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Framing pro-choice movements in Irish and Argentinian news media

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Abstract

From the early 2000s, men and women in all parts of the world have marched to incite their local government to remove legislative obstacles which prevent women from obtaining an abortion. In the past years, the debate around abortion has been reported by newspapers through different points of views. Narrating events from certain perspectives is a common phenomenon in discourse, which is referred to as framing. For the purpose of this study, framing of the pro-choice movement was divided into 'support' frame and 'against' frame. The cross-cultural approach of this content analysis showed differences and similarities in the framing elements used by journalists, i.e. the use of pro-life arguments and positive framing of the pro-choice movement. On the one hand, Argentina and Ireland were found to use the support and against frame in a similar manner. However, the themes of each frame revealed differences in the use of positive framing of the pro-choice movement and the use of pro-life arguments.

Keywords : abortion debate, pro-choice movement, framing, Ireland, Argentina, discourse analysis

Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Explanation
NCRA	National Campaign for The Right to Safe and Free Abortion
8th Amendment	Article 40.3.3 of the Irish Constitution

1. Introduction

The pro-choice and pro-life protests have been a powerful tool for the homonymous groups in order to obtain exposure and to raise awareness on their main objectives. More importantly, the protests of both sides of the abortion debate have continuously been documented by news media. In a world of fast paced growing variety of news outlets, newspapers have never stopped from being the primary source of independent and professional news about public affairs. Additionally, their importance comes from their ability to publish local news on a daily basis (Nielsen, 2015). In countries like Argentina and Ireland local news have been a key player in the abortion debate, as they were the main source of information for cases such as Ana Maria Acevedo and Savita Halapannavar (Tarducci, 2018; Whelan, 2017). In 2007 both women were denied an abortion which could have saved them from complication of the health conditions they were suffering from. After a few days of their admission to the hospitals, doctors announced the death of the women and their babies. News coverage of these two events caused an outcry in both countries, which lead to the creation of pro-choice movements, aimed at saving lives of women in similar critical situations (Tarducci, 2018; Together For Yes, 2018). The research on mass communication outlets of the two countries, is an important field which allows for new insights on framing used by news media.

Frames and framing across cultures

Framing is one of the journalistic techniques that has been a focus of previous research on mass media communication. Entman (1993) describes framing as the process with which journalists exercise a certain degree of freedom by allowing their subjective point of view to be reflected in the news article. The framing of issues can include moral evaluation, problem definition and suggestion of remedies (Entman, 1993). Framing is a common phenomenon in journalistic articles which entails the "persistent selection", "emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" of journalistic elements in order to describe one specific event (Gitlin, 1980, p.7).

Framing may not always be evident, as it can involve the subtle manipulation of language to describe events in certain ways (Halliday, 1978). In order to find and analyze differences in framing of an event, it may be useful to compare news articles from different sources. For example, in 1986 two American citizens attempted to bomb an abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida. Following the events, the activists Judy Goldsmith made statements to newspapers that read

"despite the claims of the anti-abortion terrorists, women do not end pregnancies for light or frivolous reasons" (Krasnow, 1985) However, those same newspapers called Judy Goldsmith and the National Organization for women as "a band of feminists [who] kept a sleep-in vigil all weekend at an abortion clinic, saying they would no longer 'yield to the bullies' and their terrorist tactics" (Krasnow, 1985). The two articles bring up two different points of view, which contradict one another. Whilst the first uses a saving frame, in attempt to defense itself from previous accusation towards the pro-choice movement, the second uses a settle language "band of feminist", "bullies" by means of frame debunking (McCaffrey & Keys, 2000).

Researchers have defined frames as "devices embedded in political discourse" to communicate a certain meaning intended by the journalist (Kinder & Sanders, 1990, p. 74). Framing may also be regarded as a device constructed within certain shared beliefs of a country (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). A cluster of shared beliefs can be described as a culture, meaning that different cultures correspond to different framing devices (Zald, 1996). The relationship between cultures and framing in social movements is one which has not been taken into account by many researchers (Zald, 1996; Cacciatore, Scheufele, Iyengar, 2016). In particular, the differences in framing across cultures lie in the political structures and media regimes of the country. In countries like Italy where the political scene is characterized by the compromise and cooperation between opposing parties, the reporting of events is more "commentary-oriented" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 74). Meanwhile, in countries such as the U.S., the "less consensual politics" make for a more "information-oriented journalism" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 99). In addition, ownership of a newspaper, whether private or public, can have an impact on the content of the news articles (McMenamin, Flynn, O'Malley, & Rafter, 2012).

All in all, different frames and different cultural contexts can have a considerate effect on citizens' attitude towards politics (Cappella & Jamieson, 1996). In order to understand the possible differences in framing, it is important to have an insight on the political and cultural differences that lay behind the South American country, Argentina, and the European country, Ireland.

Contextual influences
In order to give a cross-cultural comparison of social movements similar to the abortion debate, scholars have used the structure of political opportunities (Gamson & Meyer et al., 1996, p. 275). In particular, the strong cultural constituent of political opportunities was the main element which

helped researchers to explain the development of social movements in different nations (Gamson & Meyer, 1996). Another salient aspect of political opportunities is their influence on mass media (Gamson & Meyer, 1996).

During the process of political liberation in the 1980's, journalism in Latin America was revolutionized and, for the first time, it was able to expand freely and uncover contemporary corruption scandals (Matos, 2008). On October 9th 2009, the Argentinian's Senate passed a law to democratize all audiovisual media, allowing for less control by the government on the media (Matos, 2008). Despite these attempts towards democratization of the media, the current Argentinian media market is not without weaknesses (Carroll & Hackett, 2006). One of the most impactful weaknesses is the concentration of ownership of media (Baker, 2007), which leads to the "over-representation of certain political views or forms of cultural output" (Doyle, 2002, p. 26). Ownership in the Argentinian media system has been proven as a tactic for a more effective news-propagation through TV channels and newspapers (Cuestas Olivares, Freille, O'Gorman, 2010).

Ireland is a country where most newspapers take a "right-of-center line", with some variations on issues of personal morality, although generally newspapers in this country are hardly radical (McMenamin et al. 2012). Up until the 1990s, the Irish media were under the shadow of the Catholic Church, until the historic poor treatment of pregnant women and single mothers by this institution led to a de-legitimation of the Church among the public (Inglis, 1998). This decline, allowed for the growth in the Irish media landscape, e.g. magazine, newspapers and the radio (Inglis, 1998). Nowadays, the group INM has the control of over 40% of the Irish media scene (McMenamin et al., 2012). The same cannot be said for Argentina, where the Catholic Church still holds a considerable power on societal changes partly due to its affiliation with the current head of the Catholic Church, Pope Francis. The latter has supported the Argentinian Pro-life movement's massive mobilizations and has gotten involved in the debate very actively, by making public declarations of his position against abortion (Entremujeres, 2019).

A country's law on abortion is considered as a reflection of its beliefs on the degree of freedom that a women is entitled to (Levín, 2018). The political debate in Argentina around abortion rights started in the 1990s. An initial consensus was reached in 2002, with the creation of the National Program of Sexual Health and Responsible Procreation (Levin, 2018). Although this programme allowed the practice of abortion in case of rape or risk to woman's life, doctors often

refuse to perform the procedure based on their religious ideologies. For the first time in 2018, the Argentinian Prime Minister Mauricio Macri impelled the debate into the public agenda (Levín, 2018) which seemed to be the political opportunity for the pro-choice movement to pass the pro-choice bill, the so-called NCRA. On June 14th, 2018, the majority of the Argentinian Parliament gave their approval to draft the law that would legalize voluntary terminations of pregnancies. However, on August 8th 2018, the bill was rejected by the majority of the Senate (Centenera, 2018; Levín, 2018). Rejection of the bill meant that abortion remains legal only in the case of rape and danger to the life of the woman (Booth, 2018).

In Ireland, Article 40.3.3 (also known as the 8th Amendment) was included in the Irish Constitution in 1983. This Amendment recognized "the right to life of the mother and the unborn", thus criminalizing and prohibiting abortion practices in all circumstances. Since then, almost 200,000 Irish women have had to travel abroad in order to seek an abortion (McMahon & Ní Ghráinne, 2018). During the month of January 2018, the referendum to repeal the Eighth Amendment started to make its way into the Irish political agenda as it gained support from the leader of Fianna Fáil, the opposition party, as well as the Irish Prime Minister Leo Varadkar (McMahon & Ní Ghráinne, 2018). Ten days later, the Taoiseach announced his approval of the referendum on Ireland's constitutional abortion ban, which was seen as the political opportunity to finally repeal the 8th Amendment. On May 25th, 2018 the majority of the electorate voted in a referendum to repeal the 8th Amendment, thereby allowing Irish women the right for an abortion up until the 12th week of pregnancy (Field, 2018; McMahon & Ní Ghráinne, 2018). The 8th Amendment was repealed from the Irish constitution and all abortion services became fully legal as of January 1st 2019.

Framing the abortion debate

The complexity of framing requires a need to understand the ways in which the abortion debate is portrayed in the news and consequently, how these influences are able to impact the evolution of the abortion debate in political discussion (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Andsager (2000) discovered how policy makers often deployed social actors in issues in their public discourses, in order to influence the public opinion and obtain support on their views. The use of memorable terminology, such as "pro-choice" or "pro-life" is a framing technique which according to the researcher is used to delineate one stand from the other (Andsager, 2000).

Previous studies have shown the extent of power that public discourses can have, which may in turn negatively affect women demanding an abortion, specifically by making abortion more difficult to obtain (Rance, 1997).

In previous research on framing of the abortion debate in Ireland, it was found that the repeated terminology used by journalists has had a significant negative influence on the abortion legislation (Murray, 2016). In fact, the pro-life Irish press questions the need for an abortion, as they describe women seeking for an abortion as "untrustworthy", "manipulative" and "hysterical woman" (p. 677), which leads to believe that women would lie about their aggravated medical condition or mental health in order to undermine the rules in place. Similarly, Smyth (1992, p.8) found that Irish pro-life newspapers referred to 'women' as 'mothers' and 'foetuses' as 'babies'. Hence, the articles make use of this framed terminology in order to appeal the attention of the readers with an emotional point of view, with the idea of motherhood and family.

Scholarship on the framing of the abortion debate in South America, has grown in the past years as democratization become more common in these countries (Macrory, 2013). In Mexico a clear divide was found in framing in articles about abortion. Whilst the debate was inserted in the context of the women's rights movements, in pro-life articles the debate was blended with other social issues such as same sex marriage or human trafficking, which are considered unacceptable by Mexican public opinion (Vala-Haynes et al., 2011). Similarly, a study by Morales and Vallejo (2010) found that 51% of Colombian newspapers included controversial topics such as gay rights, euthanasia and decriminalization of abortion. The news articles used a rhetorical frame, with which Colombian journalists explained the controversy and appeal to the emotions of the readers.

All in all, there is evidence indicating that the abortion debate is a topic which has been framed differently across media platforms all over the world. Previous studies have only analyzed the frames used by Argentinian social movements to support their own cause, and not much has been studied on the framing used by newspapers (Borland, 2000). More research is needed to learn about the frames used in each country as well as to obtain cross-cultural comparison of framing in news reports about the pro-choice movement. In addition, no research was identified that conducted a comparison between a European and a South American country. Such a comparison is relevant because throughout 2018, in both countries the pro-choice and the pro-life movements have actively manifested their right of free speech through manifestation in the countries' capitals and all over the nation.

Research questions

This leads to the following questions which will be analyzed in the current study:

RQ: How do Argentina and Ireland differ in framing the pro-choice movement?

Sub-question 1: How do the media in the two countries differ in terms of support and against frame?

Sub-question 2: How do the media in the two countries differ in the use of frame themes?

2. Method

Materials

In order to analyze the framing used by newspapers in different countries, a corpus analysis was conducted by selecting news reports from Argentina and Ireland. For both countries, the newspapers with the highest circulation rates were chosen. The Argentinian newspapers chosen were *La Nación* and *Clarín* (El boletín, 2018). Clarín is considered the lead of the populist Argentinian newspapers, and has a very broad audience. Instead, La Nación is the more conservative Argentinian newspaper, which targets mainly readers from a higher socio-economic status (Ares, 2018). Both newspapers are privately owned, by Clarín Group (Grupo Clarín, n.d.) and Saguire Group (Fundación La Nación, n.d.).

The Irish newspapers selected for this study were *The Irish Independent* and *Irish Examiner* from Ireland. Whilst the *Irish Independen*t is a traditional, catholic and nationalist newspaper, the *Irish Examiner* is considered to be a populist newspaper (Gaughan & Garre, 2011). Additionally, the ownership and drive of these papers is different because the former is quoted on the stock market as a part of the largest newspaper group in Ireland. However, the latter is privately owned by the Irish publisher TCH, and thus it is not profit driven. The two newspapers are the highest circulated newspapers in Ireland, with 43,390 for the *Irish Examiner* and 134,228 for *The Irish Independent (*McMenamin et al., 2012).

As mentioned previously, 2018 was a year during which may events related to the abortion debated have occurred. For this reason, in order to choose a representative corpus of framing in cross-cultural newspaper, the sample of this study is limited to the period between January 1st, 2018 and December 31st, 2018. Furthermore, the sample of articles for *La Nación, The Irish Examiner* and *The Irish Independent* were collected through Lexis Nexis, an online database of

international newspapers. The articles were selected with the use of specific keywords. These keywords were: protest/protesta; women's movement/movimiento de mujeres; abortion/aborto; Repeal the 8th/Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal Seguro y Gratuito. A different approach was used for Clarín because of the lack of results from Lexis Nexis. Thus, the same keyword search was conducted on the official online newspaper of Clarín. A total of 15 articles was selected for each newspaper, for a total of 60 news reports which were subsequently identified and included in this study. The unit of analysis was the whole body of the article.

Model of analysis

The study reports on quantitative research carried out to analyze the news frames in Argentinian and Irish newspapers. In order to create a framework applicable to the research question and sub questions of this study, two frames were studied, namely: support pro-choice or against pro-choice. The model of analysis consisted of six questions per frames, each question was coded with *yes* (1), *no* (2) or *N.A.* (0). For each frame, each question was comparable with the question of the other frame. One question was asked for each theme in each frame these two questions were the opposite of one another. Hence, for the framing of the pro-choice movement (theme 1) the questions consisted in "Does the news report provide a positive frame of the pro-choice movement?" for the Support frame and in "Does the news report provide a negative frame of the pro-choice movement?" for the Against frame. The same was applied for the remaining five themes: framing of the pro-life movement, framing of the movement's actions, political endorsement, argument, effectiveness of the movement, as listed below.

The following six questions were used to code the support frame:

1A. Does the news report provide a positive frame of the pro-choice movement?

2A. Does the news report provide a negative frame of the pro-life movement?

3A. Does the news report describe pro-choice protesters' actions in a positive way?

4A. Does the news report provide endorsement of politicians for the actions taken by pro-choice protesters?

5A. Does the news report mention that the woman's life must be saved?

6A. Does the news report mention in a positive way the effectiveness of the pro-choice movement?

For the against frame these six questions were coded:

1B. Does the news report provide a negative frame of the pro-choice movement?

2B. Does the news report provide a positive frame of the pro-life movement?

3B. Does the news report criticize pro-choice protesters' actions?

4B. Does the news report provide endorsement of politicians for the actions taken by pro-life protesters?

5B. Does the news report mention that the child's life must be saved?

6B. Does the news report mention in a positive way the effectiveness of the pro-life movement?

The reader should be aware that the questions of each frame were not translated to Spanish for the coding, as both coders were fluent in English and were able to apply these questions for the coding of the news articles. In Appendix A, a brief summary with examples of coding for each question of the model of analysis is provided.

Procedure

The corpus analysis was conducted on the 60 articles. For each newspaper we constructed a coding sheet with 15 columns (one per article) and 12 rows (one per question of the model of analysis). Using this coding sheet, each question was coded with *yes* (1), *no* (2) or *N.A.* (0). The latter stands for "Not Applicable", and was considered in those situations in which the article did not provide an answer to the question of the model of analysis (See Appendix A). In particular, the rule of thumb for N.A. was that if 60% of the questions, thus 7, was coded with N.A. then the article had to be excluded from the sample. After conducting the coding and deleting the articles which were not applicable to this study, the final sample rounded up to 51 articles.

A second coding sheet with 2 rows (one per frame) and 15 columns (one per article) was used to identify the final coding of the frame of the newspaper article: support, against. Hence, as each article was coded, the researcher used a rule of thumb to decide which frame was predominant. The rule of thumb implied that when 70% of the questions, thus when 4 questions of the support frame (questions 1a to 6a) were coded with *yes* (1), then the article was coded in the support frame. This rule also implied that when 70% of the questions, thus when 4 questions of the support frame (questions 1a to 6a) were coded with *no* (2), the article would be coded in the against frame. This rule of thumb was used for the against frame (questions 1b to 6b): if 70%, thus 4 of the questions were coded with *yes* (1), then the article was coded in the against frame.

Otherwise, 70%, thus 4 of the questions 1b to 6b were coded with *no* (2), then the article was coded the support frame.

A second coder coded 10 articles of one newspaper for each country: La Nación and The Irish Examiner. The measurement level of the items of this study was categorical. In order to test the reliability of the final framing of each article between the two coders a Cohen's kappa inter-coder reliability test was ran. The test showed intercoder reliability of the variable 'framing' was insufficient: $\kappa = .40$, $p = .197$.

The Cohen's kappa (κ) inter-coder reliability tests for questions 1a to 6a showed that κ ranged between -.238 and .141, $M = -.104$. Cohen's kappa inter-coder reliability test for questions 1b to 6b showed κ ranging between -.358 and .185, $M = -.103$.

Due to the limited scope and time constraints of the present study, the following analysis and results are based solely on the coding as provided by the main coder.

Statistical treatment

Cronbach's alpha test for the questions 1a to 6a and 1b to 6b was run for internal consistency. The reliability of the six questions of the support frame (questions 1a to 6a) was acceptable: $\alpha = .70$. The same test was run for the six questions of the support frame (questions 1b to 6b), and it was found that the reliability was good: $\alpha = .83$.

In order to measure the correlation between framing (Support, Against) and country (Argentina; Ireland), a 2x2 Chi-Square test was conducted. Furthermore, the relation between country and the framing themes of the Support frame (Theme 1a to 6a), was analyzed through a 2x3 Chi-Square. To determine the relation between country and the framing themes of the Against frame (Theme 1b to 6b), an additional 2x3 Chi-Square was executed. In total, three Chi-Square tests were conducted.

3. Results

Considering that the study's research question "How do Argentina and Ireland differ in framing the pro-choice movement?" it was necessary to run a comparison of the frequencies of the support and the against frame with a Chi-Square test. The latter included the categorical variables Framing (Support; Against) and Country (Ireland; Argentina).

Country and framing

The results indicate that the relation between country and framing was not significant ($\chi^2(1)$ = 0.024, p = 0.877). Table 1. shows an overview of the findings for the Chi-Square analysis conducted on the frame used per country.

Table 1. Results of Chi-Square test with article frequencies, standardized residuals for the support and against frame per country

	Argentina	Ireland
Frame	N(SR)	N(SR)
Support	14(,-1)	14(,1)
Against	12(,1)	11(,-1)

Country and support framing themes

In order to answer Sub-question 2, the researcher analyzed the correlation between country and framing themes through a second Chi-Square test.

A Fisher's exact test showed a significant relationship between positive framing of pro-choice (Theme 1a) and country, p = 0.004. The positive framing of pro-choice was found to be either N.A. (26,9%) or absent (30,8%) in Argentinian news articles. The same theme was present significantly more in Irish news articles (76.0%) than in Argentinian newspapers (42.3%). These finding of the significant difference indicate a higher presence of a positive framing of the pro-choice movement in Ireland than in Argentina. This result indicates that in Irish news reports, subtle language embedded is used in for the positive framing of the pro-choice movement.

A Chi-Square test showed a non-significant relationship between country and positive framing of pro-choice actions ($\chi^2(2)$ = 2.76, p = .252), country and political endorsement of the pro-choice movement ($\chi^2(2)$= 1.96, p = .376), country and the pro-choice argument ($\chi^2(1)$ = .009,

$p = .925$), and country and effectiveness of the pro-choice movement ($\chi^2(2) = .689$, $p = .709$). With these results, it is possible to demonstrate that the variable country has no relationship to the negative framing of pro-life, the support of the pro-choice actions, the endorsement of pro-choice movement, the pro-choice argument and the effectiveness of the pro-life movement.

Country and against framing themes

The correlation between country and framing themes was analyzed with a Chi-Square for the against frame themes and country. A Chi-Square test showed a significant relationship between the use of the pro-life argument in news articles (Theme 5b) and country ($\chi^2(1)= 3.92$, $p = .048$). The use of pro-life arguments was significantly higher in Argentinian news reports (46.2%) than in Irish news reports (20.0%). This finding indicates that almost half of the news reports by Argentinian journalists made use pro-life arguments in their writing, whilst the majority of Irish newspapers did not even include a pro-life argument (80.0%). Therefore, there was a noticeable difference in the use of this pro-life framing theme in news reports from Ireland and from Argentina.

The Chi-Square test showed a non-significant relationship between country and positive framing of pro-life ($\chi^2(2) = 2.58$, $p = .276$), country and negative framing of pro-life ($\chi^2(2)= 1.81$, $p = .404$), country and support of the pro-life actions ($\chi^2(2) = 4.05$, $p = .132$), country and the endorsement of the pro-life movement ($\chi^2(2) = 4.04$, $p = .133$), country and effectiveness of the pro-life movement ($\chi^2(2) = 3.31$, $p = .191$). Also for the against frame, the variable country has no relationship to the positive framing of pro-life, negative framing of pro-life, the support of the pro-life actions, the endorsement of pro-life movement and the effectiveness of the pro-life movement.

Table 2. Results of Chi-square tests with article frequencies, standardized residuals and p-values for each theme of the frames.

	Argentina		Ireland		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	*p*
1A. Positive Framing of Pro-Choice	11 (-1.1)	8 (.3)	19 (1.1)	6 (-.3)	.009
2A. Negative Framing of Pro-Choice	10(-.5)	16(.6)	13(.5)	11(-.6)	.317
3A. Positive Framing Pro-Choice Actions	13(-.2)	9(.9)	14(.2)	4(-.9)	.252
4A. Political Endorsement	9(.3)	13(.4)	7(-.3)	10(-.4)	.376
5A. Argument	18(.0)	8(-.1)	17(.0)	8(.1)	.925
6A. Effectiveness	15(-.3)	9(.3)	17(.3)	7(-.3)	.709
1B. Positive Framing of Pro-Life	10(.3)	12(-.6)	8(-.3)	16(.6)	.276
2B. Negative Framing of Pro-Life	10(.6)	14(-.6)	6(-.7)	18(.6)	.404
3B. Positive Framing Pro Life Actions	9(.7)	15(.2)	5(-.7)	13(-.2)	.132
4B. Political Endorsement	5(.8)	20(.1)	2(-.8)	18(-.1)	.133
5B. Argument	12(1.1)	14(-.8)	5(-1.2)	20(.8)	.048
6B. Effectiveness	10(1.1)	14(-.7)	4(-1.1)	19(.7)	.191

5. Conclusion and Discussion

Conclusion

The content analysis of the current research was able to fill the gap in the literature on cross-cultural differences of the framing of the abortion debate in newspapers. By obtaining an understanding on these differences, it is possible to have a deeper insight on the influence of shared beliefs on local news media (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Zald, 1996). For the purpose of this study, 30 Irish and 30 Argentinian articles were selected. The analysis was conducted on the "Support" frame and "Against" frame. The researcher developed her own model of analysis, in which each frame corresponded to six framing themes, namely six questions.

By means of the research question, it was possible to conclude that there are no significant differences among the two countries, Ireland and Argentina, in the frequencies of the news frames. However, the analysis of our sub-questions revealed that there were significant differences in two of the framing themes. On the one hand, Irish newspapers were found to use more a positive framing of the pro-choice movement than Argentinian newspapers. On the other, Argentinian newspapers were found to use more frequently the pro-life argument than Irish newspapers.

Discussion

Evidence from this study suggest that there is not a substantial difference in the framing used by news reports in both countries. This is an important finding as it goes against what has commonly been assumed, namely that two countries which are culturally different will use different framing styles in the local newspapers (Zald, 1996). An example of such theories lies in the findings by Hallin and Mancini (2004), who analyzed the reporting of political events in the news, and found different frames between Italian and American newspapers. Thus, the argument that different cultural contexts can have an impact on citizen's view on political matters was not supported by the current results (Cappella & Jamieson, 1996). Whilst this study did not show a difference in the use of framing of the two countries, it did partially substantiate the variety of framing used in one country. This finding supports the idea that in order to have a bigger overview on an event, it is necessary to obtain an overview from several different sources (Fowler, 1991). Taking into account the conclusions made by Brüggeman et al. (2014), it is possible to explain the factors behind the divergent results between the current study and Hallin and Mancini (2004). To conduct their analysis, Hallin and Mancini (2004) made use of traditional media models, which according to

Brüggemann et al. (2014) is not representative of the weaker and rapid changing political preferences of consumers and can often lead to difficulties to detect and measure media's use of frames.

An additional element brought to light by Brüggemann et al. (2014) is the ownership of a newspaper. According to the researchers, this factor has to be taken into account when drawing conclusions on frames used by newspapers from various countries. According to the authors, Northern European countries, such as Ireland, were found to have low levels of ownership regulations. This finding is in line with previous theories (See: Contextual differences), underlining the fact that media ownership in Ireland is condensed to one entity, namely the Irish group INM, Independent News & Media. On the contrary, Argentinian newspapers are owned by various groups (Grupo Clarín, n.d.; Fundación La Nación, n.d.) which may impact the difference in journalistic style between one country and the other.

Research has shown that framing can be useful to understand the structure of political opportunities behind a social movement like the pro-choice or pro-life (Gamson & Meyer, 1996). In particular, with the analysis of the framing elements of each frame, it was possible to unveil the cultural and political factors which characterized a frame in both countries. Firstly, the results on the more frequent use on positive framing of pro-choice in Ireland, are in line with the theory about the dissociation of the Irish public opinion from the Church and its religious beliefs (Inglis, 1998) and additionally, the "right-of-center line" typical of Irish newspapers as described by McMenamin et al. (2012). Furthermore, these results are also in line with the political scene in Ireland, which has allowed for the repeal of the 8th Amendment referendum in 2018 and therefore the majority of it can be considered pro-choice.

Secondly, the results on the frequent use of pro-life argument in Argentina, are line with the findings by Entremujeres (2019) who asserted that the Catholic Church is still an influential institution in Argentina. Hence, religious arguments are very commonly used in framing the abortion debate in Argentina. Moreover, the abortion debate is fairly new in the political panorama in Argentina, leading us to believe that although the Prime Minister decided to include it in the political agenda, more time will be necessary to implement the pro-choice discourse into the public agenda.

The current research found no significant results for the relationship between the remaining framing themes and country. This result is in line with our main finding, which indicated that news

reports from Ireland and Argentina make use of similar amount of support and against frames in news reports.

Many scholars have shown in the past the influence of framing in mass media (Fowler, 1993; Halliday, 1978; Carter, 2013), in particular this study avoided completely the so-called "opinion articles" analyzed by previous studies (Vala-Haynes et al., 2011), in order to focus only on news reports and on cultural journalistic framing tendencies. It was a strength of the current study, to select the highest circulating newspapers in Ireland and Argentina and draw conclusions based on its own model of analysis. Moreover, this study took into consideration two countries which had rarely been taken into consideration by previous cross-cultural studies on framing of the abortion debate. The results obtained were able to tell us more between an European and a South American country framing of abortion. Most likely due to miscommunication between the coders or a misinterpretation of the instructions given by the researcher, the level of agreement of the coding resulted to be outstandingly low. For instance, the second coder was not aware of the precise definition of "political endorsement", which she thought had to do more with the vote given by politicians for the abortion bills, and not their public statements. For this reason, any further analysis in this study was conducted with the data collected by one of the coders, namely the researcher.

After conducting the statistical treatment, it was possible to notice that the number obtained for the Chi-Square test for correlation between country and frame was extremely low. The latter is counterintuitive with the finding for two of the framing themes found, which can be supported by means of the theories of Halliday (1978). According to the researcher, framing is a process of subtle language use, which would mean that although no particular differences were found among the countries, there were still elements of the subtle language of the news reports which were typical of a certain frame. It is possible to conclude that for both countries, underlying beliefs still influence the writing of journalists.

Although underlying cultural beliefs are characteristic of each culture, previous studies were able to show a similarity in the idea of motherhood in Ireland and Argentina (Gamson & Meyer, 1996). This cultural aspect could help explain the similar results of framing obtained in the current study and should therefore be taken into consideration by future studies. In Argentina, the association of womanhood with motherhood is a key player in the abortion debate. Motherhood has always been glorified through religious icons, for example the Virgin Mary, and very often

women are blamed for seeking an abortion because of the cultural weight that comes with motherhood (Sutton & Borland, 2013). In Ireland, the concept of parenthood has been shown to be no less important than achieving a successful career to provide for their family and for themselves (Chadwick, 1987). Researchers have argued that Irish women still face the dilemma between their careers and a family, postponing the latter until their late thirties. Although religion does no longer play the same role in Ireland as it did in the past, there are still some cultural and ideological barriers of woman's right and their representation in the local press. Considering that mass media has a tendency to shape the public opinion's beliefs on women's ability to make a change in society (Gamson & Meyer, 1996), future studies should take into account this aspect of framing of the abortion debate in order to get an overview of the cultural different in the portrayal of social actors in news articles about abortion.

Overall, this study did not show a difference in the frames used by newspapers about the abortion debate in Ireland and Argentina, but the research was still able to show that journalists in both countries do make use of frames and framing elements in order to portray a certain event different than reality. Analyzing the frames with which journalists portray women's ability to make changes and to obtain abortion rights has an outstanding relevance as the field of communication is in constant development and as the fight for women's right has become a fight in the name of basic human rights.

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Appendix A

Framing of the movement

A phrase such as "In addition to recommending a straight repeal of the controversial 1983 legally flawed Eight Amendment, the committee concluded that 12 week gestation is the appropriate point up to which abortion should be made legal" by Irish Examiner was coded with "yes" in question 1A and "no" for 1B as it stands for a positive framing of the pro-choice movement (McConnell, 2018). "Singing was spreading in [..] the avenue, and it said "yes to life, no to abortion", and it ran among the multitude of people who were in the path of the protest. As the latter advanced, more and more people joined from everywhere" by La Nación was coded with "no" for 2A and "yes" for 2B, as the text and the co-text show a positive framing of the pro-life movement (Galarza, 2018, translated by G. Escobar).

Support of protesters' actions

The support of the pro-choice protesters' actions by Clarín was coded with "yes" for question 3A and with "no" for question 3B for the article with the following quote "the #NoWomanLeftBehind marches, the stoppages of women [..] and the allegations of abuse in different areas have enabled many issues that were not talked about before to begin to be debated" (Iglesias, 2018a, translated by G. Escobar). A critique of their actions was mentioned in an article by La Nación, which was coded with "no" in question 3A and with "yes" in question 3B: "The organization Unidad Provida, reuniting 100 organizations to promote "the right to live of women and unborn children", will [..] to express their "resounding rejection of abortion and demand policies in favor of the vulnerable woman and the unborn child" (Echazú, 2018, translated by G. Escobar).

Political endorsement

If the article simply did not include a quote of endorsement by a politician or if it included a pro-life endorsement, question 4A was coded as "no" and question 4B was coded as "yes", for example: "[The Minister of Foreign Affairs,] has made it clear he does not support abortion within

12 weeks". Question 4A was coded as "yes" for articles including quotes such as the following by the Irish Prime Minister: "We already have abortion in Ireland but it is unsafe and unlawful.. we can no longer export our problems". (McConnell, O'Cionnaith & McEnroe, 2018; Meagher, 2018).

Argument

An argument mentioning the right to save a woman's life such as "The Government is to make it illegal to harass patients or protest within a certain distance outside premises providing abortion services" by The Irish Independent was coded as "yes" for question 5A and as "no" for question 5B (Murray, 2018). When the article included supported the pro-life argument for example in La Nación: "[..] thousands of people marched yesterday with joint hands praying for the "unborn babies", for families and for senators. The protesters prayed especially for the latter, so that "God can enlighten them" during their decision for the abortion bill next Wednesday", then question 5B was coded as "yes", and 5A as "no" (Galarza, 2018, translated by G. Escobar).

Effectiveness of the movement

Finally, an article supporting the effectiveness of the pro-choice or the pro-life movement (6A, 6B) meant that it indicated the growing number of supporters or that the movement was helpful to change the status quo. In articles including descriptions such as: "They were about 200 thousand, a record. The tide of violet and green filled the Plaza de Mayo [..], and the fifteen blocks that separate the two buildings where decisions are made and laws are decided", question 6A was coded as "yes" and question 6B was coded as "no" (Iglesias, 2018b, translated by G. Escobar). However, an article including quotes such as "According to the organizers of the National Concentration "Save the Two Lives", yesterday about half a million protesters participated that were spread along about 10 blocks" was coded as "yes" for question 6B and as "no" for question 6A (Galarza, 2018, translated by G. Escobar).

Example of N.A. article from Irish Independent (O'Regan, 2018)

"VICTIMS of the Cervical-Check scandal staged a protest at Leinster House yesterday after Health Minister Simon Harris cancelled a meeting with them at short notice.

Members of the 221+ CerVICALCHECK patient support group had been due to meet Mr Harris yesterday to discuss developments in the case, eight months after the mishandling of smear test results first emerged.

But they were told on Monday evening that he would have to postpone the meeting because he needed to be in the Seanad for the abortion legislation debate.

Among the protesters were Dublin couple Jennifer and Conor Blighe.

Ms Blighe was given two wrong test results after undergoing cervical screening in 2010 and 2013. She was only diagnosed with cervical cancer in March last year.

"It is very disappointing because we had sought a meeting with the minister to highlight various issues," said Mr Blighe.

He said one of the issues they had wanted to raise was the ongoing delay some women are still experiencing in securing access to their slides.

Mr Blighe said the last-minute cancellation had caused serious disruption to several women and their families, some of whom had travelled to Dublin on Monday in order to ensure that they were ready for the meeting.

"To us, he has more important business to attend to than be in the Seanad regarding the abortion bill," he said.

"Already 20 women have died and many more are very unwell and could not make the journey."

One of the leading campaigners on the issue, Stephen Teap, also criticised the cancellation, saying it was "insensitive to those who have been through enough".

A spokeswoman for the minister apologised and said the meeting was rescheduled to January 31. She said the postponement was "unfortunately, unavoidable due to the significant time commitment required for the passage of legislation on termination of pregnancy in the Seanad"."

Appendix B

Inter-coder reliability test findings per question for the support frame (1a to 6a) and the against frame (1b to 6b).

	κ	Percentage
Support Frame Themes		
1a. Positive Framing of Pro-Choice	-,238	18%
2a. Negative Framing of Pro-Choice	,141	55%
3a. Framing of Actions	-,125	10%
4a. Political Endorsement	-,176	20%
5a. Argument	-,100	45%
6a. Effectiveness	-,013	45%
Against Frame Themes		
1b. Positive Framing of Pro-Life	-,358	9%
2b. Negative Framing of Pro-Life	,214	55%
3b. Framing of Actions	-,338	18%
4b. Political Endorsement	-,257	27%
5b. Argument	-,065	45%
6b. Effectiveness	,185	45%