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Honors Thesis

THE WHOLE TRUTH: THE DENOMINATIONAL PRESS VERUS
THE SECULAR PRESS

by
Jennifer Goldsberry

Submitted to Brigham Young University in partial fulfillment
of graduation requirements for University Honors

Communication Department
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Advisor: Dr. Kris Boyle

Honors Coordinator: Dr. Clark Callahan

ABSTRACT

THE WHOLE TRUTH: THE DENOMINATIONAL PRESS VERSUS THE SECULAR PRESS

Jennifer Goldsberry

Communications Department

Bachelor of Arts

This thesis compares the reporting from *The Boston Globe* versus *The Boston Pilot* regarding the evolving story of sexual abuse perpetrated by Catholic clergy in 2002. Across all the articles, quotes from clergymen and victims, respectively, are counted, word choice and article placement are evaluated, and a ratio between staff articles versus articles from outside news organizations is created. Opinion editorials written by staff are also included in the analysis. All of these topics combine to determine the fairness, accuracy, and balance represented in the reporting of both publications.

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INTRODUCTION

A denominational newspaper is different from a secular newspaper. Both papers coexist despite covering the same local area of Boston. Their respective perpetuity suggests that there is a market for both secular and denominational news coverage. Examining their differences can highlight what keeps their audience reading one versus the other. To understand what one publication has that the other lacks could inform strategies for both that could increase and diversify their readership. The differences in denominational and nondenominational can be investigated even in slight details.

The subject of sexual abuse within the Catholic church was chosen because it is a topic that the denominational paper has stake in. Naturally, as a religious publication, it does not feature the same wide coverage on diverse topics like *The Boston Globe*, a secular newspaper features on a daily basis. So, this topic was most likely to be covered by *The Boston Pilot*, which in this project, is the denominational paper to be examined. It is an “archdiocesan newspaper” with Cardinal Bernard Law as the publisher (Paulsen, 2002).

To be clear, the subject is regarding sexual abuse perpetuated by offenders who, at the time, were clergymen of the Catholic church. However, the coverage began in 2002 with *The Boston Globe* breaking a story about Catholic officials knowingly assigning a serial sex offender to serve in parishes where he continued to victimize children. The criminal charges against this priest, John Geoghan, were reported before the start of the year 2002. While the articles do follow the story of Geoghan, the ultimate subject is how the Catholic church responded to and treated priests that were charged with sex abuse during the year 2002. Since “The Boston Globe” broke the story, the timeline of reporting differs slightly between the two publications.

There are some key characteristics of each publication that need to be addressed to understand their respective coverage of the subject matter. While *The Boston Pilot* is currently a daily newspaper as of the publication of this thesis, in 2002, it was a weekly publication. Since *The Boston Globe* was a daily newspaper then as it is now, they published more articles on the topic. Both publications supplemented their coverage with articles from outside news organizations; *The Boston Globe* often published Associated Press articles and *The Boston Pilot* likewise published articles from *Catholic News Service*, *Zenit*, and the *Associated Press*.

Results from this comparative work are valuable because it is surrounding a specific series of events that could lead to further research in a wider variety of topics. Sexual, religious, and political vocabulary will be evaluated, which will inform future journalists on their own word choice. Even the article placement is examined, which will help editors make informed decisions about the organization of a newspaper and what that says about the importance of a story. Naturally, discrepancies between the two publication will arise, and one may appear better than another in some aspects of this rubric. However, this will ultimately inform both publications about how they can improve. Combined, the two types of reporting achieve all around positive scores, which indicates a more professional, truthful, journalistic tone. This tone is the latent variable of my thesis. The cooperation of secular and denominational newspapers will lead to an overall more informed world.

DEFINITIONS

Pertinent sexual vocabulary was classified by the Rape Culture Pyramid (Cervix, 2016). While it is a list meant for the general public to learn how not to perpetuate rape culture, for this purpose it is being borrowed for journalistic purposes. Certainly,

journalists also do not want to perpetrate rape culture in their reporting. This pyramid classifies all vocabulary regarding sexual violence into three groups: assault, degradation, and normalization (Cervix, 2016). In this thesis, there are six words that fall under the assault category, three that fall under degradation, and six that fall under the normalization category.

Assault terms

Since the categories are in descending order, it is clear that the assault category is the opposite of the normalization category. Assault is often the word used in criminal charges. This is the least biased way to describe sexual crimes. The following words are associated in the assault category.

Rape. Rape in the case of this project is the anal, oral, or vaginal penetration of a victim by an offender, whom, in these stories was exclusively perpetuated by men. This is why the definition can be as narrow as it is. While not every priest was charged with rape, this is one of the better terms to use whenever applicable because it is universally understood. Rape is a crime, and those who commit it are called rapists. It is clear, without any room for misinterpretation.

Molestation. Molestation, like rape, is a crime. For the purposes of this thesis it will be interpreted as touching someone else's genitals or sexual organs. One found guilty of it is called a molester. It is still classified under the assault category for these reasons. It is included alongside rape, because it does not always mean that penetration takes place. Those who are not charged with or convicted of rape, could still be molesters, charged with the crime of molesting another person.

Assault. Assault is an important term to include in this thesis even though it is the term of the category and not technically in the pyramid (Cervix, 2016). Similar to rape

and molestation, it is a legal term for a crime. It is more ambiguous in meaning as to the act itself. It could be used interchangeably to mean rape or molestation. No matter the act, it is still clear that whoever commits assault is a criminal. Assault is clear cut and unbiased. Naturally, since it is the word used for category of words that least perpetuates rape culture, it will also be used as a word within its category.

The next two words to be used for this project were borrowed from a French study on sexual assault. In 2018, French researchers used sexual assault victims to determine the neutrality of words regarding sexual assault (Gregoie, 2018). These participants ranked words based on how emotional it made them to read them. While the words were originally in French, the direct translation will be interpreted to have the same effect.

Force. Force is a highly emotional word that is used to describe how someone was made to do something. It affects one's agency, which accurately depicts why a forced act is a crime. It's a powerful word that connotes a lack of consent, without mentioning consent.

Threat. Threat is another word that was considered highly emotional. It implies that something said was a promise to harm another person. A threat does not require a certain tone of voice or word choice, it is a threat because it is referred to as one.

Degradation terms

Next is the category of words that degrades sexual crimes. These words lessen their meaning and teeter into changing the meaning of the act itself. They are considered to be more colloquial. The creators of The Rape Culture Pyramid, Cervix and Chandra have a "vision is that all parties participate in a physical encounter from a place of enthusiasm and autonomy. Consent must be explicitly granted from an individual who is

clearly in a state of mind to be able to grant it.” These words do not demonstrate enthusiasm or consent from both parties.

Coercion. Coercion demonstrates a lack of consent. However, it is not connotated with a sexual crime all of the time. If anything, it is used as a descriptive verb during the act. At the same time, coercion is inherently connotated with rape, molestation, and assault. In that way, it is a superfluous term. It would be best to use a word from the previous category because it is clearer and more specific that a crime has been committed. One could be coerced to do anything, like eating a salad for example. Coercion does not always mean a sex act is happening. A sex offender is not charged with coercion.

Grope. Grope is a word that is colloquially understood to be synonymous with molest. Like coercion, it is not a crime. It is a word used to describe a crime that degrades the crime itself. Using a word to describe a crime that is not in itself a crime lessens the act.

Throughout the examination of these articles, there were other words that appeared again and again, warranting their mention into the project. These were not mentioned in published articles, so there is some uncertainty about how legitimate and useful they are when it comes to reporting on sexual assault. However, considering that in some cases they are used interchangeably with the previously mentioned terms, they will be considered an equivalent.

Fondle. Fondling is a word used interchangeably with groping. It does not imply penetration but alludes to the touching of sexual organs. The word itself is not used as an explicit crime. Yet it is commonly understood that “fondling” connotes touching a private part.

Misconduct. Misconduct is a word that could be used for a wide range of behaviors. When it is used to describe sexual crime, it is completely ambiguous as to what type of crime it may be.

The final category is the group of words that normalize these acts. These completely remove any negative connotation of the word, thus normalizing the badness of the act to a net zero effect. When words from this category are used, it can “support or excuse the behaviors” previously discussed (Clerix, 2016). Journalists should never use these words because it demonstrates extreme framing of a crime.

Nonconsensual. Nonconsensual means, as the root words imply, that no consent was given from one party to another. It does not demonstrate force or violence, but simply a lack of desire. This is an inappropriate term because it doesn’t express the act that was done, but what was lacking from an otherwise “appropriate” act.

Unwanted. Unwanted means essentially the same thing as nonconsensual. Whereas nonconsensual tends to be used for verbs, unwanted connotes that the unwanted thing is a noun. A sex act, when described as unwanted, comes across as though it is not traumatizing or harmful, but just not desired.

Unsolicited. Unsolicited suggests that something was not asked for. Someone provided some service or good without being asked. It removes any hint of approval but leaves a little interpretation for desire. This is not what sexual crimes are about. Naturally, victims are not soliciting abuse, so it goes unsaid that all sexual crimes are unsolicited.

Touch. Touch is a word that means contact, but it does not always imply intent. It is also used for all sorts of contact, not just sexual. It completely normalizes contact with private parts, equating the touching of genitals to any other touch.

Political terms

Political verbiage must also be addressed. This is a topic brought up by an article published in 2002 entitled “Reporting Sexual Assault: A Guide for Journalists,” so it is inherently valuable to this project as well. These next words are divided into to parts: whether they illicit sympathy for the victim or offender.

Victim. Victim is an apolitical term that simply means a person who was negatively affected by a crime. In this case, it is meant to mean the person that was sexually abused. This is a neutral term, that always reminds the reader that this person was victimized by someone else.

Survivor. Survivor is very similar to victim. Some of those victimized prefer the word survivor because it implies success and triumph after the attack. Still, it is obvious that this person, to not fault of their own, survived a sexual assault.

Offender. Offender is a word that very clearly designates a person who committed a crime. It is neutral but does not arouse any sympathy for the person. Offender also does not say anything about the mental state, personality, or anything personal about this person, which precludes one from feeling sympathy for an offender.

Innocent victim. Innocent victim is a superfluous term, implying that the victim did not deserve what was done to him or her. In reality, every victim is innocent so there is no value to using the term “innocent.” When one victim is described as innocent, it implies that other victims are not innocent, but were asking for what happened to them. No one asks to be or deserves to be victimized. Describing a victim as “innocent” is unnecessary, because victims are already clearly sympathetic characters. This word only amplifies sympathy for a victim, but for the wrong reason.

Violent. Violent assault is another superfluous phrase. Whenever sexual assault happens, it is a type of violence. Something is forcefully taken from a victim. Whether there is a gun, or a verbal threat, all assault is equally violent. To describe an act as violent decreases the sympathy a reader might have for an offender. Therein lies the bias. Since it affects the amount of sympathy towards a victim and away from an offender, the word violent is also unnecessary.

Mental illness. Mental illness of an offender has the opposite effect of the previous phrase. Examining the mental state of an offender elicits sympathy for the offender. It is not up to the reporter to arouse that sympathy in a reader for an offender. This is considered a very politicized characterization of someone. It makes the offender a victim to his or her mental illness. This report equates the mention of mental illness to describing what the victim was wearing, or discussing the victim's sexual history (Benitez, 2002). It is inappropriate to mention, because it creates less sympathy for the victim and more for the offender. For this project, this is referring to the framing of an offender's affection for children as a mental disorder, not including allusions to diagnosed mental illnesses, such as schizophrenia, bipolar, psychosis, etc.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Combining all the sources, a new scale for sexual terminology was created for this project. There are three tiers, and the words within each tier are coded into different values. The values are based on how sexually explicit the word choice is. The higher the value, the more sexually explicit an article is, and the more likely that it contributes to the proliferation of rape culture. A high score in this category means that the acts described are not being degraded or normalized.

Words on the first tier are those that are considered the most sexually explicit: “Rape, Molest, Abuse, Assault, Force, and Threat.” These are coded as 2 points on the sexual vocabulary scale, each time they are referenced. Any use of the word in any tense will qualify it for 2 points.

In the second tier are words that degrade the sexual act. They are still sexually explicit, but colloquially define the sexual act. They are “Coerce, Grope, and Fondle.” In any tense, even as a noun, instances of these words will be coded as 1 point. So, these words will still contribute to an article’s overall efficiency in reporting sexual crime, but an article that exclusively uses these terms will not fare as well as an article that uses words from the first tier.

The last tier contains words that normalize sexual assaults. Since these do contribute to rape culture and do not help the accuracy of the information, these are coded as 0 points. They are as follows: “Nonconsensual, Unsolicited, Unwanted, Misconduct, and Touch.” When a reporter uses these, it does nothing to accurately describe the assault, so it will be coded as such. These words will not help an article score high in this arena.

A political scale was also used to score articles – names as such because it affects the politics of an article, affecting which “team” a reader joins depending on how sympathetic wording is used.

Should the words “Victim, Survivor, or Offender” be used, points will be allotted for each use to an article’s apolitical score. These words make clear connections to those who were victimized and those who perpetrated the victimization. Sympathy is elicited in the right way and direction. Every instance of one of these words will be coded as one point in the apolitical scoreboard.

The opposite of the apolitical score will be the political score. The words “innocent” regarding the victim and “violent” regarding the sex crime, in any tense will be coded as 1 point toward their political score. If the mental illness of an offender is mentioned, by way of diagnosis, allusions to hospitalizations, or quotes from their psychotherapist, that will also be coded as 1 point. These values all affect a reader’s emotional response to the article, revealing the political lean of the article.

When it comes to quotations, both the clergy members’ and the victims’ were coded. Direct and indirect quotes are counted separately. Each sentence within a quotation is coded as a single point.

The position in the paper will also be coded. Anything considered an “A spot” in the paper, meaning that it was near the front of the paper, will be given a 4 score, the highest amount of points in this category. Anything in the “B spot” will be worth 3 points, “C spot” is worth 2 points, “D spot” is worth 1 point, and anything beyond that is considered so far near the back of the paper that it will not be counted. Within its database, the *Globe* already categorized its articles by position, clearly labeling exactly where each article was. Since the *Pilot* was not categorized as such but as microfilm instead, the point system was created for this project. In general, the *Pilot* does not organize its paper to fit as many articles per page as the *Globe*. Taking this into consideration, the scale will be as follows: pages 1-2 are considered an “A spot,” 3-7 are in the “B spot,” 8-12 are in the “C spot,” 13-17 are in the “D spot.”

Each article will also be coded for type of article – categorized into articles and editorials. An additional attribute is whether the article was written by the staff of the publication, or is borrowed from another, larger news organization. The ratio between

articles from inside and outside the publication will demonstrate how self-sufficient the organization is.

Only articles from the month of January, February, and December were analyzed for sexual and political terms, quotations, and type of article. Every article from every month was examined to see how many prevalent articles were written by staff. The ratio between outside publications and staff-written publications is true for the entire year. However, the data on verbiage used and quotations cited is only true for January, February, and December. These months were chosen because the story broke during those first two months. It was the height for accusations and criminal arraignments. December was also chosen because it was the month of the second climax of the scandal: the resignation of Cardinal Law. With the two publications being published at different frequencies, the calculations were done based on scores per article, not total scores. This way, *The Boston Globe* does not receive a higher score just because they published more frequently.

DISCUSSION

The number of sexually explicit words per article was far greater in *The Boston Globe* than in *The Boston Pilot*. Even with their greater total number of articles, the former did not have as many articles without any sexually explicit words as the latter. Sexually explicit terms were used more often in the *Globe* ($M = 20.37$, $SD = 18.83$) than in the *Pilot* ($M = 6.56$, $SD = 8.00$), $t(251) = 0.012$, $p < 0.2$ (one-tailed).

It is likely that there were not as many sexually explicit words in *Pilot* articles because of the total lack of quotes from victims. Not a single victim was interviewed to say that they had been raped or molested etc. on the behalf of *The Boston Pilot*.

There could be a connection between victims' quotes and sexually explicit word choice. Victims' direct words were featured more often in the *Globe* ($M = 0.68$, $SD = 2.34$) than the *Pilot* ($M = 0$, $SD = 0$), $t(251) = 0.019$, $p < 0.2$ (one-tailed). Much of the wording in *Globe* articles came directly from victims, who explicitly described what had been done to them. Since the *Pilot* did not interview any victims, there weren't any featured sources that were willing to speak that way. When it came to indirect quotes, the *Pilot* ($M = 0.03$, $SD = 0.17$) still lagged behind the *Globe* ($M = 0.57$, $SD = 1.56$) $t(251) = 0.008$, $p < 0.2$ (one-tailed).

This lack of explicit word choice and quotes can be seen as a lack in authenticity. Not only are the stories lacking because they're not balanced in representing all sides of the story, but they are not raw or explicit in nature. Sexual assault, on the other hand, is something that is very raw and explicit in nature. It's not an authentic representation of the situation.

The ratio of editorials to news articles was not evaluated, mostly because the *Pilot* only made room for 1 to 2 editorials in every publication, while the *Globe* seemed to have limitless room for them. However, the decreased use of sexually explicit words also applies to the publications' respective editorials.

Even when it came to apolitical terms, the *Pilot* fell short. Instead of using the word "victim" for example, they would often use "minor" or "accuser." On the other hand, the *Globe* featured more apolitical language ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 5.27$) than the *Pilot* ($M = 0.96$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(251) = 0.001$, $p < 0.2$ (two-tailed). The opposite is true when considering political terms. By a small margin, the *Pilot* used fewer political terms ($M = 0.12$, $SD = 0.42$) than the *Globe* ($M = 0.51$, $SD = 1.61$), $t(251) = 0.01$, $p < 0.2$ (two-tailed).

As far as direct quotes from clergy members, the two publications were almost tied. The *Globe* (M = 4.41, SD = 6.74) featured slightly fewer direct quotes than the *Pilot* (M = 6.28, SD = 10.38) $t(251) = 0.188$ $p < 0.2$ (two-tailed). They both included the same, pertinent full statements in their printed paper. For both publications, direct quotations were always greater than indirect quotations. Still, the *Pilot* had more indirect quotes (M = 2, SD = 3.21) than the *Globe* (M = 1.61, SD = 2.15) but by an insignificant margin.

Within the editorials, the overarching theme differed by publication. The *Pilot* often mentioned the church's depiction in the media, while the *Globe* largely discussed the church. This is likely why, even in the editorials, there weren't very many quotes or sexually explicit word choices on the part of the *Pilot*.

The ratio of staff-written articles versus outside articles was much higher for the *Globe* than the *Pilot*. A large part of the latter's articles came from the *Catholic News Service*, while the *Globe* often supplemented *Associated Press* articles with its own reporting.

An explanation for the large ratio of outside articles in the *Pilot* could be as simple as the number of staff members. The *Globe* could write as many articles as it did because it had the manpower. It is often the case that a weekly publication has a small staff.

The number of corrections in the *Globe* is also worth addressing. The newspaper has the practice of publishing corrections for the record whenever necessary. These corrections are published in the same place where the original article was, just on the next day's edition. There are corrections in the *Pilot*, but they are far fewer and are unrelated to this project's topic. This is not to say that there was no need for corrections, however, the corrections made in the *Globe* were corrections that a reporter for the *Pilot* would not

have been likely to make. One mistake included calling the worship service on Ash Wednesday Mass. The sacrament is not passed during this service, which is something a Catholic layperson would know. Another example was the *Globe's* use of the wrong picture when mentioning an accused priest. With Cardinal Law at the helm of the *Pilot*, that mistake would not likely be made.

Every article was intentionally placed within the paper. It is worth examining where pertinent articles were placed, because it suggests the importance of the story.

“Newspapers serve a critical function in presenting a selection of the day’s events to their communities, and each day’s news presents a set of perspectives of the most important happenings to their publics (Utt & Pasternack, 2003). Perhaps the most important location to find such representations of society’s most critical events is a newspaper’s front page. The first page of the newspaper is what grabs a reader’s attention, and, thus, editors devote much energy in determining which story elements should be placed on the most prized page of their publication” (Kim, 2017).

When a story is in an A-1 spot, it is very visible and likely to be read, whereas otherwise, a story towards the back of the paper is less likely to be seen. The *Globe* had more articles on the topic of the scandal ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 0.86$) than the *Pilot* ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 1.21$), $t(251) = 0.024$, $p < 0.2$ (one-tailed).

The pages between an article are also important. Using the same logic from above, readers are less likely to read the entire article if the second part of the article is further in the back of the paper. There were more pages between articles in the *Pilot* ($M =$

2.53, SD = 1.21) than the *Globe* (M = 0.06, SD = 0.66), $t(251) = 0.008$, $p < 0.2$ (one-tailed). This statistical significance suggests that the *Globe* staff made much more effort to organize articles to fit on a single page, than spreading them out throughout the paper.

With a Cardinal at the newspaper's head, this newspaper has the advantage. While the *Globe* broke the original story in January, the *Pilot* was the first to break the story of Cardinal Law's resignation. The Cardinal could have resigned on any day but chose to do so on a day when the weekly paper would go to print. In a way, the *Pilot* determined the timing of it all.

CONCLUSION

Both publications contained truth, told the facts, and updated the public. Still, clergy tended to trust the denominational paper more, as evidenced by their allowing it to break stories pertinent to the Catholic church. However, the secular paper knew how to find victims that were willing to speak about their experience. These audiences trusted each respective paper for a reason. When it came to church matters, the secular paper got some basic religious practices wrong. At times, they did not know the face of the man they reported on and made corrections to photo captions. The denominational paper, on the other hand, referred to victims as accusers, ostracizing any victim from coming forward and telling their story to their reporters. Neither publication is perfect. Both intimidated and ostracized an entire market of their audience. That is not to say that they cannot improve. It is not impossible for one paper to have all the right qualities.

Future research could include examining the photographs used in newspapers, to compare and contrast how a denominational paper chooses a picture for print versus a secular paper. More research could be done on the types of editorials written by citizens, and the general themes of editorials on secular versus denominational papers.

Table 1

Data from The Boston Globe

Month	Article	Opinion	Sexual	Apolitical	Poltical	Direct Clergy	Indirect Clergy	Direct Victim	Indirect Victim	Position	Pages between	Outside Publication
	1 N		100	11	0	3	5	6	5	4		0 N
	2 N		34	2	4	5	0	0	0	4		0 N
	3 N		20	3	1	0	0	0	0	4		0 N
	4 Y		34	5	0	1	0	1	0	4		0 N
	5 N		12	8	0	1	3	0	0	3		0 N
	6 N		54	14	0	10	5	0	1	4		0 N
	7 N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		0 N
	8 N		8	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		0 N
	9 N		16	2	2	2	1	0	0	4		0 N
	10 N		32	7	0	0	1	6	7	4		0 N
	11 N		30	4	1	3	0	0	0	4		0 N
	12 N		30	3	1	13	5	0	0	4		0 N
	13 N		44	4	0	6	4	0	0	3		0 N
	14 N		15	2	0	1	0	0	0	4		0 N
	15 N		14	5	0	1	0	0	0	3		0 N
	16 N		34	4	2	2	0	0	0	4		0 N
	17 N		20	4	0	0	0	0	0	3		0 N
	18 N		52	11	0	0	0	0	0	4		0 N
	19 N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		0 N
	20 N		35	18	0	0	0	4	3	3		0 N
	21 N		16	6	0	0	0	0	0	3		0 N
	22 Y		36	4	1	1	2	0	0	4		0 N
	23 N		38	15	1	3	1	1	1	4		0 N
	24 N		6	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		0 N
	25 N		27	5	0	0	0	0	0	3		0 N
	26 N		16	8	0	1	1	3	1	3		0 N
	27 N		18	3	0	6	4	0	0	3		0 N
	28 Y		12	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		0 N
	29 N		48	5	0	0	1	0	0	4		0 N
	30 N		32	7	6	5	4	0	0	4		0 N
	31 N		16	0	0	21	5	1	0	3		0 N
	32 N		19	2	2	16	3	0	0	4		0 N
	33 N		22	2	0	0	2	0	0	3		0 N
	34 N		12	1	7	5	0	0	0	4		0 N
	35 N		20	1	1	5	4	0	0	4		0 N
	36 Y		2	3	0	1	0	0	0	3		0 N
	37 N		4	0	0	4	0	0	0	4		0 N
	38 N		54	6	1	15	6	0	1	4		0 N
	39 N		12	3	0	5	0	0	0	4		0 N
	40 N		35	7	0	9	6	0	1	4		0 N
	41 N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		0 FULL STATEMENT
	42 N		32	2	0	2	1	8	8	4		0 N
	43 N		58	10	1	6	4	0	2	4		0 N
	44 N		12	0	0	1	1	0	0	4		0 N
	45 N		2	2	0	0	0	0	0	3		0 N
	46 N		12	0	0	1	3	0	0	4		0 N
	47 N		16	0	0	6	1	0	0	4		0 N
	48 N		6	2	0	6	0	0	0	4		0 N
	49 N		22	3	0	7	2	0	0	3		0 Y
	50 N		50	10	0	1	0	0	0	4		0 N
	51 N		26	0	0	1	0	0	0	3		0 N
	52 Y		6	1	0	2	0	0	0	4		0 N
	53 N		10	5	1	0	0	0	1	3		0 N
	54 N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		0 FULL STATEMENT
	55 N		8	10	0	0	3	0	0	3		0 N
	56 N		24	1	1	2	7	0	0	3		0 N
January	57 N		132	19	0	6	4	3	1	4		9 N
	58 N		16	1	0	6	4	0	0	3		0 N
	59		4	3	0	0	0	0	0	3		0 N
	60 N		38	7	0	0	1	0	0	3		0 N
	61 Y		8	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		0 N
	62 N		18	1	0	0	2	0	0	3		0 N
	63 N		4	1	0	1	2	0	0	3		0 N
	64 N		2	1	0	1	2	0	0	3		0 N
	65 Y		6	1	0	0	0	0	0	2		0 N
	66 N		28	19	1	9	6	0	1	2		0 N
	67 N		12	0	0	1	2	0	0	2		0 N
	68 Y		10	1	1	1	1	0	0	2		0 N
	69 N		50	0	0	11	6	0	1	4		0 N
	70 N		30	3	0	7	3	0	0	4		0 N
	71 N		38	3	0	1	6	0	0	4		0 N
	72 N		46	1	0	4	4	0	0	4		0 N
	73 N		14	2	0	2	1	0	0	4		0 N
	74 N		24	0	0	14	3	0	0	4		0 N
	75 N		2	0	1	4	3	0	0	4		0 N
	76 N		28	22	0	0	0	1	1	4		0 N
	77 N		6	0	0	1	0	0	0	4		0 N
	78 N		30	2	0	18	6	0	0	4		0 N
	79 N		16	1	0	2	4	0	0	3		0 N
	80 Y		12	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		0 N
	81 Y		16	0	0	3	1	0	0	4		0 N
	82 N		48	11	1	0	0	0	0	3		0 N
	83 N		60	3	0	1	1	6	3	3		0 N
	84 N		0	7	16	0	0	0	0	4		0 N
	85 N		50	3	2	0	0	0	0	0		0 N

Month	Article	Opinion	Sexual	Apollitical	Poltical	Direct Clergy	Indirect Clergy	Direct Victim	Indirect Victim	Position	Pages between	Outside Publication
	86 N		26	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0 N
	87 N		10	0	0	3	6	0	0	4	0 N	
	88 N		46	10	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	89 N		22	6	0	2	2	0	0	3	0 Y	
	90 N		82	7	6	3	6	2	3	4	0 N	
	91 N		24	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0 N	
	92 N		32	7	0	1	4	6	7	3	0 N	
	93 N		12	4	0	5	2	0	0	3	0 N	
	94 N		6	0	0	5	4	0	0	4	0 N	
February	95 N		4	0	0	20	4	0	0	4	0 N	
	96 N		18	14	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	97 N		8	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	98 Y		10	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 N	
	99 N		20	15	0	1	0	0	1	4	0 N	
	100 Y		16	8	0	0	1	0	0	4	0 N	
	101 N		12	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0 N	
	102 N		8	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	103 N		8	0	2	4	5	0	0	4	0 N	
	104 N		2	0	8	14	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	105 N		84	12	1	3	1	1	2	4	0 N	
	106 N		13	5	0	13	3	0	2	4	0 N	
	107 N		28	0	8	1	2	1	2	4	0 N	
	108 Y		20	6	1	2	1	0	0	4	0 N	
	109 N		8	0	0	18	4	0	0	4	0 N	
	110 N		36	8	0	4	4	0	0	4	0 N	
	111 Y		16	1	0	4	1	0	0	3	4 N	
	112 Y		30	0	0	16	2	0	0	4	0 N	
	113 N		12	1	0	17	5	0	0	4	0 N	
	114 N		4	2	1	12	4	0	0	4	0 N	
	115 N		10	4	1	16	8	0	2	4	0 N	
	116 N		4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 N	
	117 N		14	3	2	11	2	0	0	4	0 N	
	118 Y		14	4	0	6	1	0	0	1	0 N	
	119 Y		6	3	2	7	0	0	0	3	0 N	
	120 N		24	7	0	9	6	6	1	4	0 N	
	121 N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 FULL STATEMENT	
	122 N		2	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	123 Y		14	1	1	2	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	124 N		12	3	1	46	6	0	0	4	0 FULL STATEMENT	
	125 N		6	0	0	10	4	0	0	4	0 N	
	126 N		38	3	0	2	6	0	0	4	0 N	
	127 N		12	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	128 N		6	0	0	5	1	0	0	4	0 N	
	129 N		8	0	0	7	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	130 N		42	7	0	3	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	131 N		10	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	0 N	
	132 N		18	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	133 N		4	0	0	2	3	0	0	4	0 N	
	134 N		42	9	0	0	0	0	1	4	0 N	
	135 N		26	5	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	136 N		14	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	137 N		24	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	138 N		16	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	139 N		14	8	1	5	1	2	1	4	0 N	
	140 N		32	10	2	10	0	0	0	0	0 N	
	141 N		17	6	1	15	4	5	2	4	0 N	
	142 N		67	6	0	5	3	1	14	4	0 N	
	143 N		10	1	0	4	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	144 N		8	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	145 N		8	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0 N	
	146 Y		2	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0 N	
	147 N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	148 N		24	5	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	149 Y		4	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	150 N		21	4	0	3	0	0	2	4	0 N	
	151 N		22	23	0	0	0	23	5	4	0 N	
	152 N		48	10	0	16	6	0	0	4	0 N	
	153 N		38	2	0	0	0	2	1	4	0 Y	
	154 Y		16	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	155 N		28	8	0	1	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	156 N		6	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	157 N		35	3	0	18	3	0	0		N	
	158 N		12	10	0	3	1	0	0	4	0 N	
	159 N		12	3	0	9	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	160 N		0	0	0	11	2	0	0	4	0 N	
	161 N		50	11	2	0	1	1	2	4	0 N	
	162 N		16	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0 N	
	163 N		4	0	1	8	1	0	0	4	0 N	
	164 N		20	5	0	4	1	0	1	4	0 N	
	165 N		74	3	0	5	3	0	0	4	0 N	
	166 N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 Y - FULL STATEMENT	
	167 N		30	1	0	8	1	0	0	4	0 N	
	168 N		6	4	0	21	8	0	0	4	0 N	
	169 N		10	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N	
	170 N		12	2	0	2	2	0	0	4	0 N	

Month	Article	Opinion	Sexual	Apollitical	Political	Direct Clergy	Indirect Clergy	Direct Victim	Indirect Victim	Position	Pages between	Outside Publication
	171 N			12	4	0	10	6	0	1	4	0 N
	172 N			14	6	0	0	0	0	1	4	0 N
	173 Y			10	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0 N
	174 N			6	0	0	21	1	0	0	4	0 N
	175 N			14	4	0	10	2	0	1	4	0 N
	176 N			18	7	0	0	3	0	0	4	0 N
	177 N			14	3	0	46	10	0	0	4	0 N
	178 Y			2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0 N
	179 N			18	6	0	6	3	4	3	4	0 N
	180 N			22	8	0	0	0	10	3	4	0 N
	181 N			12	9	0	8	0	0	2	3	0 N
	182 N			44	5	2	0	0	0	0	4	0 N
	183 N			22	3	0	25	0	0	1	1	0 N
	184 N			2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0 N
	185 N			28	9	2	12	0	0	0	4	0 N
	186 Y			10	14	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N
	187 N			14	13	0	14	7	3	1	4	0 N
	188 N			6	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	0 FULL STATEMENT
	189 Y			6	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N
	190 N			2	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0 N
	191 N			26	3	1	16	1	0	1	3	0 N
	192 N			6	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0 N
	193 N			36	4	0	0	0	2	4	3	0 N
	194 N			10	0	0	6	0	0	0	1	0 N
	195 N			32	15	0	0	0	9	4	3	0 N
	196 N			16	13	0	10	0	4	2	4	0 N
	197 N			20	13	0	16	6	0	0	4	0 N
	198 Y			18	5	0	0	1	0	0	4	0 N
	199 N			28	0	0	8	2	0	6	4	0 N
	200 N			22	9	1	8	0	7	1	4	0 N
	201 Y			4	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N
	202 N			28	7	1	0	0	1	1	3	0 N
	203 N			0	0	0	4	0	0	0	3	0 N
	204 N			26	7	0	0	1	3	1	3	0 N
	205 N			8	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0 N
	206 Y			0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0 N
	207 Y			10	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0 N
	208 Y			26	0	5	7	1	0	0	4	0 N
	209 N			12	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N
	210 N			4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0 N
	211 N			16	12	0	8	6	0	0	4	0 N
	212 Y			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0 N
	213 N			2	0	0	6	2	0	0	3	0 N
	214 N			80	44	0	1	1	12	2	4	0 N
	215 N			10	2	0	1	1	2	3	3	0 N
	216 N			2	4	0	1	1	0	0	4	0 N
December	217 N			14	0	0	3	6	1	0	4	0 N

Table 2

Data from The Boston Pilot

Month	Article	Opinion	Sexual	Apolitical	Political	Direct Clergy	Indirect Clergy	Direct Victim	Indirect Victim	Position	Pages between	Outside Publicator
		1 N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 FULL STATEMENT
		2 N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0 FULL STATEMENT
		3 N	10	3	0	7	9	0	0	4	1	1 N
		4 N	12	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	15	Y
		5 Y	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	N
		6 N	4	0	0	13	8	0	0	3	0	N
		7 N	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	N
		8 N	10	3	0	6	0	0	0	3	0	N
January		9 N	16	5	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	N
		1 N	24	4	1	36	12	0	0	4	2	N
		2 N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0 FULL STATEMENT
		3 N	6	0	0	7	0	0	0	3	0	N
		4 N	2	1	0	7	5	0	0	3	0	N
		5 N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0 FULL STATEMENT
		6 Y	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	N
		7 N	14	0	2	9	3	0	0	3	15	Y
		8 N	6	0	0	10	1	0	0	3	0	N
		9 N	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	N
		10 N	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	Y
February		11 N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 FULL STATEMENT
		1 N	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	Y
		2 N	36	2	0	6	2	0	0	3	0	Y
		3 Y	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	N
		4 N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 FULL STATEMENT
		5 N	6	2	0	9	4	0	0	2	0	N
		6 N	4	4	0	8	9	0	0	4	9	N
		7 N	2	2	0	19	1	0	0	4	3	N
		8 N	2	1	0	46	1	0	0	3	1	N
		9 N	16	1	0	10	4	0	0	2	0	Y
		10 N	8	0	0	3	1	0	0	2	0	Y
		11 N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	N
December		12 N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	N

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