powerful allies due to their status as issue majorities, this lends further support to my argument that social movement position matters in multiple ways. Or, if as suggested by the statistical tests in Ireland and Canada, issue majorities actually do receive more news media coverage compared to issue minorities (at least within this sample of newspaper articles), this suggests that this is a tactic that works differently in influencing amounts of news media attention than it does in the case of mobilization or influencing voter behavior (Kahn and Kenny 2002). If social movements are actually name-dropping in high numbers and this is not represented in the news media, this is further evidence that name-dropping is simply not a tactic that attracts news media attention at any great rate, at least not compared to other social movement characteristics and tactics. While the results of name-dropping are mixed and the conclusions drawn from them less certain due to the limitations of the data, the case may be different when it comes to testing whose events get more attention in the news media.

II. Events

Events work in a different way from name-dropping. While name-dropping is one way to observe the concept of legitimacy in the context of content analysis, events are focused more on the movements themselves and how they organize to create events that may become media spectacles or to attach themselves to events that are already media spectacles in order to attract news media attention. As Edelman explains, “Whether events are noticed and what they mean depend upon observers’ situations and the language that reflects and interprets those situations” (1988, 2). An event that can be created by a social movement is a demonstration. An event that occurs (thus opening the political and discursive opportunity structures) and that social movements may attach themselves to in order to further their goals might include the relevant personal experiences of an individual. Earlier, I mentioned Savita Halappanavar’s death in Ireland as an example. Another example could be the testimony of a woman who has suffered from depression after having an abortion and the way the anti-abortion rights movement might use this to argue that abortion causes psychological trauma.

Whether planned or not, events can be helpful in attracting media coverage to social movement issues. Ferree (2005) points out, however, that “the ups and downs of media coverage of social movements are driven by factors other than the events that are occurring” (148) such as news media standards, which are themselves contested values within civil society. Because of this, creating an event as a social movement is no guarantee of getting media coverage, but there may be ways in which movements can increase their chances of getting news attention despite the challenges. For example, movements may have more luck confronting media soft repression in the form of

silencing (Ferree 2005) by taking advantage of events that are out of their control.

Whether social movements create events or use them, their strategies are important to study because, as McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) point out, “movements may largely be born of environmental opportunities, but their fate is heavily shaped by their own actions” (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996, 15).

It is difficult to determine which events belong to a social movement and which do not. Because social movements are not limited to activists, but can include allies and members in government and international organizations, and because specific social movement organizations can do things such as represent or support individuals in international courts, the line between an event created by a social movement and an event that is not is difficult to draw. However, in general, I treat events that are clearly planned and organized by a social movement organization, activist, or coalition of organizations for the purpose of collective action such as campaigns, demonstrations or illegal/violent behavior as events that are within the control of social movements. Political events such as the proposal of legislation, court rulings, individuals’ personal experiences, and actions of international organizations are treated as external to social movements. They present opportunities for social movement actors to have their voices heard because they often “involve some element of surprise and personalities who win or lose” (Edelman 1988, 102) and thus the media seek interviews with the personalities involved or who are affected by the outcomes.

The hypothesis developed from considerations of social movement events returns to look at the position of a movement within the country in which they work. The issue minority movement is expected to attract more news media attention than the issue

majority through the use of events. While holding an event is no guarantee of media attention, issue minorities may receive more attention because they are seen as being more oppositional and controversial and their events more subversive. Then again, issue majorities may receive more news media attention because their events tend to be viewed as within the realm of routine politics and the legitimacy that attends this role, though there is no agreement on whether routine or contentious politics are more effective in creating successful outcomes (Gamson 1990; Tarrow 1994; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996; Andrews and Caren 2010). For the purposes of media attention, however, the controversial and potentially polarizing issue minority is expected to garner more attention to its events as represented by the coverage of events seen in the sample of newspaper articles provided here.

As is the case with name-dropping, while access to data that document the universe of both social movement events and other events related to abortion that might open discursive opportunities for social movements are not available, there is no reason to believe that there are systematic differences in the number of events held by (or discussed by, in the case of events outside movement control) issue minorities and issue majorities in any of the countries. In my qualitative analysis of social movement organization websites and through my fieldwork, both “sides” in the debate were observed to be active in both countries during the period of time under study. While it could be argued that the issue minority will be more likely to organize events because they are the ones actively challenging the status quo, it is important to note that even in the absence of the issue minority, the issue majority usually has its own goals. For example, in Canada, qualitative analysis shows that the issue majority wants to make abortion more accessible

to rural women and often held demonstrations and organized awareness campaigns to promote this end. Thus, both “sides” in the debate in each country are active because they are organizing to challenge their opponents and because they have their own agendas.

The hypothesis that issue minority events will be positively associated with news media coverage is based on the idea that events perceived as creating conflict will be considered newsworthy, but the opposite could be shown and more routine political events organized by familiar actors could receive attention because they may be deemed more salient.

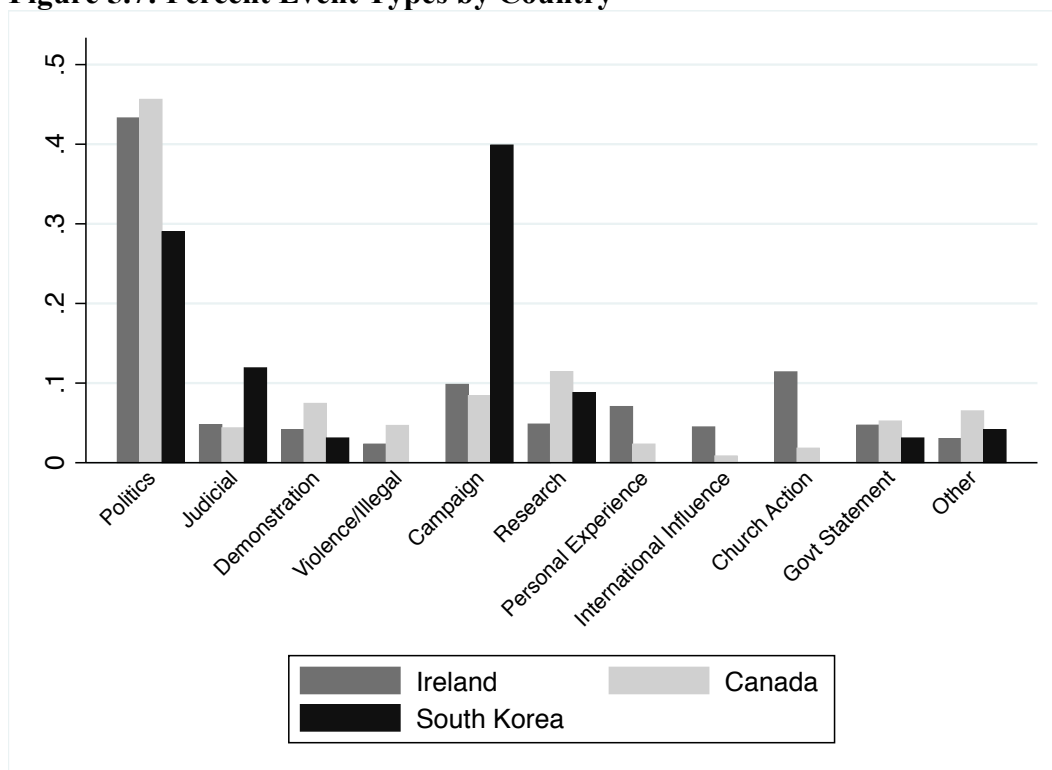
H₄: The campaigns, demonstrations, and violent or illegal activities of issue minority (anti-status quo) actors will attract more attention than those of issue majorities.

Which events appear in news stories most often (and thus get the most attention) in each country overall – whether put on by activists or not – is also an interesting and important observation. Descriptive statistics on the events and how often they are associated with individual statements are provided. Again, this is not a hard count of event occurrences, but a count of how often events are the reason for a statement made by a speaker. This is a more accurate account of attention to events than would be a simple count, which would only tell us how many events occurred.

In the graph, we can see that in Ireland and Canada, political events dominate in news attention. These include legislation or the proposal of legislation, parliamentary debates, or statements made by politicians in their capacity as representatives of the people. In South Korea, politics alone do not receive the bulk of coverage. Instead, activist activities do, with the largest amount of attention going to activist campaigns. Once again, we see that, despite previous research of newspaper coverage in Korea finding that

political elites dominate the pages (Yoon and Boydston 2014), this does not always hold (at least in English language newspapers in articles on abortion). However, when considering the number of events within activists' control versus the events that are outside of their control combined, the picture changes. Activist events include their demonstrations, campaigns, and any violent or illegal activities in which they engage. These were considered compared to political and other events such as judicial proceedings, research, personal experiences of individuals, international experience, or government statements. When these two groups of events are compared in Korea, activist events appear much less frequently than expected, with political and other events appearing much more frequently than expected than if they were appearing due to random chance. In Canada and Ireland the number of activist events is also lower than the

Figure 5.7: Percent Event Types by Country



expected value, with more political and other events than would be expected if the type of event was irrelevant to news coverage (if it was random).

However, the significant results of the Chi-square test are mostly contributed by the high number of political events covered in the news media in South Korea. While there are more political events in Ireland and Canada than would be expected, the contribution of significance in Korea was highest, with a contribution of 17.3. These results suggest that,

Table 5.2: Activist Events by Country

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Activist Event	1365 (3079.1)	679 (1628)	91 (133.9)
Politics/Other	3072 (1357.9)	1667 (718)	102 (59.1)
$\text{Chi}^2 = 27.9$ $p = 0.00$			

while activist events are important, other events that are outside of activists' control appear in the news media at a higher rate. This supports the contention by many activists I interviewed in Ireland who argued that it was difficult to get attention in the media unless there was something going on in Parliament or a tragic event such as the death of a woman occurred.²⁰ However, in South Korea, activist campaigns were still quite successful in attracting news media attention compared to the coverage of political events.

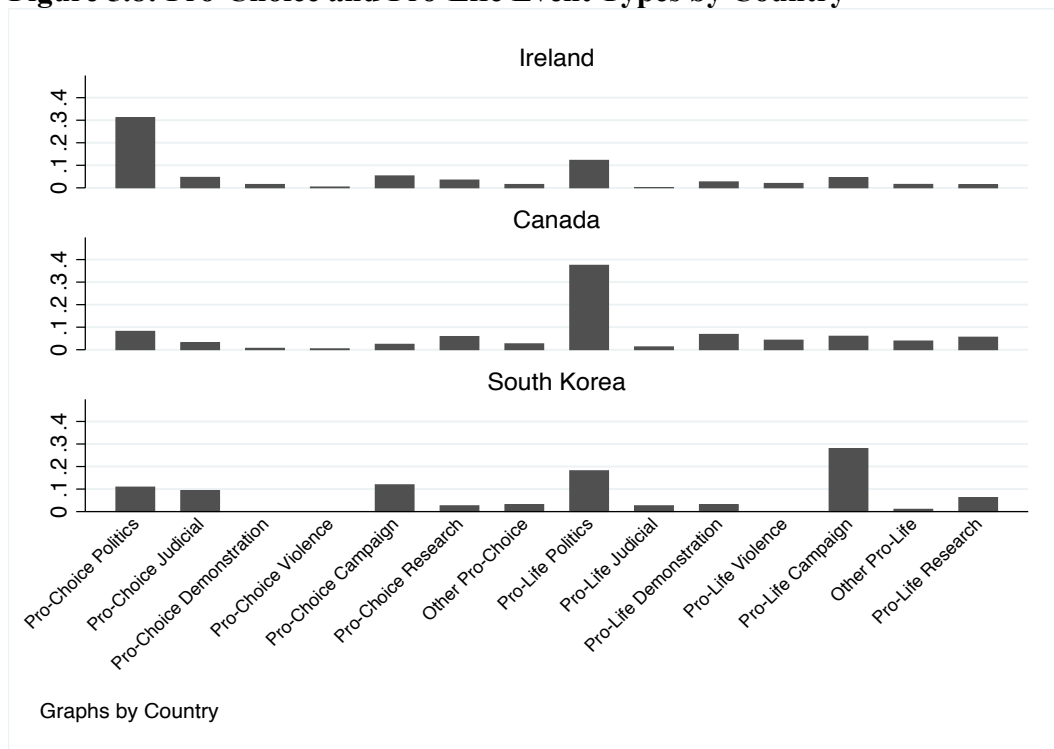
Hypothesis 5 specifically concerns the events of issue majorities versus issue minorities in each country. The information above offers a clearer picture of what events

²⁰ Dr. Peadar O'Grady, September 24, 2014 (Dublin); Stephanie Lord, October 3, 2014 (Dublin).

are discussed in each country most often in the news media, but it does not show which actors' events serve most often as the reason for coverage of the abortion issue.

The graph above shows the difference in coverage between anti- and pro-abortion rights actors' events in each country under study. It reaffirms the domination of political events in Irish and Canadian coverage and the prevalence of activist activities in South Korean news coverage. It also appears in this graph that issue minority activist events are positively associated with news media attention and receive more coverage than pro-abortion rights issue majority activist events. In Canada and Ireland the difference between the coverage of anti- and pro-abortion rights events is relatively subtle. In Ireland pro-abortion rights issue minority events receive slightly more attention than anti-

Figure 5.8: Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Event Types by Country



abortion rights issue majority events when accounting for all events. In Canada, too, it appears that anti-abortion rights issue minority events receive more attention than pro-abortion rights issue majority events. Chi-square tests offer further insight into the amount of attention attracted by issue minority or issue majority activist-organized events versus political or other events.

Table 5.3: Coverage of Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Events in Ireland

Event Stance	<i>Event Type</i>	
	Politics/Other	Movement Events
Pro-Life Event	610 (1005.5)	980 (584.5)
Pro-Choice Event	1738 (1342.5)	385 (780.5)

$\text{Chi}^2 = 739.9$ $p < .001$

In Ireland, the null hypothesis of Hypothesis 4 cannot be rejected because when it comes to movement events, issue minority events do not get more coverage than issue majority events. Rather, anti-abortion rights issue majority movement events are covered much more frequently than would be expected and pro-abortion rights issue minority events occur much less frequently than expected if the relationship were due to random chance (the expected values can be seen in the parentheses below each number). This relationship is significant. However, when it comes to political events, pro-abortion rights events receive significantly more attention than expected and more attention than anti-abortion rights events. This is no surprise because of the 2013 legislation that was passed. I coded the legislation as a pro-abortion rights political event, although, as discussed, pro-abortion rights activists opposed much of what was actually passed. Many did tend to be initially in favor of the prospect of legislation clearly stating women's rights to abortion services, though, and the legislation was the inspiration for many statements in the media.

Much of the pro-abortion rights activists' energies went toward supporting the legislation and the politicians considering the legislation, and thus they may have organized fewer events that were not in some way connected to the legislation. Or, it is possible that they may have received less attention for their events unless they were attached to a political event. This would indicate the importance for issue minorities to have the support of allies such as those among the political elite.

These results further indicate the important role that the discursive opportunity structure (Koopmans and Olzak 2004) has in whether activists receive news media attention. The political events occurring in parliament were opportunities for activists to have their organization names mentioned, have their voices heard, and to have their press releases picked up by the news media or to be interviewed by the media. In some cases, the legislation in Ireland literally created opportunities for activists to have their voices heard because they were invited to speak in Parliament about their perspectives on abortion and the proposed legislation.

Other events that attracted pro-abortion rights issues more attention included court rulings and international events, as well as the personal experiences of women (including the death of Savita Halappanavar). The European Court of Human Rights ruling on the ABC case was a major event that opened opportunities for pro-abortion rights groups to speak to the news media and receive attention. This, again, was not an event organized or controlled by social movement organizations, but it was an opportunity that they were able to use to have their voices heard and to get publicity.

Finally, another interesting consideration is the role of the Catholic Church. In the table below, church events were removed from the analysis. The significance and

direction does not change but the importance of the Church can be seen in the number of events that were due to the Church's organization. Technically the Church event category included any religious institution, but in Ireland there were very few instances of any other religious institution receiving attention for organizing an event. As can be seen, without the Church events the difference between the numbers of pro- and anti-abortion rights events is smaller. Evidently, anti-abortion rights activists receive more attention when they attach themselves to a powerful ally, as well.

Table 5.4: Coverage of Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Events in Ireland without Church Events

Event Stance	<i>Event Type</i>	
	Politics/Other	Movement Events
Pro-Life Event	610 (792.7)	472 (289.3)
Pro-Choice Event	1738 (1555.3)	385 (567.7)

$\text{Chi}^2 = 237.6 \text{ p} < .001$

For the Chi-square table displaying the results for Canada (below), the null hypothesis of Hypothesis 4 can be rejected. The results show that there were significantly more anti-abortion rights movement events than expected. Interestingly, there were fewer anti-abortion rights political events than expected, but this does not affect the hypothesis as the hypothesis is only concerned with activist events. There were more pro-abortion rights political events than expected, but fewer pro-abortion rights activist events than expected. Anti-abortion rights movement events receive coverage much more frequently than pro-abortion rights movement events. While there is the possibility that there were simply more anti-abortion rights movement events occurring due to the settled nature of the abortion debate in Canada, qualitative analysis of activist websites shows that pro-

abortion rights movements were active throughout the time period under study. Further, holding an event is no guarantee of receiving news media attention for either pro- or anti-abortion rights activists, so why did anti-abortion rights activist events garner so much news coverage compared to what would be expected and compared to their opponents?

While pro-abortion rights activists in Canada during the time period under study were

Table 5.5: Coverage of Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Events in Canada

Event Stance	<i>Event Type</i>	
	Politics/Other	Movement Events
Pro-Life Event	1040 (1070.8)	535 (504.2)
Pro-Choice Event	402 (371.2)	144 (174.8)

Chi² = 10.8 p < .001

generally defensive and focused on confronting the challenge posed by the anti-abortion rights movement, pro-abortion rights activists were also busy putting forth their own demands on the government. For example, in Canadian provinces where abortion is not funded by the state, pro-abortion rights activists regularly organize campaigns and events to challenge this provincial-level status quo. Abortion services are not available on Prince Edward Island because the province refuses to use health care funding to fund abortions and there is no private clinic. Therefore, as in Ireland, women must travel from the island to receive abortion services. In other cases, rural areas often do not have accessible abortion and women must travel to cities to have the procedure. These circumstances have attracted news media attention at times, but overwhelmingly the attention seems to go to the anti-abortion rights activities. Once again, the fact that there were more pro-abortion rights political events covered than expected even though overall there was far

Table 5.6: Coverage of Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Events in South Korea

Event Stance	<i>Event Type</i>	
	Politics/Other	Movement Events
Pro-Life Event	52 (58.5)	62 (55.5)
Pro-Choice Event	44 (37.5)	29 (35.5)

Chi² = 3.82 p = .05

more coverage of anti-abortion rights activities suggests the potential importance of having powerful allies to draw attention to movement concerns.

In the last table, the results for South Korea are displayed. The null hypothesis of Hypothesis 4 must be rejected. In South Korea, the issue minority clearly receives the bulk of news media attention. The anti-abortion rights movement events were covered significantly more frequently than expected, whereas pro-abortion rights movement events were covered less frequently than expected. However, pro-abortion rights political/other events were covered more frequently and anti-abortion rights political/other events were covered less frequently than expected if the relationship were due to random chance. Referring back to the results from Ireland and Canada, given that in all three places pro-abortion rights political events receive more attention than statistically expected, there may be something specific about pro-abortion rights movements that attracts attention. Perhaps they are more likely to work within the confines of “routine politics” (Auyero 2007). In Canada and Korea this would make sense, as they are defenders of the status quo. In Ireland this makes less sense except that at the time of this study the bulk of the pro-abortion rights political events were due to the legislation occurring at the time. It would be interesting to know what pro-abortion rights

Table 5.7: Probability of Coverage as a Function of Activist Stance and Event Stance

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Activist	.195 ^a (.102)	-.243 (.132)	-.125 (.172)
Pro-Choice Event	-.113 (.109)	-.052 (.158)	-.623** (.159)
Intercept	.962** (.075)	1.17** (.096)	1.47** (.114)
N	234	157	21
p	.1543	.1704	.0001

^a $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors clustered by article.

events look like in Ireland when there is no major piece of legislation taking place that has the potential to support abortion rights.

As with the name-dropping variable, it is also illuminating to include additional tests of statistical significance in the relationship between event type and actor type. The following test is a negative binomial regression. The results in these regression models featured little in the way of statistical significance. In Ireland, pro-abortion rights activist speakers get more attention when controlling for event stance (whether it is a pro- or anti-abortion rights movement event), however this is just shy of statistical significance at the .05 level (the $p = .056$). In South Korea, pro-abortion rights events are significantly less likely to get news media coverage than anti-abortion rights events.

In the next table, I include the interaction of pro-abortion rights activist and pro-abortion rights events to see if activists are more or less likely to receive news media attention when the focus is on either a pro- or anti-abortion event. The results are about the same as the regression without the inclusion of the interaction.

Table 5.8: Probability of Coverage as a Function of Activist Stance and Event Stance Interactions

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Activist	-.023 (.223)	-.280 ^a (.145)	-.229 ^a (.117)
Pro-Choice Event	-.206 (.129)	-.142 (.219)	-.788 ^a (.411)
Pro-Choice*Pro-Choice Event	.306 (.256)	.150 (.313)	.298 (.547)
Intercept	.995** (.079)	1.19** (.098)	1.48** (.121)
N	234	157	24
p	.1328	.2320	N/A ^a

a $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors clustered by article.

Including the interaction in the table reveals that in South Korea pro-abortion rights events no longer get significantly less coverage, though the $p = .055$ and so is very close to the standard of .05 significance. In Canada and South Korea pro-abortion rights activists are less likely to get attention, but this relationship with just shy of the .05 level of significance. This lack of significance might owe to the drop in observations brought about by restricting the sample to activists. The table below includes the results of a negative binomial regression that includes all speakers rather than just activist speakers.

Table 5.9: Probability of Coverage as a Function of Speaker Stance and Event Stance

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Speaker	.106 (.056)	-.016 (.089)	.164 (.276)
Pro-Choice Event	-.100 (.059)	-.051 (.096)	-.261 (.274)
Intercept	1.24** (.043)	1.42** (.064)	1.19** (.149)
N =	842	369	41
p =	.0948	.8249	.6349

a $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors clustered by article.

The results do not reveal any relationship between being a pro-abortion rights speaker and receiving news media attention or discussion of a pro-abortion rights event and news media attention in any country. However, this changes when the interaction is added to the model. These results can be seen in the table below.

Including the interaction in the model allows for the relationship between speaker and event and news media attention to be untangled and a more complicated relationship is revealed. In Ireland, pro-abortion rights speakers receive significantly less media attention than anti-abortion rights speakers when controlling for events. Pro-abortion rights movement events are also significantly less likely to receive coverage in the news media when controlling for speaker stance than anti-abortion rights movement events. However, when these variables interact, the relationship changes. Pro-abortion rights speakers are less likely to receive news media attention until they discuss a pro-abortion rights event. When pro-abortion rights speakers discuss pro-abortion rights events, they receive significantly more news media attention than when they discuss anti-abortion

Table 5.10: Probability of Coverage as a Function of Speaker Stance and Event Stance Interactions

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Speaker	-.343** (.128)	-.155 (.096)	-.045 (.491)
Pro-Choice Event	-.317** (.068)	-.505** (.160)	-.531* (.239)
Pro-Choice*Pro-Choice Event	.670** (.145)	.647** (.184)	.501 (.566)
Intercept	1.32** (.044)	1.48** (.065)	1.22** (.158)
N	842	369	41
p	.0000	.0049	1315

a $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors clustered by article.

events or when anti-abortion rights speakers discuss pro-abortion rights events. This gives credence to the idea that holding events and speaking out about events outside of movement control is important. While holding an event is no guarantee of news media attention, if the event does gain news media coverage then the event becomes an important opportunity to have the voices of those who support the event heard and for them to frame their messages (in other words, a pro-abortion rights event is more likely to give pro-abortion rights speakers the opportunity to frame). This only applies when all speakers are included, and thus it could also point to an important role for non-activist actors in movements, including elite actors.

In Canada, pro-abortion rights events get less news media coverage, but again, when pro-abortion rights speakers discuss pro-abortion rights events, they are more likely to get news media attention in the form of statements per article. A similar relationship can also be seen in South Korea, where pro-abortion rights movement events are significantly less likely to receive news media coverage than anti-abortion rights movement events, but

when pro-abortion rights speakers discuss pro-abortion rights events, they get more news media attention. While this is not a significant relationship, it is interesting that it is in the same direction as that of the other two countries included in this study. The implications of these tests include that, while speakers and events may appear to get less attention on their own, at times when these are interacted the result is more attention under certain circumstances.

In each country except Ireland, the null hypothesis of Hypothesis 4 must be rejected. There is a statistically significant relationship between whether movement events are pro- or anti-abortion rights (and issue minority or issue majority) in each country and the coverage they receive in the news media. In Canada and Korea, the anti-abortion rights issue minority events are covered much more often than the pro-abortion rights movement events and are covered more frequently than would be expected if the relationship were random. Because the anti-abortion rights movement events in all three countries receive more news media attention, there is the possibility that there is something particular about the anti-abortion rights events that attract news media attention. However, when pro-abortion rights actors in each country speak about pro-abortion rights movement events, news media attention increases, and this relationship is statistically significant in Canada and Ireland. Thus, it appears that journalists give attention to the movement hosting the event or related to the event rather than giving a balanced presentation of views. Events are important for opening discursive opportunities.

Even though my hypothesis is not fully supported and the results are too complex to say clearly that issue minority movement events always tend to get more news media

attention than issue majority events, the results are suggestive that the position of the movement in society – whether they are issue minorities or not – is important in explaining the amount of attention they receive, even while it may not be able to explain news attention to events alone. It is important because issue minority movements might be seen as new and interesting to journalists or because these movements tend to use more controversial tactics and frames due to their position in society and their desire to break into the debate conditions. This is consistent with other literature that puts forth that controversial and confrontational social movements may be more successful overall (Gamson 1990; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996). In the table below, the coverage of all of the events in each country is shown.

When considering all of the events combined, in Ireland there are significantly fewer anti-abortion rights events than would be expected. In Canada, there are more anti-abortion rights events reported overall than pro-abortion rights events, with more anti-abortion rights events accounted for in the news media than would be expected. In South Korea, the same holds, however South Korea is not one of the contributors of significance. This suggests that in Ireland, the reason that the null hypothesis could not be rejected was because of the legislation that was occurring. Because the legislation was

Table 5.11: Coverage of All Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Events by Country

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Life Event	1590 (2022)	1575 (1155)	114 (101.8)
Pro-Choice Event	2123 (1690)	546 (965)	73 (85)

Chi² = 541.1 p < .001

considered “pro-choice” by many (again, despite major issues many pro-abortion rights activists had with the legislation), the news media appears to give more news media attention to pro-abortion rights political events. The Church and activists working outside of the political arena were given more attention than pro-abortion rights activists working outside the political arena, but anti-abortion rights events still received less news media attention overall, and significantly less attention than would be expected if the relationship were due to random chance.

III. Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the coverage of name-dropping tactics among activists, there appears to be no systematic association between name-dropping and news media coverage of activists except, perhaps, in very specific circumstances (discussed earlier). However, in Ireland, Canada, and South Korea, when accounting for all events, the issue minority receives more news coverage of events than the issue majority. Thus, creating or attaching oneself to key events that receive news media attention is an important strategy for all activists and can help issue minority activists attract attention. However, there is a caveat. This is not a statistically significant finding for activist events in Ireland (only for political events in Ireland). In Ireland, the issue majority (anti-abortion rights) events receive more attention than the issue minority, whereas in Canada and Korea, issue minority (anti-abortion rights) events attract the most news media attention.

These findings suggest that there could be something specific about the way in which anti-abortion rights activists organize that attracts attention. Or, it could be a reflection of a more powerful status quo in Ireland that results in soft repression (Ferree 2005) by newspapers to keep pro-abortion rights actor’s voices silent. Indeed, this could be the

case as during my research in Ireland in 2014 I attended the annual March for Choice. The march, which took place in the center of Dublin, attracted around 2500 participants and featured speeches by politicians and doctors, yet only the *Irish Times* covered the event out of the three newspapers included in this content analysis. Finally, the pro-abortion rights activists in Ireland may have gotten less attention to their events because they put all their energy into the legislation that was discussed during two of the five years covered by this dissertation. However, there is the fact that pro-abortion rights speakers' news media attention increases when they discuss a pro-abortion rights activist event. This points to the importance of holding events in creating discursive opportunities. Pro-abortion rights activists in Ireland are also very good at attaching themselves to these events and having their voices heard in this way, as was seen in Chapter Four.

In Ireland to a great extent, but also in each of the other countries, it can be seen that taking advantage of the events outside social movement control is important to getting coverage in the news media. These events open discursive spaces that journalists will fill with various social movement actor voices including those of both activists and politicians, as well as other actors such as doctors or other "experts." Because there are many different potential actors who may be selected by the news media to be given standing, social movement actors must select their frames carefully. This could, in part, explain the high amounts of attention given to anti-abortion rights actors and issues. Strategic framing by social movement actors may contribute to whether they receive news media attention, and their frames may also reflect their positions in society and whether they are opposed to the status quo or not, as will be discussed in next chapter. In

this way, whether a movement is the issue minority or issue majority is important and requires consideration when attempting to answer the question as to why some movements get more attention than others as well as explaining the strategic choices movement actors make and the tactics they use.

CHAPTER SIX **Frames and Human Rights**

As I interviewed activists in South Korea in 2012 about the abortion debate of 2009-2010 and the more recent situation of reproductive rights in South Korea, my pro-abortion rights interviewees frequently referred to the way in which women's rights language is used by their opponents and the government to work toward goals that are opposed to women's rights. For example, anti-abortion rights activists often argued that women's rights required better and cheaper childcare provision so that they would not need to turn to abortion. However, they also advocated for government crackdowns on abortion. Thus, in engaging these arguments, pro-abortion rights activists argued that while anti-abortion rights activists talked of being concerned for the wellbeing of women, they were primarily concerned with the fetus. There is suspicion among the women's rights activists with whom I spoke that many of these anti-abortion rights arguments and efforts that seem to be in favor of women's rights are actually underhanded attempts to manipulate women into having children in order to increase the birthrate.

This discussion about the ways in which rights language can be used by diverse actors relates back to the example given in Chapter Five of the UN Human Rights Committee chair, Nigel Rodley, who accused anti-abortion rights activists of "breathhtaking arrogance" (Cahill 2014) due to their interpretation of the meaning of the "right to life" put forth in the UN's covenant. These activists argued that the UN covenant protects the right to life of a fetus, revealing that even actors who are often politically conservative and have been hostile to institutions such as the United Nations and its human rights treaties claim human rights for their purposes. Irvine (2012) points to this regarding the Concerned Women of America and their global activism when she explains, "In 1979

CWA was established as a conservative women's organization implacably opposed to the UN and its purported intent to internationalize the world's children. Less than three decades later, CWA was an accredited NGO at the UN, and its leaders were arguing that participation there was necessary to represent the views of and 'provide hope to' the majority of the world's women" (48). Even though the CWA denounced the UN as a playground for elitists, they now view the UN as important to their goals.

Other ways in which actors who tend to be suspicious of the international human rights regime use human rights ideas and language can be seen in Canada. In 2012, backbencher Member of Parliament Mark Warawa proposed Motion 408, which called for parliament to condemn sex selective abortion, which he referred to as "gendercide." Warawa promoted the Motion on the United Nation's Day of the Girl and claimed that his Motion 408 targeting sex-selective abortion was consistent with the goals of the UN and its Day of the Girl. He later spoke at the March for Life in Ottawa in 2013 (the theme of which was marching against "gendercide") saying, "A huge thanks goes to the thousands across Canada standing up against all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls," (Wingrove, 2013). Taken out of context, these words could have been said by a women's rights advocate. However, Warawa went on to say, "Step by step, we move forward. We stand up for the rights of women and girls. We stand up for the rights of life" (Wingrove 2013). This combination of human rights language and anti-abortion rights messages is not just about granting fetuses human rights, though this is also a common frame for anti-abortion rights activists. Rather, the language of "gendercide" specifically focuses on how women and girls are harmed by abortion, opening the possibility of attracting new, younger audiences who have been raised in the

age of women's rights and human rights. Long-used frames such as "abortion is murder" or "abortion is immoral" cannot reach these audiences as easily, particularly in a place where abortion rights have become the norm.

This kind of use of women's and girls' rights as a frame for the anti-abortion rights movement in Canada did not come out of nowhere. In 2012 an editorial published in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal (CMAJ)* said that research in Canada had found evidence of gender disparities among the children of select ethnic groups such as Korean, Indian, and Chinese groups and that this could be the result of sex selective abortions due to a preference for male children among these groups (Kale 2012).²¹ Anti-abortion rights actors in Canada used this research to create a human rights issue that could potentially reopen the debate on abortion that had been quiet since the early 1990s.

According to the editorial in the *CMAJ* (which called for a ban on revealing the sex of fetuses in ultrasounds), sex-selective abortion is isolated to groups of first generation immigrants from East and Southeast Asia (Kale 2012; Vogel 2012). While sex-selective abortion is an isolated occurrence in Canada (though it is much more common in other parts of the world), what the use of rights language in connection with this issue may demonstrate is the way in which abortion is framed in circumstances where abortion is legal and there is resistance to opening the debate on abortion. Indeed, Prime Minister Stephen Harper made election promises stating that he does not want to "reopen" the abortion debate and denounces obvious attempts to do so by his backbencher MPs (Galloway 2012). Yet, Mark Warawa's Motion 408 and the 2013 National March for Life

²¹ There are stark racial implications in the fact that the anti-abortion rights movement in Canada chose to rally around this research to call for the human rights of women and girls.

Canada theme against “gendercide” that claimed “‘It’s a Girl’ Shouldn’t be a Death Sentence” (interestingly, the title of the 2012 editorial in the *CMAJ* was titled similarly as, “‘It’s a girl!’ – could be a death sentence”) reveals the way in which arguments about abortion can be taken from international human rights discourse and used for anti-abortion rights purposes in attempts to open the abortion debate in domestic circumstances that have privileged pro-abortion voices, just as pro-abortion rights actors can make claims on women’s human rights to defend legal abortion.

These uses of human rights language seem unusual because, as Irvine (2012) explains, conservative actors tend to be suspicious of the international human rights regimes that have spread human rights language. This is especially the case for anti-abortion rights actors who have often been at odds with international bodies concerned with human rights such as the United Nations. This may be illustrated by the comments made by UN Human Rights Committee chair Nigel Rodley about the “breathtaking arrogance” of anti-abortion rights activists in their claims for the human rights of the fetus or the fact that the United Nations has on numerous occasions called for states to liberalize their abortion laws (including in Ireland), a move that has been criticized by anti-abortion rights actors. In addition, while abortion is not explicitly listed as a right in the text of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the reproductive rights of women are listed and these can be interpreted as including abortion as a right and the Committee on CEDAW has interpreted them in this way (Cook and Dickens 2003; Ngwena 2013).

The actions by various actors and branches of the United Nations (as the largest international organization concerned with human rights) described above are not meant to

be evidence that anti-abortion rights organizations cannot make legitimate human rights claims regarding abortion; however, they do show the complicated relationship anti-abortion rights actors traditionally have with the international concepts of human rights and the organizations that have promoted them. Comparatively, pro-abortion rights actors may also have complicated relationships with human rights institutions, but these institutions have tended to support pro-abortion rights claims, at least at a basic level (such as the need to abortion rights in cases where women's lives are put in danger or in cases of rape, etc.). Thus, it is reasonable to say that the use of human rights language that is often associated with international institutions seems surprising or unusual coming from anti-abortion rights actors, even while I would not go as far as to say that conservative actors have "framejacked" human rights language as Bob (2012) argues.

The results of the framing analysis of this dissertation point to strategic framing processes across three countries in the way human rights enter abortion debates in domestic contexts. Human rights can be used both to launch challenges against women's rights activism (Irvine 2012) and by women's rights activists in the news media. However, do these frames receive the desired news media attention?

I. Framing

Framing is an important part of the political process because it reveals how issues are presented for a particular audience and the implications this can have for defining the realm of political possibilities in response to these issues (Ferree et al. 2002; Brown and Ferree 2005). Ferree (2012) explains, "one of the most radical [potentially transformative] actions a movement can take is to transform the language of politics" (14). Framing is an important part of the process of transforming the language of politics

and I contend that, in addition to the position of a social movement and the other tactics discussed in previous chapters such as the events that open “critical discourse moments” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Brown and Ferree 2005), it can help explain news media attention. Frames can both attract news media attention and, when they are dispersed via the news media, they can have real impact on the characteristics of public debate and the policies that result from debate. In this way, as argued earlier in this dissertation, frames are one way in which social movements can wield a subtle form of power that can have real consequences on the social landscape within which they work.

Different actors can choose from different framing strategies depending on the circumstances they face. For example, Hänggli and Kriesi (2012) suggest that political actors choose from frames with a “substantive emphasis,” “oppositional emphasis” or “contest emphasis.” They look at both media messages and campaign ad messages to compare what political actors’ true preferred frames are versus the frames they use in order to satisfy journalists and gain standing in the news media. In similar fashion, other actors such as those in civil society may choose to put certain frames forward in attempts to gain standing from the news media and sympathy from the public (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993).

In this chapter, I ask: In the abortion debates of Ireland, Canada, and South Korea, which frames receive news media attention, and what actors use these frames? The answer to this question reveals patterns of similarities in abortion debates across these three countries as well as differences. Both the similarities and differences reveal much about the interactions between social movements and the news media and the implications of these interactions. We already know domestic frames matter, and this is

confirmed in this dissertation (Ferree et al. 2002; Smyth 2005; Tsetsura 2013). But human rights frames appear in each country under study and this warrants further examination. The way human rights frames are used is not straightforward and there is still much that can be said about the way that frames and norms travel (Zwingel 2012). The analysis provided in this chapter illuminates the role of human rights frames in attracting attention in domestic debates and the influence this may have on debate conditions and women's rights in democratized countries that appear to have "settled" the debate on abortion.

II. Pro-Abortion Rights and Anti-Abortion Rights Frames

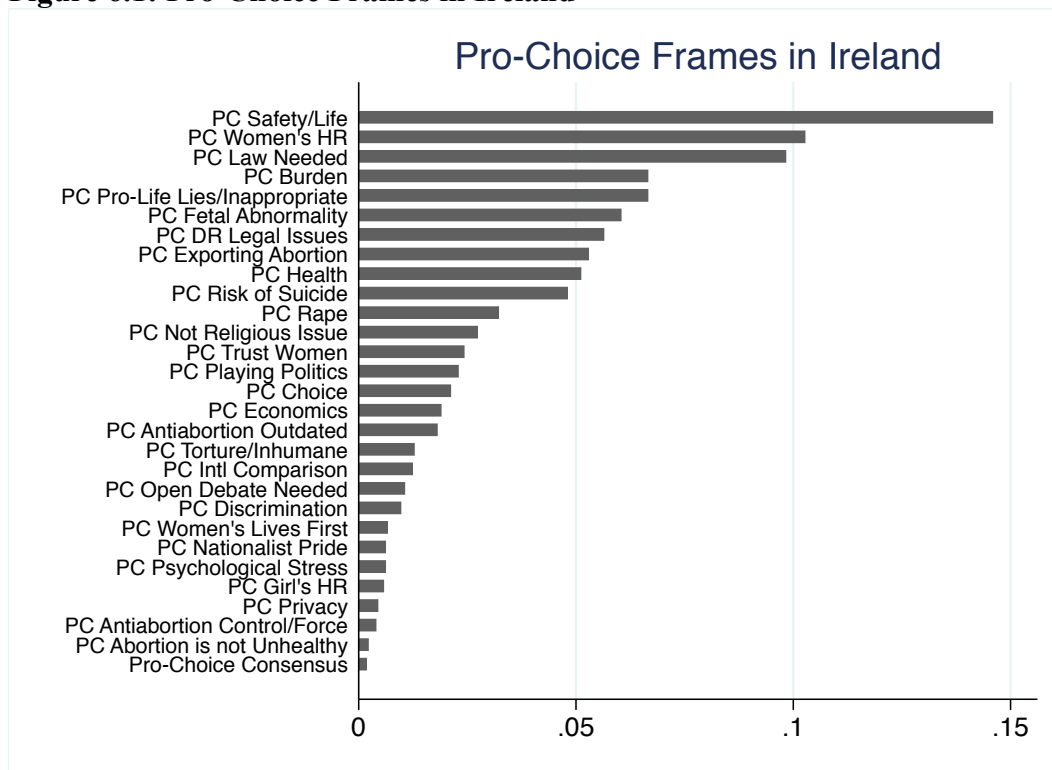
Before testing the hypotheses about framing, descriptive statistics presenting the pro- and anti-abortion rights frames in each country provide an overview of the various frames that appear in use in the news media by various actors in each country (both domestic and international frames) and how social movements compete with one another in framing competitions.

Many prominent pro-abortion rights frames appear in the Irish news media. The top four frames that appear include "Safety/Life," which concerns any frame where abortion is put forth as a necessary procedure to have available in order to ensure women's safety and to save their lives. The second most common is "Women's Human Rights," which includes any way of framing abortion by making references to legally available abortion as a woman's right. The third most common frame used that favors pro-abortion rights arguments was a general "Law Needed" frame. This category included all references to the fact that in Ireland there was a legal gap between the Supreme Court of Ireland ruling that women have a right to abortion in cases where a woman's life is in danger, including

due to suicidal intent, and the law. Finally, the fourth most common frame supporting pro-abortion rights arguments was a “Burden” frame. This frame included statements explaining that not having legal access to abortion in at least some cases is a burden for women because it forces them to travel or seek illegal abortions that are risky, or just because not having access to abortion removes a necessary option that women should have. The burden frame was often accompanied by other frames such as those pointing to the economic burden of pregnancy or the psychological burden of not having access to abortion.

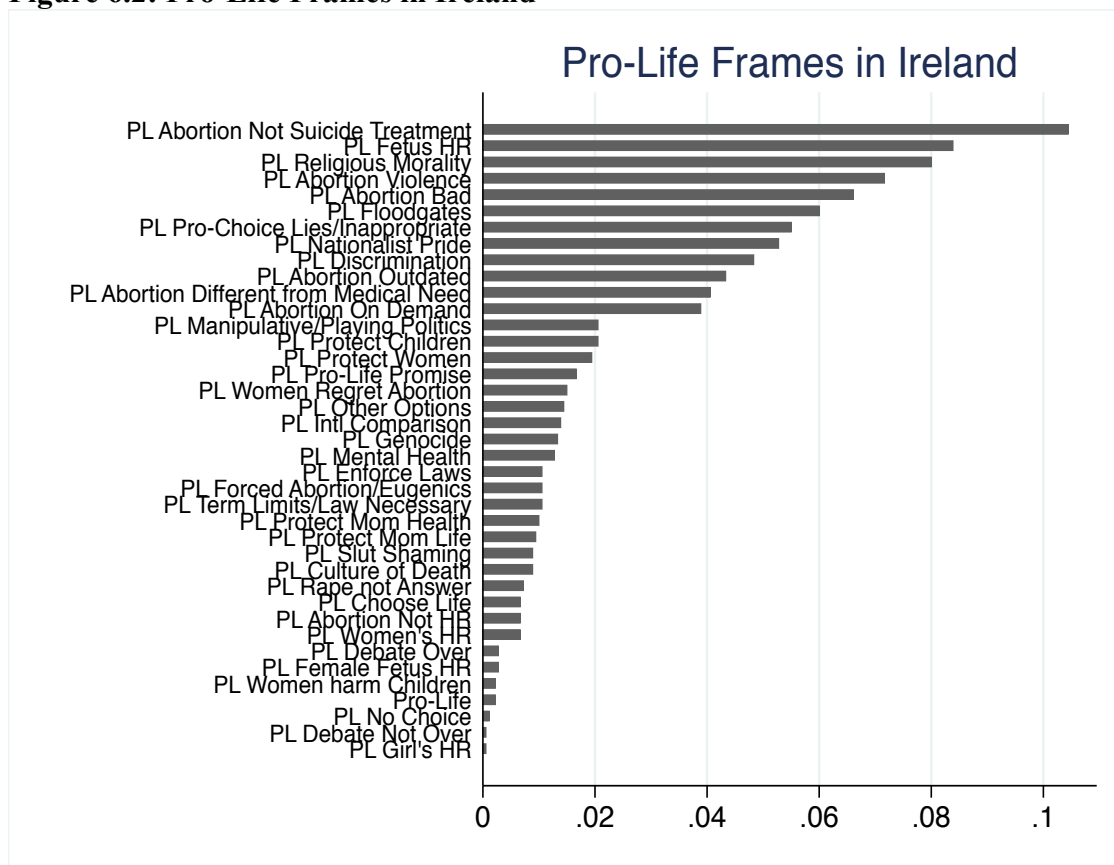
There is more variability in the type of anti-abortion rights frames in Ireland, as compared to the other countries in this study. This could be indicative of splintering within that country’s anti-abortion rights movement, though further research would be

Figure 6.1: Pro-Choice Frames in Ireland



necessary to say this definitively. The top four anti-abortion rights frames that appear in the Irish news include the “Abortion Not Suicide Treatment” frame, which argued against the Supreme Court case that found that a woman has a legal right to abortion when her life is in danger due to her suicidal intent. The second most common frame was the “Fetus Human Rights” frame. This included references to the rights of the fetus as a human being. This is different from the religious frames that often referred to a religious morality to protect fetal life, yet many religious actors used the fetus human rights frame in a non-religious way, saying that fetuses have human rights and making no specific mention as to whether these rights come from God or the state.

Figure 6.2: Pro-Life Frames in Ireland



The third most common frame in news coverage involved religious morality. This included references to a religious respect for life in the womb, or other references to the way the Church feels about abortion (usually referring to the Catholic Church). Finally, the fourth most commonly appearing frame supporting the anti-abortion rights side in Ireland was a frame that argued that abortion is a form of violence or murder against the fetus and should therefore be prevented from being practiced. This frame, like the “choice” frame on the pro-abortion rights side, seems to be a common one in most abortion debates around the world.

There were, of course, many other frames that appeared in the Irish news media. Interestingly, among the top four frames for both sides were those concerned with human rights. Other frames on the anti-abortion rights side tapped into the fear that if any abortion was made legal this would “open the floodgates” of abortion and abortion would become common practice in Ireland. Nationalism was sometimes put at the center of frames of both pro- and anti-abortion rights arguments. Nationalist frames that supported the anti-abortion rights argument made frequent references to the idea that Ireland is a nation that respects life and protects life, or that Ireland is one of the last bastions for a strong Catholic morality in Europe. In all cases where the frame was coded as nationalist, the frame focused on an Irish identity that was, for one reason or another, anti-abortion. When nationalist ideas were used to frame pro-abortion rights arguments, the focus was often on Ireland being a modern, progressive nation that honored human rights and respected individuals.

One particularly interesting frame used by the anti-abortion rights side was the idea that abortion is outdated and unscientific as a medical practice. This frame shows how

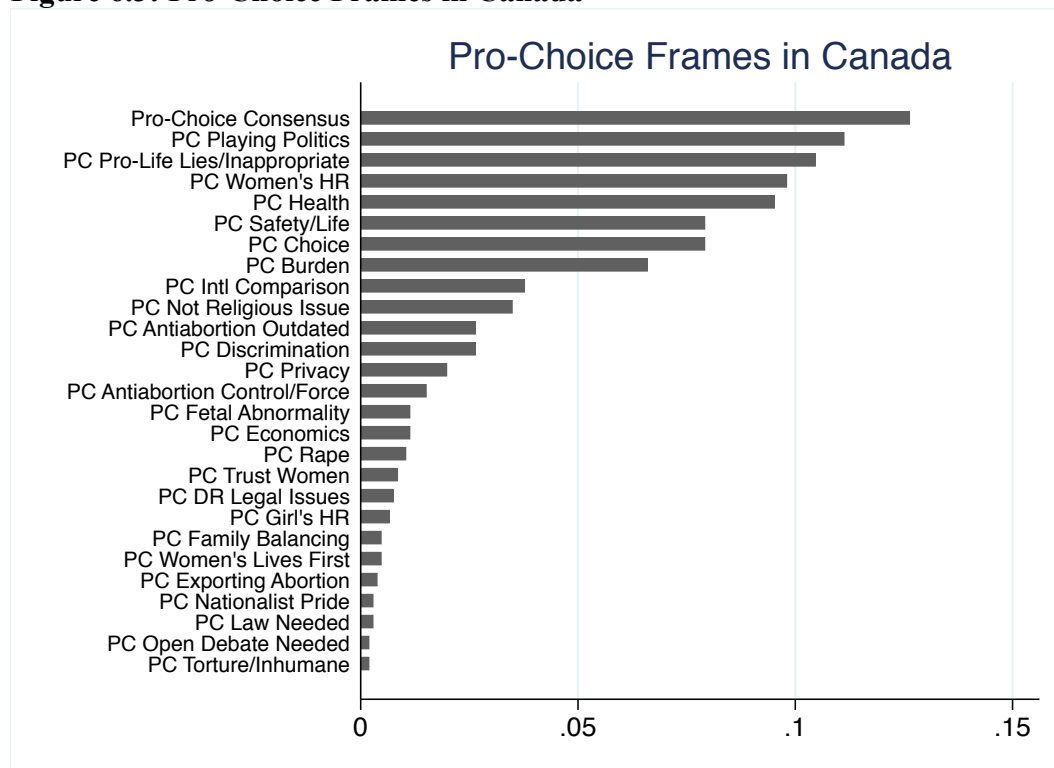
pro- and anti-abortion rights frames often directly counter one another in competitions to dominate the discourse, because on the pro-abortion rights side there was also a frame referring to anti-abortion sentiments as being “backward” and unscientific. Similarly, because the pro-abortion rights Safety/Life frame was so prominent, anti-abortion rights actors (especially members of the Church) responded with a frame that claimed that abortion is something different from the medical practice of removing a fetus when a woman’s life is in danger. This frame arose when the anti-abortion rights side had to contend with pro-abortion rights accusations that they did not value women’s lives enough to save them. Pro- and anti-abortion rights frames countered one another in this way, and sometimes more explicitly, as well, as in the case on both sides where actors would openly accuse their opponents of lying, or using inappropriate tactics to get their way, or of “playing politics” with the issue of abortion. Similar patterns of contention between the anti-abortion rights and pro-abortion rights sides are seen in the other countries under study, as well as interesting dominant frames.

In Canada, the type of pro-abortion rights frames appearing most often in the news media suggest that the issue majority is on the defensive in that country. The top three frames all focus on either defending the status quo or on undermining the anti-abortion rights movement. These include the “Pro-Choice Consensus,” “Playing Politics,” and “Pro-Life Lies/Inappropriate” frames. This method of framing messages in ways that undermine opponents is interesting because this is what Ferree (2005) might refer to as “soft repression,” a tactic often used against women’s movements in places where women’s movements are working an offensive angle. It seems that in Canada on the particular issue of abortion, where women’s right to abortion is not restricted at the

national level (although as mentioned, at the provincial level there are restrictions that women's rights activists fight against), the pro-abortion rights movement can focus on defending the status quo and thus uses tactics such as what Ferree would call "Ridicule" (Ferree 2005).

The top most commonly appearing frame that was reported in the news media in support of pro-abortion rights arguments in Canada is "Pro-Choice Consensus." This refers to the idea that in Canada, there is a consensus among the majority of people and politicians that the abortion debate is over and Canadians support access to abortion. The Consensus frame was often accompanied with statistics from poll results that showed that public opinion overwhelmingly supports abortion rights. The second most common frame

Figure 6.3: Pro-Choice Frames in Canada



focused on accusations of anti-abortion rights actors of “playing politics” with women’s lives by attempting to restrict abortion access. The third most common frame was that anti-abortion rights actors make up lies and/or behave inappropriately in order to get their way. All three of these common frames focus on establishing that the majority of people support abortion rights in Canada and undermining anti-abortion rights arguments by calling them out and accusing them of bad behavior. The fourth most common frame to appear in the Canadian news media, though, is a more offense-oriented frame that focuses on women’s human rights and establishes that women have a human right to access to abortion, both due to Canadian and international law.

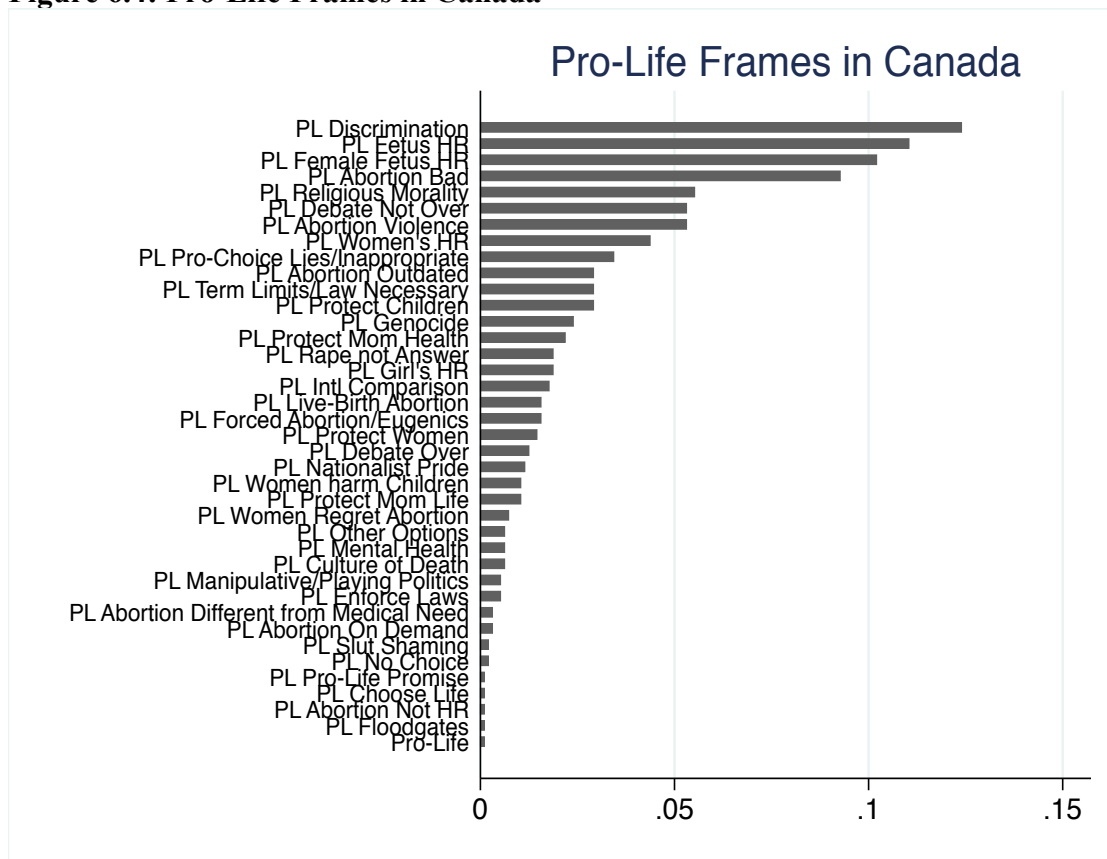
Often human rights were mentioned as something that Canadians have embraced and prioritized (Clément 2012) and denying women the right to abortion denies them their human rights. Because general rights references and human rights references are often tied up in one another, they are difficult to untangle. Originally, I had separate codes for women’s rights and women’s human rights, but this proved too difficult to distinguish in all of the countries under study, so I combined these frames into the “Women’s Human Rights” frame. This frame, however, doesn’t include any references to women’s right to choose, women’s right to privacy, women’s right to abortion for economic reasons, etc., which were coded separately and are often based in domestic legal frameworks of rights. Thus, the “Women’s Human Rights” frame can be safely said to be focused on international or non-domestic sources of human rights, and this also applies in Ireland and Korea.

In Canada, anti-abortion rights frames again are more varied. However, there are just a few that dominate the anti-abortion rights rhetoric as seen in the media. The first is that

anti-abortion rights actors are discriminated against in Canada. This frame included claims that when anti-abortion rights actors protested or demonstrated they were often arrested or ticketed unfairly because their opinions were not popular with the government. There also were several cases when this frame was used because student groups at universities were told they could not demonstrate their graphic photos of fetuses in certain places or at certain times.

These claims were particularly interesting because on the one hand they relied on the idea that the anti-abortion rights side is the “minority” that is discriminated against by society and government. On the other hand, the sixth most commonly reported frame in

Figure 6.4: Pro-Life Frames in Canada



Canada involves the claim that the abortion debate is not over, and this claim was often backed up with results from polls that suggested a majority of Canadians were uncomfortable with some kinds of abortion (such as “sex-selective,” “late-term,” or “live birth” abortion, or “abortion on demand”). So, at once anti-abortion rights actors in Canada made claims that they were the minority (martyrs attempting to save lives) and the majority (representative of what the people actually want and what the pro-abortion rights government denies them). To a lesser extent this was also seen in Ireland in that the pro-abortion rights activists referred to poll results that showed that increasing numbers of Irish people are supportive of at least some abortion rights in Ireland, while also explaining that in Ireland abortion is a very taboo subject that many people do not want to discuss. This tension seems to be a common experience for issue minorities, as in Korea the anti-abortion rights activists made similar claims, though in Korea the situation is slightly murkier because technically abortion is already illegal.

The second most common anti-abortion rights frame appearing in the news media in Canada concerned fetus’ human rights, and the third was about female fetus’ human rights specifically. These frames first became popular due to a few politicians and the motions they brought before Parliament (which were all defeated or not allowed to go to a vote). Stephen Woodworth, an MP for Kitchener, and Mark Warawa, MP for Langley, are two of the most prominent politician supporters of the anti-abortion rights movement. Mark Warawa’s motion against what he framed as discrimination against women’s and girls’ human rights in the form of sex-selective abortion has already been discussed. Warawa’s work helped disseminate the sex-selective abortion frame concerned with the human rights of female fetuses. Stephen Woodworth also received significant amounts of

news media attention when he put forth Motion 312 in 2012, which called for the creation of a parliamentary committee to review the Criminal Code of Canada to determine when life begins. In his arguments he frequently framed the issue as a human rights issue, where the Criminal Code of Canada is in violation of human rights because it says that human rights are conferred at the moment of complete birth. Woodworth often referred to the Criminal Code as being backwards, out of date, and contrary to modern international human rights norms.

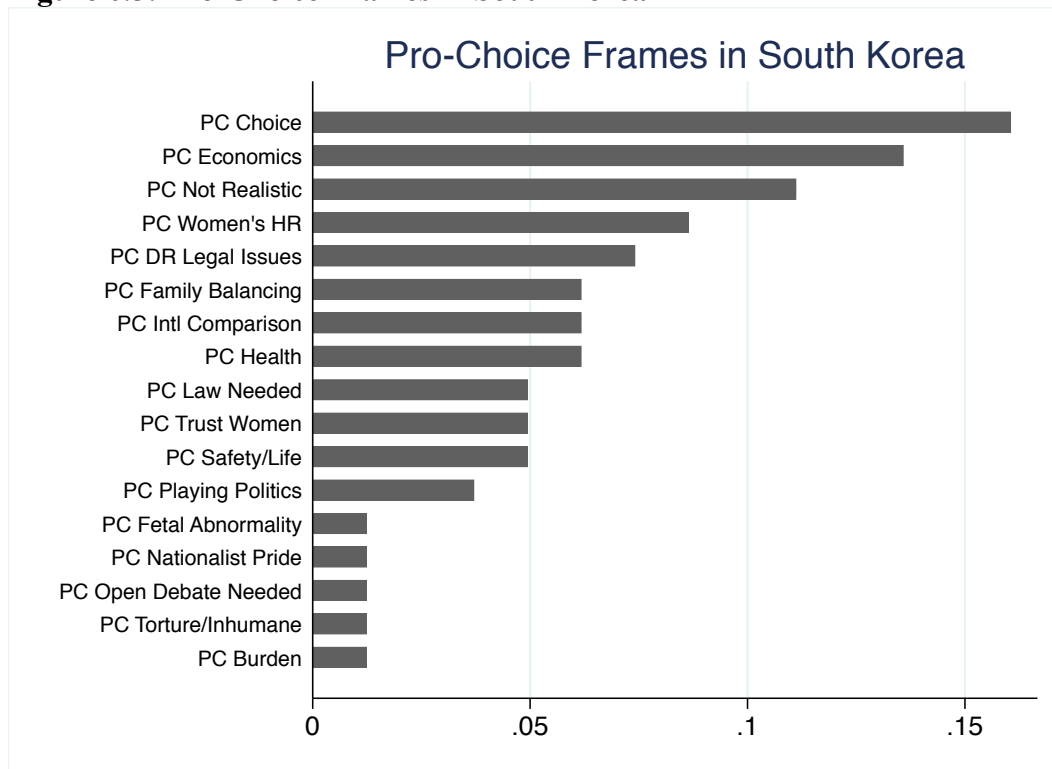
The fourth most common anti-abortion rights frame seen in the media is a general frame that often occurred when anti-abortion rights actors argued against abortion but did not give clearly reasoned arguments. This was coded as the “Abortion is Bad” frame. It may have occurred when news journalists wanted to present opposing views but did not include more specific frames. In this way, it could be indicative of the media’s role in a form of Ferree’s (2005) idea of “Silencing” as a part of soft repression. Because part of the goal social movements have in getting news media attention is to disseminate their messages framed in particular ways to a wider audience, general frames arguing that abortion is wrong without giving their reasons might not be their preferred frames for news media reporting.

The general “Abortion is bad” frame is similar to the fourth most common pro-abortion rights frame in Ireland, which was the “Burden” frame. The fact that the issue minorities in both these countries had, as their fourth largest frame, a general frame reflecting their positions but without an argument to frame it adds further support for the possibility that the news media may have been practicing a form of silencing against those attempting to challenge the status quo even though at face value they gave standing

to these actors and were attracted to their events. In Korea, too, while less common, the anti-abortion rights “Abortion bad” frame was the sixth most commonly reported frame that appeared in the news media. In all three countries at times the actors were given standing but full frames seem to not have been reported. Indeed, these actors reported as using such generic frames seem to be denied the important act of transforming and defining the language surrounding the issue of abortion (Ferree 2012). This raises questions about the quality versus quantity of attention given in the news media, which require more exploration in future research.

A glance at the graph above that shows the frequency of various pro-abortion rights frames in South Korea reveals several observations. First, the most common pro-abortion rights frame is the “Choice” frame. The “Choice” frame in Ireland and Canada was

Figure 6.5: Pro-Choice Frames in South Korea

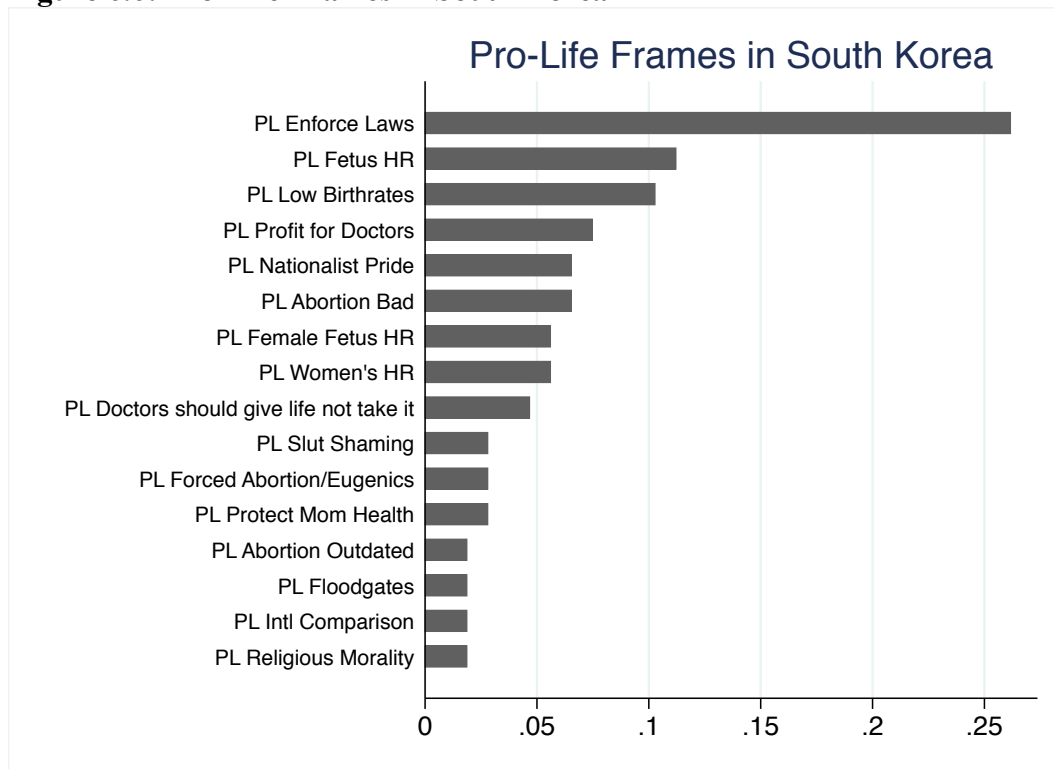


reported in use less frequently by pro-abortion rights actors, which is interesting because I found most pro-abortion rights activists did not shy away from its use. Possibly, journalists simply do not report it as frequently in Ireland. While there were fewer articles and statements available to code in Korea generally, it seems when pro-abortion rights actors got their voices heard they were using the idea that women have a right to make their own choices when it comes to abortion to frame their arguments. The second most used pro-abortion rights frame was the economic frame. This one concentrated on the fact that many women choose abortion because of economic need, tied to the difficulty of being a single mother in Korea due to social stigma. The third most commonly reported pro-abortion rights frame was one situated solidly within the domestic circumstances of Korea. This frame was that it is “Not Realistic” to get rid of abortion. The argument supported by this frame is that abortion is a procedure that, for a variety of reasons, will always be needed by women and thus to attempt to end it is unrealistic. This frame is geared toward anti-abortion rights opponents and attempts to undermine their arguments by pointing out that their goals simply are not supported by the realities of South Korea. Lastly, the women’s human rights frame was the fourth most frequently reported frame in support of pro-abortion rights views.

The anti-abortion rights frame most often reported in South Korea was a frame that is fully dependent on the domestic context of Korea’s abortion laws. This frame calls for the government to enforce the abortion laws. As previously explained, abortion is technically illegal in Korea, though widely practiced. In the “Enforce Laws” frame, anti-abortion rights actors are giving recognition to the fact that in Korea abortion is a common practice and has been accepted by much of society. However, the anti-abortion

rights argument is that the law should be respected and the government should enforce the law. After this frame, the second most frequently used anti-abortion rights frame is the “Fetus Human Rights” frame, which argues that fetuses are human beings and therefore have rights. The third most commonly reported frame is another frame unique to Korea. This one concerns the preoccupation the government and much of the population of Korea has with low birthrates. Some anti-abortion rights activists argued that abortion should be prevented and punished because Korea is facing economic hardship due to low birthrates and high rates of abortion are not helping the situation. Finally, another uniquely Korean frame appeared in the form of the fourth most commonly reported anti-abortion rights frame. This frame, “Profit for Doctors,” came from the group of anti-abortion rights doctors that received the bulk of news coverage for

Figure 6.6: Pro-Life Frames in South Korea



their protests and campaigns against abortion. They argued that many doctors are reluctant to stop offering abortion because they make a great profit from abortion services. The frames that can be seen reported in the news media in Korea are often different from the frames seen in Ireland and Canada, and yet there are sometimes surprising similarities.

Frames come in many forms in each of the countries under study in this dissertation. Many frames reported in the news media are quite specific to the cultural and institutional circumstances of each country. Yet, there are also many frames that are seen in use and reported in the news media across all three countries or in more than one of the countries, suggesting that frames are shared and borrowed across borders. Among the top most frequently reported frames there are frames relating to human rights claims. Perhaps even more interestingly, in all of the countries, anti-abortion rights women's and girls' human rights frames appeared, though they were most common in Canada and, to a lesser extent, South Korea. This, and their much less frequent use in Ireland, suggests that being the issue minority does matter regarding whether or not these frames are attractive. This observation leads to further discussion of the uses of domestic and international frames and the influences on when they appear in use in the news media.

III. Domestic Frames

In their 2002 work, Ferree et al. argue that the frames that appeared in their discourse analysis of the abortion debate in Germany and the United States were most often rooted in “the specific history, institutions, and culture of each country” (302). The frames that were resonant and available depended upon the discursive opportunity structures that shaped these possibilities (Ferree et al. 2002; Halfmann 2011). Ferree et al. (2002)

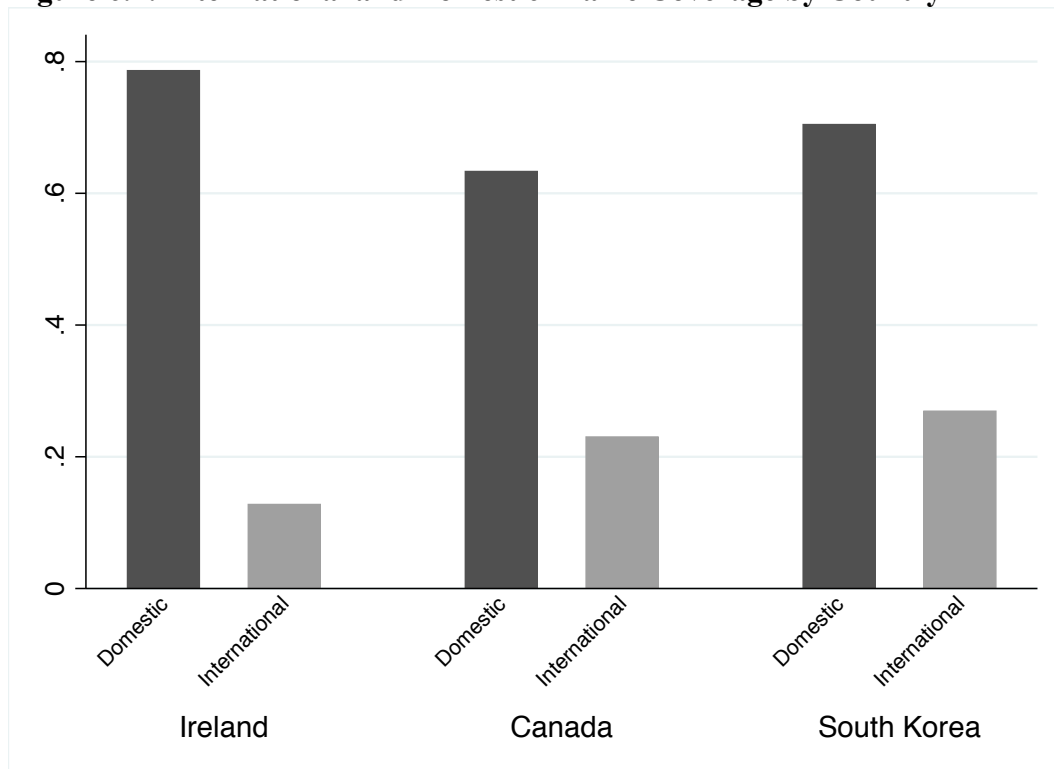
conclude that “a globalization argument suggests that the abortion discourse in Germany and the United States should have converged in the last few decades, but we see no evidence of this. Deeply rooted national cultures and institutions continue to shape the discourse on abortion and other issues” (302). This observation leads to Hypothesis 5.

H₅: Social movement frames that respond to domestic political, social, and cultural contexts and institutions will appear in the news media more frequently than frames that are influenced by international ideas.

Ferree et al. (2002) made an important contribution when they showed that, contrary to what would be expected according to ideas about the spread of globalization and its potential effect on framing, domestic circumstances rule when it comes to framing.

McCammon (2012a) points out that strategic adaptation relies on the ability to read one's political and social environment, and Smyth (2005) offers further evidence that domestic

Figure 6.7: International and Domestic Frame Coverage by Country



environments form the discursive opportunity structures in her study of Ireland. Thus, I hypothesize that domestically inspired frames will dominate. This makes sense, as well, because, while social movements often have transnational support networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998) and, specifically, pro- and anti-abortion rights movements take place at a global level, Ferree et al. (2002) found that the focus of international and transnational movements tended to be on countries in the global South rather than places such as Germany and the United States (Ferree et al. 2002). While there is geographic and cultural variation among the countries in the present study, none of the countries can be considered a part of the global South. As expected, the content analysis in this dissertation reveals that domestically shaped frames are the most prominent in each country under study.

In Ireland, only a very small percentage of the frames used overall are considered in this analysis as “international” or global frames. There were more in South Korea, which might be due to its geographic proximity to some countries of the global South, but in Canada there were also more international frames than the proportion seen in Ireland. Overall, there is support for Hypothesis 5 and the null hypothesis can be rejected. There are clearly many more domestic frames than international appearing in news media reports. However, this dissertation contends that the international frames warrant careful study because they do appear in each country. Further, what constitutes a domestic versus international or global frame calls for discussion.

Table 6.1: Domestic and International Frames by Type

	<i>Frame Type</i>	
	Pro-Choice	Pro-Life
Domestic	Privacy Rape Economics Health Safety/Life Women's Lives First Not Religious Issue Playing Politics Pro-Life Lies Burden Pro-Choice Consensus Family Balancing Discrimination Anti-abortion Outdated Anti-abortion Control Trust Women Dr. Legal Issues Law Needed Abortion is not Unhealthy Exporting Abortion Open Debate Needed Psychological Stress Nationalist Pride Fetal Abnormality Risk of Suicide Not Realistic	Abortion Violence Protect Mom Life Protect Mom Health Culture of Death Religious Morality Abortion on Demand Abortion No Choice Discrimination Abortion Bad Debate Not Over Mental Health Debate Over Protect Children Protect Women Women Harm Children Term Limits/Law Needed Pro-Choice Lies Floodgates Slut Shaming Enforce Laws Other Options Abortion not HR Nationalist Pride Women Regret Abortion Abortion Different from Medical Need Abortion Outdated Playing Politics Abortion Not Suicide Treatment Choose Life Pro-Life Promise Rape: Abortion not Answer Live-Birth Abortion Low Birthrates Profit for Doctors Doctors should give life not take it
International	Women's Human Rights Girls' Human Rights Choice International Comparison Torture/Inhumane	Girl's Human Rights Fetus Human Rights Women's Human Rights Female Fetus HR International Comparison Genocide Forced Abortion/Eugenics

The table above shows the entire list of frames I coded in my framing analysis and whether I included them as “domestic” or “international.” Some of the frames were difficult to categorize. As can be seen, I placed the pro-abortion rights “Choice” frame in the international frame because one of my interviewees in Ireland argued that the “choice” frame is useful because it is an “international term” with a commonly understood meaning and is thus useful for pro-abortion rights activists in Ireland to speak to wider audiences.²² Yet, there are certainly other frames included in the domestic frames that could also be called international terms because they have common meaning across countries. Indeed, as I attempted to break the frames into those clearly inspired from domestic versus international experiences and institutions, I was surprised by how difficult this task was. On the one hand, some frames are obviously and clearly born of domestic circumstances. In the anti-abortion rights domestic list, for example, the “Low Birthrates” frame only occurred in South Korea because the government and populace of South Korea is very concerned with Korea’s very low birthrates and the effect this will have on the future of Korea’s economy. Other frames are clearly the product of international institutions and discussions about human rights, such as when pro-abortion rights groups call the denial of abortion rights tantamount to forced pregnancy and torture.

Determining what frames are international and which are domestic is an important, albeit difficult, exercise not only because I use this distinction in some of the statistical work here, but also because actors may attempt to share frames with or borrow frames from corresponding actors in other countries. For example, Ferree et al. (2002) do not just

²² Dr. Marion Dyer, Interview, September 29, 2014 (Dublin).

argue that different frames will appear in different countries. They suggest that a lack of globalized discourse means that different frames will be used at different rates in each country depending on their domestic institutions and circumstances. Thus, for example, the “Choice” frame may appear in usage in all countries, but will be more often used in countries whose domestic institutions and culture make it more resonant. Following this logic, this includes the possibility that domestic circumstances can determine whether or not a social movement sees the use of global human rights frames as strategic, which makes sense when one considers the way in which the girls’ human rights frames came to be used in Canada, for example. These frames could resonate in Canada because of its cultural and institutional environment. However, part of this environment includes a self-proclaimed deep dedication to international human rights norms (Clément 2012), which stems from international influences. Thus, there is also the possibility that not only movement scholars, but also discourse scholars, have “undervalued the impact of *global* political and economic processes in structuring the *domestic* possibilities for successful collective action” (McAdam 1996, 34) or, in this case, these global processes may structure domestic framing possibilities and patterns.

Both domestic and global circumstances create the possibilities for social movements and their discursive strategies. For example, in Ireland, the European Court of Human Rights ruling, as well as other events involving the United Nations Human Rights Committee, influenced the domestic context of Ireland and led to creating critical discourse moments where using human rights to frame abortion was entirely appropriate and resonant. In South Korea, frequent references to the practices of other countries were made as reasons for and against legal abortion (as seen in the ally-claiming section), and

at the same time, several of the most common frames were embedded in domestic conditions such as low birthrates and the legal status of abortion. Domestic circumstances are not the only determinants of framing strategies, and sometimes the domestic and international are difficult to untangle. This dissertation further proposes that movements that oppose the abortion status quo in their countries may find international human rights frames attractive, particularly for attracting news media attention, because of their position in the domestic environment. Whether or not the use of international human rights frames is a successful tactic for attracting news media attention is studied in the remainder of Chapter Six.

IV. Human Rights Frames

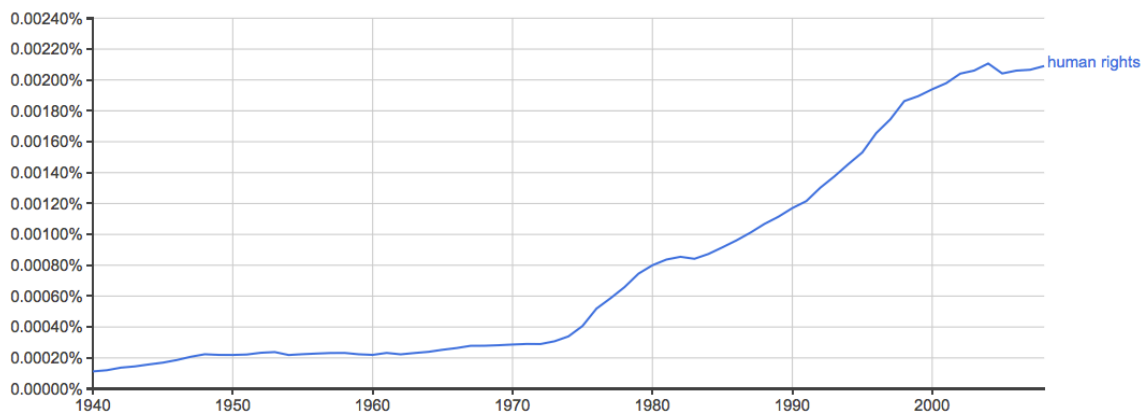
While human rights norms have been spreading continuously through the process of globalization for several decades, they have increased quite a bit even in the last two decades. For example, Heo and Rakowski (2014) argue that in South Korea feminists in the 1990s used a culturally inspired “preservation of the family” frame in their campaign against domestic violence rather than a human rights frame. However, in the current environment in Korea the human rights frame has become a much more attractive and resonant option. In particular, frames – and it is unlikely that human rights frames are exceptions – may work better to mobilize populations when they strike a balance between resonance and opposition to existing values (Hewitt and McCammon 2004). Because human rights norms have diffused over the years, these frames are easier to work into domestic situations without risk of becoming the tools of self-censorship that Heo and Rakowski warn can come with culturally resonant frames (Heo and Rakowski 2014). Particularly because this study is focused on national discourse as opposed to subnational

discourse (Boyle and Carbon-López 2006), it is important to study human rights frames and their uses.

A simple way to observe the trend of the expansion of human rights discourse is by observing how often the words “human rights” appear in books on Google Books as seen in the Google NGram data presented in the table below.²³

The data that was collected through the Ferree et al. (2002) content analysis covers 1962-1994 (with large gaps between 1962 and 1970). As can be seen in the NGram graph, usage of the term “human rights” has steadily increased in the books available on Google Books between 1940-2008. This is probably indicative of a more general increase of interest in human rights as a topic of importance. While giving specific attention to the role of human rights in the abortion debate was not as obviously necessary during the time period of interest in the Ferree et al. research, to ignore the potential role of human

Figure 6.8: Google NGram Graph of Human Rights Term Search



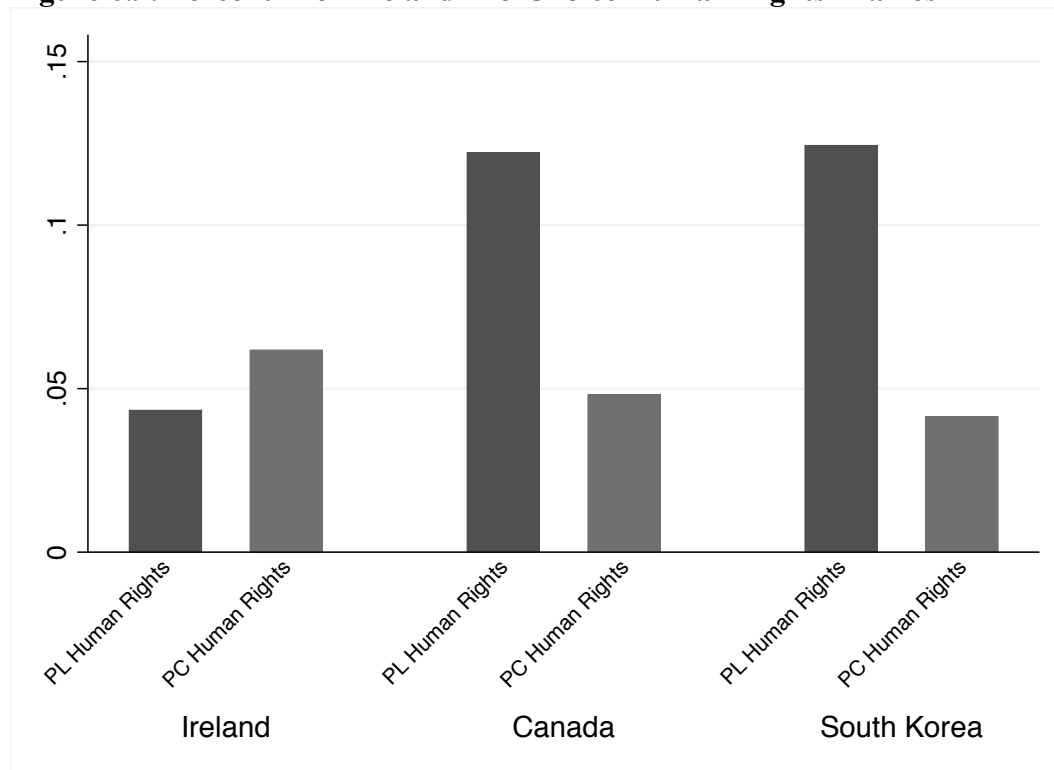
²³ Google Books has been working on a project to digitize every book printed. Information on this process and the books collected is available here: <http://www.google.com/intl/en/googlebooks/about/index.html>

rights in abortion debates now would be shortsighted. To my knowledge, this dissertation is the first systematic comparative study to include a framing analysis of the abortion debate in several countries since the Ferree et al. (2002) book, and my study contributes important insights into social movement strategies, including the use of human rights in framing abortion by both anti- and pro-abortion rights actors, and how this may attract attention from the news media.

Studying human rights frames and the ways in which they make their way into abortion debates in different countries is a timely issue as well as an indicator of potential processes related to the creation of a global discourse on abortion, even while domestic influences are still undoubtedly important. Understanding who uses human rights to frame the abortion debate reveals more about the social movements and the strategies that attract news media attention in different domestic circumstances. In particular, returning to the discussion of the many uses of human rights from earlier in this chapter and in Chapter Two, both pro- and anti-abortion rights actors may find human rights frames useful at various times and in different contexts. Therefore, the first hypothesis regarding human rights framing is that these frames are not limited to only one side in the debate.

H₆: Human rights-based frames will appear in use in each of the countries under study by both “issue majorities” and “issue minorities.”

The spread of human rights norms across many countries suggests that, in the countries under study, human rights will be used to frame abortion whether or not it appears in the news media often. Both pro- and anti-abortion rights actors will use human rights framings and they will sometimes use frames that are quite similar to argue for different goals (Bob 2012). The part of Hypothesis 6 that says human rights-based frames will appear in each of the countries under study is supported by the graph above that

Figure 6.9: Percent Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Human Rights Frames

*Issue minorities: Canada and South Korea = anti-abortion rights, Ireland = pro-abortion rights

shows domestic and international frames. The international frames are almost all human rights based frames and appear in the news media coverage in each of the countries (in Ireland the least).

As can be gleaned from the evidence presented in the graph above, the null hypothesis for Hypothesis 6 must be rejected. Both issue minorities and issue majorities in each country appear in the media using human rights frames, thus the test of Hypothesis 6 is straightforward and nothing more is necessary beyond the above descriptive statistics showing the usage of human rights frames by both pro-abortion and anti-abortion actors in each country. In addition, by using the same descriptive statistics, a test of Hypothesis 7 can be conducted.

H₇: Social movement activists and allies who are opposed to the status quo in their country will appear in the media using human rights frames more frequently than those supporting the status quo.

Hypothesis 7 states that the issue minority will appear in the media using human rights frames more frequently than the issue majority in each country. This is one way to get a rough understanding of how often the frames are used by different actors, though of course it is only as it appears in the news media. In Ireland, where the issue minority is pro-abortion rights, there are slightly more pro-abortion rights human rights-based frames reported. In Canada and South Korea, where the issue minorities are anti-abortion rights (in South Korea they are arguably the issue minority), more anti-abortion rights human rights frames appear in the news media than pro-abortion rights human rights frames. This observation shows support for Hypothesis 7.

The evidence supports Hypothesis 7 and suggests that the null must be rejected in all three countries. In each country, the issue minority human rights frames are reported in the news media more frequently than the issue majority. This is consistent with my theory that issue minorities may find human rights frames more useful because of the hostility toward their messages in their domestic environments. This also introduces the possibility that a social movement's position relative to the status quo influences the frames it uses. Because issue minorities face hostile domestic environments that support a status quo that these social movements fight against, appealing to an international audience and using frames that disrupt the domestic order may be particularly strategic for these groups. Therefore, their oppositional position toward the status quo may influence their use of human rights, and as can be seen, ideology does not appear to be the dominant explanation for the appearance of human rights frames, as in Ireland the

pro-abortion rights human rights frames appear most in the news media coverage and in Canada and South Korea anti-abortion rights human rights frames appear most often.

In the graphs above it can be seen that, while the issue minority human rights frames are reported more often in the news media than those of the issue majority, human rights frames are not always the most frequently used frames overall for either the issue minorities or the issue majorities. Domestically-based frames that respond to and are shaped by the political and social institutions and environment of the country in question are still very important, and this is consistent with previous literature (Ferree et al. 2002; Smyth 2005). However, the findings of this content analysis are also consistent with literature that argues that there are global trends leading to human rights becoming more important in domestic contexts (Ropp and Sikkink 1999; Stammers 1999; Bob 2007; Reilly 2007; Savage 2009; Simmons 2009; Towns 2010; Bob 2012; Clément 2012). The results of the content analysis identify the widespread use of various types of human rights frames by both pro- and anti-abortion rights actors who are either defenders or challengers of the status quos in their home countries. Whether the use of human rights frames is an effective tool for attracting news media attention, especially for issue minorities, remains to be seen.

H₈: When social movement activists and allies use human rights frames they will receive more news media attention compared to when they do not use human rights frames.

Testing Hypothesis 8 is difficult given the data that is provided by the content analysis. Using the media as the primary data source does not provide information on the universe of frames and frame usage, but only what is presented in the media. Thus, just as with the hypotheses regarding name-dropping and events, I am cautious in making claims

about what frames attract news media attention compared to other frames overall. I have taken steps to be conservative in my conclusions, keeping in mind that they are based on a sample drawn from the news media and not a sample from the universe of actual frame usage. Still, studying which frames get more news coverage than others within the diverse sample of news media data collected does shed light on which frames appear in the news media most often systematically, which allows me to at least partially observe whether some frames are associated with more news media attention (in the form of standing) for the actors using them compared to other frames.

In addition, qualitative data collected in each country via interviews or qualitative content analysis of social movement organization websites and materials can give an indication of the types of frames that are used by pro- and anti-abortion rights activists outside the news media reports. For example, in Canada the qualitative analysis of anti-abortion rights websites suggests that there are some anti-abortion rights organizations or websites that focus on women and “pro-woman” arguments in their frames (the anti-abortion rights website ProWomanProLife.com is one such website in Canada that avoids older frames and opts for frames that emphasize the ability to be pro-woman and anti-abortion rights). However, the analysis of other organization websites such as the Campaign for Life Coalition website suggests that pro-life human rights frames may be over-reported in the news media coverage as there are many other frames used by this organization on their website and only a few human rights frames.

For example, in the press releases on the Campaign for Life Coalition’s website, human rights frames do appear. One press release discussed the launch of a new website that organizers claim serves as an educational tool for explaining the scientific reasons

there is a need to grant human rights to fetuses in the womb. But, more commonly, frames in these press releases focused on abortion as murder or violence against the fetus or the right of individual taxpayers to refuse to pay for abortion funding, etc. There appears to be an over-representation of human rights frames in the news media considering the number of times human rights anti-abortion rights frames appeared and comparing this to the press releases of one of the major pro-life organizations in Canada. This may suggest that when anti-abortion rights groups in Canada use human rights frames they receive more news media attention than when they do not. Do human rights frames attract news media attention? The following analysis attempts to answer this question with the data I have collected in the quantitative content analysis.

Chi-Square tests of how often pro- and anti-abortion rights activists in each country are reported as using human rights frames in each country are conducted. This shows whether there are significantly more human rights frames used by either anti-abortion rights or pro-abortion rights activists in each country than would be expected if the relationship between stance and coverage of human rights frames were random. In the tables below, the results of the Chi-square tests for each country are reported.

There is not much happening in these Chi-Square tests. The most interesting results appear in Ireland, where pro-abortion rights activists' human rights frames appear in the news media significantly more often than is expected if the relationship between activist type and frame type was random (expected values are in parentheses). There are also significantly fewer anti-abortion rights human rights frames than expected. The frames reflected in the news media may not be an accurate account of how often social movement activists actually use human rights frames, but this is important information. If pro-abortion rights activists appear in the news media using human rights frames as frequently or more often than anti-abortion rights activists in Ireland as is reflected in the Chi-square test, this suggests that there is something about human rights frames that is attractive to pro-abortion rights activists in particular, which is consistent with my theory that issue minorities may view human rights frames as strategic given the domestic circumstances they face. If, however, the news media is over-reporting the use of human rights frames by pro-abortion rights activists, it could mean that there is something about the use of human rights frames that attracts news media attention. One logical conclusion to this observation would be that when pro-abortion rights activists in Ireland use human

Table 6.2: Coverage of Human Rights Frames Used by Activists in Ireland

Activist Type	<i>Frame Types</i>	
	Non-Human Rights	Human Rights
Pro-Choice Activists	321 (336.1)	63 (47.9)
Pro-Life Activists	324 (308.9)	29 (44.1)
*Parentheses = Expected count		Chi ² = 11.2 p < .001

Table 6.3: Coverage of Human Rights Frames Used by Activists in Canada

Activist Type	<i>Frame Types</i>	
	Non-Human Rights	Human Rights
Pro-Choice Activists	174 (176)	35 (33)
Pro-Life Activists	232 (230)	41 (43)

*Parentheses = Expected count Chi² = .266 p = .606

rights frames, their frames will be reported in the media more often than when they do not use these frames.

Given the missing information here, neither of the above conclusions can be definitively put forth. Further, there was no statistical significance reflected in the relationships between human rights frames and actor type in Canada. While in Canada it appears that pro-abortion rights activists are associated with human rights frames slightly more often than expected if the relationship between activist type and human rights frames were random, the relationship lacks statistical significance. The same is true of the Chi-square test for South Korea, where the expected counts and the actual counts are exactly the same.

The lack of significance in the results of the Chi-square tests of activist frame use in Canada and South Korea suggests that these results might only be applicable to Ireland. More tests are conducted in an attempt to further elucidate the use of human rights frames

Table 6.4: Coverage of Human Rights Frames Used by Activists in South Korea

Activist Type	<i>Frame Types</i>	
	Non-Human Rights	Human Rights
Pro-Choice Activists	17 (17)	5 (5)
Pro-Life Activists	37 (37)	11 (11)

*Parentheses = Expected count Chi² = .000 p = .986

in each country. It is possible that limiting the sample to only activists prevents broader patterns of frame appearances in the media (and the actor-type with which they are associated) from being observed. Social movements' primary "movers and shakers" may be activists, but social movements rely on the support of a diverse array of actors who are sometimes directly involved in the movement. Including these actors and the frames associated with them in the statistical tests may elucidate the role of human rights frames further.

Table 6.5: Coverage of Human Rights Frames Usage Among Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Actors in Ireland

Stance	<i>Frame Types</i>	
	Non-Human Rights	Human Rights
Pro-Choice	1399 (1438.4)	209 (169.6)
Pro-Life	1547 (1543.1)	178 (181.9)

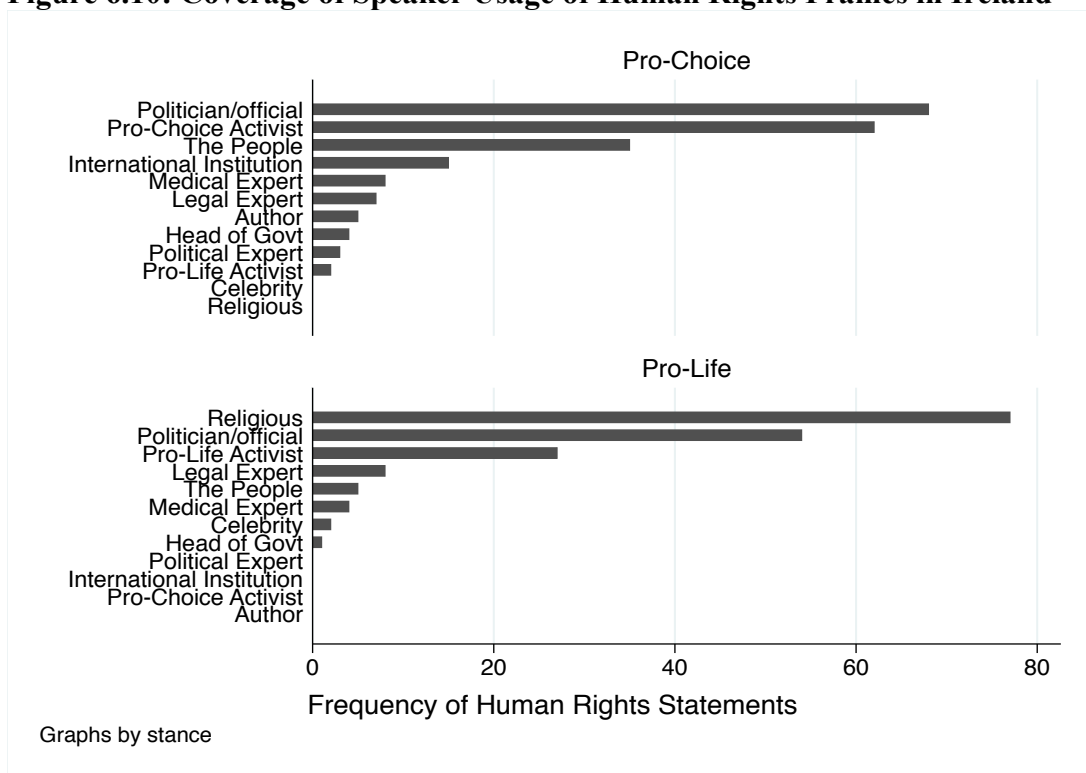
*Parentheses = Expected count Chi² = 5.82 p = .016

The results for the Chi-square in Ireland accounting for all speakers instead of just activist speakers reflect a similar relationship to the one seen in the Chi-square test of activist type and frame type. Most of the time (87% of the time) pro-abortion rights speakers use non-human rights frames. However, when it comes to human rights frames, pro-abortion rights speakers appear to use fewer non-human rights frames than expected and more human rights frames than expected if the relationship were due to random chance. The different speaker types and the news media coverage of their use of human rights frames appear in the graph below.

Politicians are seen using pro-abortion rights human rights frames more often than any other category of speakers, followed closely by pro-abortion rights activists and with

“The People” and “International Institutions” lagging some distance behind. For anti-abortion rights speakers, religious speakers dominate in the use of human rights frames, followed by politicians and activists. The fact that religious actors use human rights frames is interesting considering one would expect them to simply use Church doctrine to justify and present the argument against abortion. However, instead, religious actors (almost all of whom were associated with the Catholic Church in Ireland) were often seen framing their arguments against abortion in the terms of human rights. They argued that fetuses are human beings and therefore deserving of the rights that this entails, often with no reference (at least as seen in the coverage offered by the news media) to God or the Bible, or any type of Church doctrine. When there was reference to religious doctrine,

Figure 6.10: Coverage of Speaker Usage of Human Rights Frames in Ireland



this was coded as a religious frame rather than human rights frame. Indeed, sometimes members of the Catholic elite made specific references to how Church doctrine called for the protection fetus' human rights but also how one did not have to be religious to agree that this is ethically correct because it is based in "reason" and "logic" (Duncan 2012).

Table 6.5: Coverage of Human Rights Frames Usage Among Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Actors in Canada

Stance	<i>Frame Types</i>	
	Non-Human Rights	Human Rights
Pro-Choice	755 (717.5)	110 (147.5)
Pro-Life	572 (619.6)	175 (127.4)

*Parentheses = Expected count Chi² = 31.6 p < .001

In Canada, when all speakers are included rather than just activists, while non-human rights anti-abortion frames are more common (82% of all frames are non-human rights), anti-abortion rights human rights frames appear in the news media significantly more often than expected. Despite the fact that pro-abortion rights actors' human rights frames appear frequently, they were reported as using significantly fewer human rights frames than expected and more non-human rights frames than expected.

The significance of the use of human rights frames in Canada when all speaker types are included (as opposed to only activists) is likely because the politician speakers such as Stephen Woodworth and Mark Warawa garnered so much attention during this time period. In the graph below, the use of human rights frames by Speaker type can be seen. While human rights frames appear in use by many different types of pro-abortion rights speakers at relatively similar rates, among anti-abortion rights speakers politicians dominate in their use of human rights frames. This explains why including only activist

speakers in the Chi-square test did not return any significant results. Politicians are important members of the anti-abortion rights movement in Canada.

In South Korea, the relationship between coverage of human rights frames and stance of the speaker (whether they are part of the issue minority or issue majority) is in the direction expected according to the hypotheses, with the issue minority anti-abortion rights human rights frames appearing more than expected and issue majority pro-abortion rights frames appearing less often than expected, but the relationship is not significant.

Figure 6.11: Coverage of Speaker Usage of Human Rights Frames in Canada

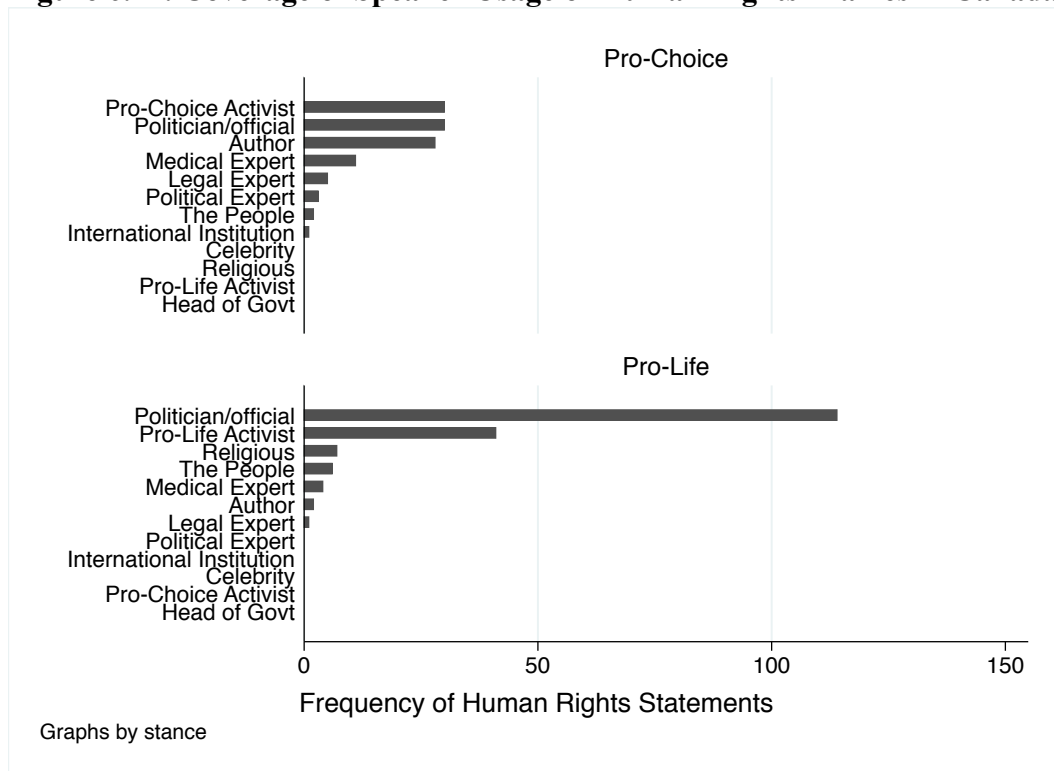


Table 6.6: Coverage of Human Rights Frames Usage Among Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Actors in South Korea

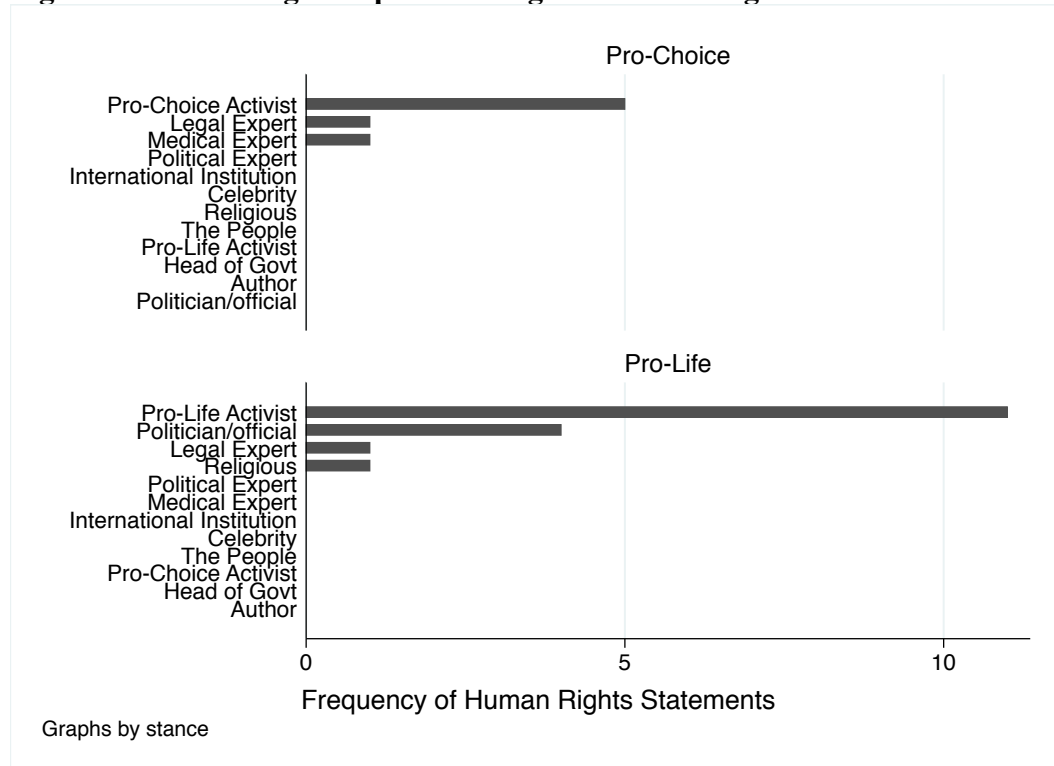
Stance	<i>Frame Types</i>	
	Non-Human Rights	Human Rights
Pro-Choice	47 (45)	7 (9)
Pro-Life	64 (67.6)	17 (13.4)

*Parentheses = Expected count Chi² = 1.42 p = .232

The graph below breaks down the coverage of human rights frames by speaker. In Korea, activists appear in the news media using human rights frames most often, and anti-abortion rights activists appear in the news media using human rights frames more than any other speaker. Politicians are seen using anti-abortion rights human rights frames somewhat often, with the rest of this frame usage taken up by “experts” and a small number of anti-abortion rights religious figures. Given that anti-abortion rights actors clearly use human rights frames more frequently than pro-abortion rights actors in Korea, the question as to why this relationship is not significant arises.

There are a couple of potential explanations for the lack of statistical significance in the case of Korea. One is that the sample of statements focused on abortion available from the Korean newspapers was simply too small to allow for statistical significance testing. This is a potential issue the Korea case has faced throughout this study. Compared to the number of articles and statements from Canada and, especially, Ireland, the number of observations in Korea is very small. Statistical non-significance notwithstanding, the relationships are in the direction that would be expected according to my theory and hypotheses, which suggests that more research may be needed to see if this direction holds after accounting for more cases.

Figure 6.12: Coverage of Speaker Usage of Human Rights Frames in South Korea



Another potential explanation for the lack of significance is that Korea's abortion law and the domestic circumstances surrounding abortion make it an outlier. In Canada and Ireland there are two clear "sides" in the debate (although as mentioned this is an oversimplification of the reality of the abortion issue that is perpetuated in society through the media and political interest groups) and the law and social practice are compatible. In Korea, the law says one thing and social practices and acceptance say another, giving way to murkier circumstances around the issue that make it difficult to parse apart. My interpretation of the situation in Korea is that the society leans toward acceptance of abortion despite its illegality and thus the "issue majority" is the pro-abortion rights side because they have never had to fight for the right for abortion; it had

generally been readily and safely available to women until 2009 (Wolman 2010).²⁴ The anti-abortion rights arguments focused on getting the government to act to enforce the law, offering further support for my interpretation that the status quo supported pro-abortion rights views until the debate erupted in 2009, which led to subsequent changes and the government increasing enforcement of the law (not that the government would not have wanted to enforce the law anyway – the birthrate issue was a huge issue in Korea and many feminists in Korea argue that the government was looking for excuses to start cracking down on abortion). However, my interpretation of this complex situation could be in error, or as mentioned, it could simply be that the circumstances in Korea are so different from the situation in most countries that they make it difficult to compare. The full picture may also not be available due to the use of only English language newspapers.

The Chi-square tests are illuminating because they show that human rights frames do appear to be systematically associated with the issue minority in two of the three countries (and non-systematically associated in all three countries). To further elaborate on the relationship between human rights frames and actor type in each country, a regression analysis is included controlling for event type. It could be that in Canada and Ireland, where there is a significant relationship between reported usage of human rights frames and issue minority speakers, this relationship will become insignificant when accounting for event type. Perhaps issue minorities are only likely to use human rights frames more often than expected when there are certain events that obviously call for

²⁴ In the past the authoritarian government attempted to reduce birth rates by making abortion and sterilization available. The line between encouragement and coercion is a blurry one when it comes to these kinds of government initiatives, thus abortion in South Korea does not lack a potentially troubled past, but it has been available.

Table 6.7: Predicting Use of Human Rights Frames by Stance and Event Type

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Choice Stance	.330* (.120)	-.874** (.144)	-.692 (.534)
<i>Event Type^a</i>			
Judicial	1.14** (.237)	-.280 (.379)	2.96* (1.20)
Demonstration	-.125 (.315)	.0764 (.233)	1.87 (1.51)
Violence/Illegal	-.410 (.530)	-1.63* (.472)	N/A
Activist Campaign	.404** (.176)	.219 (.210)	2.22* (1.06)
Research	-.542 (.40)	.381 (.224)	1.16 (1.46)
Personal Experience	-.327 (.271)	-1.91 (1.03)	N/A
International Influence	1.006** (.216)	N/A	N/A
Church Action	.734** (.163)	-.301 (.436)	N/A
Government Statement	.164 (.366)	-1.60* (.730)	2.85* (1.37)
Other	-.088 (.346)	-.667* (.335)	N/A
Chi ²	71.73**	78.60**	13.84*
Observations	3333	1574	135

^a = Compared to Political Events

* p < .05, ** p < .01

human rights frames (such as the European Court of Human Rights case in Ireland). The regression below tests this possibility.

In Ireland, pro-abortion rights actors are positively associated with the appearance of human rights frames and in Canada pro-abortion rights actors are negatively associated with the appearance of human rights frames. In Korea, pro-abortion rights actors are negatively associated with human rights frames but the relationship is not significant. These relationships persist after controlling for event type, again suggesting that in Canada and Ireland, the issue minorities are more frequently given news attention when

they use human rights frames (alternatively, it could also be that they use human rights frames more frequently. This will be addressed later).

When looking at event types, the comparison is against Political Events. In Ireland the use of human rights frames is more likely than it is during Political Events in cases involving Judicial events, Activist Campaigns, International Influences, and Church Actions. Perhaps the most surprising of these is the significant relationship with Church Actions, but as explained earlier there were often attempts by the Church to position themselves as pro-human rights and anti-abortion rights, arguing that human rights goals are consistent with Church doctrine and anti-abortion rights messages.

In Canada, when the relationship between Political Events and the appearance of Human Rights frames is held constant, there are negative relationships between the use of Human Rights frames and Violent/Illegal acts, Government Statements, and Other events. Thus, the Human Rights frames are less likely to appear to be in use in the news media when the event under discussion is one of these events compared to political events. There are no statistically significant positive relationships between the use of Human Rights frames and any other events.

In Korea, while the relationship between Stance and the use of Human Rights frames is not statistically significant, there are some statistically significant relationships between Event Types and the appearance of Human Rights frames. Specifically, in Korea, Human Rights frames are positively associated with news media attention when the event under discussion is Judicial, an Activist Campaign, or a Government Statement compared to when it is a Political Event.

Table 6.8: Coverage of Pro-Life Gendered Human Rights Frames by Country

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Non-Gendered HR Frames	175 (121)	129 (179)	12 (15)
Gendered HR Frames	18 (72)	158 (107)	12 (9)
*Parentheses = Expected count		Chi ² = 104.9 p = 0.000	

When it comes to the use of Human Rights frames by anti-abortion rights actors, are these all focused on the fetus? Perhaps unsurprisingly, pro-abortion rights human rights frames refer to women's human rights. However, when it comes to anti-abortion rights frames, the focus is not only on the fetus without reference to sex. As mentioned, in some cases, women's and girl's rights are specifically mentioned by anti-abortion rights actors and this is a very unusual usage of human rights in the abortion debate. A Chi-square test was conducted to see if these frames appeared more or less than expected in each of the countries under study. The results are below.

In the table above, the focus is on the anti-abortion rights human rights frames and whether or not they are gendered, meaning whether they are focused on the human rights of women or girls or human rights generally. In Ireland, 91% of all anti-abortion rights human rights frames are non-gendered, while in Canada only 45% of all human rights frames are non-gendered and in Korea 50% of human rights frames are non-gendered. When looking for statistical significance, most of it comes from the comparisons between expected and actual values in Ireland and Canada. In Ireland there are many more non-gendered human rights frames than expected and fewer gendered human rights frames than would be expected if the relationship was due to random chance. In Canada, there are significantly more gendered human rights frames than expected and fewer non-

gendered human rights frames. In Korea, there are fewer non-gendered and more gendered anti-abortion rights human rights frames than expected, but these do not contribute to the significance of the Chi-square test.

These results suggest that in Canada there are some domestic or international circumstances that make the use of gendered human rights particularly strategic and anti-abortion rights politicians, activists, and medical experts all appear in the news media using gendered human rights frames more frequently than they use non-gendered human rights frames. However, in Ireland anti-abortion rights human rights frames appear less frequently in the news media coverage generally, and within these, gendered human rights frames are far less commonly seen in the news coverage in Ireland than non-gendered human rights frames. One way of interpreting this is that when anti-abortion rights actors are the issue minority and use gendered human rights frames, they will receive more news media attention than when they do not use such frames. Alternatively, when anti-abortion rights actors are the issue majority (as in Ireland) these frames are less strategic. This could be because in Ireland the anti-abortion rights side is the issue majority and so they rely more heavily on frames that are inspired by their domestic environments, which already favor their arguments (as suggested by Hypothesis 7).

All of the tests and the discussion above tell us more about the relationship between the actor type (issue majority or issue minority) and the use of human rights frames in each country, although South Korea held no significance in any of these tests and this must also be considered. But nothing said above can quite address Hypothesis 8. What we have discussed so far is whether human rights frames appear in the news media, whether one type of actor in each country is more or less likely to be reported as using

such frames, and how this can shed light on the role of being an issue minority or majority movement in influencing how movements frame abortion. The results have suggested that issue minorities are more likely to be seen in the news media using human rights frames in each country (in Ireland and Canada this relationship is statistically significant). But do actors get more news media attention when they use human rights frames than when they do not? This question is addressed in the following multiple regression test.

Table 6.9: News Coverage of Human Rights Frames by Stance

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Life Stance	-.019 (.044)	-.108 (.069)	-.064 (.193)
Human Rights	-.885** (.062)	-.668** (.083)	-.597* (.240)
Intercept	1.33** (.071)	1.55** (.108)	1.17** (.324)
N	1061	467	53
p	213.66	68.32	6.70
R ²	0.05	.033	.033

* p < .05, ** p < .01. Standard errors in parentheses.

The table provides the results of a negative binomial regression. This type of regression was used because the dependent variable (news media attention) is a count variable. Stance and Human Rights frames are included in the regression. In Ireland, Human Rights frames generally are statistically less likely to receive news media attention in the form of coverage. In Canada and South Korea, the same applies. Human Rights frames do not attract more attention than other types of frames. This is probably the product of the fact that there are many more frames that are not human rights frames, such as those I have labeled domestic frames, in each country. However, part of my theory is that issue minorities will find human rights frames particularly strategic and

helpful for attracting news media attention. This is a statistically significant relationship in Canada and Ireland where issue minorities are associated with the use of human rights frames in the news media. To test whether they actually get more attention when they use human rights frames, an interaction of the Stance of actors (pro- or anti-abortion rights) and the use of human rights (and the effect this has on attention) is necessary.

The table below shows the results of the negative binomial regression wherein Stance and Human Rights frames are interacted. In Ireland, there is no effect. Human Rights frames attract no more attention for the issue minority than the issue majority. Yet, in the results for Canada, there is a statistically significant effect. In Canada, when issue minorities (anti-abortion rights actors) use Human Rights frames, they receive more news media coverage than when they use other types of frames. In South Korea, there is no statistically significant effect.

Table 6.10: News Coverage of Human Rights Frames Interacted with Stance

	Ireland	Canada	South Korea
Pro-Life Stance	-.021 (.047)	-.217** (.078)	-.119 (.211)
Human Rights	-.894** (.085)	-.939** (.125)	-.806 (.428)
Pro-Life*Human Rights Frames	.017 (.124)	.493** (.167)	.313 (.518)
Intercept	1.31** (.034)	1.49** (.152)	1.14** (.161)
N =	1061	467	53
p =	213.68	77.07	7.07
R ² =	0.05	.037	.035

* p < .05, ** p < .01. Standard errors in parentheses.

Why do issue minorities in Canada receive more news media attention when they use human rights frames and issue minorities in Ireland and Korea do not? The data in Korea has proven to be difficult to use in tests of statistical significance. This result could be the product of having so few observations (53) compared to the other two countries. Or, it could simply be that human rights do not have the same level of attraction in Korea as they do in Canada due to the standards of the news media or their cultural resonance. Another possibility is that the case of South Korea is less accurate because I had to use English language newspapers or because in Korea the type of human rights frame used is not the most interesting or provocative. For example, there were few women's and girl's human rights frames in South Korea that appeared in the news media, and, as seen in Canada, perhaps these are more effective for attracting news media attention (at least for anti-abortion rights actors). Finally, as mentioned before, there is ambiguity over who is the issue minority and issue majority in South Korea. This ambiguity may lead to more variation in how the two "sides" behave. Their behavior may not be as influenced by their position *vis à vis* the status quo as is the case in other countries. The lack of a historical struggle over abortion may also influence this lack of clear-cut issue minorities and majorities.

In Ireland, the expectation according to my hypotheses concerning issue minorities is that the pro-abortion rights actors would receive more news media attention when they use Human Rights frames. We know that these frames appear more frequently in use by pro-abortion rights actors in Ireland than by anti-abortion rights actors, so the expected results of the regression would show that this relationship is systematic and pro-abortion rights activists receive more news media attention when they use these frames than when

they do not. However, it does not seem to be the case. Referring back to the graphs above that show the types of pro- and anti-abortion rights frames that appear in the news media in each country, while pro-abortion rights actors used human rights to frame the abortion issue in Ireland, their frames about the importance of women's lives and safety appeared more frequently in the news media. This is interesting, because there were frequent references in the interviews I conducted to women's safety and lives being a human right. Yet, had this frame appeared, it would have been coded into the "Women's Human Rights" frame. Any frame in the "Women's Lives/Safety" frame is a general reference to women needing to be safe and women's lives being put at risk because they do not have abortion rights and has no specific reference to this as a human rights issue. Perhaps activists in Ireland take it for granted that, when discussing the importance of protecting women's lives and safety, women's human rights are implied. Or, perhaps the news media did not report references to human rights, which could mean that these references are not effective in attracting news media attention.

A possible reason human rights are not given more attention systematically in Ireland is because there have been instances of human rights institutions ruling or commenting on abortion in Ireland as a human rights issue. Therefore, the use of pro-abortion rights human rights frames might not be seen as surprising and may become a part of the landscape (Heo and Rakowski 2014) and therefore be less successful at attention-grabbing. The reason anti-abortion rights human rights frames in Canada can attract more news media attention than other frames in Canada could be because these frames are surprising in many ways. In particular, the use of sex-selective abortion as an issue, with the accompanying frames concerning girls' and women's rights, could be a contributing

factor to journalists giving these frames attention. These frames are unexpected coming from anti-abortion rights actors, and they are resonant with Canadian concerns with human rights and as leaders in international human rights endeavors (Clément 2012). This combination of resonance and creativity is similar to what Hewitt and McCammon (2004) refer to when they explain that “frames with the greatest mobilizing capacity [maybe] those which maintain a balance between resonance and opposition to existing cultural values” (34). Rather than mobilization, this may also be the case in attracting news media attention. News media attention may call for a balance between resonance and conflict, and this is exactly what human rights frames in Canada, especially those concerned with women’s and girls’ human rights, create.

In Ireland, pro-abortion rights issue minorities do make use of some frames that might be seen as balancing between resonance and conflict. For example, the use of the “vessel” frame within the human rights frame could serve in this role. This frame was one that appears to have come into use after the Chair of the UN Human Rights Committee stated that Ireland treats women as vessels for bearing children and nothing more. This combination of conflict (the accusation) and resonance (being about Ireland’s laws specifically), or a variation on it, could be quite useful in Ireland (and, indeed, this frame was used by many activists I spoke with). Particularly given the concerns that have come to light regarding how unmarried women who became pregnant were treated in the “homes” for unwed mothers in Ireland in the last century, the “vessel” frame could be culturally resonant, as well. However, there may simply be fewer available frames that embody this balancing act between resonance and conflict for pro-abortion rights actors. It may be that, while certainly useful in getting attention, human rights frames for pro-

abortion rights actors are potentially less useful compared to when they are used by anti-abortion rights actors because they lack the element of surprise that comes when conservative anti-abortion rights actors use human rights language and claim human rights norms.

V. Discussion and Conclusion

Domestic frames dominate in abortion debates in the countries in this study. However, human rights frames are used in all three countries to varying extents and, sometimes, quite frequently. Indeed, in all three countries, human rights frames are among the top four most common frames appearing in news media coverage of the debate for both pro- and anti-abortion rights social movements. This suggests that social movement actors in each country view the use of human rights frames as strategic, at least in some circumstances. Human rights frames most frequently appear in the news media being used by issue minorities in each country, and statistically more frequently by issue minorities in Ireland and Canada. In Canada, when anti-abortion rights actors use human rights frames, their frames are associated with more news media attention than when they do not use human rights frames.

While the null hypotheses for Hypotheses 7 and 8 may only be rejected in some of the cases presented, the findings of this study certainly lend themselves to further research. The theory put forth here is that the position of a movement matters to how much attention from the news media it gets as well as to its behavior and tactics, and that has been supported in many of the cases in this analysis. The other part of the theory was that issue minorities would find human rights most helpful and thus would use it more in their messages. This was supported in Ireland and Canada. I hypothesized that these human

rights frames would not only attract attention and be reported in news media outlets, but would in fact attract more attention than when actors used other frames. This hypothesis found support in Canada. Given these varied results, the theory posited here should not be thrown away but, perhaps, should be given more consideration.

In particular, further consideration of the way a movement's position in a society influences their behavior as well as potentially influencing the levels of news media attention they receive ought to be studied further. Whether they are pro- or anti-abortion rights, their role as either the issue minority or issue majority can be telling regarding their strategies and tactics and how much attention they attract. The role of human rights frames in domestic debate also calls for further study, especially regarding the way in which anti-abortion rights actors use human rights for their purposes and receive news media attention as a result. These findings suggest a complex relationship of interactions between the news media and social movements, with social movements influenced by their domestic conditions, in the form of whether they are the issue minorities or the issue majorities, and this relative position to the status quo possibly being part of the reason they to use tactics such as human rights frames that lead them to being able to attract more news media attention in certain cases. The implications of this possibility suggest that social movements can use strategic framing to push open the doors of the debate conditions in their country, even if only slightly.

The observations provided in this dissertation present a mixed picture, but they are important in that they provide some insight into the ways in which social movements can challenge and change the debate conditions in their countries. This reveals implications for women's right to abortion and how debates about this topic may be reopened in

countries where it has been closed, whether abortion is legal or illegal. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the observations in this study provide a path for future research. The implications of this research and suggestions for future study are further discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN Opening Debate Conditions (Conclusion)

Why do some social movements involved in abortion debates receive more attention from the news media than others in different country contexts? In this dissertation, it is argued that the position of a social movement relative to the status quo on abortion in a country is important in explaining the amount of attention they receive. Movements that oppose the status quo create conflict, which is attractive to news reporters. In addition, the allies and events movements claim may influence the amount of attention they receive. In my argument I also place weight on the frames movements use to present their arguments and study these as important in explaining the news media attention movements receive. After all, news media journalists deal in words, and thus may be particularly interested in certain combinations of words that have significance. I have argued that these frames include human rights frames, which are seen across all three countries under study. My contention is that when activists use human rights to frame their arguments in support of or against abortion, they help grab the attention of audiences, including national news media outlets, even (and especially) when they are the issue minorities in a country and otherwise perceive themselves as having difficulty attracting attention. I suggest that issue minority social movements may see human rights frames as useful in attracting news media attention because of a combination of the domestic environments within which they work being hostile to their messages and the use of human rights frames being seen as timely and, in some cases, controversial, by journalists.

The outcomes of the empirical tests of these arguments provided in the preceding chapters were varied across the three countries under study. Yet, there are some general

conclusions that can be made based on the findings. In this chapter a brief summary of the conclusions garnered from each chapter is provided, as well as discussion of the future avenues for research and the implications the current research has for broader debates in political science and society.

I. Summary and Analysis of Results

Social Movement Position Relative to the Status Quo

In Chapter Four, the hypotheses regarding whether issue minorities or majorities receive more news media attention were tested. The first hypothesis measured attention as the amount of attention given to either pro-abortion rights or anti-abortion rights activist speakers in each newspaper in each country. Hypothesis 2 measured attention by looking at the overall focus of each article and whether more articles were focused on pro- or anti-abortion rights events, actors, and issues in the headline and lead paragraph. The results of these tests revealed that in Ireland, Canada, and South Korea the issue minority activist speakers in each country receive the most attention. In Canada and South Korea, the relationship between issue minorities (anti-abortion rights activists) and news media attention was statistically significant, while in Ireland the issue minority (pro-abortion rights activists) received more attention but the relationship between issue minority activist and the standing granted to them was not statistically significant. These relationships persisted when controlling for newspaper ideological stance. In the test of Hypothesis 2 concerning the focus of newspaper articles, similar results were seen, except that in Ireland the issue majority received more news media attention in the form of article focus than the issue minority, though pro-abortion rights articles appeared in the coverage more frequently than would be expected if the relationship were random.

These results suggest that there is something systematic about the way in which news media attention is distributed. The issue minority in each country gets more attention than the small portion that might be expected considering their minority position in society, and in Canada and South Korea issue minorities in fact get more news media attention than their opponents. There may be many reasons for this, including news media standards that find conflict attractive and the possibility that issue minorities are overall more active and creative in their attempts to attract media attention because of their minority status (in other words, their status as issue minorities may play a role in shaping their strategies); it remains that there does seem to be a role played by societal position in explaining news media attention, and the ideological stance of the newspaper does not explain away this pattern. Ferree et al. (2002) briefly mention the role that may be played by a movement being systematically disadvantaged when it comes to creating social change due to their institutional marginalization (for example, according to Ferree et al.'s argument women's rights activists in Germany may have more difficulty because the constitution protects fetal life). They also discuss various normative criteria for the public sphere, including representative liberal theory, which calls for proportionality in media standing and frame coverage of different actors according to their share of the electoral vote or membership size (207). However, in my study, when considering news media attention to various actors and frames across countries, those who fight against the status quo often receive more coverage in terms of the number of statements in which they are given standing than those who are supportive of the status quo.

While attention is granted to both sides in the debate, at times the issue minority has the advantage, with issue minority speakers appearing in news media coverage more

often than their opponents. This is also the case when considering attention only among activists (as opposed to all speakers) in a country, so the role of actors that routinely receive more news media attention (politicians and government officials in Canada and Ireland) cannot explain these results. Studies that seek to explore social movements, particularly the interactions between social movements and the news media, should consider distinguishing between the issue minorities and issue majorities in their analyses in order to fully explicate the competitions among social movements within different country contexts and the ways that these positions relative to the status quo can influence social movement behavior and strategy as well as the attention these movements attract from certain actors.

Events and Name-Dropping

Following the logic of societal position, Chapter Five tested hypotheses about the tactics used by social movements to attract attention and legitimacy to their cause. Events – both those that are planned by activists and those that are circumstantial or take place at the parliamentary or judicial level – are important to explaining news media attention. Events, of course, are usually the subject of the news and therefore open discursive opportunities for actors who are involved with the events or whose interests are affected or related to the event in question. In my analysis, I studied whether issue minority or issue majority activist events receive more coverage out of those events that are covered by the news media. This informs us further of the role of social position in determining or influencing news media attention. It also sheds light on what kinds of events attract the most news media attention by revealing those that appear in news coverage over time. The evidence provided by the descriptive statistics and statistical models suggest that

events are, indeed, important for issue minority social movements. While activist events such as campaigns, violent or illegal activities, and demonstrations were not the events that usually obtained the bulk of coverage (except in the case of South Korea), between pro- and anti-abortion rights activists in Canada and South Korea, the issue minority anti-abortion rights activists' events received the most coverage. In Ireland, issue majority activist events received the most attention compared to their opponents' coverage, even when the events organized by the powerful Catholic Church were taken out of the model. However, when accounting for events as a whole – including political events and events involving international influences – issue minorities in all three countries attracted significantly more news coverage than issue majorities.

While the entire universe of events in each country is unknown, my qualitative research finds that news media outlets do not cover all events. Therefore, organizing an event or even releasing statements about events that occur outside of the control of social movements is no guarantee of news media attention. However, when events do get coverage, issue minority activist events get more coverage than those of their opponents in two of the three countries included in this analysis, and, when accounting for all reported events, issue minority events in all three countries receive more coverage. Thus, the position of a movement appears to have an effect overall. Additionally, when interacting the data on events and speakers, in Canada and Ireland, pro-abortion rights speakers are more likely to be granted standing when there are pro-abortion rights events. This interaction effect reveals the extent to which events are important in helping activists get their voices heard in the media. Pro-abortion rights speakers in both Canada and Ireland are given significantly less attention than anti-abortion rights speakers until

there is a pro-abortion rights event about which they can speak.²⁵ While the relationship is not statistically significant in Korea at the .05 level, it is in the same direction as it is in Canada and Ireland.

As opposed to the empirical analysis of events, the tests involving the variable “name-dropping,” which was intended to capture the idea of ally-claiming and the legitimacy it can lend to a movement, produced results contrary to my expectations. In all three countries, among activist speakers who receive news coverage, issue majorities name-drop more frequently than issue minorities. This may be because issue majorities have more opportunities to name-drop due to the institutional environment within which they work. They likely have more allies because of their status as defenders of the status quo on abortion, and they also are more likely to have the support of many elites for this reason. Indeed, in Canada, politicians were the most commonly “dropped” names, while in South Korea and Ireland the Constitution or the law were often mentioned for support. However, overall, most activists most of the time in all three countries were not reported as name-dropping, and even while issue majority activists who were given standing in the media name-dropped more frequently than their opponents, the actual differences in rates of name-dropping were slight in all three countries.

The results from the regressions tell us more about the relationship between news attention and name-dropping when comparing issue minority and majority activists who have already received news media attention. Because this dissertation only observes the

²⁵ This finding is also interesting because in Chapter Four, the statistical tests showed that pro-abortion rights activist speakers get more news media coverage in Ireland but the relationship is not significant. In this case, however, when controlling for events and including all speakers instead of only activist speakers, it seems that pro-abortion rights speakers get less attention than anti-abortion rights speakers and the relationship is significant (except when controlling for pro-abortion rights events).

speakers, events, tactics, and frames that have received news media attention and deduces what attracts attention from this information, the regressions regarding name-dropping cannot with certainty tell us how often activists name-drop overall and whether they are more or less likely to get attention overall due to name-dropping as a tactic. However, these tests do reveal more about the relationship between societal position and the tactic of name-dropping. Based on this information, name-dropping does not appear to be common among activists and, when activists do engage in name-dropping, it is not associated with their receiving more news media attention relative to when they do not name-drop in any systematic way within the sample of media coverage provided in this dissertation.

In some ways, the most interesting conclusions to take from the analysis of name-dropping are in regards to the names that are most frequently dropped. In both Canada and Ireland, one of the most commonly mentioned category “dropped” is “the people.” This category includes general references to the population and that the population is in support of the activists’ goals. Unsurprisingly, this was a particularly common name-drop among issue majorities because they defend the status quo and, due to the democratic nature of the domestic institutions in all of the countries under study, the majority of the population is often assumed to support the status quo, even if only tacitly. However, issue minorities also name-dropped the general populace, and thus an interesting dynamic among issue minorities appears. On the one hand, as is seen in Chapter Six, they frequently claim that they are discriminated against due to their minority status and subsequent marginalization. On the other hand, they also frequently claim that a majority of the public supports them. Whereas often the abortion debate seems to focus on the

tensions between two opposing social movements, in this case we are reminded that issue minorities are fighting on two fronts – against their social movement opponents as well as against the government that enforces the status quo.²⁶

Another interesting finding from the name-dropping analysis is that in South Korea international examples are often mentioned. These include references to other countries where abortion is either legal or illegal in order to support an argument or references to how “developed,” “modern,” or “democratic” states ought to behave in regards to abortion. Pro-abortion rights activists frequently used such arguments to argue in favor of access to abortion and/or making abortion legal, which is similar to the process of “shaming” used by Japanese women’s rights advocates in Simmons’ (2009) analysis of how international human rights laws and norms can be used to create domestic change. This tactic may be useful for mobilizing the public, as Ausderan (2014) finds empirical evidence that domestic publics view human rights conditions in their countries more negatively when the international community shames their country, which could contribute to increases in public action against the government. Similarly, threats that the country will be shamed may be useful for activists to use.

In the “repertoire of collective actions” (Tilly 1978, 151) available to social movements, events and claiming allies often come to mind. However, a less noticeable (because it occurs constantly) but very important activity (especially for the purposes of

²⁶ Although, of course, even issue majorities may seek to make institutional changes such as extending abortion rights and access or expanding funding for abortion (for pro-abortion rights movements in countries where abortion is legal) or by further restricting it or placing restrictions on “abortion tourism” practices (for anti-abortion rights movements in countries where abortion is illegal). Most social movements do make claims on the government, but, as discussed earlier in this dissertation, in the abortion debate the struggle often plays out (or is represented so in the media and popular conceptions) between two competing social movements.

obtaining news media attention) is framing. Among the most important contributions of this dissertation is the framing analysis provided and the insights it reveals regarding the role of human rights language in abortion rights debates.

Framing and Human Rights

The focus on the appearance of human rights frames in newspaper coverage across multiple countries and the provision of a count of how often these frames appear reveals that, while domestically-inspired frames are the most commonly seen frames in newspaper coverage overall, human rights frames are among the top four frames in all three countries under study. Further, in each country, these frames are among the top four frames appearing in use by both anti-abortion rights and pro-abortion rights actors. However, human rights appear in use by issue minorities in each country the most often, as posited by Hypothesis 7. These observations are fascinating. They confirm the importance of studying human rights as they are used in discourse by varying actors, and of studying more than just one social movement involved in a social debate. These observations also suggest that, while Ferree et al.'s (2002) conclusion that abortion discourse has not converged across countries still rings true, there are also global influences on the types of frames that come into play domestically, particularly for issue minority social movements. Further, the presence of some similar human rights frames in news media coverage in all three countries suggests that the study of transnational frame diffusion is a worthy area of study, particularly given the findings from Hypothesis 8.

Hypothesis 8 posits that out of those frames that attract attention from the news media, speakers who use human rights frames will attract more news media attention than they would otherwise attract as well as more attention than their opponents. When

looking at activist speakers only, in Ireland pro-abortion rights activists appeared in the news media using human rights frames significantly more often than expected if their use was randomly distributed among speakers. There was no significant relationship between the activist type and the appearance of human rights frames in Canada or South Korea. When the statistical model was expanded to include all speakers, rather than only activists, pro-abortion rights actors in Ireland again were associated with the coverage of human rights frames significantly more often than expected if the relationship were random. In Canada, when including all speakers rather than just activists, there was also a statistically significant relationship between the issue minority (anti-abortion rights speakers) and the coverage of human rights frames. Anti-abortion speakers in Canada appeared using human rights frames significantly more often than expected, and used non-human rights frames less often than expected if the relationship were due to chance. There was again no statistically significant relationship in the results of the Chi-square for Korea, but the issue minority anti-abortion rights speakers did appear using human rights frames more than expected (even though not significant).

Human rights frames were also associated with certain event types more than others. Specifically, in Ireland judicial events, activist campaigns, international influence, and Church actions were positively and significantly associated with human rights frames when controlling for stance. In Canada, there were also statistically significant relationships, but these were negative, revealing that violent or illegal activist activities and government statements are negatively associated with human rights frames compared to political events. The persistence of the relationship between activist stance and human rights frames when controlling for event shows that the appearance of human rights

frames is independently associated with issue minority speakers in two out of the three countries included in this dissertation. In South Korea, while there was no significant relationship between speaker stance and human rights frames, there was a positive and significant relationship between human rights frames and activist campaign events, judicial events, and government statements compared to political events.

The findings above overall confirm that issue minorities are more likely than their opponents to be seen in news media coverage using human rights frames. Once again, this shows that the role of a movement's position in society may be important, making certain tactics more attractive than others for certain actors. The results show that in Canada, when anti-abortion rights speakers use human rights frames, this is significantly and positively associated with coverage by the news media, and they are more likely to get news media attention when using human rights frames than when they do not use these frames. This suggests that, while social movements are influenced by their position in society, they can also use certain strategic frames to attract attention and potentially shift the debate conditions in their countries to make them more favorable for issue minority voices in their attempts to reopen abortion debates. However, there were no statistically significant results in Ireland or South Korea, and thus the conditions for human rights frames to be successful in attracting news media attention are unclear. In both South Korea and Ireland there are reasonable possibilities as to why human rights frames were not as successful in attracting attention (as discussed in Chapter Six) that suggest that Ireland and South Korea could be exceptions to the idea that the use of human rights frames helps issue minorities attract news media attention just as easily as they could be indicators that this idea is specific to Canada. Further research is necessary

to come to firmer conclusions regarding whether human rights frames are successful in attracting news media attention when issue minorities use them or if this is a result that is specific to Canada; however, the research presented in this dissertation certainly reveals that human rights frames come into play in all three countries under study and that often issue minorities use them and thus the role of the international in domestic debates deserves attention.

II. Conclusions and Suggested Implications

The theory presented in the beginning of this dissertation presented two central contentions. One was that whether a social movement is the issue minority or issue majority in a country will influence the attention they receive from the news media (whether due to their newness and thus being attractive to the news media or because their position relative to the status quo influences their behavior in ways that help them attract news attention, or a combination – in this way the relationship between news media and social movements is dynamic). In many of my hypotheses I posited that issue minorities would receive more news media attention in certain circumstances, and often (though not always or in all countries under study) the empirical analysis provided support for these hypotheses.

The second contention put forth in the theory was that human rights matter in abortion debates, specifically in that they are used to frame both pro- and anti-abortion activists' messages. In this way, various actors in different country contexts use the language of human rights for very different purposes, and these various uses will attract news media attention. This contention has been supported in most cases by the data provided, though there are notable problems with the case of South Korea, which had no

statistical significance throughout the analysis. Still, the results from Canada and Ireland confirm the importance of human rights language in the abortion debate and its appearance in newspapers being associated most with issue minorities.

In addition to the importance of human rights frames as a tactic used by social movements, in Canada, I found that human rights frames actually have a positive and significant effect on news media attention for anti-abortion rights issue minority speakers. While the effect did not hold for Ireland or Korea, it is nonetheless an important finding and suggests that the study of abortion debates in countries where abortion has already been made legal is just as important to understanding social movement strategies as the study of abortion debates in countries where there is a struggle to make abortion legal or countries where the debate is more unsettled. There are many studies of women's movements in places where there is a struggle for women's rights (Naples and Desai 2002; Banaszak 2006; Reilly 2007; Merry 2009; Basu 2010; Walsh 2010; Htun and Weldon 2012; McCammon 2012a; Narain 2013; Stachursky 2013; Tsetsura 2013 to name just a few), but there are fewer studies (particularly comparative studies outside of the United States) of the movements that counter these struggles (Ferree et al. 2002; Dillon 1996; Blee and Deutsch 2012; Kendhammer 2013 are some exceptions). Even fewer studies outside of the United States focus on the movements against women's rights, abortion rights, or human rights that appear or continue in countries after these rights have been granted and the debates relatively "settled." By broadening our understanding of how anti-abortion rights speakers in Canada can use human rights language to attract news media attention relative to their opponents, this dissertation reveals the way in which the debate conditions in Canada could be changed to favor an environment that

would introduce restrictions on abortion and its access. This is not to say that this is inevitable or that it will happen, but that it could happen, based especially on the discussion presented in Chapter One of the important role of news media attention in social movements' attempts to create social, cultural, and political change in their countries.

News media attention and the study of the process through which social movements attract this attention is important to a more complete understanding of how social movements succeed or fail in their goals, whether those goals are policy change or changing hearts and minds. This is another way in which the study of news media attention, rather than policy success, is beneficial to the study of social movements. News media attention allows us to measure the relative “success” of movements based on a measure that does not depend on policy change, which is helpful in expanding the definition of success among social movements to include a more dynamic conception that might not involve policy change (either immediately or even in the future) (Amenta 2006). Overall, by bringing together the important work of social movement theorists (many from sociology) and political communication (many from political science) and also being informed by human rights and women's rights literatures, this study of news media attention has demonstrated its importance despite the variation in the results of the statistical tests. This is further revealed with a discussion of the potential broader implications of this research.

The Role of News Media Attention in Challenging Exclusivity in Debate Conditions

Social movements may have more than one goal in mind or may use more than one measure of success when assessing their accomplishments (this is supported by my

interviews with activists in Ireland, to whom I posed a variation on the question, “What is success for your organization?”). One type of success that might be included among a social movement’s goals is the opening of debate conditions. Often in my interviews with issue minority pro-abortion rights activists in Ireland, they stressed the importance of being heard, which they perceived as difficult in Ireland’s political and social environment. While repressive debate conditions can be difficult to challenge, Walsh (2010) highlights the importance of having open debate conditions. Walsh explains why advances in women’s rights rarely occur during democratization and argues that this is often due to closed debate conditions, wherein women’s voices cannot be heard in the most important institutions in the public sphere, including the news media, civic society, and legislature. Women’s exclusion from these spheres of debate prevents them from influencing the debates, thus preventing them from influencing a critical part of the process of policy creation. Even when debate conditions allow for women to enter the public spheres of debate, the conditions may vary in their inclusiveness and quality.

The importance of debate conditions in shaping women’s rights outcomes links back to the discussion in Chapter 2 of power and how certain voices and ideas are prevented from entering the public sphere because of the power of those who defend the status quo. As mentioned, Bachrach and Baratz (1962) argue that some issues are prevented from ever being voiced and/or considered due to “non-decisions” that prevent issues from coming to the surface. This is the result of the domination of defenders of the status quo being so pervasive that they are “unaware of potential challengers to their position and thus any alternatives to the existing political process, whose bias they maintain” (Lukes 2005: 25). Thus, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the concerns of those who

might challenge the status quo are completely marginalized from the public sphere and never become viable challenges. Ferree's (2005) idea of soft repression also taps into this idea when she suggests that the news media, by not giving attention to certain actors or issues, can prevent some issues from gaining wider consideration. Whether this process is intentional or not, it may occur and have real consequences. As I mentioned in Chapter Two, the conceptualization of a second (Bachrach and Baratz 1962) or third (Lukes 2005) dimension of power that can prevent issues from coming to fruition may be usefully applied to the concept of framing. This is because successful framing on the part of one actor in the debate can result in the exclusion of certain other ideas and voices, all the while with little or no direct conflict involved (whereas a pluralist conception of power would require observable conflict in order to determine that power is in play in a situation. See Dahl 1957). Just like there is only so much room available in the news media agenda and so what news gets reported varies (Boydston 2013), not every frame that gets used by social movements will be picked up by the news media or the public. This conceptualization of the power of framing is, in many ways, also useful in thinking about what Walsh (2010) describes when she argues that women's concerns are prevented from ever being heard and considered in democratizing countries because of the debate conditions/power arrangements of a society. If these debate conditions can be altered then these concerns may be able to reach the public arena and, therefore, the policy agenda.

Walsh (2010) focuses her analysis on comparing several countries during their processes of democratization and considering whether or not women's rights gained ground during and after these processes. This is how she examines the role of debate

conditions in determining whether or not women's rights will be advantaged. However, she does not discuss why or how debate conditions change, whether they can be changed, and what happens to debate conditions after democratization. If debate conditions are not opened during the process of democratization, are they cemented shut forever? Or, can debate conditions be opened after democratization, to create the possibility that women's rights can be changed after democratization? Finally, can the ideas Walsh presents regarding how women's rights are advantaged also apply to other groups of actors' rights or concerns? For example, in fully democratized Canada, anti-abortion rights actors claim that the system is biased against them and prevents their arguments and concerns from being taken seriously or from even entering the public sphere. Is this the result of debate conditions that are closed to them, and is there a way that they could open these conditions and have their interests (the rights of the fetus) advanced?

Based on the results of this dissertation alone, I cannot answer all of these questions. However, the results of my analysis do allow for an educated assessment of the possible implications of news media attention and the role it could play in democratized countries where the debate conditions seem to be settled in one direction. This is the case in Canada, where it can be argued that anti-abortion rights activists are attempting to open the debate conditions in one arena of the public sphere – the news media – in order to have their messages heard by the wider public. This struggle can be seen taking place in subtle forms such as through framing contests and the strategic use of frames (for example, the use of human rights frames). Whether or not they are succeeding in opening debate conditions cannot be fully answered (though anti-abortion rights actors and Stephen Harper are often accused of attempting to “reopen the abortion debate” by their

opponents), but the results of my analysis suggest that, at least in garnering news media attention, they have had success over the course of the five years included in this analysis. Indeed, anti-abortion rights activists and their allies in Canada are regularly and systematically given more standing in the news media than their opponents. Anti-abortion rights events attract significantly more news media attention than pro-abortion rights events out of all events that capture attention from the news media, and anti-abortion rights human rights frames appear in the news media more than pro-abortion rights human rights frames. Finally, when anti-abortion rights speakers use human rights frames, they attract more attention than they would otherwise attract as well as more attention than their opponents. All of these results point to a decent success rate in attracting news media attention, particularly given the context of Canada and the general avoidance of the abortion issue by government bodies. Because Walsh (2010) argues that the news media is one of the important arenas in assessing debate conditions, this success on the part of anti-abortion rights actors in Canada can be seen as having potential implications for debate conditions in Canada.

Conversely, while the results of the empirical analysis in Ireland were less consistent with this theory, they were taking place in a different political context. In Ireland, during part of the content analysis, there was actual legislation occurring, which may actually suggest that pro-abortion rights activists had already been successful in breaking into debate conditions on several fronts, not only in the news media but also in the legislature. Of course, the resulting legislation was disappointing to many of the activists I spoke with when I conducted research in Ireland, and some of them were never supportive of the legislation in the first place, particularly because the legislation introduced a penalty

of up to 14 years in prison for women caught procuring or seeking illegal abortions. In fact, Dr. Peadar O’Grady of Doctors for Choice in Ireland explained that he sees no need for any legislation on abortion, and rather any standards regulating its practice “should apply to abortion in the same way they apply to every other medical procedure.”²⁷ He used the legal situation in Canada as an example of an ideal for how abortion should be treated as a medical practice. However, the presence of legislation in Ireland could explain the lack of consistency in the hypothesized results compared to Canada because the legislation implied that there had been a shift in the power structure. After all, even for those activists who disagreed with the legislation, it was an important step to go from relative silence on the issue for twenty-one years (since the X Case in 1992) to finally having debate as legislation was occurring. This explanation fits with my theory, but there are other possible explanations.

Among alternative explanations, the legislation may have nothing to do with these inconsistencies and it could be the case that, while similar tactics to those used by anti-abortion rights actors in Canada work some of the time for pro-abortion rights actors in Ireland, there is simply a disadvantage in fighting for women’s rights due to the overwhelming patriarchal biases in power structures in most countries in the world. This would help explain why the results in Ireland often followed similar trends to those in Canada, with the issue minority pro-abortion rights actors getting more attention in certain cases and with the appearance of their human rights frames being more frequent than those of their opponents, but also why issue minorities were not successful in actually receiving more news media attention at statistically significant levels when they

²⁷ Dr. Peadar O’Grady, Interview, September 24, 2014 (Dublin).

used human rights frames. Another possibility is that because women's rights to reproductive health are explicitly stated and recognized in many human rights documents and institutions such as the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the use of women's human rights to argue in favor of abortion is already such a part of the normative landscape that it lacks the provocative edge that makes it resonate and attracts attention when used by certain actors (though women's movements still often appeared in the news media coverage using human rights frames, so they are not useless).

Either way, the results shed light on the importance of studying both issue minorities and issue majorities and the news media attention they garner in social debates in different contexts. The abortion debate is not the only debate where there is a clear status quo and movements that include both defenders and challengers to that status quo. However, for studying news media attention the abortion debate is particularly helpful because debate on this issue takes place in many countries around the world and on a global level, and there are many variations on the types of abortion debates that occur in different countries. Whether some of the findings of this study, particularly regarding the role of social movement position relative to the status quo and the use of human rights frames, might also apply to other situations and debates is an open question. It would be interesting to perform a similar study on another debated issue such as gun control or another women's rights issue to see if there are similar patterns. This is one way in which the research presented in this dissertation could be extended. Other extensions of this research, as well as new directions for research that the present research reveals, are discussed below.

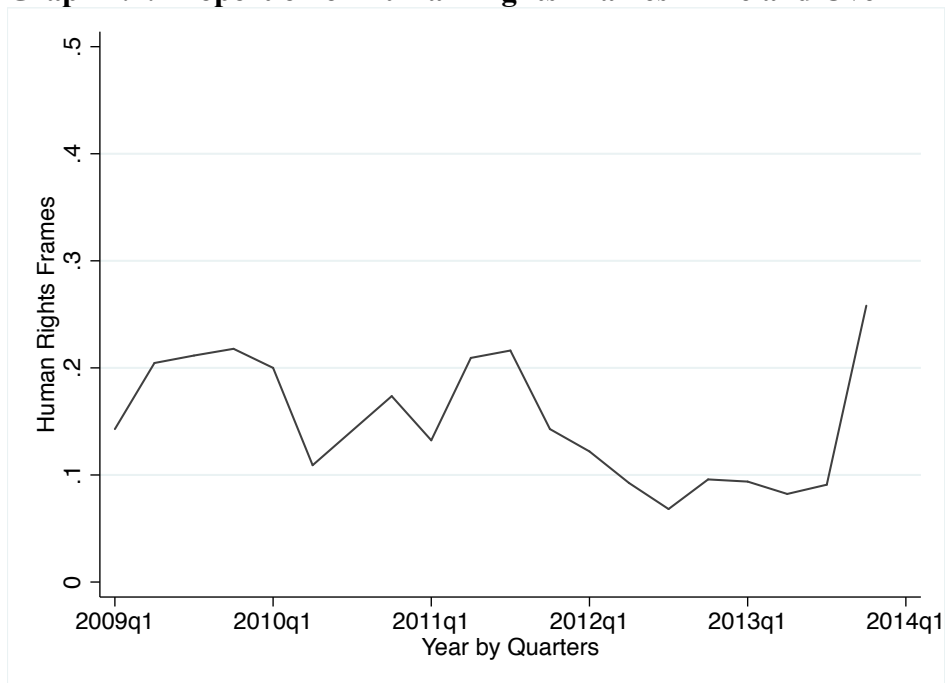
III. Extending the Research

In considering a future extension of this research, I would add two primary components. First, I would add more cases and cover fewer years. There were no clear patterns of news media attention and the independent variables used in this dissertation over time, so covering five years, while helpful in this initial study in determining that time does not appear to be an influential factor, is probably not necessary. To illustrate, the graphs below show the proportion of human rights frames as seen in news media coverage over time. I had expected to see an increase in the appearance of human rights frames in news media reports across countries and over time, but there does not seem to be an obvious trend in one direction or another. Rather, the coverage of human rights frames in the news media seems to follow events.

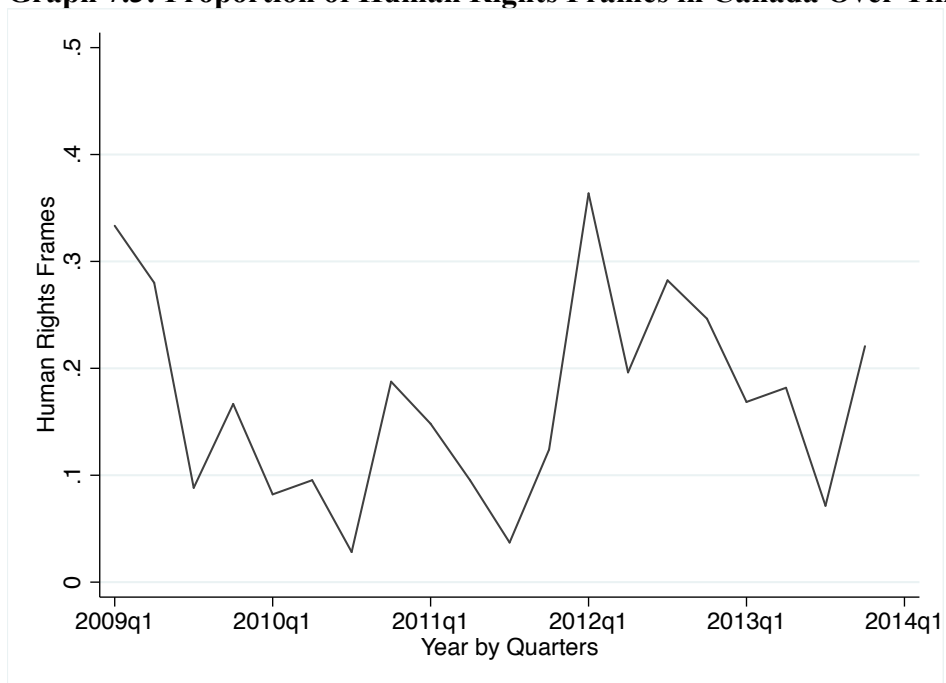
Graph 7.1: Proportion of Human Rights Frames Over Time in All Countries

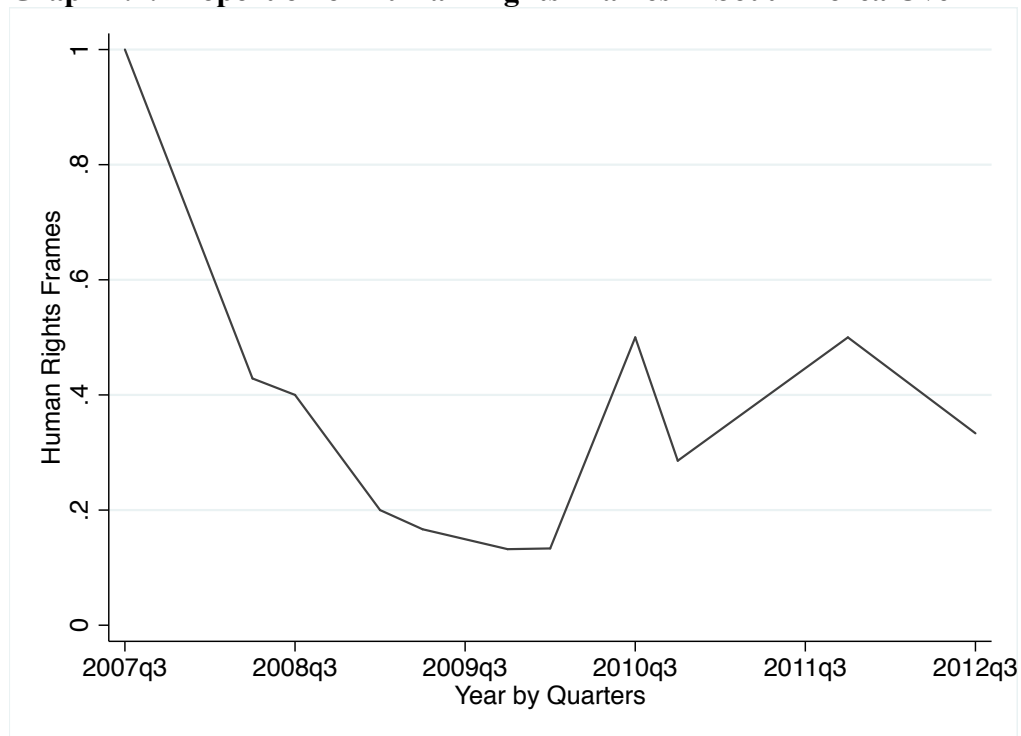


Graph 7.2: Proportion of Human Rights Frames in Ireland Over Time



Graph 7.3: Proportion of Human Rights Frames in Canada Over Time



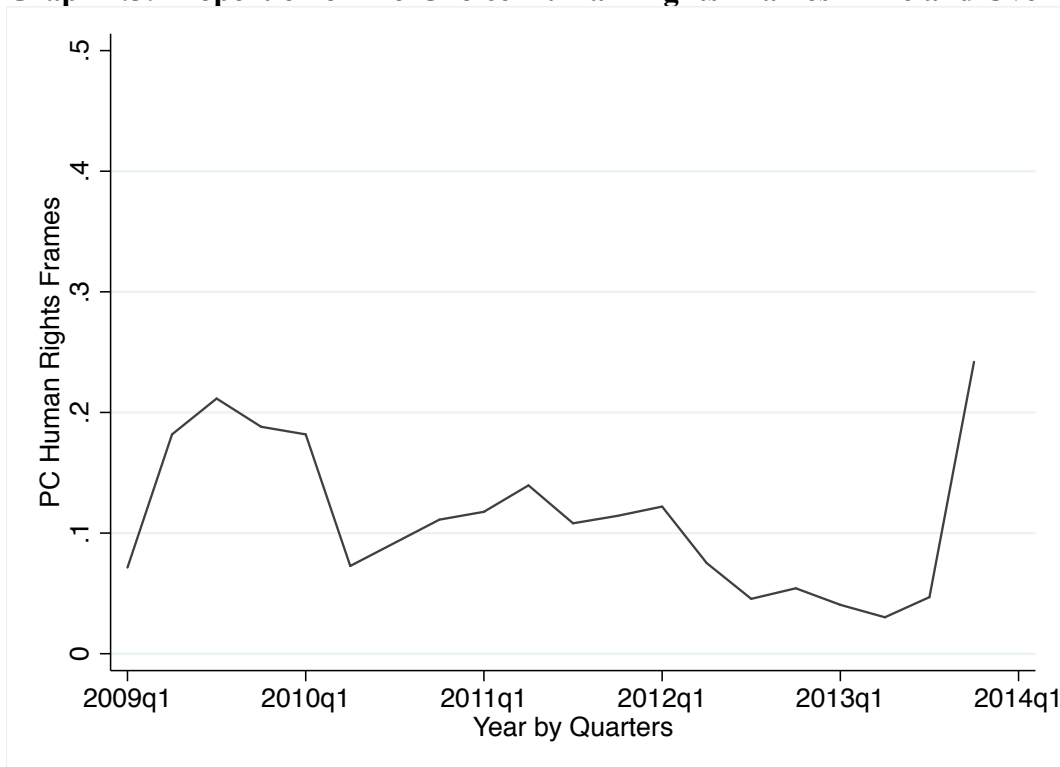
Graph 7.4: Proportion of Human Rights Frames in South Korea Over Time

As illustrated in the graphs above, when looking at all of the countries combined over time (quarters), there seem to be a few peaks during which human rights frames appeared in newspaper coverage more often than other times (the graphs show the numbers from 2007 even though only South Korea was covered during that year by the content analysis). In particular, 2012 was a big year for human rights frames, though this is probably best explained by domestic events that were occurring, particularly in Canada and Ireland. In Ireland, 2012 was the year that Savita Halappanavar died, spurring calls for abortion in cases when women's lives are threatened by their pregnancies. In Canada, Mark Warawa introduced his Motion 408 condemning sex-selective abortion, which garnered much media attention and use of human rights frames. Beyond these

observations, overall the use of human rights frames appears to be on the rise again at the end of 2013, but whether this trend continued is unknown.

When isolating the time frame to include only human rights frames in Ireland, human rights frames seem to consistently garner coverage over the five years in the analysis, though interestingly coverage of these frames decreases in 2012 and 2013, right around the time of Savita Halappanavar's death and the debate surrounding the abortion legislation that occurred. Considering that pro-abortion rights human rights frames were most common, it could be that because legislation was finally being discussed, human rights frames were deemed less necessary to attracting news media attention because they were being sought out more by the media for statements and press releases due to the legislation taking place. Or, it could be that the focus was more on the lives of women

Graph 7.5: Proportion of Pro-Choice Human Rights Frames in Ireland Over Time



rather than explicit arguments involving women's human rights. In this case, there is the possibility that the idea of women's lives being a matter of human rights was deemed obvious and thus not always explicitly stated. The appearance of human rights frames in the news media is definitely on the upswing in Ireland as of the end of 2013, though. Below, the graph shows the pattern of only pro-abortion rights human rights frames' coverage in the news media in Ireland, which, as is seen, follow very similar trajectories. The pro-abortion rights human rights frames seem to be the central drivers of the overall appearances made by human rights frames in news media coverage over time.

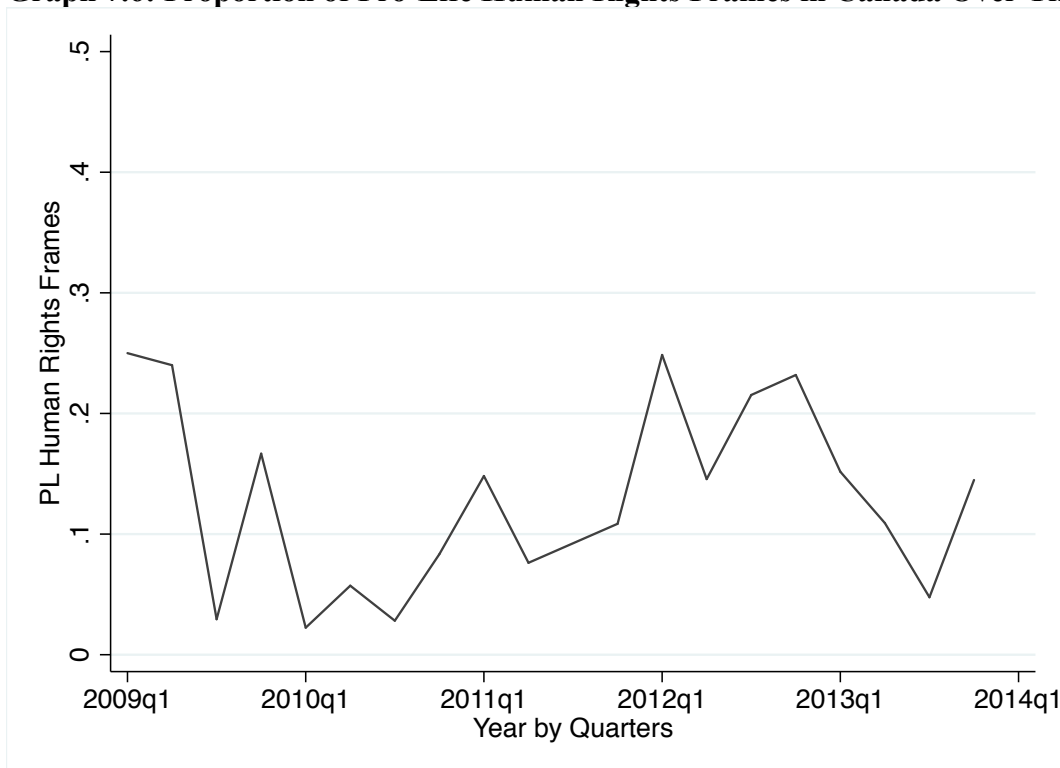
In Canada, the patterns of the coverage of human rights frames are much less smooth, with more highs and lows than in Ireland. This is probably partially the result of having fewer articles and statements regarding abortion overall. There seems to have been a peak at the end of 2008 and going into 2009, when the analysis began, and also a peak in 2012 and 2013. The latter is, again, probably the result of some of the parliamentary activities in which anti-abortion rights actors were engaging, including Mark Warawa's Motion 408 and then, later, the March for Life, which centered on the concept of girls' rights and "gendercide." In the graph below, the anti-abortion rights human rights frames are isolated and shown over time. This shows a similar pattern to that of the earlier graph, again affirming the fact that the issue minority human rights frames are most prominent and common.

Finally, in South Korea, the peak in human rights frames seems to have occurred in 2007, which is rather surprising considering that the abortion debate did not begin in force until around 2009. In 2009, there is a visible upswing in human rights frame coverage, yet South Korea is the only country in which human rights frame coverage

appears to end on a downswing in 2012, earlier than the end of the analysis. Coverage of the issue of abortion certainly thinned out in more recent years in the content analysis, so this likely played a role in decreasing human rights frame coverage. Why coverage decreased is not clear.

As illustrated, though I would have expected human rights frames to be covered increasingly over the years, there seems to be no such pattern in my time series analysis. Thus, in future research I would instead add more country cases and decrease the time period studied to two or three years. I would not decrease the number of years by much more due to the low number of articles covered in some of the countries, even in countries where English is a major language, such as Canada. For the additional cases, I

Graph 7.6: Proportion of Pro-Life Human Rights Frames in Canada Over Time



would consider more countries where English is spoken as an official language so as to avoid the problem I faced in South Korea, or I would ask for the help of someone with the necessary language skills to conduct the content analysis in a foreign language. I would seek at least two additional country cases, one where the abortion context is more similar to that of Canada, and one where the context is closer to Ireland's. In this way, it would be easier to see the role of the different variables discussed in this dissertation and whether there are similar patterns in the news media attention paid to issue minorities, events, and human rights frames in cases where the abortion laws are similar, as abortion law was the central differentiating variable across the three countries in the present research. In particular, it would be useful to further study if there is something special about anti-abortion rights human rights frames that attract news media attention or if in Ireland other circumstances simply made human rights frames less provocative and attention grabbing.

The second primary component I would attempt to add to extend my research in the future would be to collect systematic information on the universe of events, tactics, and frames used by social movements in order to compare this to what appears in the news media. In the present research, this was out of the realm of possibilities given time and financial resources and thus I supplemented it with a less systematic qualitative analysis that gave me an idea of the broader universe of these things but did not allow for statistical testing. Even if I had the time and resources to conduct systematic data collection on the actual occurrence of events and frames used by social movements, it would be difficult because many social movement organizations do not regularly update their websites or make their news releases available on their websites. Thus, it would be a

challenge to collect the data and it would be potentially inconsistent. Further, even if these organizations do post about the events they organize, for example, there is no way to know whether the events actually occurred. Indeed, these types of difficulties that make studying social movement strategies challenging are why some scholars use event counts from newspapers to collect data on events (Woolley 2000; Meyer and Staggenborg 2008), even though this is admittedly difficult and often unreliable due to the fact that – as mentioned often in this dissertation – the media do not cover all events (hence the competitions for media attention described here). Despite these complications, I would attempt to acquire at least a more systematic count of actual events and frame usage to which I could compare the content analysis. In this way, I could be more confident in asserting that certain tactics and strategies are more successful in attracting news media attention than others.

IV. Future Research Possibilities

Other potential avenues for future research that are prompted by the current study include more exploration of debate conditions and how these change or are altered in various stages of political development, including after full democratization. In particular, studying movements that counter women's rights movements, especially in environments where women's rights have been granted, is important to both explaining why women's rights are granted and how they are challenged once achieved. Relatedly, further study of the way in which human rights are used by conservative actors to support their own agendas and/or to challenge women's rights agendas will reveal more empirically on the effects of human rights in domestic policy debates but will also open

opportunities for deeper theoretical discussions regarding whether or not there is a legitimate use of human rights language.

Specifically relating to news media attention, it would be ideal to expand the analysis to include other news media sources such as television, radio (very popular in Ireland according to one of my interviewees), or online news sources to see if there are differences in the amount of news media attention speakers, events, and frames get depending on the type of news source. However, once again, while this would be informative, the data would be difficult to collect in a usable and consistent format across multiple countries. Finally, considerations of tone and the quality of news media attention would be an interesting addition to the study of news media attention. Do certain frames attract more positive news media attention from the news media than others? Or is it only the political leanings of the journalist or news source that matter in determining the tone? These questions would be interesting to explore, particularly given the finding that issue minorities tend to attract attention. Is this attention positive? Do journalists tend to stay neutral in their news reports other than in the amount of attention they give, or do they give issue minorities more attention, but less positive attention than issue majorities? In the content analysis for this dissertation, I attempted to collect data for a tone variable, but it became difficult to keep track of given the sheer size of the data set and the number of variables for which I collected data. In the future, a smaller project that focused on the question of tone in news media attention might be more manageable, perhaps covering a shorter period of time with several newspapers in only one country.

V. Final Thoughts

Overall, the discussion provided in this dissertation has pointed to new possibilities for future research, but most importantly it has contributed to our knowledge of the interactions of social movements and the news media and how a mixture between news media standards and movement characteristics and strategies play a part in explaining the varying levels of news media attention in abortion debates across several different countries and contexts. In particular, there seem to be complex interactions between a movement's position in society relative to the status quo, their choice of frames (specifically whether or not they use human rights frames frequently) and the amount of attention they receive from the news media. This information, as suggested in this chapter, may provide a piece of the puzzle to the larger problem of how social and political landscapes change; i.e., how social movements struggle to change the debate conditions and power arrangements in their society through the use of the news media. The results have also pointed to the importance of studying more about the challenges to women's rights that can arise after they have already been achieved in democratized countries and the forms these challenges can take, including through the use of human rights language and norms.

The idea that, in countries where there is a relatively strong status quo on abortion, social movements that are opposed to the status quo get more news media coverage than those supportive of the status quo goes against what one might think and the way that these movement activists often feel. This observation is tempered by the fact that issue minority movements may still get less attention in the form of article focus and the issue of abortion itself may not garner as much attention overall than other topics in the news media. However, when it comes to how many statements in the news media feature issue

minority actors versus issue majority actors, issue minority actors appear to have an advantage. This result may be surprising to activists, whereas other results will be less surprising.

Activists know that events are important to organize and use in order to attract attention to their messages (though again, they may not realize the advantage they have in attracting news media attention as the issue minority), and they also recognize the importance of framing their messages in resonant ways. This was apparent when I spoke with activists in Ireland and Korea. In Ireland, I attended an organizational meeting among activists and witnessed them engaging in the act of creating frames and debating which frames are the most useful. However, the role of human rights frames in attracting news media attention is a new observation that emphasizes the importance of looking at the way international norms can be used by domestic actors, particularly for scholars interested in how norms and frames travel and the spread of political communication. These findings confirm the importance of studying the interactions between social movements and the news media and they extend our understanding of these interactions to include the influence of the international and the role it plays in social movement strategy and news media attention.

The appearance of human rights language in abortion debates across multiple countries and its use by both anti-abortion rights and pro-abortion rights actors to frame their messages in all of the countries under study is among the most important observations of this study. The finding contributes to the debate about the usefulness of human rights in domestic contexts and it reveals more about the nature of the relationship between social movement actors and the news media. The results from this dissertation

overall contribute to a better understanding of why some social movements receive more news media attention than others in different country contexts. The answer is not simple, but the analysis provided here suggests that it does involve the relative position of a movement to the status quo on abortion in their country and the frames they use.

Ultimately, I have argued that the results of my dissertation shed light on the way in which debate conditions in democratized countries can be changed by issue minority movements who strategically work to attract news media attention and who then may use this attention to change the social landscape on abortion in their countries.

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