

UC Irvine

UC Irvine Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements: The LGBT Movement and the Transformation of Discourse About Homosexuality in Mainstream Newspapers

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7qv754h3>

Author

Elliott, Thomas Alan

Publication Date

2015

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements: The LGBT Movement and the
Transformation of Discourse About Homosexuality in Mainstream Newspapers

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

Thomas Alan Elliott

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Edwin Amenta, Chair
Professor Francesca Polletta
Professor Katherine Faust

2015

DEDICATION

To Justin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES	v
LIST OF TABLES	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
CURRICULUM VITAE	viii
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION	ix
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Explanations for Coverage	3
1.2 Data	10
1.3 Summary of Dissertation	11
2 A History of Gay and Lesbian Mobilization	13
2.1 Post World War II and the Homophile Movement	13
2.2 Gay Liberation	17
2.3 The AIDS Epidemic	20
2.4 The Gay Nineties	22
2.5 The Fight for Same-Sex Marriage	24
3 Attention to the Issue	28
3.1 Hypotheses	31
3.2 Regression Analysis	42
3.3 fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis	45
3.4 Conclusion	55
4 Attention to the Movement	57
4.1 Hypotheses	59
4.2 Data	65
4.3 Regression Analysis	70
4.4 fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis	76
4.5 Conclusion	82

5	Discourses of Homosexuality	83
5.1	Hypotheses	84
5.2	Measuring Culture	87
5.3	Data	89
5.4	Discourse Network Analysis	102
5.5	Conclusion	124
6	Conclusion	126
6.1	Evaluating Theories	127
6.2	Limitations	133
6.3	Next Steps	134
	Bibliography	136

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
3.1 Newspaper Coverage of Homosexuality by Newspaper	29
3.2 Coverage of Homosexuality and Public Opinion	32
3.3 Coverage of Homosexuality and Policy Events	34
3.4 Coverage of Homosexuality and Transformed DWNOMINATE Scores	35
3.5 Coverage of Homosexuality and the Percentage of Articles Written by New Authors	37
3.6 Coverage of Homosexuality and AIDS Deaths	39
3.7 Coverage of Homosexuality and Protest Events	41
3.8 Coverage of Homosexuality and Protest Events	42
4.1 Articles Mentioning a LGBT Organization in Three National Newspapers, 1960-2010	58
4.2 Newspaper Coverage of Three LGBT Legal Organizations	60
5.1 Histogram of Coded Articles	90
5.2 Proportion of Positive and Negative Claims in Paragraphs Discussing Homo- sexuality	101
5.3 Percent of Paragraphs by Speaker Type	103
5.4 Percent of Paragraphs with Positive Claims by Speaker Type	103
5.5 Network Graphs of Association Indices, 1950-1968	107
5.6 Network Graphs of Association Indices, 1969-1981	111
5.7 Network Graphs of Association Indices, 1982-1989	114
5.8 Network Graphs of Association Indices, 1990-2003	117
5.9 Network Graphs of Association Indices, 2004-2010	121
5.10 Eigenvector Centrality Scores for Bad, Respect, and Rights Over Time	122
5.11 Eigenvector Centrality Scores for Criminal, Diseased, Immoral, and Mental Illness Over Time	123

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
2.1 Top Covered LGBT and AIDS SMOs by Year	17
3.1 Descriptive Statistics	43
3.2 ARMA Regression of Coverage of Homosexuality	44
3.3 Truth Table for fsQCA Including Protest Events	48
3.4 fsQCA Results for High Coverage, Protest Events	51
3.5 Truth Table for fsQCA containing Public Opinion	53
3.6 fsQCA Results with Public Opinion	54
4.1 Policy Domains and Summary Statistics for Policy Scores	67
4.2 Summary Statistics for	71
4.3 Negative Binomial Regression Analysis	72
4.4 Truth Table for Analysis of High Coverage of LGBT SMOs	79
4.5 fsQCA of SMO Coverage with Protest Tactics	80
5.1 Twelve Claims About Homosexuality	91
5.2 Speaker Types	102
5.3 Association Matrix of Claims for 1950-1968	105
5.4 Eigenvector Centrality Scores of Association Networks	108
5.5 Association Matrix of Claims for 1969-1981	110
5.6 Association Matrix of Claims for 1982-1989	113
5.7 Association Matrix of Claims for 1990-2003	116
5.8 Association Matrix of Claims for 2004-2010	120

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank my advisor, Edwin Amenta, for his guidance and mentorship throughout my graduate career. He has been there since the very beginning of this project, when it was a vague idea for a second year paper. I've learned so much about the research process from him. I've had the opportunity to work on two large scale data projects under his mentorship, providing valuable lessons about how to direct a team of graduate students to code and analyze data. He brought me on as co-author to a number of papers, from which I learned a lot about the publishing process. He's provided support, guidance, and the occasional prompting I needed to finish this project. I will be forever grateful for his support throughout my graduate career.

I would also like to thank my committee members, Francesca Polletta and Katie Faust, whose feedback has been invaluable and made the dissertation immeasurably better.

A special thank you goes to Nina Bandelj and Francesca Polletta for their financial support when I needed it most, allowing me to focus my efforts on finishing my dissertation.

Matt Rafalow and Pedro Morgado have endured endless conversations about this project and have provided moral and emotional support when I needed it most. They have celebrated my triumphs and commiserated my setbacks with me and I'll never be able to express how grateful I am to have them as friends.

I must also thank Alex Ruiz, Luke Boso, and Evan Conaway for helping me get through the last stretch. Their friendship and support have been the highlight of these past few months.

Last but not least, my husband, Justin O'Neill, who has had to endure me when I've been at my worst struggling through the most frustrating problems, has celebrated with me when I've been at my best, and has supported me the entire way. I cannot express how much his love means to me.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Thomas Alan Elliott

EDUCATION

University of California, Irvine

Spring 2015

Ph.D. Sociology

Dissertation: *The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements: The LGBT Movement and the Transformation of the Discussion of Homosexuality in Mainstream Newspapers*

Areas of Interest: Social Movements, Sexualities, Culture, Quantitative Methodologies, Social Network Analysis

University of California, Irvine

Fall 2009

M.A. Sociology

Thesis: *The Queer Movement and the Media: New York Times Coverage of LGBT and AIDS Organizations 1969-2007*

Areas of Interest: Social Movements, Sexualities, Quantitative Methodologies, Social Network Analysis

University of Texas at Dallas

May 2006

B.S. Interdisciplinary Studies - Physics & Chemistry Education

Honors Thesis: *Providing a Safe Space: Creating a safer school climate for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and questioning youth.*

PUBLICATIONS

Under Review — Elliott, Thomas Alan, Edwin Amenta, and Neal Caren. “Recipes for Attention: Policy Reforms, Crises, Organizational Characteristics, and the Newspaper Coverage of the LGBT Movement, 1969-2009.”

2014 — Kane, Melinda, and Thomas Alan Elliott. “Turning to the Courts: A Quantitative Analysis of the Gay and Lesbian Movement’s Use of Legal Mobilization.” *Sociological Focus* 47:219-237.

2014 — Treas, Judith, and Thomas A. Elliott. “Sex, Family and Social Change.” In Judith Treas, Jacqueline Scott, and Martin P.M. Richards. *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Families (2nd edition)*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers.

2012 — Amenta, Edwin, Beth Gharrity Gardner, Amber Celina Teirney, Anaid Yerena, and Thomas Elliott. “A Story-Centered Approach to the Newspaper Coverage of High-Profile SMOs.” *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change* 33:83-107

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements: The LGBT Movement and the Transformation of Discourse About Homosexuality in Mainstream Newspapers

By

Thomas Alan Elliott

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2015

Professor Edwin Amenta, Chair

How do movements change culture? This dissertation begins to answer this question by analyzing mainstream newspaper coverage of homosexuality since 1950. Using regression analysis, qualitative comparative analysis, and social network analysis, I explore what factors explain the amount of attention paid to homosexuality generally, attention paid to gay and lesbian movement organizations specifically, and the association of claims about homosexuality as they appear together in the same article. I find that the movement was instrumental in explaining each of these outcomes, but that exactly how the movement influenced coverage was predicated on the political and social context in which the movement operated. Specifically, a legacy of policy successes set up large, well resourced movement organizations to be influential in coverage. However, during times of crisis, smaller, protest oriented organizations had the opportunity to become highly influential.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Sen. Andrew F. Schoepel (R) Kan., was named to serve temporarily on the subcommittee in place of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R) Wis., whose charges of perverts and subversives in the State Department touched off the inquiry. McCarthy suggested that he be replaced on the subcommittee during the investigation.

The inquiry stems from testimony by Washington police officials before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee that there are an estimated 5000 homosexuals in Washington and that 3750 of them work for the government.¹

The above quote, appearing in the Los Angeles Times in the summer of 1950, marked the beginning of a witch hunt, led by Sen. McCarthy, to eliminate gay men from the State Department. This “lavender scare” resulted in homosexuality being conflated with the dangers of communism, and thousands of gay men being persecuted. Terms like *pervert* and *sexual deviant* were often used, and it was assumed gay men were morally lacking and especially susceptible to control and influence by communists. While homosexuality had been quietly acknowledged in the press prior to his, the lavender scare was the first time the press paid regular attention to issues surrounding homosexuality. While this early coverage was universally negative, over the next several decades the tone of coverage changed significantly:

On one of the most shameful days in the modern history of the Senate, the Republican minority on Thursday prevented a vote to allow gay and lesbian

¹June 15, 1950. “Hoey to Head Pervert Study by Senators.” Los Angeles Times.

soldiers to serve openly in the military of the United States. They chose to filibuster a vital defense bill because it also banned discrimination in the military ranks. And in an unrelated but no less callous move, they blocked consideration of help for tens of thousands of emergency workers and volunteers who became ill from the ground zero cleanup after the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

The senators who stood in the way of these measures must answer to the thousands of gay and lesbian soldiers who must live a lie in order to serve, or drop out. They must answer to the civilians who will not serve their country when some Americans are banned from doing so for an absurd reason, and to the military leaders who all but pleaded with them to end this unjust policy. They must answer to the workers who thought they were aiding their country by cleaning up ground zero.²

By the twenty-first century, newspapers had completely changed their tune. Editorials urging the passage of gay rights laws were frequent, coverage of anti-gay conservative Christians were almost always negative, and many newspapers had dedicated “gay beats.” Homosexuality was mentioned in ten articles a day, on average, and gay and lesbian organizations were mentioned at least every other day. Gays and lesbians were referred to as such, most journalists stopped using homosexual except in rare circumstances and nearly all journalism style guides had rules against using homosexual to refer to gays and lesbians. This presents my puzzle: Why did the cultural presentation of homosexuality change so drastically since 1950? What accounts for this change?

This question is important because, as Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, and Rucht (2002) observe, the media arena is the primary site for contests over meaning. How homosexuality is portrayed in the news media will have a powerful impact on on the larger public discussion of homosexuality. The news media is the main source of frame packages around an issue that get deployed in public conversations and when formulating public opinion (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Studying newspaper coverage of homosexuality can serve as a proxy for the larger public discussion over time, giving insight into how the general public understood homosexuality and how this changed over time. Additionally, changing the media portrayal of homosexuality is likely to lead to changes in the public discussion of homosexu-

²December 10, 2010. “The Senate Stands for Injustice.” New York Times.

ality, so understanding how activists can change media portrayals of issues would contribute to understanding how movement can impact culture.

Social movements are an important part of the political landscape. They are vehicles by which people express grievances and work towards change. They have the potential to change both the political and cultural landscape. How they do this is still not well understood. Assessing how movements impact policy making and other political outcomes is complicated, making consensus on the mechanisms of influence elusive (Amenta and Caren, 2004). Even less well understood is how movements might have cultural impact. This project aims to fill in some of these gaps by explaining how and why the cultural discourse around homosexuality in the mainstream news has changed since 1950.

1.1 Explanations for Coverage

What are possible explanations for changes in the coverage of homosexuality and the gay and lesbian movement? I explore six candidate perspectives to explain coverage of homosexuality. These six perspectives guide my analysis throughout this dissertation. In the conclusion, I evaluate how well each perspective helped in explaining my puzzle.

Public Opinion

Scholars have long studied the relationship between the media and public opinion (Brewer, 2003; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Lipsky, 1968). The evidence suggests that the relationship is recursive. The economics of news media puts various pressures on the news to run stories that are not too gruesome, not too critical, and not too controversial. Advertisers don't want their ads appearing opposite stories that could embarrass the advertiser, or reduce the buying mood of readers (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, and Sasson, 1992). Editors and Publishers may be reluctant to run stories that could embarrass the corporate owners of the media outlet. These and similar pressures lead to stories that do not venture too

far from mainstream ideas and beliefs, so media coverage of an issue is likely to be close to public opinion about that issue.

On the other hand, there has been a great deal of research finding that the media influences public opinion as well. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) investigate how the appearance of new frames around nuclear energy influenced public opinion about the issue. In their view, the mechanism by which the news influences public opinion is by providing the frame packages that get used in public discussion of an issue. While not the exclusive source of issue frames, the media is one of the most ubiquitous sources, and so the issue frames that appear in the media will have a strong presence in the general public discourse, as well as the public opinion formed from these conversations. So public opinion shifts when previously unused frames enter the media. These frames are in turn used in public discussions and are incorporated into personal formulations of opinion on an issue. Brewer (2003) explores how political knowledge mediates the impact of media frames on public opinion, and finds that undisputed media frames are more likely to influence public opinion than disputed frames. Simon and Jerit (2007) find that in experimental settings, readers of articles featuring exclusive use of the term “fetus” are much less likely to support partial-birth abortion bans than readers of articles featuring exclusive use of the term “baby” or even readers of articles using both terms. Iyengar and Simon (1993) find that the amount of time network news spends on an issue significantly predicts the importance the public places on that issue, what the authors term the public issue agenda.

These studies suggest, then, that news media is not likely to feature media frames that are from the fringe of public discourse, but the media frames they do feature have an impact on public opinion of an issue. In this scenario, shifts in the media discourse due to public opinion will be incremental and the causal relationship will be recursive. Media frames marginally shift public opinion, bringing new media frames within the realm of acceptable discourse, which allows these new frames to be featured, and the cycle repeats.

Political Opportunity

A second possible explanation for the shifts in coverage of homosexuality is related to political opportunity. Political opportunity has traditionally be used to theorize mobilization and political outcomes (McAdam, 1982; Meyer, 2004). Why movements mobilized when and where they did was due, at least in part, to the political environment the movement found itself in. Certain events, such as the election of more or less supportive politicians, or the enactment of new legislation, opened up opportunities for movements to mobilize their constituency. The efficacy of movement impact is also due, in part, to the political context in which the movement advocates, according to this theory. Certain contexts provide more opportunities for movement influence than others.

What exactly counts as political opportunity is not well defined (Goodwin, Jasper, and Khattrra, 1999). It has been used broadly to include virtually all macro-level effects on movement mobilization and outcomes. In an international comparative context, political opportunity refers to the openness or closedness of a political system (Kriesi, 2006). In the single nation context, political opportunity refers to the configuration of allies, antagonists and bystanders. Scholars have tended to interpret this as how friendly political institutions are at any given time, as well as whether public opinion is on the movement's side.

The political opportunities that lead to mobilization and policy success may also lead to increased and better media coverage of movements. Just as political opportunities can signal to movements that the time is right for mobilization, political opportunities could send signals to media professionals to pay more attention to an issue, or to treat an issue differently. These signals could include the election or appointment of new politicians, or the passage of new reforms regarding an issue. Political opportunities also influence movement's tactics in the media arena (Rohlinger, 2006), which could, in turn, influence the coverage of the movement's issue. Previous research has found mixed results for political opportunity's influence of news coverage of movement organizations, as it seems to influence coverage in partisan news outlets, but not in mainstream outlets (Amenta, Caren, and Stobaugh, 2012;

Rohlinger, Kail, Taylor, and Conn, 2012).

Policy Reform

An alternative explanation related to the political context involves the legacy of policy reforms around an issue. Drawing on ideas of increasing returns (Pierson, 2000), policy reforms will have both immediate benefits for a movement, as well as long lasting benefits (Amenta et al., 2012). Policy reforms often lead to institutionalized benefits to a specific group of people. These benefits can provide a boost in the efficacy of future advocacy on the part of the group, either by increasing the resources available to the group, increasing the access the group has to the political process, or increasing the legitimacy of the group and/or it's issue on the political agenda (Amenta and Caren, 2004).

If the group is represented by a movement, organizations affiliated with this movement can gain an additional benefit in the form of acceptance (Amenta and Caren, 2004). Policy reforms may cast organizations that represent well the constituencies benefiting from the reforms in a more legitimate light. This could lead to the organizations having access to more and better resources, enabling them to be more effective in future advocacy. Furthermore, this increased legitimacy can lead to members of the movement being placed in positions of authority within the state. As an example, AIDS activists were appointed to a Presidential task force on AIDS in the 1990s (Epstein, 2007). These members were then able to more directly influence policy on their issues, further improving its policy profile.

Applying this to the media arena, the political process is typically a highly newsworthy process, most newspapers assign one or more beats to covering politics. Movements and their actors are likely to be covered if a policy they are advocating for is making its way through the political process. If the policy is successful, the movement may be seen as more legitimate not only by state actors, but also the media, leading to further coverage, especially as the policy is implemented. This effect will be cumulative, with more policy successes leading to more legitimacy in the media arena. Additionally, if a movement actor

is appointed to a state position, they will receive the benefit all state actors receive in the media arena, with much easier access and more frequent coverage by the media (Gans, 1979; Oliver and Maney, 2000; Sobieraj, 2010; Tuchman, 1978).

Newspaper Leadership

Ultimately, what and how issues are covered by newspapers is determined by the journalists and editors. Editors meet regularly to decide what articles will be published, and which of these will appear on the front page of each section of the paper (Clayman and Reisner, 1998). Changes in the leadership of these newspapers, or even in the journalists, may lead to changes in coverage of an issue, as the new officers may make different editorial decisions. Chomsky and Barclay (2013) find evidence of this effect, finding that the number of front page articles about homosexuality significantly increased after Max Frankel took over as Editor of the paper in late 1986. For the most part, however, scholars studying news coverage of movements have not adequately explicated the relationship between news professionals, movements, and their coverage. Sobieraj (2010) finds that while movement organizations attempt to mimic institutional political actors to try to gain coverage, journalists say they are looking for more authentic responses from movement actors, particularly in the form of emotion and spontaneity. However, research that focuses on the actual the coverage of movements seems to contradict this (Andrews and Caren, 2010). So while there are clues as to how news professionals influence the coverage of movements and their issues, exactly how this works, and the consequences of changes in leadership, are not well explained.

Crisis

Another possible explanation for the change in coverage of homosexuality concerns crises (Snow, Cress, Downey, and Jones, 1998). Crises are typically highly newsworthy, having several characteristics journalists look for in deciding what's news (Gans, 1979). Crises are unusual, outside of the routine of daily life. Crises typically impact a large number of people.

Crises also usually involve the government trying to solve the crisis. Newspapers are likely, then, to devote a fair amount of coverage to crises. Movements may be able to benefit from this coverage if they are affiliated with an issue impacted by the crisis, and crises can spawn entirely new movements as those affected mobilize themselves (Snow et al., 1998).

The partial meltdown at the nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island is an example of this type of crisis. Local pre-existing anti-nuclear organizations experienced a tremendous surge in members after the accident, and new organizations were founded in communities closest to Three Mile Island to oppose the restart of the Unit 1 reactor and impose strict regulations on the cleanup of Unit 2 (Cable, Walsh, and Warland, 1988). The Three Mile Island accident also introduced new framing packages that significantly shifted public opinion against nuclear power (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989).

Crises may also undermine the authority of the status quo, bringing attention to deficiencies of the dominant groups (Bail, 2012). Especially if the government is seen as contributing to the disaster, or negligent in addressing the disaster, official authorities may lose legitimacy on the issue (Snow et al., 1998). The news may turn to movements in these cases in the search for new experts. Movements could potentially be considered alternative experts on the issue, or they may be used as “authentic” responses to the crisis Sobieraj (2010). Either way, movements can expect to receive increased coverage in the wake of a crisis that involves an issue they are mobilized around. This coverage offers movements the opportunity to inject new ways to think about the issue, and the crisis may have destabilized the dominant discourse in ways that make the movement especially influential in this area.

Movement Mobilization

Perhaps the LGBT movement itself influenced the coverage of homosexuality. Scholarly attention has traditionally focused on how the news media covers protest (Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule, 2004; Gitlin, 1980; Oliver and Maney, 2000) or movements and their organizations (Amenta, Caren, Olasky, and Stobaugh, 2009; Andrews and Caren, 2010;

Rohlinger et al., 2012). Understanding this process is an important first step, as gaining coverage may be necessary to influence the public discussion of an issue. Especially if Gamson and Modigliani (1989) are correct, then gaining coverage gives activists and movements an opportunity to inject a new framing package into the media arena, potentially changing the national conversation around an issue. In general, however, scholars have found that characteristics of protest that increase the likelihood of coverage leads to coverage that ignores the issues. For example, events that include conflict, either with the police or counter demonstrators, are likely to increase the chances of coverage (Oliver and Myers, 1999), but this tends to decrease the likelihood of the coverage including the issue at stake (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, and Augustyn, 2001). Given this, when protest gains coverage, the coverage is not likely to be favorable to protesters. Protesters tend to be framed as marginal, radical, or fringe (Hackett and Zhao, 1994).

Coverage of organizations may provide better opportunities for influence the discussion of an issue. Generally, organizations that are formally organized and professional, and that engage in non-confrontational, routine advocacy, are likely to gain more coverage than confrontational or volunteer-led organizations (Andrews and Caren, 2010; Corbett, 1998). The number of active organizations in the same movement industry decreases the amount of coverage any one organization receives (Vliegenthart, Oegema, and Klandermans, 2005) but increases the total coverage the movement receives overall (Amenta et al., 2009). While disruptive tactics seem to be a detriment for individual organizations, it is a benefit to gaining coverage for movements as a whole. Movements with active organizations that engage in disruptive tactics are more frequently covered than movements without such organizations (Amenta et al., 2009). This suggests, that protest brings attention to an issue, but newspapers are more likely to turn to more institutionally oriented organizations to comment on the protest than those organizations participating in the protest.

While one of the above perspectives may provide a clearly better explanation for the

change in coverage of homosexuality than the other perspectives, they do not operate in a vacuum. Each of the processes described by the perspectives are likely to influence and be influenced by the processes of other perspectives. For example, political opportunities may lead to additional coverage of the movement, but the nature of this coverage is likely to be influenced by the processes described under movement mobilization. Crises may lead to political reforms, jump starting a series of political successes on the part of the movement. My analyses take into account these combinations of processes.

1.2 Data

To explain my puzzle, I collected data on mainstream newspaper coverage of homosexuality from 1950 to 2010. I searched the ProQuest archives of the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and Wall Street Journal for mentions of “homosexual,” “homosexuality,” and “lesbian.” I searched these same newspapers for mentions of “gay” beginning in 1980, as mentions prior to 1980 were overwhelmingly uses of the original definition of the word. Additionally, the New York Times Manual of Style forbid using the word gay in place of homosexual until the mid-1980s (Alwood, 1996), so newspaper policy would prevent articles about homosexuality from being missed with “homosexual” search terms for the New York Times. The Associated Press style guide had similar guidelines until at least 1992 (French, 1987; Goldstein, 1992). This resulted in 94,758 articles: 44,197 in the New York Times, 43,126 in the Los Angeles Times, and 7,435 in the Wall Street Journal. I chose these sources because they are widely circulated, represent both geographic and editorial diversity, and they have complete archives for the period under study.

I also searched these three newspapers for mentions of one of 86 national LGBT or AIDS organizations. In order to be included, the organization should be politically oriented with national goals. The organization’s main focus should either be on LGBT rights or AIDS, which excludes such organizations as the ACLU that does engage in gay rights advocacy but

not primarily. Using a list of search terms generated for each organization, I identified 5,705 articles mentioning at least one of these organizations: 2,999 in the New York Times, 2,263 in the Los Angeles Times, and 383 in the Wall Street Journal.

To collect data on the content of the coverage, I created a 0.5% sample per year from the coverage of homosexuality, with a minimum of five articles included in each year. I supplemented this with a 2% sample of the coverage of LGBT and AIDS organizations. This resulted in 720 articles to code. I coded information about the article including the author, the occasion for coverage, and the type of article. I coded information about any social movement organization mentioned in the article, both LGBT and AIDS, and non-LGBT organizations. I also coded every paragraph that mentioned homosexuality in some way, including information on the speaker, the valence of the paragraph, and what terms and claims appeared. I discuss these measures in more detail where relevant in the following chapters.

1.3 Summary of Dissertation

The rest of the dissertation is laid out in the following way. In chapter two, I present the history of the LGBT movement, beginning in the post-WW II period. I highlight important events not only in the development of the movement, but also in the development of media coverage of the movement. This helps contextualize media coverage of homosexuality and the LGBT movement.

In chapter 3, I analyze the amount of coverage the newspapers gave to homosexuality. Using both regression and qualitative comparative analysis techniques, I analyze why the issue received the amount of coverage it did over time. I find that during the early years of the movement, protest was a significant driver of coverage of homosexuality. In later years, the main driver of coverage shifts to policy events. This suggests that young movements, before they are perceived as legitimate political actors by the news media, rely on protest to

gain coverage. As they mature, and especially as they gain policy successes, they come to be seen as more legitimate political players, and so gain coverage through the political process.

Next, in chapter 4 I analyze the amount of coverage newspapers gave to the movement itself, defined by the organizations that comprise it. As in chapter 3, I use regression and QCA techniques to investigate what explains the amount of coverage each organization received over time. I find that policy reforms improve coverage of LGBT organizations for organizations with a large amount of resources. However, I also find that protest organizations can gain high coverage during crises, providing an alternative path to high coverage for movement organizations.

Chapter 5 explores how the tone of coverage of homosexuality changed over time. Using a network analysis of associations between claims that appear in the same articles, I analyze how claims moved into and out of the core of the network and the implications this has on the public discussion of homosexuality. I find that the AIDS epidemic had a dramatic effect on the claims network, bringing a previously peripheral claim into the core of the network. Important policy reforms also had a big impact, as they delegitimized some claims while legitimizing others, contributing to a shift of claims from the core into the periphery and vice versa.

Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the project, summarizing how each perspective contributed to my explanation of the three outcomes in chapters 3-5. I argue that movement mobilization is an important requirement for positive media outcomes, but that the exact nature of this mobilization will depend on the context in which the movement operates. Crises will call for particular organizations devoted to dealing with the crisis, even protest oriented organizations can be effective during crises. However, in politically supportive environments, especially once the movement has enjoyed some policy success, large, well resourced organizations are going to have the most influence on media outcomes. I discuss limitations of this project, as well as directions for future study.

Chapter 2

A History of Gay and Lesbian Mobilization

2.1 Post World War II and the Homophile Movement

Prior to 1950, gay and lesbian mobilization in the United States was small and sporadic. While enclaves existed in many large cities as early as the 1920s, gays and lesbians primarily kept to themselves. The Society for Human Rights existed briefly in Chicago in the 1920s. Founded by Henry Gerber, who was inspired by German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, it is recognized as the first formal organization supporting gay rights in the United States. A few months after it was chartered, however, several members were arrested and the organization ceased to exist (Chauncey, 1994).

World War II offered gays and lesbians opportunities to explore homosociality in ways not often available in the past. Young men were drafted into the military and forced to spend long periods of time with other young men. Their experiences in a highly stressful, same-sex environment provided opportunities for homosocial (though not necessarily homosexual) behavior and created intense emotional bonds. Some of these men recognized within themselves something more than their heterosexual counterparts as they explored these same-sex

emotional relationships (D'Emilio, 1998). They even encountered other men with same-sex sexual desire and formed friendship networks with them. For most, this was the first time they had encountered anything like a gay community. After the war, gay men recreated these communities in the large port cities they had spent so much time in during the war such as New York City, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

Women, too, had an opportunity to explore previously forbidden homosocial environments. As the men were drafted into the military, women were drafted to replace the men in the factories. Countless single women moved to urban spaces where they lived with other single women. Other women entered the military themselves, the Women's Army Corps especially was popular among lesbians (D'Emilio, 1998). These experiences cemented gay and lesbian identities in a way that would allow them to be used to mobilize after the war.

On February 28, 1950, an undersecretary of state casually stated that most of the 91 State Department employees that had been dismissed for moral turpitude were homosexual. Republican opponents to the Truman administration seized on this, and the issue got swept up into the wider anti-communist witch hunt that was known as McCarthyism. Sen. Joseph McCarthy hired Roy Cohen to root out gay men from the State Department. Over the next several years, hundreds of men were forced to resign their jobs, and thousands were denied employment, on the basis of suspected homosexuality (D'Emilio, 1998). The media attention of this "Lavender Scare" catapulted the issue of homosexuality into the public attention, though not with good results. Due to the persecution of the Senate against gays in Washington, local police felt justified to exert their own form of persecution on local gay communities through increased bar raids and other forms of intimidation and entrapment.

Later that same year, however, a group of men met at the home of Harry Hay to form what would become the Mattachine Society, the first permanent gay rights group. Harry Hay, the leader of the group in the first few years, had previously been active in the Communist Party of the United States, and so the Mattachine Society was initially organized in ways that mimicked the cell structure of the Communist Party. For the first five years, the group

grew slowly, with new “social groups” not knowing the members of other groups, nor the identity of the leaders of the top (D’Emilio, 1998). This was to protect the members of the Mattachine Society because at the time gay men could be arrested just associating with one another.

The Mattachine Society had some initial successes, the most visible of which was a trial involving one of its founders, Dale Jennings. Jennings was arrested in 1952 in a Los Angeles park for lewd behavior. Rather than quietly accepting the charge, Jennings, with the help of the Mattachine Society, contested the charge in court. Jennings admitted to being gay, but said he was not guilty of lewd behavior. The jury could not reach a verdict so Jennings was let go and the Mattachine Society declared victory (D’Emilio, 1998).

The Lavender Scare quickly impacted the activity of the Mattachine Society, however. As members feared being the target of federal investigations, the founding members publicly revealed themselves and resigned from their leadership positions at the organization’s 1953 conference. New leaders took over, these were much more moderate and quickly reorganized the Mattachine Society into a more conventional civil-rights style organization (D’Emilio, 1998; Gross, 2001).

In 1955, a sister organization to the Mattachine Society formed in San Francisco, calling itself the Daughters of Bilitis. While the organizations remained separate, they would often work with the Mattachine Society towards common goals. The Daughters’ monthly newsletter *The Ladder* helped reach many lesbian women throughout the country in the early years of community organizing (Gallo, 2005).

The first time a gay organization was mentioned in the mainstream news was a 1960 New York Times article about a British television show featuring twenty five American critics of American society. A spokesman from the Mattachine Society was briefly listed as one of the participants in the program. It would not be mentioned again for three years. Despite receiving very little coverage during the 1960s, the Mattachine Society was still the most frequently covered homophile organization in mainstream newspapers (see table 2.1). The

Mattachine Society was often included in articles trying to make sense of homosexuality during a time when the medical, criminal, and public understandings of homosexuality were in flux.

One notable example is from a New York Times 1964 article headlined “Homosexuals Proud of Deviancy, Medical Academy Study Finds,”¹ and details the results of a report by the Committee on Public Health of the New York Academy of Medicine. In it, the claim by gay men that homosexuality is just a different way of life is treated with incredulity by the authors of the report. The report is quoted saying “Furthermore the homosexuals seem to have become more formally organized, with a central office and a magazine of their own.”² The article goes on to suggest the report was alluding to the Mattachine Society. This article characterizes the kind of coverage homosexuality and gays and lesbians received during the 1960s. The claims of gays and lesbians were acknowledged, but often dismissed in favor of the positions of medical, criminal, or political authorities.

During this time, coverage of homosexuality more generally was slowly increasing as well. During the 1960s, early gay and lesbian mobilization (often referred to as the homophile movement) grew. Countless local organizations and five additional national organizations were founded, including the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO), a truly national coalition meant to coordinate the fight for gay rights across the country.

Near the end of the 1960s, the movement began to shift, laying the foundation for gay liberation. Activists that attended the 1968 Democratic National Convention came back to their home cities radicalized, ready to radicalize their own organizations. As the civil rights movement adopted black power slogans, so too did young activists adopt gay power. This new attitude solidified during the Stonewall Riots.

¹Trumbull, Robert. May 19, 1964. “Homosexuals Proud of Deviancy.” New York Times

²Ibid.

Table 2.1: Top Covered LGBT and AIDS SMOs by Year

year	SMO	articles	percent	year	SMO	articles	percent
1960	Mattachine	1	100	1987	GMHC	81	39.1
1963	Mattachine	2	100	1988	GMHC	53	20.3
1964	Mattachine	3	75.0	1989	ACT-UP	76	24.0
1965	Mattachine	4	100	1990	ACT-UP	134	30.9
1966	Mattachine	6	85.7	1991	ACT-UP	115	27.8
1967	Mattachine	5	83.3	1992	ACT-UP	89	19.1
1968	Mattachine	2	66.7	1993	NGLTF	91	18.4
1969	GLF	4	40.0	1994	GMHC	47	16.3
1970	GLF	34	40.0	1995	HRC	42	15.4
1971	GLF	16	37.2	1996	GMHC	39	15.1
1972	GAA	38	67.9	1997	GMHC	37	19.3
1973	GAA	34	61.8	1998	HRC	42	21.2
1974	GAA	17	51.5	1999	HRC	43	20.1
1975	NGLTF	6	31.6	2000	HRC	40	20.2
1976	NGLTF	9	52.9	2001	HRC	25	18.7
1977	NGLTF	25	58.1	2002	HRC	13	12.4
1978	NGLTF	14	63.6	2003	HRC	38	26.0
1979	NGLTF	19	70.4	2004	HRC	67	22.5
1980	NGLTF	20	69.0	2005	Lambda Legal	28	19.3
1981	NGLTF	6	33.3	2006	Lambda Legal	32	19.4
1982	GRNL	4	25.0	2007	HRC	27	23.1
1983	NGLTF	14	25.9	2008	HRC	29	18.8
1984	NGLTF	12	22.6	2009	HRC	37	19.8
1985	GMHC	48	36.6	2010	HRC	70	31.1
1986	NGLTF	28	20.9				

2.2 Gay Liberation

In the early hours of June 28, 1969, several police pulled up to the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, New York City. The Stonewall Inn was a gay bar and it was common for police to raid gay bars. Raids had a usual routine that involved checking everyone present for their ID, people dressed as women were escorted by female police officers to the bathroom to check their sex, and any cross-dressers found were arrested. This time, however, the raid quickly went sour, as patrons refused to cooperate with police. Patrons who were released went outside but stuck around, and a crowd soon gathered outside the bar. One woman kept escaping from the police wagon and was hit by a policeman with a baton. This sparked

a reaction from the crowd and men and women everywhere began resisting the police. They threw bottles, trash, and high heel shoes. The police barricaded themselves inside the bar, and the men and women outside marched throughout the streets as many locals and bystanders joined them (Alwood, 1996; D'Emilio, 1998).

The next four nights saw more rioting in Greenwich Village. The last night was sparked by two reports that appeared in the Village Voice describing the events of the riots. One reporter had been inside Stonewall with the police during the barricade, the other had been outside. One reporter described a brutal beating of a gay man by the cops, and referred to “dancing faggots” (Smith, 1969). The other reported on the “forces of faggotry” parading out in the streets (Truscott, 1969). Due to the tone of the articles a group marched on the Voice’s offices the last night of the riots (Alwood, 1996). Gay liberation, then, began with an eye on news coverage of gays and lesbians.

Soon after the riots, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) was founded (Kranz and Cusick, 2005). The GLF not only adopted a much more radical gay liberation position as compared to the earlier homophile activists, it also positioned gay power as embedded in other forms of inequality and injustice. The GLF denounced the Vietnam War and sought partnerships with radical student groups and black civil rights organizations. The organization remained at the forefront of the new gay liberation movement in terms of the coverage of the movement for the next three years, capturing roughly forty percent of the total coverage of organizations during this period.

However, some members soon grew weary of the chaos of the GLF’s radically democratic meetings and it’s radical politics scared potential members away. A few months after GLF was founded, the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) began meeting. The GAA was far more moderate, choosing to focus on gay rights exclusively and organize in a more formal model (Kranz and Cusick, 2005). GAA also became known for its “zaps” - public confrontations forcing politicians and the media to acknowledge gay rights (Alwood, 1996). These tactics worked to increase the visibility of GAA in the media, from 1972 to 1974 GAA captured the

majority of coverage major newspapers gave to national gay and lesbian organizations.

In 1974, the American Psychiatric Association (APA) voted to remove homosexuality as a mental disorder in their Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) (Alwood, 1996). This was the result of intense lobbying by members of GAA and other activists over the past several years. Activists had interrupted APA conventions annually since 1970, and a handful of activists had been engaged in direct lobbying of influential people within the APA to convince them to consider removing homosexuality as a mental illness (Mayes and Horwitz, 2005). The decision to reclassify homosexuality sparked news outlets to print both articles and opinion pieces, as they struggled to understand the implications of the reclassification.

In 1973, shortly after gay activists convinced the leadership of the APA to reclassify homosexuality, the National Gay Task Force was founded in New York (Alwood, 1996). The Task Force was one of the first truly national gay and lesbian organizations with a highly bureaucratized organization and professional staff. Ronald Gold, one of the leaders of the activists lobbying the APA to reclassify homosexuality, became the Task Force's first media director. The Task Force quickly became the go to organization for comments about gay issues. They were frequently quoted for reactions to political happenings regarding gay rights such as the 1976 Supreme Court decision upholding Virginia's sodomy law, comments politicians make about gay rights issues, and the widely watched repeal of Miami's anti-discrimination statute in 1977. From 1976 to 1980, the Task Force was given the majority of coverage of national gay and lesbian organizations, one of the most active periods for gay rights prior to the onslaught of AIDS.

In 1977, Anita Bryant began a campaign to repeal Dade County's new anti-discrimination ordinance (Alwood, 1996). Bryant's celebrity brought the attention of the entire nation, and the campaign received national media attention. It's success was a huge defeat for gay activists, and marked the beginning of a national Christian Right backlash to the advancement of gay rights. After her success in Florida, Bryant turned her attention to California, where

a ballot initiative would have barred gays and lesbians from teaching in public schools, and also would have punished any teachers who expressed sympathy for gay rights. As with the Dade County campaign, the Briggs Initiative, as it was called, garnered national media attention. This time, however, it also attracted well known names to come out against the initiative.

The initiative failed, and the campaign against it launched the political career of Harvey Milk, a San Francisco activist. In November of 1977, he became one of the first openly gay men elected to public office when he won a seat on the city's board of supervisors. A year later, however, Milk was assassinated, along with the Mayor of San Francisco, by a fellow board of supervisor, Dan White (Kranz and Cusick, 2005). Milk's assassination sparked a national mourning in the gay community, and both the New York Times and Los Angeles Times paid close attention to the trial of White.

2.3 The AIDS Epidemic

In June 1981, an article was published in *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, documenting five cases of an extremely rare disease that had been identified in gay men in Los Angeles. This was the first published report on the disease that would become known as AIDS (Alwood, 1996). Later the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) would document over three hundred AIDS cases in 1981 alone, with over 100 deaths. This would eventually pale in comparison to the scale of the epidemic in the United States in subsequent years.

The gay community quickly organized itself around the disease (Gould, 2009). One of the earliest organizations founded to address AIDS (then known as GRID: gay related immune deficiency), was the Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) in New York City in 1982. GMHC struggled to get politicians, both in New York and in Washington, to pay more attention and devote more resources to the disease. Media coverage of AIDS was incredibly

low during the first few years, with most mainstream outlets devoting few articles to the disease.

The major turning point, in terms of public attention to the disease, came in 1985 when Rock Hudson announced he was gay and had AIDS, becoming the first celebrity to admit to having AIDS. The effect on news coverage of AIDS was immediate and dramatic (Alwood, 1996; Geidner, 2015). Outlets began reporting on the disease at unprecedented levels. The reporting was often more accurate than it had been in the past, and sympathy towards victims of the disease rose.

However, frustration at the lack of support for treating the disease from the Reagan administration was growing, multiplied by the frustration the gay community felt after the Supreme Court declined to overturn sodomy laws in *Bowers v. Hardwick*. This frustration coalesced into the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACTUP) in New York City (Gould, 2009). ACTUP was a much more radical and political organization than existing AIDS organizations, which tended to focus on providing services to victims. Very quickly, ACTUP chapters popped up throughout the country. ACTUP's mission was to force both local and federal administrations, as well as the public, to pay more attention to AIDS. ACTUP led very successful demonstrations targeting pharmaceutical companies at Wall Street, even infiltrating the New York Stock Exchange in one of them (Alwood, 1996). They also shut down the Food and Drug Administration's offices for a day in 1988. In one of the most media savvy events, ACTUP demonstrated at the New York City General Post Office on the night of April 15 in 1987, as people were lined up filing last minute tax returns. This activism worked in terms of drawing attention to themselves, ACTUP received the plurality of coverage of LGBT and AIDS organizations from 1989 to 1992.

ACTUP and AIDS activism generally also had an impact on the way pharmaceutical science worked in the United States. The Food and Drug Agency (FDA), as well as many other agencies, companies, and others involved in drug research, have changed their regulatory processes to accommodate demands by AIDS activists. Activists moved from the fringe

in the mid-1980s to having powerful voices in the design, direction, and regulation of AIDS related research by the mid-1990s (Epstein, 1996).

2.4 The Gay Nineties

Bill Clinton’s presidential campaign in 1992 marked an important milestone in gay rights. While gay activists had met in the White House with an aide in the Carter administration, and the 1980 Democratic Party Platform included a gay rights plank for the first time, Clinton made gay rights a part of his campaign when he promised to end the military ban on gays and lesbians (Kranz and Cusick, 2005). However, he underestimated the opposition he would face to lifting the ban and spent much of his first year in office fighting with Congress and the military over the issue. Eventually, a compromise was reached in which gays and lesbians could serve as long as they kept their sexuality secret, and the military was not allowed to inquire about a serviceperson’s sexuality. This compromise, “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” pleased no one and many in the LGBT movement felt betrayed. However, the issue catapulted homosexuality into the media spotlight. Coverage of homosexuality more than tripled from 1989 to 1993.

Despite the failure to lift the ban on gays and lesbians in the military, the 1990s was an incredible decade of advancement for gay rights. In 1990 alone, Congress passed the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, which included sexual orientation among the categories of hate crimes the F.B.I. would collect statistics on, the Ryan White Care Act, which gave massive funding to helping people with HIV/AIDS, and the 1990 Immigration Reform Act, which removed homosexuality as a reason to deny entry into the United States (Kranz and Cusick, 2005). During the decade, ten states banned workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation and eight states repealed their sodomy laws. In 1996 the Supreme Court ruled in *Romer v. Evans* that Colorado’s state constitutional amendment forbidding protecting gays and lesbians from discrimination violated the federal Constitution’s equal protection clause,

the first time the court explicitly ruled in favor of gay rights (Pinello, 2003).

The nineties were also a time of greatly improved representations of gays and lesbians in the larger media. There were a growing number of openly gay guest stars in television depicted positively (Streitmatter, 2009). *Friends*, one of the most popular sitcoms of all time, debuted in 1994 with one of the stars having a lesbian ex-wife and the joke seemed to be on the star character rather than his ex-wife. Ellen famously came out on her own sitcom, generating a flurry of news coverage (Kranz and Cusick, 2005). *Will & Grace*, a sitcom starring two gay men, debuted in 1998. Three movies premiered during this decade with major gay characters, marketed towards a more mainstream audience. The first, *The Birdcage*, a remake of a French film, was about a gay couple who run a gay club in South Beach attempting to woo their son's fiancé's conservative parents. Starring Robin Williams and Nathan Lane, along with Gene Hackman and Diane Wiest, the film's cast brought it to the attention of straight audiences. The next year, two additional films with gay characters premiered. *In & Out* starred Kevin Kline questioning his sexuality when a former student outs him at the Academy Awards. Tom Selleck plays a gay reporter who attempts to help Kline's character come out, notably through a prolonged kiss. The second movie that year, *My Best Friend's Wedding*, starred Rupert Everett as a stylish and witty gay best friend to Julia Roberts's character. These movies were notable for portraying gay characters as essentially happy and well adjusted, a radical departure from movies such as *Philadelphia* or *Boys in the Band*, which depicted gay men as either miserable or dying of AIDS (Streitmatter, 2009). Throughout this time, newspaper coverage of homosexuality remained high, averaging nearly 10 articles per day.

The nineties were also a time of change for the LGBT movement. Nearly all its resources had been devoted to AIDS for much of the 1980s and early 1990s, so as the epidemic declined, the movement shifted to other priorities. While AIDS organizations had dominated newspaper coverage from 1987 through 1992, non-AIDS focused organizations began to come out on top starting in 1993. In 1993, the Task Force won out, but soon after the Human

Rights Campaign (HRC) took the reins as coverage leader. HRC had been founded in 1980, but it wasn't until a massive reorganization in 1995 that HRC became a leader of the LGBT movement. For all years besides two after 1997, HRC was the leader in coverage. Its logo, a yellow equal sign on a blue background, has become synonymous with gay rights.

In 1993, the Hawaii state supreme court ruled that Hawaii's constitution required the state to recognize same sex marriage. This caught much of the country by surprise, and resulted in a great deal of concern. LGBT rights activists were rightly concerned of a backlash to the ruling. Conservatives in Hawaii were concerned about their state beginning to issue same sex marriage licenses. Conservatives in the rest of the country were concerned their home states would be required to recognize the Hawaiian marriages, opening the floodgates for same sex marriage nationwide. To prevent this possibility, Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act in 1996, which barred the federal government from recognizing same sex marriages and allowed states to refuse to recognize such marriages (Soule, 2004). In the same year, Hawaii itself passed a constitutional amendment defining marriage as between one man and one women, before the state had a chance to issue any marriage licenses to same-sex couples. This activity set the stage for the marriage debate that would come the next decade.

2.5 The Fight for Same-Sex Marriage

In the fall of 2003, the Massachusetts supreme court ruled that the Massachusetts constitution required the state to legalize same sex marriages. The state began issuing marriages in May of 2004, sparking the beginning of the national campaign to legalize same sex marriages. Shortly before Massachusetts began issuing licenses, San Francisco's then mayor Gavin Newsom, in collaboration with gay and lesbian activists and organizations, ordered the city's offices to begin issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples. Despite frantic legal opposition from anti-gay organizations, the city was able to issue licenses for a month to

about 4,000 couples total. On March 11, the California Supreme Court ordered the city to halt issuing licenses, which it did, and the court ruled that the licenses the city had issued were null, declaring that the 4,000 couples were no longer married. However, the San Francisco marriages set up a legal challenge to the California ban on same-sex marriages.

The Republican party, and especially President Bush's reelection campaign, took advantage of the timing of the same-sex marriages in San Francisco and Massachusetts and campaigned on a vigorous anti-gay platform. President Bush endorsed a constitutional amendment defining marriage as between one man and one woman, while 12 states passed their own state constitutional amendments defining marriage the same (Stone, 2012). These constitutional amendments are credited for bringing out the Republican base and swinging many elections in the Republicans' favor in the 2004 November elections.

Massachusetts remained the sole state in which same sex marriage was legal for four years. In 2008, the California supreme court ruled that California's constitution required same sex marriages to be legal, and the state began issuing licenses to same sex couples that summer. Gay marriage opponents quickly mobilized and gathered enough signatures to place a constitutional amendment, called Prop 8, on the November ballot that year that would amend the California constitution to explicitly define marriage as between one man and one woman. It passed, and while the state would recognize any couples married before the amendment passed, no new marriage licenses would be issued to same-sex couples in California until Prop 8 was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 2013. Connecticut, in the mean time, had legalized same sex marriages, becoming the third state to do so, and the second to do so permanently.

By the end of 2010, six states plus the District of Columbia had legalized same sex marriage, though only five continued to do so thanks to California's amendment (Stone, 2012). Though the movement hadn't planned on making marriage a central issue (prior to 2004, most organizations were focused on workplace discrimination and rudimentary recognition of relationships like domestic partnerships), after the Massachusetts victory the movement

devoted far more resources to securing marriage rights in states they saw as likely successes. Initial successes were almost exclusively through the court system, and Lambda Legal, the premier gay legal rights organization, benefited from the legal focus of the movement, becoming the movement's coverage leader in 2005 and 2006.

Though only five states had legal same sex marriage by 2010, another eleven states had some form of recognition for same sex relationships, either civil unions or domestic partnerships. During the decade, seventeen states passed laws forbidding workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation, or updated their laws to include gender identity. The movement was making numerous policy advances on a variety of fronts.

The media also continued to advance in their representations of LGBT people. *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* debuted in 2003 and was progressive for showing straight men being helped by five gay men to improve their game with their wife or girlfriend. While resting on stereotypes, the reality program showed gay and straight men having good, positive relationships with each other (Streitmatter, 2009). In 2009, *Modern Family* premiered, in which a gay couple with a newly adopted daughter is depicted as just as normal a family as the sister's nuclear family and the father's family with his younger second wife and her son. The implication that families come in diverse forms and a gay couple are just as legitimate as any other.

The decade closed with a fight to repeal Don't Ask, Don't Tell and permanently lift the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. Despite vocal Republican opposition to lifting the ban, a bill was passed and signed into law in December of 2010, with the repeal going into effect early the next year.

In sixty years, homosexuality went from being as bad as, or worse than, communism to a powerful political issue. Homosexual sex was universally criminal in 1950, by 2010 nearly a third of states legally recognized same-sex relationships in some way. The news media barely mentioned homosexuality at the beginning of the period, now it remains near the top of the media agenda, especially with the unprecedented pace of marriage recognition since

2010. What explains this dramatic shift in the media conceptions of homosexuality, LGBT rights, and LGBT people? The rest of this dissertation addresses this question.

Chapter 3

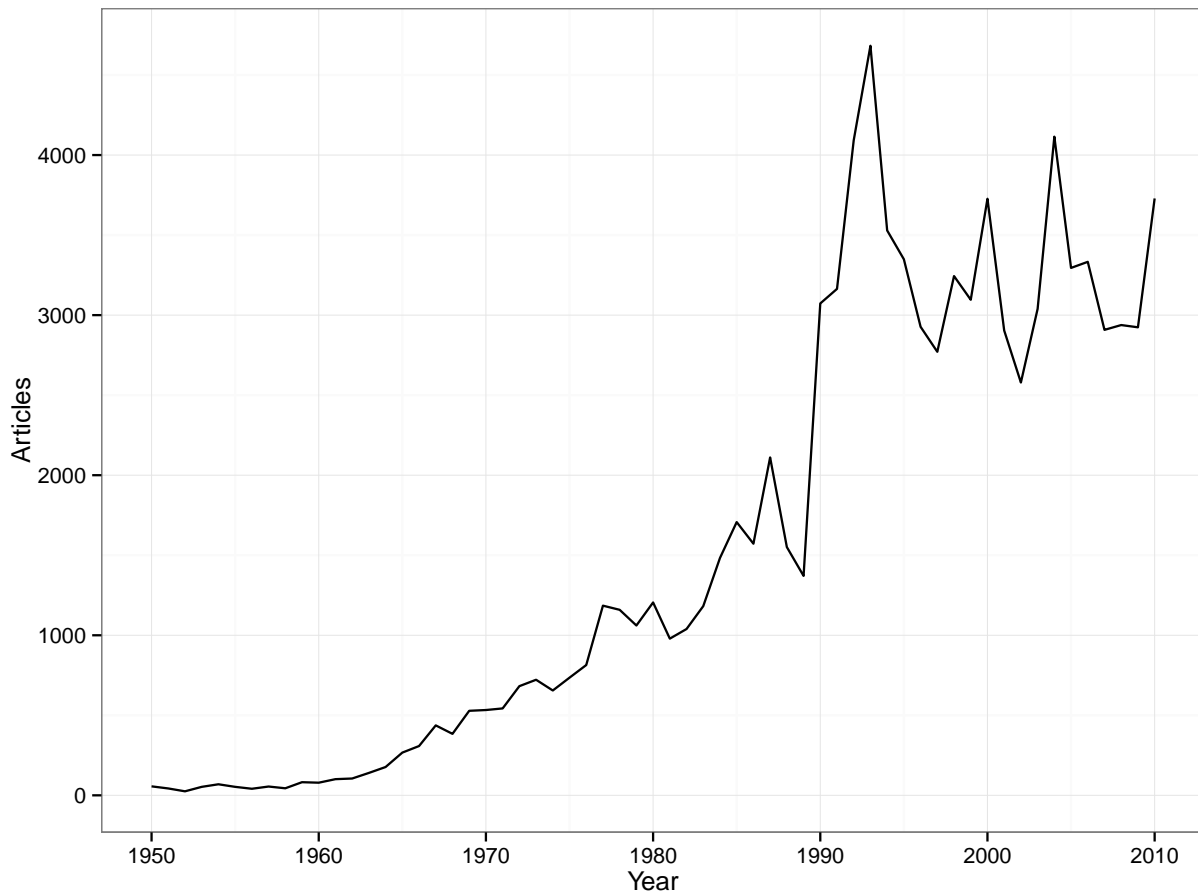
Attention to the Issue

In this chapter, I analyze the amount of coverage homosexuality receives over time. Gaining prominence on the media issue agenda is an important outcome in and of itself. It is also a first step to changing the way an issue is talked about. Using insights from the six perspectives described in chapter 1, I test a series of hypotheses explaining newspaper coverage using both time series regression and qualitative comparative analysis.

Figure 3.1 graphs the amount of coverage of homosexuality in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and Wall Street Journal. Coverage was based on ProQuest searches for articles mentioning homosexual or lesbian beginning in 1950, and articles mentioning gay beginning in 1980, through 2010 (see page 10 in chapter 1). Coverage of homosexuality remained low throughout the 1950s, a time of little action on the part of the homophile movement. For the first half of the decade, there were routine stories about the purge of gay men from the State Department. In 1953, *Tea and Sympathy*, a play dealing openly with homosexuality, debuted on Broadway, and a film adaptation premiered in 1956, and was occasionally covered due to the controversial nature of the content. However, this coverage was limited and infrequent.

Coverage began to increase in the 1960s. Public discussion of homosexuality was less taboo, though framed just as problematically as the 1950s (Alwood, 1996). Coverage con-

Figure 3.1: Newspaper Coverage of Homosexuality by Newspaper



sisted of police crackdowns on frequent assembly spots by gay men, new plays and films dealing with homosexuality, and political responses to homosexuality. In one article, the New York Times reports on a series of police raids that resulted in the arrested of 30 men for being gay¹. In the article, the Times prints the name and occupation of two of those arrested.

Though the Stonewall Riots were a major turning point for the mobilization for gay rights, it did not perceptibly impact coverage of homosexuality, as coverage continued to increase at the same pace as it had previously. However the coverage during this decade began to transition to a more contested view of homosexuality — some coverage did not dismiss out of hand the idea of gay and lesbian rights. Still, coverage was not yet favorable

¹June 4, 1961. “30 Held in Vice Case.” New York Times

(see chapter 5 for a discussion of favorability of coverage).

The 1980s saw a jump in coverage of homosexuality. As the AIDS epidemic moved to a more central location in the media agenda, coverage of homosexuality increased in kind. A small peak in coverage occurs in 1985, the year Rock Hudson came out as gay, having AIDS, and eventually dying from complications of the disease. A second, larger peak happens in 1987, the year President Reagan made his first public speech about AIDS and the year that ACT-UP was founded.

Coverage spiked in 1990, doubling the amount of coverage from the previous year, and it doubled again over the next two years. 1993, the peak year of coverage, was the year President Clinton took office and pushed for an end to the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. This political campaign became incredibly controversial, as military leaders actively opposed the efforts to end the ban, and the campaign stretched much longer than anyone expected, not being resolved until December of that year.

Coverage after the passage of Don't Ask, Don't Tell dropped, but remained higher than levels prior to the 1990s. Two large peaks (with a third possible at the end of the period) happen after the initial peak. The first, in 1998, corresponds to the brutal murder of Matthew Shepard, a college student in Wyoming who was beaten, tied to a post, and left for dead, because he was gay. He was discovered alive but unresponsive the next morning and died in the hospital a week later. The case garnered national attention and generated a large amount of coverage.

The second peak in coverage occurred in 2004, a major year for same-sex marriage. In February, Mayor Gavin Newsom ordered San Francisco's registrar to issue same-sex marriage licenses. The city married about 4,000 people over the next month before the California supreme court ordered a stop to the marriages. In May, Massachusetts became the first state to legally recognize and grant same-sex marriages. Massachusetts' same-sex marriages prompted many conservative states to place on their ballots constitutional amendments to their state constitutions forbidding the recognition of same-sex marriages. On the November

ballot that year, 12 states passed constitutional amendments banning same-sex marriage.

The final possible peak is in 2010, the last year of the analysis and so I do not know what happens after. But I believe this to be another peak since the controversial policy, Don't Ask, Don't Tell, which replaced the out-right ban on gays in the military with a requirement that gays and lesbians remain closeted while they serve, was removed and gays and lesbians were allowed to serve openly in the military.

What explains these trends in coverage over time? What drove the increase in coverage during the 1960s and 1970s, and what changed in the 1980s and 1990s? Next I compose hypotheses answering these questions and investigate how measures of each hypothesis correlate with coverage of homosexuality.

3.1 Hypotheses

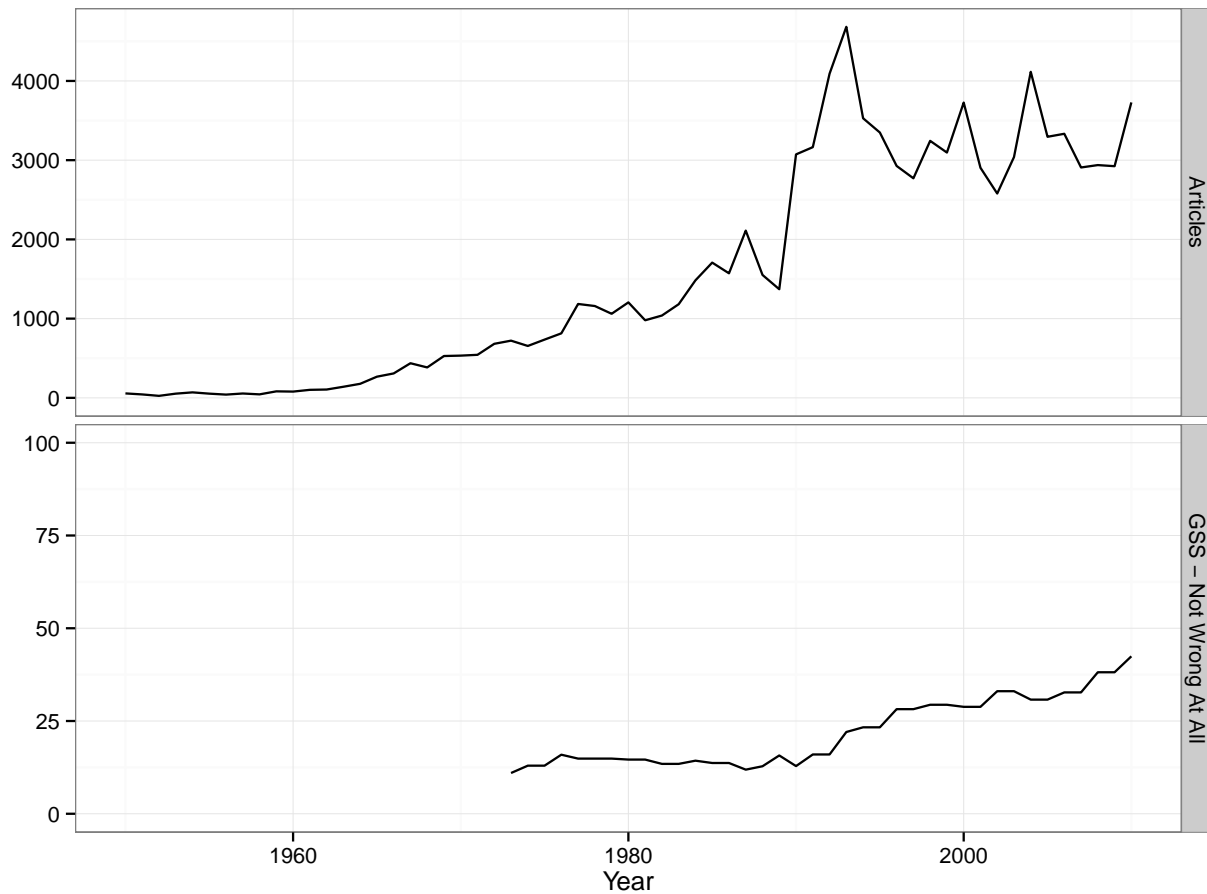
Public Opinion

Changes in public opinion may drive the media's issue agenda. Perhaps public opinion about homosexuality underwent a significant change in the late 1980s that convinced newsmakers to focus more attention on the issue. The effect of public opinion on issue attention is uncertain. Most studies focus on the opposite relationship - the effect issue attention has on public opinion (Chomsky and Barclay, 2010; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Public opinion does seem to correlate with government attention and action (Kane, 2007; McAdam and Su, 2002). News professionals may make decisions about what to cover based, in part, on what the public thinks are important issues.

Hypothesis 1: A more positive public opinion about homosexuality will lead to more newspaper coverage of homosexuality.

Figure 3.2 graphs total coverage of homosexuality along with the percentage of respondents in the General Social Survey (GSS) answering that sexual relations between two adults of the same sex was not wrong at all (Smith, Marsden, Hout, and Kim, 2013). Public opinion

Figure 3.2: Coverage of Homosexuality and Public Opinion



remains low and doesn't change until after 1990, after the surge in coverage of homosexuality between 1989 and 1990. This suggests, then, that if any causal relationship exists between coverage and public opinion, the direction of effect is from coverage to opinion. Furthermore, throughout the entire period under investigation, there is never a time when a majority of GSS respondents say homosexuality is not wrong at all. Data from Gallup (2013) shows a majority saying homosexual relations should be legal beginning in 1999, well after the surge in coverage. It seems, then, that public opinion doesn't offer a convincing explanation for coverage.

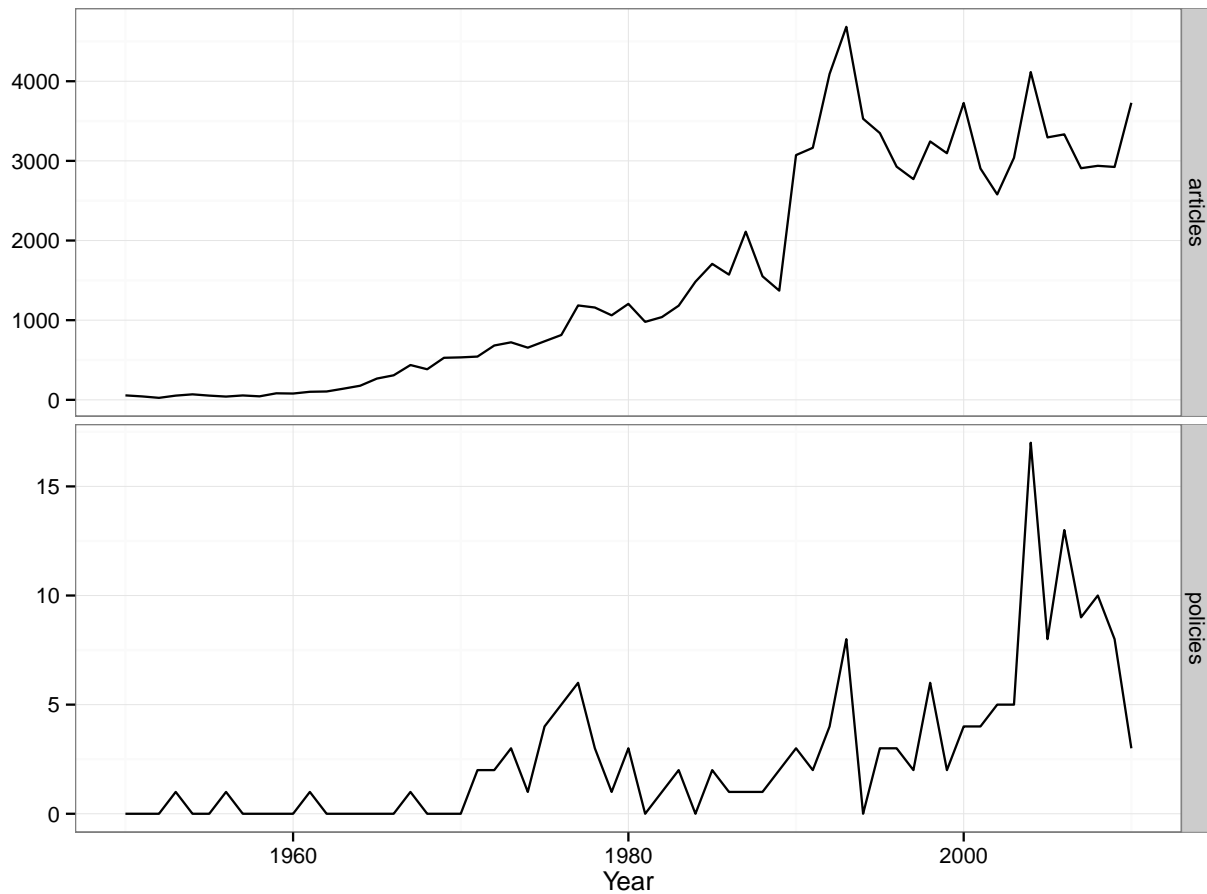
Political Opportunity/Policy Reform

Perhaps policy reforms changed the issue agenda. Gay rights became a political issue during the 1980s and 1990s, and government action on issues around homosexuality drove the increase in coverage. This process has been found to drive coverage of epidemics (Shih, Wijaya, and Brossard, 2008) and movement scholars have long theorized the role of politics in mobilizing movements (McAdam, 1982; Meyer and Minkoff, 2004). Scholars have also found that government actions influence the coverage of movement organizations (Amenta et al., 2009; Rohlinger et al., 2012) so it would make sense that government actions would have a similar effect on the coverage of movement issues.

Hypothesis 2: Policy events relevant to homosexuality will be positively correlated with news coverage of homosexuality

Figure 3.3 graphs total coverage of homosexuality along with the number of policy events per year pertaining to gay rights. Policy events were identified by finding state and federal level legislation that is passed, along with executive orders, all US Supreme Court decisions, and federal court of appeals and state supreme court decisions that resulted in a shift in policy. For legislative policies, I used accounts of the political history of the LGBT movement from scholars (Kane, 2003; Kranz and Cusick, 2005) and movement organizations (HRC, 2009; NGLTF, 2009, 2012), as well as data from the Policy Agendas Project (Baumgartner and Jones, 2012). Data on court decisions also came from accounts released by movement organizations (HRC, 2006) and scholars (Kane, 2003; Pinello, 2003). I include all Supreme Court decisions. I include federal circuit court and state supreme court decisions that represent a substantive policy change, so decisions that uphold established law are not included, but decisions that overturn or significantly alter the interpretation of law are included. These policy events are likely to generate coverage around the issue. The data seem to bare this out, especially in the later period. There is a peak of activity in 1993 and 2004, which correspond with peaks in coverage. However, a peak in policies in the mid 1970s has no corresponding bump in coverage of homosexuality. Overall, though, there is some

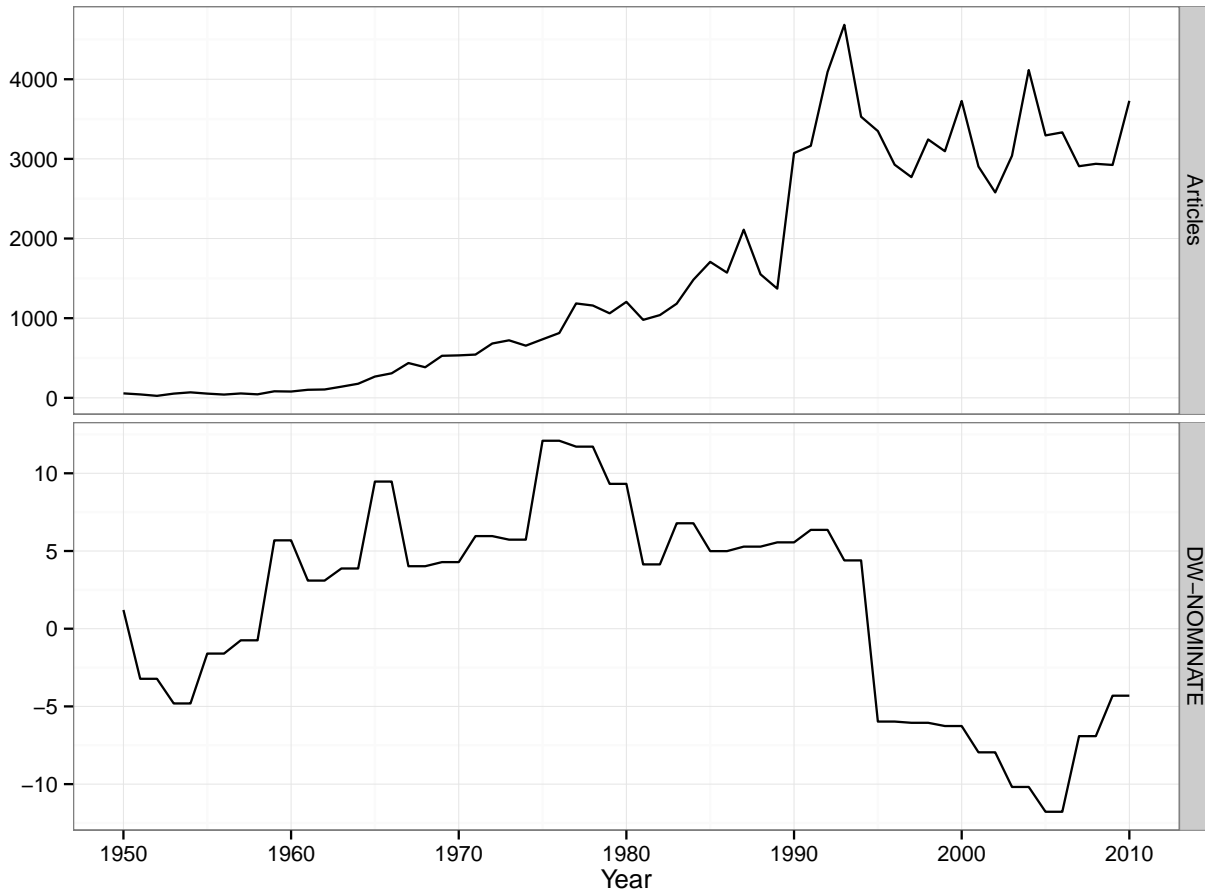
Figure 3.3: Coverage of Homosexuality and Policy Events



support for my first hypothesis that policy events drive news coverage, especially in the later periods.

The presence of political allies may also bring increased attention to the issue (Amenta et al., 2012; Meyer and Minkoff, 2004). These allies can signal to the press that the issue is a legitimate political issue, worthy of coverage. Additionally, political allies can work on policies addressing the issue, and so the issue will be covered as the press covers the policy-making process. Gay rights claims are more likely to be viewed as legitimate by more liberal Congresses and so are likely to gain more political attention when Congress is controlled by a liberal majority. This is likely to translate to more attention from the news media, since political activity on gay rights, such as Congressional hearings or introducing new bills, will gain political news coverage. My fourth hypothesis, then, is:

Figure 3.4: Coverage of Homosexuality and Transformed DWNOMINATE Scores



Hypothesis 3: Homosexuality will gain more news coverage when the composition of Congress is more liberal.

Figure 3.4 graphs news coverage of homosexuality along with a transformation of the average DWNOMINATE scores (Poole and Rosenthal, 2011) for each session of the house. The original data had higher values corresponding to more conservative Houses and varied from -0.12 to 0.11. I transformed this by multiplying by -100, so that the score represents the liberalness of the House. This figure does not lend much support to my hypothesis. When coverage is highest, from 1990 to 2010, the liberalness of the House drops to the lowest values of the whole period.

A final political influence on media attention of a movement's issue is elections. Elections, particularly Presidential elections in the United States, are moments in which a variety

of issues are brought into the public debate in order to distinguish one candidate from another (Rohlinger et al., 2012). Elections also hold the opportunity for changes in the federal Executive, and so can be considered quite important for advocates, either to retain an allied President or oust a hostile President. Gay rights has been an important part of Presidential campaigns since 1992, when Clinton promised to end the ban on gays in the military (Meyers, 1994).

Hypothesis 4: Coverage of homosexuality will be higher during Presidential election years.

A quick analysis of the mean number of articles about homosexuality in Presidential election years versus not yields an average of 1,616 articles during a Presidential election year and 1,533 articles in a non-election year. However, this difference is not significant. It seems that policy reform may be driving coverage of the issue, but more traditional political opportunity measures, such as political allies and election years, are not offering compelling explanations for issue attention.

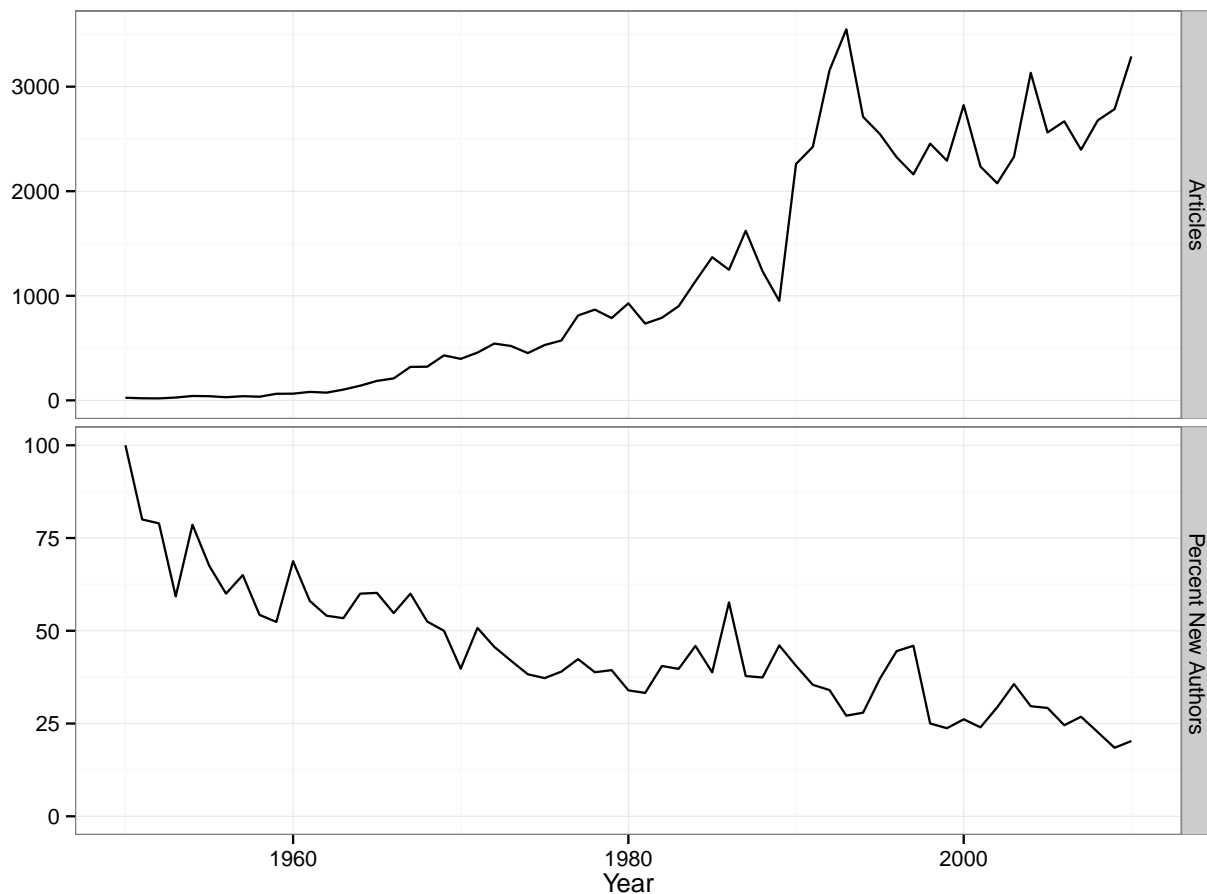
Newspaper Leadership

Another possible explanation for the increase in coverage of homosexuality is that the news professionals changed, younger, more gay accepting reporters and editors took over from their more parochial elders. Chomsky and Barclay (2013) found that the New York Times mentioned homosexuality on its front page more often after new people took over as editor and publisher. Perhaps a turnover in reporters and editors across all three newspapers contributed to the increase in coverage of homosexuality.

Hypothesis 5: Shifts in the amount of attention to homosexuality in the news will be correlated with turnover of journalists and editors.

Data on past editors at the Los Angeles Times and Wall Street Journal are not readily available, unfortunately. Using the data I collected, however, I constructed a yearly count of authors that appeared for the first time in my data in that year. Figure 3.5 graphs the

Figure 3.5: Coverage of Homosexuality and the Percentage of Articles Written by New Authors



coverage of homosexuality along side the percentage of articles written by an author that is appearing in the data for the first time in that year. Since some articles do not have named authors, I filter out articles without authors in this figure. The rate of new authors decreases throughout the entire time period. A small spike in the mid-1980s occurs before the large surge in attention to homosexuality, but by the surge the rate of new authors is decreasing again. While there are small hills and valleys, by 1980 the rate of new authors doesn't change that much. Overall this doesn't present a compelling case for turnover in news professionals leading to increasing attention.

Perhaps it is not about the appearance of new journalists but the retirement of old journalists. Older professionals may hold more anti-gay attitudes than their younger coun-

terparts, and so as the oldest of these retire from the paper, their replacements are more likely to think homosexuality is an important issue to cover. I created a graph similar to figure 3.5, graphing the number of authors that appear for the last time each year, but there was even less evidence of an effect than the new authors.

Crisis

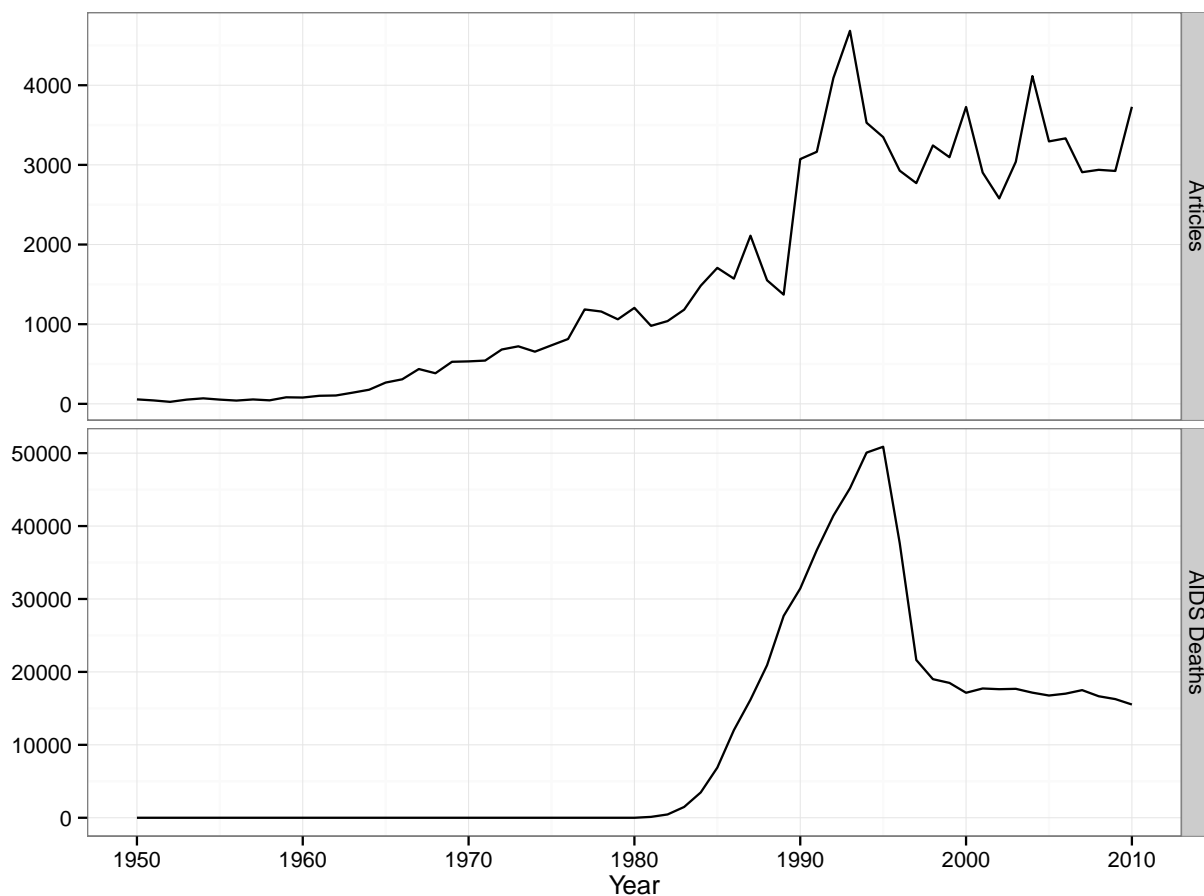
Movements are also likely to experience increased media attention during times of crisis (Snow et al., 1998). Crises are typically highly newsworthy, involving unusual events with a high impact on local populations. When a crisis is connected to a movement, the movement is likely to be caught up in the coverage of the crisis. Though not guaranteed, coverage of the movement during a crisis may also include coverage of the movement's issue. During a crisis, the status quo is upset, and the normal authorities and elites the media use to make sense of the news may no longer be able to offer satisfactory explanations. Movements serve as alternative sources of explanations, driving coverage of their issue.

A major crisis that impacted the gay community was the AIDS epidemic. During the 1980s, thousands of gay men died from a disease the Reagan administration was perceived to be ignoring. While the news media also largely ignored the disease during the early years, with the death of Rock Hudson the media paid far more attention to AIDS. Since the Reagan administration had not been a leader in the disease, movement actors had an opportunity to serve as experts. As the severity of the disease increased, so may attention to issues of homosexuality since they were so closely linked in early coverage of the AIDS epidemic. My third hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 6: As the scale of the AIDS epidemic increases, coverage of homosexuality will increase.

Figure 3.6 graphs news coverage of homosexuality along with annual AIDS deaths in the United States (CDC, 2012). This graph suggests that the build up to the first peak was driven in part by AIDS deaths, but the peak in coverage happens a couple years sooner

Figure 3.6: Coverage of Homosexuality and AIDS Deaths



than the peak in AIDS deaths, and has fallen by quite a bit by the peak of the epidemic. As previously suggested, this first peak is likely due to the controversy around the passage of Don't Ask, Don't Tell. Still, the build up to the peak offers some support for my third hypothesis.

Movement Mobilization

Finally, movement activity is a likely explanation for increasing attention to a movement's issue. Earl et al. (2004) find that newspapers are more likely to cover large, disruptive protest events, so the more protest a movement engages in, especially large protest events, the more coverage the movement's issue is likely to get. In this scenario, however, coverage

of a movement's issue is not guaranteed. Scholars have found that coverage of protest events usually focuses on the spectacle rather than the substance of the protest (Gitlin, 1980; Smith et al., 2001). More substantive coverage of a protest is more likely to include discussion of the issue at hand, and so protest events that garner more substantive coverage are better for coverage of the movement's issue. Smith et al. (2001) find that thematic coverage of protests are more likely to frame the issue in a way that benefits the movement, but the factors that lead to thematic coverage are largely out of the movement's control.

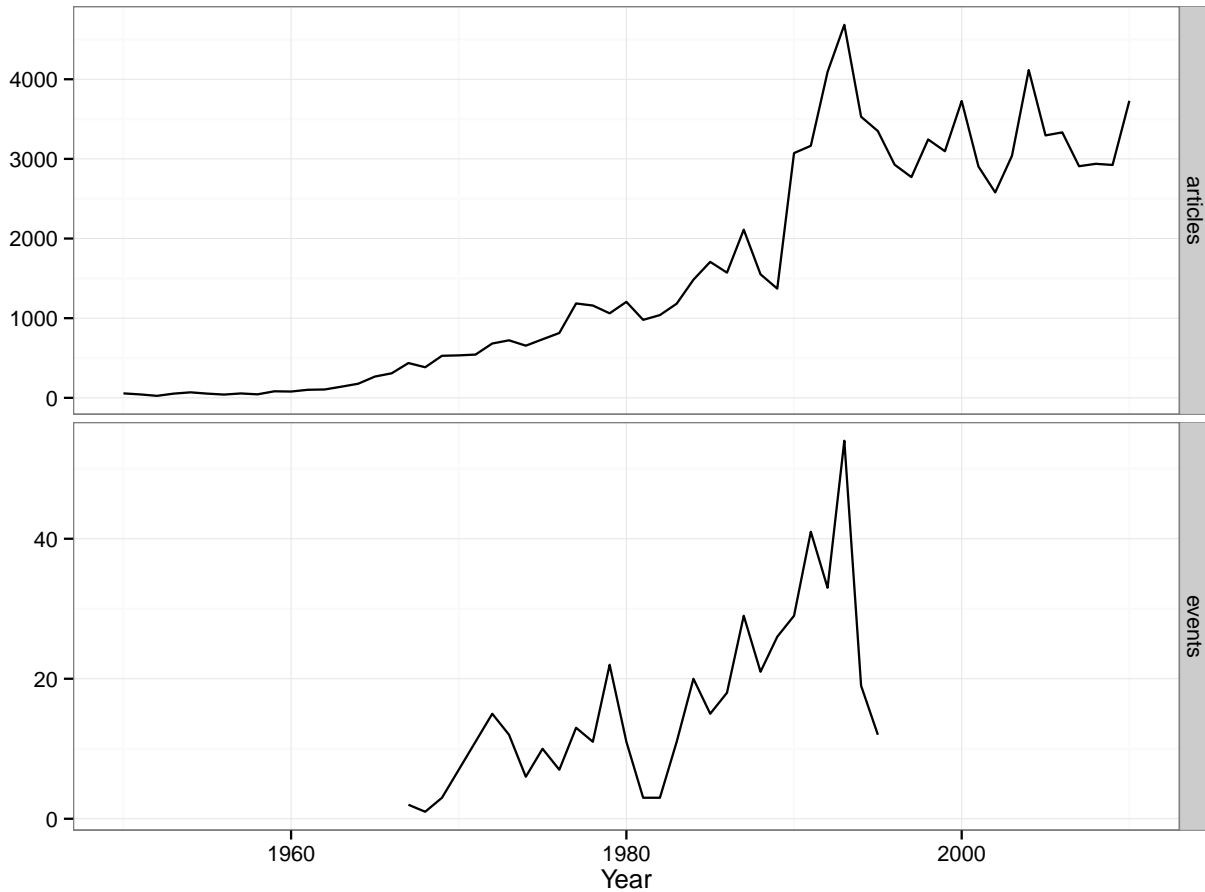
Research into the role protest plays in influencing the agendas in the political arena has found some effects. Which issues Congress granted hearings for were largely determined by the number of protests around that issue and how legitimate the issue was perceived to be by elites (King, Bentele, and Soule, 2007). McAdam and Su (2002) find mixed results for the effect of protest on Congressional outcomes, with some protest increasing the pace of voting for pro-peace legislation but suppressing the likelihood of a pro-peace outcome.

A proxy for movement activity is movement size or presence. The resource mobilization approach would expect that movements with many organizations, and large resource pools, to gain more coverage (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Organizations with a large amount of resources are likely to devote some of them to media strategies. Movements with many organizations and large resource pools are also likely to engage in more activity, as they have the resources to do so. Assuming the coverage of this activity is substantive, then the movement's issue should also experience an increase in news coverage.

Hypothesis 7: An increase in LGBT movement mobilization, whether defined by protest events or movement resources, will be positively correlated with news coverage of homosexuality.

Figure 3.7 graphs total coverage of homosexuality along with the number of protests about homosexuality according to the Dynamics of Collective Action dataset. This dataset contains data on roughly 24,000 protest events covered by the New York Times between 1960 and 1995 (see Earl, Soule, and McCarthy, 2003). 465 of these protest events were

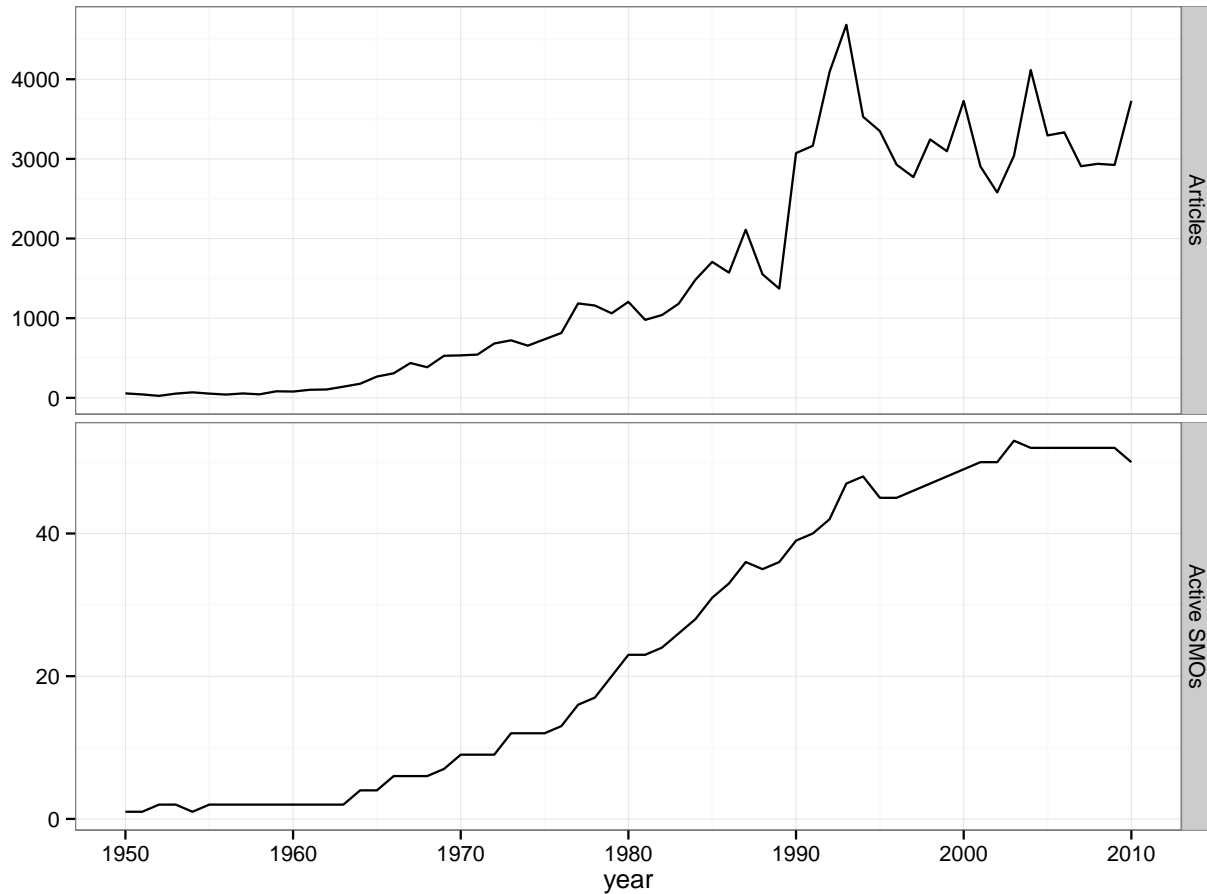
Figure 3.7: Coverage of Homosexuality and Protest Events



about LGBT issues. The increase in protest events over time tracks closely with the increase in coverage, seeming to explain the initial rise in coverage, as well as the first peak in 1993. Movement activity, at least during the years 1960-1995, seems to be a good predictor of coverage of homosexuality.

Figure 3.8 graphs total coverage of homosexuality alongside the number of active SMOs in a given year. Active SMOs seems to correlate well over the long term, explaining the general increasing trend. Coverage begins to noticeably increase in the 1960s when a handful of new organizations were founded. Coverage increases more rapidly during the 1980s when the number of new orgs each year increases, and coverage tapers off in the 1990s and 2000s when the founding of new organizations also tapers off. While not necessarily explaining the peaks and valleys, active SMOs does seem to explain the long term trends in coverage of

Figure 3.8: Coverage of Homosexuality and Protest Events



homosexuality.

3.2 Regression Analysis

To test how my hypotheses stand up when controlling for one other, I ran a time-series regression on amount of coverage. I included six independent variables. The first is a measure of the number of policy events relevant to gay rights per year. This measure was constructed as described previously for Figure 3.3. Since the Dynamics of Collective Action data only span 36 years, I substitute a measure of the size of the movement by calculating the number of active LGBT SMOs in a given year. Founding and death years were collected from various sources, including SMO websites, scholarly articles, and monographs about the movement.

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Articles	1555.4	1395.2	25	4683	61
Policy Events	2.73	3.54	0	17	61
Active LGBT SMOs	24.5	19.77	1	53	61
AIDS Deaths, thousands	10.3	14.2	0	50.9	61
House Liberalness	1.427	6.545	-11.78	12.09	61
Presidential Election	0.245	0.434	0	1	61
New Authors	44.59	16.6	18.5	100	61
Protest Events	12.92	12.77	0	54	36

An SMO was active in a given year if that year was between the founding and death years, inclusive. The third is AIDS deaths in thousands. I include a measure of liberalness of the House, based on DWNOMINATE scores from Poole and Rosenthal (2011), transformed as described above. I include an indicator for years in which there was a presidential election. These elections are likely to elevate important or controversial political issues, and gay rights has played a role in several presidential elections. Finally, I include the percentage of articles in a given year written by an author that is appearing in the data for the first time. Table 3.1 contains descriptive statistics for these measures.

To correct for serial correlation, a common problem with time-series data, I ran the regression using the `arima` command in Stata 12, specifying an AR(4) process and robust standard errors. The residuals of this model contain no serial correlation. Table 3.2 contains the results of this regression. The results show support the policy reform, newspaper leadership, crisis, and movement mobilization theories. The more policy events in a given year, the more coverage homosexuality will receive. The more active SMOs in the movement, and so, presumably, the more active the movement is, the more coverage homosexuality will receive. AIDS deaths are also a significant predictor of coverage, with more deaths leading to more coverage of homosexuality. New Authors was significant and has a negative effect, indicating that the more new authors in a year, the less attention there will be to homosexuality. However, this relationship is likely due to the fact that most authors were new in the early years when coverage was very low and does not reflect the more localized trends. Liberalness

Table 3.2: ARMA Regression of Coverage of Homosexuality

VARIABLES	Coverage	
Policy Events	56.37***	(13.98)
Active LGBT SMOS	34.17***	(4.36)
AIDS Deaths (Thousands)	35.4***	(2.45)
Liberalness of House	-7.37	(5.838)
Presidential Election Year	86.6	(60.48)
New Authors	-8.651*	(4.26)
Constant	547.64*	(275.5)
AR(1)	0.332	(0.219)
AR(2)	-0.407*	(0.182)
AR(3)	-0.037	164.
AR(4)	-0.451**	(0.146)
Sigma	245.5***	(30.28)
Observations	61	
Log-Likelihood	-423.06	
Wald Chi-Square	7158.31***	

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

and Presidential elections, however, were not significant.

The regression analysis shows that movement activity, policy events, and AIDS deaths influence coverage of homosexuality net of each other. However, there are some limitations to this analysis. First, the number of active SMOs is an unsatisfactory measure of movement activity, but the Dynamics of Collective Action data only cover the years 1960-1995, which would leave too few cases for a time series regression. Second, regression analysis assumes that relationships are symmetric — that high policy events will be associated with high coverage, and also that low policy events will be associated with low coverage — a strong assumption to make as other effects could increase coverage while policy events are low. Finally, regression analysis is not good at showing how independent variables might combine to produce the outcome we are interested in. The regression analysis says that policy events and movement activity are correlated with coverage, even when controlling for competing explanations, but how do these measures combine to produce high coverage? As I discussed in

chapter 1, I expect these perspectives to interact with one another, and complex interactions in a regression analysis typically produce unstable results.

3.3 fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis

To investigate how my measures combine to produce high coverage, I run a fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) (Ragin, 2008). QCA is based on set relations, specifically sub- and super-set relationships between phenomena. Sets can be thought of as group membership - for example, one could imagine a set of people who are rich. For each observation, you must decide whether the person qualifies as rich, and is thus a member of the set. This process is called calibration, in which observations are assigned memberships in both the outcome set (what would be considered the dependent variable in regression analysis) and the causal sets (what would be considered independent variables in regression analysis). In fsQCA, membership in a set is considered to be fuzzy (thus fuzzy set QCA), an observation could be partially a member of a set. If we consider the set of rich people again, we might consider a person with over fifty million dollars in assets as a full member, and someone with only ten million dollars in assets a partial member. Someone with five million dollars is a partial non-member, and someone with a negative net worth as a full non-member. These fuzzy membership scores can be assigned directly during calibration, but often interval-scale measures are calibrated through a direct transformation method (see Ragin, 2008, Chapter 5). This transformation method requires deciding on three thresholds, one for full membership, one for full non-membership, and the crossover point. The crossover point is the most important threshold, as values above this will be considered at least a partial member of the set, and values below will be considered at least partial nonmembers.

QCA involves tests of necessity and sufficiency for the outcome. If a causal set (A) is determined to be necessary for the outcome (O), the outcome logically implies the causal set: $A \leftarrow O$. If a causal set is determined to be sufficient for the outcome, the causal set

logically implies the outcome: $A \rightarrow O$. In reality, QCA involves the analysis of multiple causal sets and focuses largely on tests of sufficiency of *combinations* of causal sets for the outcome.

In my fsQCA, I am interested in when newspapers devote a high amount of attention to homosexuality. However, coverage increases over time and defining the threshold of high coverage by some count of articles would mean most years prior to a certain time would be out of the set and most years after a certain time would be in. To adjust for this, I, instead, define high coverage based on the residuals of a locally weighted (or loess) regression model of articles on time. I ran loess regression with the number of articles as the dependent variable and year as the independent variable. I chose an α of 0.5^2 and a degree of 2. I used the residuals of this model to define my outcome set, high coverage. This is a fuzzy set, with thresholds of -100 as fully out of the set, 100 as full in the set, and 0 as the cross over point. Thus, years in which homosexuality received more attention than the loess model would predict are at least partial members of the high coverage set.

The outcome set contains as its members the years 1960, 1961, 1967, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1973, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993. Based on the regression results above, as well as my own knowledge about the history of gay rights in the United States during these years, I chose five causal sets to explain the outcome.

The first, AIDS, are years during the AIDS crisis. This is a crisp set with member years between 1982 and 1995, inclusive. I also ran analyses calibrating this set based on the number of deaths due to AIDS, however it performs poorly in the solutions and it has the drawback of not including the first years of the AIDS epidemic when the number of deaths were still relatively small compared to the height of the domestic epidemic. The gay community and the Center for Disease Control and Prevention both considered AIDS a crisis before yearly death rates reached into the tens of thousands. The current AIDS set

² α indicates the proportion of observations to use in calculating each local point estimate. I also ran analyses using an α of 0.75 and got the same solution, but with slightly lower consistency and coverage scores.

defines the crisis as starting in the second year of the epidemic and ending the year before HAART, a new generation of anti-AIDS drugs that dramatically reduced the death rate, become available.

POLICY is the set of years in which there were a high number of policy events, based on the data described for figure 3.3 above. This is also a fuzzy set, with thresholds of 0 for full exclusion, 4 for full inclusion, and 1.9 as the cross over. 1.9 was chosen instead of 2 because cases with set membership scores of 0.5 in any causal or outcome set are excluded from the analysis, as their membership can not be determined. By setting the crossover as 1.9, cases with 2 policy events are coded as slightly above 0.5 instead of 0.5, and thus stay in the analysis but only contribute a tiny amount to whatever row they are a member of in the truth table (see below for a fuller discussion of the truth table).

LIBERAL is the set of years in which the House was more liberal than conservative. Using the liberalness score from the regression analysis, I defined thresholds of -10 for full exclusion, 10 for full inclusion, and 0 as the cross over. I ran an analysis that also included ELECTION, the set of years in which there was a Presidential Election, but it did not appear in any solutions and excluding it improves my consistency and coverage scores slightly, so the causal set does not appear in this analysis.

I also include a measure of the number of new LGBT SMOs founded in a given year, FOUNDED. This is a crisp set, with years in which there were three or more new organizations founded coded as members.

Since fsQCA can be used with fewer cases than regression, I opted to replace the active SMOs measure with the protest events measure from the Dynamics of Collective Action. The protest events measure more accurately reflects movement activity, rather than just the size of the movement. EVENTS is the set of years in which there were a high number of protest events. EVENTS is a fuzzy set with thresholds of 0 for full exclusion, 20 for full inclusion, and 10 as the cross over. Using the Dynamics of Collection Action data limits by analysis to the years 1960 through 1995. I use the QCA package (Dusa and Thiem, 2014)

for R (R Core Team, 2015) for my analysis.

Table 3.3: Truth Table for fsQCA Including Protest Events

AIDS	POLICY	EVENTS	LIBERAL	FOUNDED	Outcome	N	Consistency
0	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.000
1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1.000
1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1.000
1	1	1	0	1	1	2	1.000
1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.000
0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0.814
0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0.650
0	1	1	1	0	0	3	0.649
0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0.602
0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0.561
1	1	1	1	0	0	3	0.304
1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0.214
1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0.186
1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.159
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.052

Table 3.3 contains the truth table for this analysis. The truth table summarizes the data as the different combinations of the causal conditions. Each row represents a possible configuration of causal conditions, with the columns AIDS through FOUNDED indicating whether the particular causal set is present or absent in the row’s configuration. The N column shows how many cases are “members” of that row’s configuration. Row membership is assigned based on the lowest membership score of any particular causal set in the row. If a row indicates the absence of a set (if the cell contains a zero), then the negated membership score, which is equal to one minus the membership score for the causal set, is used in determining the row membership. Cases are assigned to whichever row they have the highest membership score in. The Consistency column contains the consistency score for the row’s configuration. The consistency score is a measure indicating how often cases that are members of a specific configuration, or row in the truth table, are also members of the outcome set. Consistency for the row is then calculated using the following formula

$$\text{Consistency}(X < Y) = \frac{\sum \min(X, Y)}{\sum X}$$

Where X is the membership score of the causal combination for the row and Y is the membership score for the outcome set. The consistency of the row can be thought of as the proportion of member cases that are also members of the outcome set, though with fuzzy sets it is not always a true proportion.

The Outcome column indicates whether that row's configuration is coded as leading to the outcome or not. This is done by choosing a consistency cutoff - rows with consistencies above this cutoff are coded as leading to the outcome and rows below this cutoff are coded as not leading to the outcome. There is no hard rule for deciding cut-offs, though natural breaks in consistency scores as you go down the truth table offer excellent possibilities. In the truth table in Table 3.3, there were two options. For this analysis, I chose a cutoff of 0.9. I also tried a cut off of 0.8, capturing one additional row, but this resulted in POLICY disappearing from my solution, which is a theoretically important causal condition and I only gain one additional year in the coverage of the solution by doing this, so I stick with a cut off of 0.9.

Since there are five causal sets, the complete truth table contains 2^5 or 32 configuration rows. Only 15 rows contain cases, leaving 17 rows as "remainders" - configurations for which there is no empirical data. These remainder rows can be reduced into the following boolean expression:

$$\text{POLICY*liberal*events} + \text{AIDS*LIBERAL*events} + \text{aids*liberal*EVENTS} + \\ \text{aids*policy*EVENTS*founded} + \text{events*FOUNDED}$$

In boolean expressions, a plus sign indicates logical OR and a multiplication sign indicates logical AND. A causal set in all capital letters indicates the presence of that set is required, while all lower case letters indicates the absence of that set is required. If a set does not appear in a solution, then it doesn't matter whether the set is present or absent. The first term in the above boolean expression indicates that I don't observe cases that have many policy reforms but not a liberal Congress and no not many protest events. One interesting term in this expression is AIDS*LIBERAL*events, so I don't observe years in

which there are high AIDS deaths but low protest events about gay rights. As a result, this analysis cannot say whether high coverage can result from AIDS deaths alone, or if it must be paired with protest events.

To derive solutions from the truth table, QCA takes those rows designated as having the outcome, and then reduces them using boolean logic into simpler recipes or pathways. QCA offers three types of solutions — complex, parsimonious, and intermediate — which differ in their treatment of remainder rows from the truth table. The complex solution uses only those rows from the truth table that have been coded with the outcome, ignoring all remainder rows, to reduce to solution expressions. However, it is possible that some of the remainder rows would also lead to the outcome if I had cases that fell into them. The fact that I don't observe specific configurations doesn't necessarily mean they wouldn't lead to the outcome. Given this, the parsimonious solution will use remainder rows if they produce simpler pathways. As an example say I have the following boolean expression:

$$A * B + A * b \rightarrow O$$

Capital letters indicate presence and lowercase letters indicate absence. The above expression indicates that the presence of A and the presence of B or the presence of A and the absence of B will lead to the outcome. In boolean logic, this can simplify to

$$A \rightarrow O$$

since B can either be present or absent. The parsimonious solution uses this principle in deciding which remainder rows to use— if the row helps reduce out a causal set, thereby producing a simpler solution, the row will be included in the solution. The parsimonious solution for the truth table in Table 3.3 is simply EVENTS, not a very interesting solution.

Essentially the parsimonious solution assumes that any remainder row in the truth table that helps provide a simpler solution would be coded as having the outcome if there were

Table 3.4: fsQCA Results for High Coverage, Protest Events

Complex Solution			
Solution	Consistency	Coverage	Years
AIDS*EVENTS*FOUNDED	0.977	0.347	1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993
POLICY*EVENTS*-LIBERAL*FOUNDED	1.000	0.250	1973, 1977, 1980, 1990, 1992
Total	0.982	0.458	

empirical data for that row. This is obviously a strong assumption to make. QCA provides an intermediate solution, intermediate because it lies between the parsimonious solution and complex solution. This is true in set theoretic terms as well — the intermediate solution will be a subset of the parsimonious solution and a superset of the complex solution. Intermediate solutions require expectations for whether the presence or absence (or both) will lead to the outcome for each causal set. In my analysis, I construct my causal sets so that it is their presence I expect to lead to the outcome, and I don't have expectations about the absence of the causal conditions so whether absent conditions appear in the solution are not as important. I tell this to the reducing algorithm and it will use remainder rows to remove absent (or lower case) terms from the solution but they will not be used to remove present (or upper case) terms, since I expect the presence of a causal set to be important.

Once solutions are reduced, consistency and coverage scores are calculated for the solution. Consistency is calculated in the same way above, but membership in the reduced causal combinations, rather than the full truth table row, is used. Coverage scores are a measure of how much of the outcome set is explained by the solution. It can be thought of as the proportion of outcome cases that are explained by the solution. It is calculated with the following formula:

$$\text{Coverage} = \frac{\sum \min(X, Y)}{\sum Y}$$

Table 3.4 contains the solution for my QCA. In this analysis, both the complex and intermediate solutions are the same. Two recipes were found with a combined consistency of 0.982 and a combined coverage of 0.458, indicating the solution explains approximately

45% of high coverage years. The first recipe, AIDS*EVENTS*FOUNDED, indicates that in years during the AIDS crisis when there were a high number of protest events and new SMOs being founded, there will be high coverage. The consistency for this recipe is 0.977 and the coverage is 0.347, indicating that the recipe explains approximately 35% of the high coverage years.

The second recipe, POLICY*EVENTS*LIBERAL*FOUNDED, indicates that in years with a high amount of policy reforms, a high number of protest events, a liberal Congress, and new SMOs being founded, there will be high coverage of homosexuality. The consistency is 1.000, meaning all years that have these causal conditions also have high coverage, and the coverage score is 0.250, meaning that a quarter of all high coverage years are explained by this recipe.

These two recipes can be combined as

EVENTS*FOUNDED*(AIDS + POLICY*LIBERAL) → COVERAGE

It is interesting that though the Liberal measure was not significant in the regression results, it is featured in one of the recipes for high news coverage. This suggests that a conservative House does not necessarily suppress news coverage of homosexuality, but liberal Houses do boost coverage. The asymmetric relationship cannot be captured in the regression, but is adequately captured in fsQCA. Since this analysis is only on the years 1960 to 1995, it cannot tell us what is driving high coverage past 1995.

I next run an analysis with public opinion. As with protest, the public opinion data is limited in the years available, and so including it in the regression analysis would leave too few observations. Unfortunately, the overlap in available data for public opinion and protest events is too small to include both in a QCA, so in this QCA I substitute out protest events and substitute in public opinion. Since the years of analysis have changed, I rerun the loess regression to generate the Coverage outcome set. As before, this set is calibrated using the residuals of the loess regression, with -100 as fully out of the set, 100 as fully in the set, and 0 as the crossover point. This results in the following years as member of the high coverage

Table 3.5: Truth Table for fsQCA containing Public Opinion

AIDS	POLICY	FOUNDED	OPINION	ELECTION	Outcome	N	Consistency
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1.000
0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1.000
1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1.000
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1.000
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.000
0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0.869
1	1	1	0	0	1	3	0.819
1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0.541
1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0.516
0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0.497
1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.343
1	1	0	1	0	0	10	0.328
1	1	0	0	0	0	4	0.312
1	1	0	1	1	0	3	0.293
0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0.242
0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.148
1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.000

set: 1973, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2010.

Public Opinion is calibrated based on the average percentage of respondents answering that homosexuality is not wrong at all on the General Social Survey. The thresholds are 0 for fully out, 50% for full in, and 25% as the crossover point. I also substituted out LIBERAL and substituted in ELECTION, as ELECTION performs better in the analysis than LIBERAL. All other causal sets are the same and calibrated the same way as before.

Table 3.5 contains the truth table for these results. Since the number of causal sets are the same, the number of rows in the complete truth table remains 32. Seventeen rows contain cases, leaving fifteen as remainders, which can be summarized in the following boolean expression:

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{aids*policy*ELECTION} + \text{AIDS*POLICY*founded*ELECTION*opinion} + \text{AIDS*OPINION} \\ & + \text{policy*OPINION} \end{aligned}$$

Both aids*OPINION and policy*OPINION are interesting counterfactuals, and since I don't observe these conditions my analysis cannot say what might have happened had public

Table 3.6: fsQCA Results with Public Opinion

Complex Solution			
Solution	Consistency	Coverage	
AIDS*FOUNDED*opinion	0.962	0.281	
aids*POLICY*FOUNDED*ELECTION	1.000	0.097	
policy*FOUNDED*opinion*election	0.888	0.155	
Total	0.956	0.422	
Intermediate Solution			
Solution	Consistency	Coverage	Years
AIDS*FOUNDED	0.940	0.360	1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993
FOUNDED*ELECTION	0.984	0.215	1984, 1992, 2000
policy*FOUNDED	0.910	0.222	1979, 1984, 1986, 1987
Total	0.934	0.510	

opinion been high during the AIDS crisis. It also cannot say if coverage would be high when public opinion is high but there are few policy reforms.

Table 3.6 contains the complex and intermediate solutions for this analysis. As before, the intermediate solution assumes that the presence of each causal set is likely to lead to high coverage. I focus on the intermediate solution in my discussion. The results show three recipes for high news coverage with a total consistency of 0.934 and total coverage of 0.510. The first recipe, AIDS*FOUNDED, indicates that years during the AIDS crisis when there were many new SMOs being founded will have high coverage of homosexuality. This recipe has a consistency of 0.94 and a coverage score of 0.36, so over a third of high coverage cases are described by this recipe. The second recipe, FOUNDED*ELECTION, is years in which there are a lot of new LGBT organizations founded and a Presidential election there will have high coverage of homosexuality. This recipe has a consistency of 0.984 and coverage score of 0.215. The final recipe is policy*FOUNDED, so years in which there were a high number of new LGBT SMOs but few policy reforms will have high coverage of homosexuality. This recipe has a consistency of 0.910 and coverage score of 0.222. These three recipes can be combined into the following boolean equation:

$$\text{FOUNDED} * (\text{AIDS} + \text{ELECTION} + \text{policy}) \rightarrow \text{COVERAGE}$$

So FOUNDED is a required component of all recipes, though a necessity test does not

find evidence of FOUNDED being a necessary condition for high coverage. The second component of a recipe including FOUNDED is either AIDS, during the AIDS crisis, ELECTION, during a Presidential election year, or policy, few policy reforms. OPINION doesn't appear at all in the intermediate solution, and only as an absent condition in the complex solution, so public opinion doesn't seem to be a good predictor of high coverage.

Looking back at both sets of QCA solutions, some measure of movement activity, whether measured as protest events or founding organizations, appears in every recipe. However, these measures are not sufficient on their own to produce high coverage. They combine with AIDS crisis, policy reform, liberal congress, and/or Presidential election.

3.4 Conclusion

How did the six perspectives fare in explaining the amount of coverage of homosexuality? Movement mobilization is clearly important. The number of active organizations was significant and had a substantial sized effect on coverage in the regression analysis. Founding new organizations was a required component in all recipes for high coverage, and protest events was a required component in all recipes in the analysis that included protest events. It would seem, then, that movement mobilization is required to achieve good media outcomes for the movement, at least in terms of gaining prominence on the media issue agenda. Public opinion was not helpful, with little evidence from the correlational analysis to suggest a causal effect on media attention. It also did not appear at all in the intermediate solution of the fsQCA, indicating public opinion didn't matter for predicting high coverage of homosexuality. Political Opportunity and Policy Reform have mixed results. Policy reforms are significant in the regression analysis and part of a recipe in the fsQCA that included protest events, but its absence is a part of a recipe in the fsQCA that included public opinion. Neither liberal Congress nor Presidential election were significant in the regression analysis, though each were present in one of the recipes in the analyses they were included in. Newspaper Lead-

ership had the opposite effect than expected in the regression analysis. Finally, Crisis was significant in the regression results and was present in one recipe in each fsQCA, indicating that Crisis can be an alternative pathway to high coverage when political contexts are not beneficial.

These results have implications for issue attention to other movements. While movement activity is important, equally important is the context in which the movement is working in. Friendly political allies or significant policy reforms benefiting the movement can greatly increase the chances that mobilization will result in higher issue attention. This likely applies to any state-oriented movement, though conservative movement mobilization may interact with political contexts differently. The Tea Party gained an extraordinary amount of coverage while Democrats controlled both houses of Congress and the White House.

These results also suggest that crises are important factors to consider when studying media outcomes of movements. Crises serve as focusing events (Birkland, 1998), shifting public and media attention to problems previously ignored or dismissed. Movements that experience crises may be able to take advantage of these events to bring greater public attention on their issues. Oil spills, chemical spills, and other man-made environmental disasters offer the environmental movement an opportunity to increase the priority of environmental issues on the public agenda. Three Mile Island and Chernobyl provided the anti-nuclear movement powerful images emphasizing the danger of about nuclear energy. These events upset the status quo, opening up opportunities for normally peripheral actors to have a strong voice in the public discussion.

In the next chapter, I analyze coverage of LGBT movement organizations themselves, evaluating how each of the six perspectives do in explaining this coverage and discussing the implications of the results for other movements.

Chapter 4

Attention to the Movement

The previous chapter explained what factors influenced coverage of homosexuality generally. Getting the mainstream media to pay more attention to an issue is an important first step for a movement to influence cultural understandings of that issue. In this chapter, I analyze coverage of LGBT movement organizations, a more specific form of coverage. If successful frames require an organizational sponsor (Ferree et al., 2002), then gaining organizational coverage is important to change the way the media covers homosexuality.

Coverage of a movement organization confers many benefits to both the organization and the movement (Andrews and Caren, 2010; Barakso and Schaffner, 2006; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Coverage can mark the organization as a legitimate political player, advantaging them against competitors and supporting their claims about social problems (Koopmans, 2004). Media coverage can also broadcast the organization's message to a far broader audience (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). What explains coverage of movement organizations and, more specifically, what explains varying amounts of coverage among the population of movement organizations? Some organizations gain national prominence, gaining a large amount of coverage, while other organizations receive little national attention, even when these organizations are well resourced or have experienced significant gains. What explains this difference?

Figure 4.1: Articles Mentioning a LGBT Organization in Three National Newspapers, 1960-2010

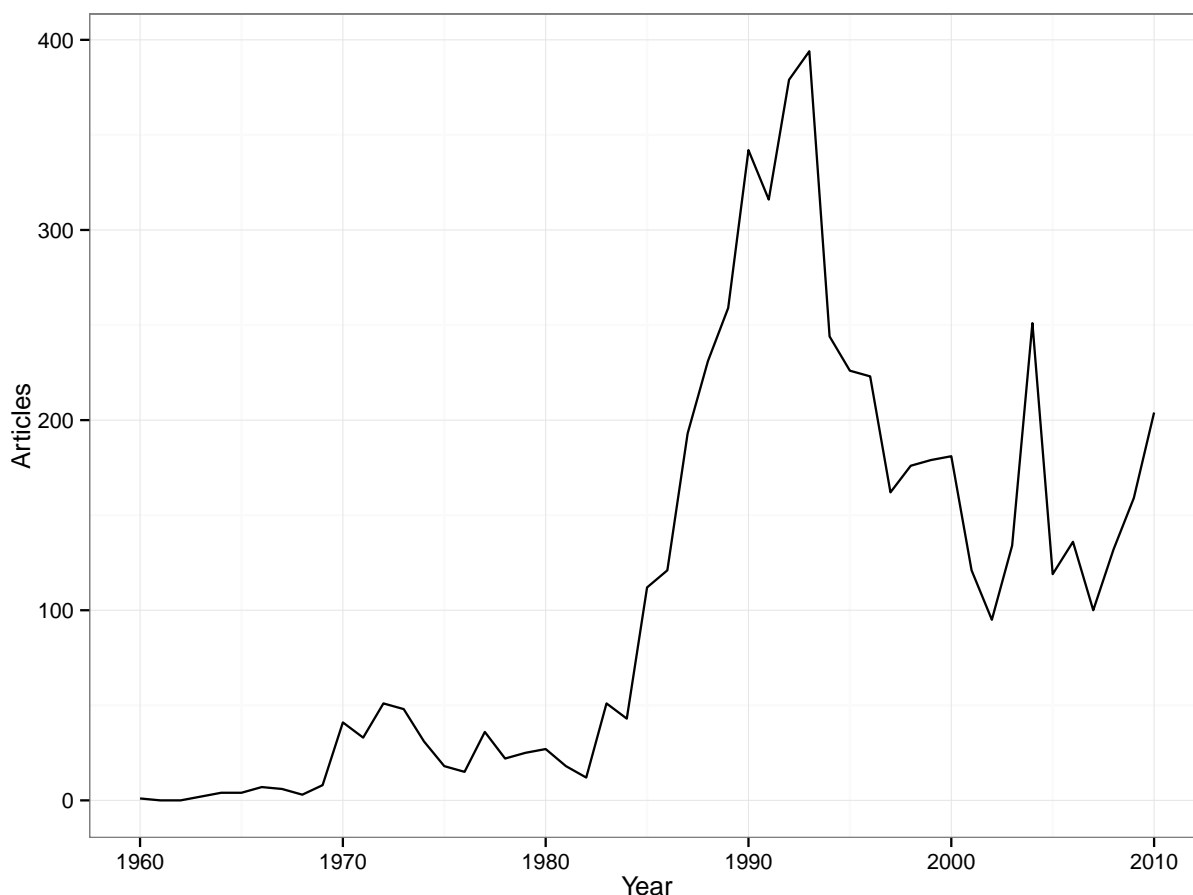


Figure 4.1 graphs the total number of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) organization mentions over time in three national newspapers. These data were collected by searching ProQuest historical and current archives of the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and Wall Street Journal for mentions of 85 national LGBT and AIDS organizations (see page 10 in Chapter 1 for a complete discussion of how this list of organizations was compiled). Of these, 67 received coverage in 5,705 articles. Figure 4.1 graphs these 5,705 articles over time.

As with coverage of homosexuality, coverage is low in the early periods. In the early 1980s, coverage rockets up, peaking in the early 1990s. This trajectory closely follows the increase in the number of deaths due to AIDS. After the decline of the first peak, a short,

second peak appears in 2004, corresponding to the large political fight around same-sex marriage that year. Opposition to same-sex marriage was a major component of the republican campaign that year, and 12 states included ballot initiatives to amend their constitutions to forbid same-sex marriage recognition.

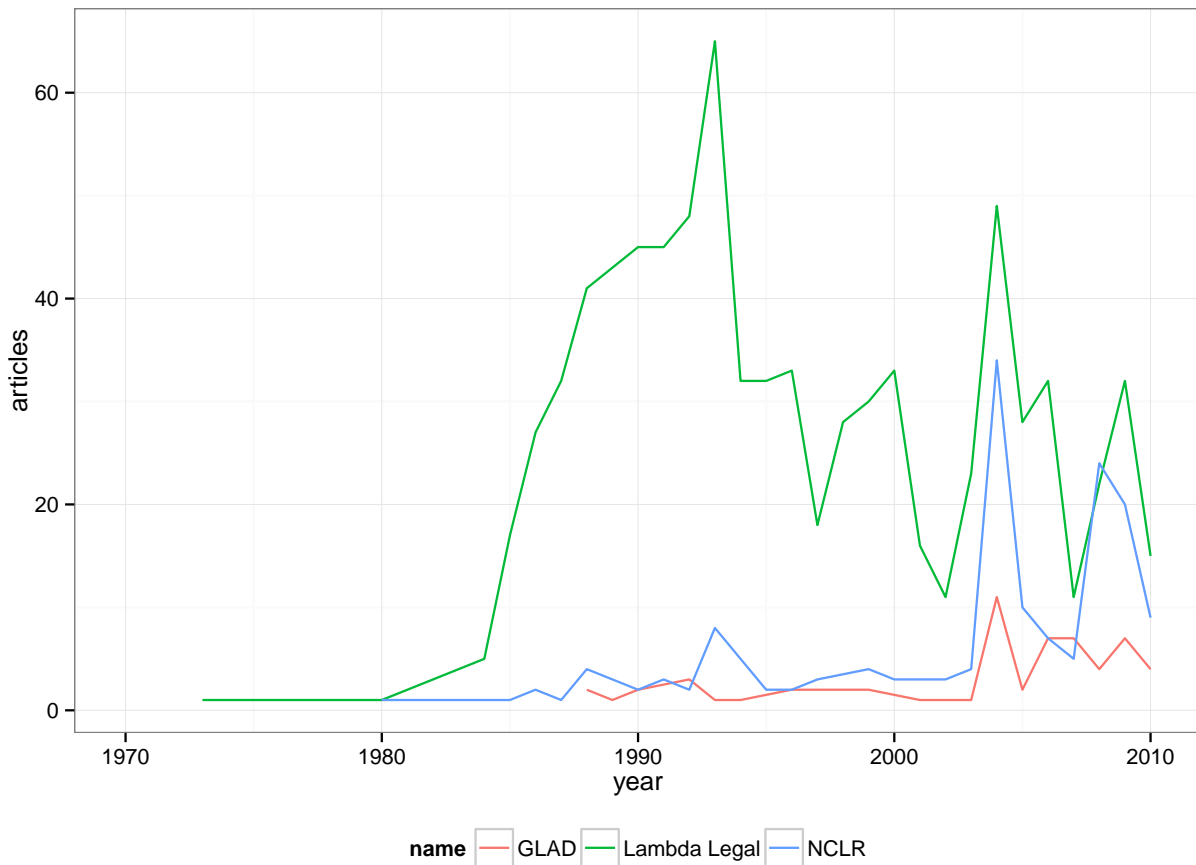
However, coverage is not evenly divided among all LGBT organizations. As figure 4.2 shows, Lambda Legal receives far more coverage than either the Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (GLAD) or the National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR) despite all three being legal organizations focused on gay rights litigation. While NCLR received a spike in coverage in 2004 for its involvement in the San Francisco marriages that spring, GLAD did not receive as big a spike in coverage despite its involvement in the Massachusetts marriage case (Solomon, 2014). Since Lambda Legal receives more coverage than the other two orgs its ability to influence the public discussion around homosexuality is greater.

What explains coverage of SMOs? And, more specifically, what explains which SMOs gain the majority of coverage? Coverage is not equally distributed among the eligible organizations. There are clear movement leaders in every social movement. In the feminist/women's rights movement, during the majority of the twentieth century, League of Women Voters lead the pack in terms of coverage (Amenta et al., 2009), though recently the National Organization for Women has taken the crown. Planned Parenthood has been the most covered organization in the pro-choice movement. For the LGBT movement, the leaders have shifted over time as I described in Chapter 2. What explains the differing distributions of coverage? Why do some organizations receive more coverage than others?

4.1 Hypotheses

To answer these questions, I draw on the six perspectives I described in chapter 1 to formulate hypotheses. However, two of these, public opinion and newspaper leadership, performed poorly enough in preliminary analyses that I do not include them here.

Figure 4.2: Newspaper Coverage of Three LGBT Legal Organizations



Political Opportunity

Certain macro-political contexts may increase the chances of an organization receiving newspaper coverage (Amenta et al., 2009; Amenta, Gardner, Tierney, Yerena, and Elliott, 2012; Meyer, 2004). Political allies may increase coverage, firstly by signaling to the press that the organization is legitimate, if the ally explicitly aligns themselves with the organization, and secondly by working to advance the organization's issue on the political agenda. If the political process is focused on the organization's issue, the organization itself may be called upon by the press for reaction, or the organization's own actions may be covered as it works to advance its political goals.

For the LGBT movement, Democrats have traditionally been allies, including a gay

rights plank in their platform as early as 1980. President Carter's administration invited gay rights activists to visit with administration representatives at the White House, President Clinton promised to end the ban on gays and lesbians in the military, and President Obama has supported numerous gay rights positions.

Hypothesis 1: LGBT organizations will receive more coverage when Democrats are in control.

Political opportunity also considers the effect that countermovements have on mobilization and outcomes. Movements and countermovements exhibit evolutionary processes in their tactics and framing of issues (Fetner, 2001; Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996; Rohlinger, 2002), responding to each other to be more effective opponents. As a movement gains prominence in media coverage, the opposing movement is likely to adjust its media strategies to increase its own prominence. Additionally, balancing norms of journalism is likely to be invoked whenever a movement gains coverage (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993), and so the opposing movement may be called upon to give balance to the coverage.

Hypothesis 2: As the anti-gay countermovement increases coverage, coverage of LGBT organizations will increase.

Policy Reform

A legacy of policy reforms may contribute to an increase in coverage of LGBT organizations. As mentioned above, organizations can be covered during the policy making process, especially if they are already considered legitimate political players by the press. While elite allies can help confer legitimacy on an organization, so too can past policy success (Amenta et al., 2009). If a movement has been successful in passing policies beneficial to its constituency, the movement's organizations are likely to be seen as important to the policy making process for the issue. This effect is cumulative, with more policy successes conferring more legitimacy onto the movement organizations.

Hypothesis 3: As more gay rights policies are enacted, coverage of LGBT organizations

will increase.

However, not all organizations will benefit the same from policy reforms. This is ultimately about how journalists perceive the organizations, as organizations with a history of policy success will be viewed as legitimate political actors. Other factors, though, will also influence the media's judgement of a social movement organization as a political player, and these characteristics will interact with the policy reforms to determine the total benefit. Specifically, well resourced organizations with general policy foci and inclusive identities are expected to receive the bulk of benefit from policy reforms.

Hypothesis 4: The coverage benefit from policy reforms will primarily go to organizations that are well resourced, inclusive, and have general policy foci.

Crisis

As mentioned in chapter 3, the LGBT community experienced a major crisis in the form of the AIDS epidemic. Crises are typically highly newsworthy, invoking many newsworthy norms. When traditional authority sources fail to adequately provide explanations for the crisis, organizations involved in the crisis may be called upon in the authorities' stead. Journalists often seek out "authentic" responses to crises, and movement actors can serve as these responses. Particularly protests in response to a crisis. Typically, protest-oriented organizations receive less coverage than their more institutional brethren, but during a crisis, their protests may be seen as authentic responses to the crisis. Crises, then, may serve as opportunities for these organizations, which typically do not receive much coverage, to gain prominence in the news.

Hypothesis 5: During the AIDS crisis, LGBT organizations, particularly those focused on AIDS or those engaged in protest tactics, will increase coverage.

Movement Mobilization

In terms of coverage of the organizations themselves, the characteristics of the organizations are likely to influence media coverage. Scholars have found a number of organizational characteristics that seem to matter for gaining coverage. Resources are important for coverage whether at the movement level (Amenta et al., 2009) or the organizational level (Andrews and Caren, 2010; Rohlinger, 2002). More resources give organizations the opportunity to diversify their tactics, and may devote some of those resources to media tactics in particular. Furthermore, journalists and editors may consider large pools of resources as indicators of legitimacy, making it more likely that they pay attention to well resourced organizations. This leads to my first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 6: Organizations with more resources will receive more newspaper coverage.

Certain organizational forms may be more successful at gaining coverage than others (Corbett, 1998). More centralized, bureaucratic organizations may seem like more legitimate political players to journalists and editors because the organizations are mimicking the organizational forms of established political players. More bureaucratic organizations often have paid, professional staff and some of these staff may be hired explicitly to interact with the press.

Hypothesis 7: More bureaucratically organized organizations will receive more newspaper coverage.

Newspaper coverage may also be influenced by an organization's inclusivity of their constituency. More inclusive organizations may be perceived by the press as more legitimate spokespersons for the movement than more selective organizations. For example, in the anti-war movement, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Educators for Social Responsibility, and Grandmothers for Peace represent niche groups within the larger movement. On the other hand, American Friends Service Committee, War Resisters League, and Fellowship of Reconciliation have broader constituencies and so would be expected to receive more coverage. For many movements, the largest organizations become synonymous with the entire movement:

for example the National Rifle Association and gun rights, AARP and senior citizens, and Planned Parenthood and the pro-choice movement.

In the context of the LGBT movement, the movement is itself a (sometimes loose) coalition of gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people. Some organizations focus exclusively or primarily on a single constituency within the acronym, while others advocate for all the letters. These latter organizations are expected to be seen as more legitimate spokespersons for the movement as a whole, and therefore receive more newspaper coverage.

Hypothesis 8: Organizations with an inclusive identity, advocating for all the letters in the LGBT acronym, will receive more newspaper coverage.

The ideology that guides the organization's mission may also be important in explaining newspaper coverage. Successful frames resonate with dominant ideologies (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Mendes, 2011; Meyers, 1994), as these are seen as more legitimate political positions than less resonant, more periphery frames. Similar processes may occur for the success of organizations in the news. Organizations that adhere to more mainstream ideologies, working towards reformist goals within the system, may be seen as more legitimate political players by the press and therefore receive more newspaper coverage. Radical organizations, on the other hand, advocating for changes in the fundamental institutions of society, are more likely to be seen by the press as fringe, and may receive one time coverage for the novelty of the organization's position, but not sustained coverage.

Hypothesis 9: Reformist organizations will receive more newspaper coverage than radical organizations.

Organizational tactics may influence newspaper coverage. Protest seems to increase coverage at the movement level (Amenta et al., 2009) but decreases coverage for the specific organizations that engage in protest (Andrews and Caren, 2010). On the other hand, organizations that engage in more assertive tactics seem to gain better coverage (Amenta et al., 2012).

Hypothesis 10: Organizations that engage in more institutional or assertive tactics will

receive more newspaper coverage than organizations that engage in protest tactics.

Hypothesis 11: The more protest overall by the LGBT movement, the more newspaper coverage a LGBT organization will receive.

Individual organizations are embedded in a larger movement with other organizations working towards common goals but also competing for limited resources, including media attention. News media attention is a limited resource, with only a certain number of pages, or a certain amount of time, the media can pay to any particular issue (Koopmans, 2004). As the number of organizations in the movement increases, there is more competition among individual organizations for media attention (Vliegenthart et al., 2005).

Hypothesis 12: As the number of active LGBT organizations increases, the amount of coverage any one LGBT organization receives will decrease.

4.2 Data

I use the SMO coverage data to construct yearly counts of article mentions for each organization, so each observation is an organization-year. An organization enters the analysis the year they were founded and remain in the analysis for the rest of the period. Organizations that die could still be covered, especially pioneer organizations mentioned in historical narratives of the LGBT movement, so they remain in the analysis even after they die. This results in 2,326 observations.

For political opportunity variables, I include an indicator for whether a Democratic President was in the White House in a given year. I also include a measure of House Liberalness, based on DW-Nominate scores (Poole and Rosenthal, 2011). The original scores are transformed by multiplying by -100 to make interpreting the coefficient easier (see chapter 3 for more details about this measure).

I also include a measure of countermovement coverage, as the number of articles per year mentioning an anti-gay organization in the context of gay rights. I began with a list of

conservative and Christian Right organizations from the Political Organizations in the News (PONS) dataset (Amenta et al., 2009). I looked up information about each organization online and included organizations that explicitly made claims about homosexuality, gay rights, or AIDS. I then searched the ProQuest historical and current archives of the New York Times for mentions of the organizations and the words gay, lesbian, or homosexual between 1950 and 2010. I included the additional search terms because most of these organizations were concerned with more than just homosexuality, and the countermovement effect is not likely to boost coverage of LGBT organizations if the countermovement is being covered for issues other than homosexuality.

To operationalize the policy reform theory, I include a Policy Score based on the policy reform data I collected. I include in the list of reforms all federal level laws, executive orders, and supreme court cases relevant to gay rights or AIDS. See page 33 in chapter 3 for more details on how this list was constructed. I coded each reform for their policy domain. Policy domain categories were decided based on what has received significant attention from the movement over the decades, as well as categories with frequent policy reforms. In addition to assigning policy reforms to domains, I also assigned the 85 LGBT and AIDS organizations to a policy domain based on their primary focus for advocacy. Organizations with a general policy focus, meaning they advocate on a variety of different domains at once, are coded into the general category. Organizations that focus on a policy domain that is not one of the listed domains, or have no proper policy focus, are assigned to the None of the Above category. These include organizations that straddle movements like the Pink Pistols, which focuses on gun rights; organizations that focus on ethnic or racial subgroups within the LGBT movement, like the Gay Asian and Pacific Islanders and the National Black Gay and Lesbian Leadership Forum; and organizations that operate as professional groups, like the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association. While all of these groups advocate for gay rights in some capacity, their primary focus is on issues that do not fit neatly into one of the policy domain categories. Table 4.1 contains the list of domains, as well as the number

Table 4.1: Policy Domains and Summary Statistics for Policy Scores

Domain	Policies	SMOs	Mean	Yearly Policy Score			
				St. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Discrimination	52	5	7.032	11.85	-1	40	61
Family	68	8	-0.672	3.982	-16	4	61
Free Speech	4	0	2.311	1.544	0	4	61
Hate Crimes	2	1	0.377	0.553	0	2	61
Immigration	7	0	-0.525	0.566	-1	1	61
Military	3	6	0.230	0.424	0	1	61
Sodomy	42	2	16.311	13.777	0	36	61
Schools	0	2	0	0	0	0	61
AIDS	4	10	0.705	1.116	0	4	61
General		22	25.77	25.65	-1	81	61
None of the Above		29	0	0	0	61	
Total	182	85	5.154	13.097	-16	81	610

of policy reforms in each domain and the number of SMOs focusing on each domain.

I then assigned a value to each reform, pro-gay reforms were assigned positive one, anti-gay reforms were assigned negative one. I summed these scores for each year to calculate a yearly net reform score. I did this for each policy domain, summing only discrimination reforms to create a discrimination score, for example. I also calculated an overall score using all policy reforms. For each score, I then calculated a cumulative score over time. As I explained above, I argue that policy reforms have a legacy effect, boosting the importance of the movement's issue and increasing the legitimacy of the movement as a political actor. These effects will accumulate over time. So, for the discrimination policy score, in a given year the score will be the sum of all discrimination policy reforms in that year and all previous years, with pro-gay reforms adding one to the score and anti-gay reforms subtracting one from the score. Each organization is then assigned the policy score based on the domain they focus on. Organizations with a general policy focus is assigned the overall policy score.

To operationalize the AIDS epidemic, I include a measure of AIDS Deaths per year. These data come from the Center for Disease Control (2012). This measure is logged, base 2, in the regression analysis so that a one unit increase in the AIDS deaths coefficient corresponds to a doubling of deaths due to AIDS.

I include two measures for resources. I collected data from the Encyclopedia of Associations (EoA) (Gale Research Inc., 2012) about each organization from my list I could find in the encyclopedia. Data collected from the EoA include budget, membership, and staff numbers. I filled in blanks where I could from organization websites and archival material available online. From these data, I constructed a dichotomous variable for well resourced organizations. Organizations were coded as well resourced in a given year if their budget was over \$1,000,000, or they had equivalent staff or member numbers. To determine appropriate cut offs for staff and members, I calculated the average staff for organizations with budgets of one million plus or minus \$250,000, and I did the same for members¹. Organizations with staff or members above these cut offs that could not be coded with budget were coded as well resourced. An organization only needed to exceed the cut off for one of these measures to be coded as well resourced. In most cases, organizations with budget, membership, and/or staff data did not have continuous data available, in other words there were some years in which I had no data for the organization, though I did have data for years before and after. In these cases, I coded all years between the first time an organization was coded as well resourced and the last year it was coded well resourced as being well resourced. All other years with missing data were coded as not well resourced. Organizations for which I could not find any information were coded as not well resourced for their entire existence, as I assume that well resourced organizations would leave behind some record of these resources. Additionally, dropping organizations with complete missing data would eliminate a large percentage of organizations from my analysis and would bias my results.

To compensate for missing data in the resourced variable, I include a second resource measure as the age of the organization in years. It is calculated by subtracting the organization's founding year from the analysis year. While crude, this measure reflects that the

¹I also checked how other cutoffs might change the results. In one, I used the 75% percentile of staff and members instead of their means. This resulted in nearly identical results as those below. I also tried using a budget cutoff of \$2 million with mean staff and members of organizations with budgets between \$1,750,000 and \$2,250,000. I got similar results as those below, but with worse consistency and coverage scores for the QCA.

longer an organization is active, the more resources it is likely to have access to, including human capital and contact networks. An organization remains in the analysis after they die, but their age for subsequent years is set to the age they were when they died. Based on this same data, I also construct a measure for the number of active LGBT organizations in a given year.

I include an indicator for organizations that are centrally organized, with a strong, bureaucratized national office. This measure (and the other organizational characteristic measures that follow) was determined by reading organization descriptions from the EoA, organizational websites, and historical monographs of the movement. Organizations that had strong central offices that made the majority of decisions about the operation of the organization were coded as centrally organized. Organizations with strong regional, state, and/or local chapters loosely affiliated through a national office who's job was primarily to coordinate work between chapters were coded as decentralized.

Organizations are coded as Inclusive, a dummy variable, if they do not primarily focus on only one identity under the LGBT umbrella. This was also coded based on organizational descriptions from the EoA, websites, and monographs. I also used organizational names to help code, so the Lesbian Feminist Liberation (focusing on lesbian issues) and the Gay Men's Health Crisis (focusing on gay men with AIDS) are coded as non-inclusive in their identity focus.

Radical ideology is an indicator variable for those organizations that call for a dismantling of existing fundamental institutions. In the context of LGBT organizations, this includes organizations that call for eliminating sexual orientation categories altogether, eliminating the patriarchy, or eliminating capitalism.

I include three dummy variables for three different tactics. These are not mutually exclusive, some organizations in engage in more than one or all three tactics. I include a variable for whether the organization engages in legal tactics, another variable for organizations that engage in legislative tactics, and a final variable for organizations that engage in

protest tactics. To be coded as engaging in a tactic, the organization must include it as a primary (though not necessarily exclusive) strategy in their advocacy. So organizations that primarily engage in lobbying, but will, on occasion, sign onto an amicus brief in relevant court cases, will be coded as engaging in legislative but not legal tactics, as legal tactics are not a primary strategy. To be coded as engaging in protest tactics, the organization must participate in protest that is disruptive in nature, so marching in the annual pride parade, or participating in one of the national marches on Washington would not qualify as engaging in protest. Examples of disruptive protest would be members of the Gay Activists Alliance infiltrating news studios and disrupting them while on the air to demand more coverage of gay issues. Another example is ACT-UP holding a die-in on Wall Street to protest pharmaceutical companies profiting off of AIDS drugs.

Table 4.2 contain summary statistics for these measures. For measures that do not vary across organizations, summary statistics are included for just the yearly dataset and for the data merged to the SMO-year dataset. Similarly, for data that do not vary over time, summary statistics are included for just the organizational dataset and the merged SMO-year dataset.

4.3 Regression Analysis

I use a negative binomial model since my dependent variable is a count of articles. Since my data are cross-sectional, I run a random effects negative binomial model using Stata 12's `xtnbreg` command (StataCorp, 2011). Table 4.3 contains the results of this regression analysis. In negative binomial regression, the coefficient indicates the increase the log of the count of y for each unit increase in x . Exponentiating the coefficient yields incidence rate ratios (IRR), which indicates the multiplicative increase in the rate of y . An IRR of more than 1 indicates a positive effect and an IRR of less than 1 indicates a negative effect. Both coefficients and incidence rate ratios are reported in the results table. I run two models, one

Table 4.2: Summary Statistics for

Variable	Unit	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Articles	SMO-Year	2.903	9.304	0	134	2326
Democratic President	Year	0.393	0.493	0	1	61
Democratic President	SMO-Year	0.396	0.489	0	1	2326
Liberal House	Year	1.427	6.545	-11.78	12.09	61
Liberal House	SMO-Year	-1.389	7.142	-11.78	12.09	2326
Countermovement Coverage	Year	75.48	93.13	0	374	61
Countermovement Coverage	SMO-Year	131.58	89.813	0	374	2326
Policy Score	SMO-Year	14.923	23.196	-16	81	2326
AIDS Deaths	Year	10308	14233	0	50876	61
AIDS Deaths	SMO-Year	18892	14014	0	50876	2326
AIDS Deaths, logged	Year	6.757	7.054	0	15.635	61
AIDS Deaths, logged	SMO-Year	12.017	5.107	0	15.63	2326
Well Resourced	SMO-Year	0.084	0.277	0	1	2326
SMO Age	SMO-Year	11.883	9.516	0	39	2326
Active LGBT SMOs	Year	24.48	19.77	1	53	61
Active LGBT SMOs	SMO-Year	40.288	14.066	1	53	2326
AIDS Policy Focus	SMO	0.118	0.324	0	1	85
AIDS Policy Focus	SMO-Year	0.102	0.303	0	1	2326
Inclusive Identity	SMO	0.765	0.427	0	1	85
Inclusive Identity	SMO-Year	0.722	0.448	0	1	2326
Centralized Organization	SMO	0.341	0.477	0	1	85
Centralized Organization	SMO-Year	0.356	0.479	0	1	2326
Radical Ideology	SMO	0.129	0.338	0	1	85
Radical Ideology	SMO-Year	0.158	0.365	0	1	2326
Legal Tactics	SMO	0.271	0.447	0	1	85
Legal Tactics	SMO-Year	0.284	0.451	0	1	2326
Legislative Tactics	SMO	0.718	0.453	0	1	85
Legislative Tactics	SMO-Year	0.667	0.471	0	1	2326
Protest Tactics	SMO	0.176	0.383	0	1	85
Protest Tactics	SMO-Year	0.195	0.396	0	1	2326

main effects model and a second with select interactions based on my hypotheses. I include three interactions, one between Well Resourced and Policy Score, one between AIDS Policy Focus and AIDS Deaths, and the last between Protest Tactics and AIDS Deaths.

Of the nine organizational characteristics, five are significant in model 1. SMO Age, Well Resourced SMO, Radical Ideology, and Legislative Tactics all predict an increase in SMO coverage while Protest Tactics predicts a decrease in coverage. The IRR for SMO age is 1.053, so for each additional year older a SMO is, they should receive 1.053 times (or 5.3%) more coverage. SMOs that are 10 years old are predicted to receive about $1.053^{10} = 1.676$

Table 4.3: Negative Binomial Regression Analysis

VARIABLES	(1)		(2)	
	Coef	IRR	Coef	IRR
SMO Age	0.0518*** (0.00595)	1.053*** (0.00627)	0.0399*** (0.00637)	1.041*** (0.00663)
Well Resourced SMO	0.428*** (0.114)	1.535*** (0.174)	-0.185 (0.137)	0.831 (0.114)
AIDS Policy Focus	0.0457 (0.212)	1.047 (0.222)	-5.893*** (1.222)	0.00276*** (0.00337)
Inclusive Identity	0.0681 (0.205)	1.071 (0.219)	-0.181 (0.224)	0.834 (0.187)
Centralized Organization	-0.185 (0.187)	0.831 (0.156)	-0.278 (0.192)	0.757 (0.146)
Radical Ideology	1.293*** (0.396)	3.643*** (1.443)	1.260*** (0.423)	3.526*** (1.492)
Legal Tactics	0.305 (0.214)	1.356 (0.290)	0.526** (0.224)	1.692** (0.379)
Legislative Tactics	0.505** (0.211)	1.657** (0.349)	0.722*** (0.224)	2.058*** (0.461)
Protest Tactics	-0.678*** (0.248)	0.508*** (0.126)	1.031*** (0.365)	2.805*** (1.024)
Democratic President	0.0617 (0.0735)	1.064 (0.0782)	0.0355 (0.0716)	1.036 (0.0742)
Liberal House	0.0714*** (0.00997)	1.074*** (0.0107)	0.0538*** (0.00984)	1.055*** (0.0104)
Policy Score	-0.000859 (0.00271)	0.999 (0.00270)	-0.00696** (0.00312)	0.993** (0.00310)
Countermovement Coverage	0.00180*** (0.000499)	1.002*** (0.000500)	0.00133*** (0.000499)	1.001*** (0.000500)
Active LGBT SMOs	-0.0114 (0.00859)	0.989 (0.00849)	-0.0162* (0.00867)	0.984* (0.00853)
AIDS Deaths, logged	0.0690*** (0.0174)	1.071*** (0.0186)	0.102*** (0.0194)	1.107*** (0.0214)
Well Resourced X Policy Score			0.0226*** (0.00330)	1.023*** (0.00337)
AIDS Focus X AIDS Deaths			0.457*** (0.0847)	1.580*** (0.134)
Protest X AIDS Deaths			-0.129*** (0.0202)	0.879*** (0.0177)
Constant	-2.158*** (0.358)	0.116*** (0.0414)	-1.996*** (0.375)	0.136*** (0.0510)
Observations	2,326	2,326	2,326	2,326
Number of SMOs	85	85	85	85
ll	-2827		-2769	

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

times (or 67.6%) more coverage than when they were founded. Well Resourced SMO has an IRR of 1.535, so well resourced SMOs should receive 1.535 times (or 53.5%) more coverage than non well resourced SMOs. Radical ideology has an IRR of 3.643, predicting that

organizations with radical ideologies will receive 3.643 times more coverage than non-radical organizations. However, this effect is solely driven by the incredible amount of coverage ACT-UP received. Legislative Tactics has an IRR of 1.657, indicating that organizations that engage in legislative tactics are predicted to receive 1.657 times more coverage than those who don't. Finally, Protest Tactics has an IRR of 0.508, meaning that organizations that engage in protest are expected to receive 0.508 times that of the coverage a non-protest oriented organization will receive. It's not as natural to think about multiplicative effects when the effect is negative, but these effects can be transformed into percentage changes by subtracting them by 1 and multiplying by 100: $(0.508 - 1) * 100 = -49.2\%$. So organizations that engage in protest are expected to receive 49.2% less coverage than organizations that don't protest.

Overall, and if we consider the radical ideology effect an artifact of the unique case of ACT-UP, the regression analysis suggests that well resourced organizations that avoid protest and instead engage in legislative advocacy are likely to receive more coverage than organizations that do not do these things. This explains why some organizations receive more coverage than others. What explains why coverage of the movement in general increased when it did? For that I turn to the context in which the movement was mobilized.

Of the three political contextual measures, only the liberal House is significant in model 1. The IRR for Liberal House is 1.074, so for each unit increase in the measure, LGBT organizations are predicted to receive 1.074 times more coverage. A 10 point increase in the Liberal House measure, which is roughly equivalent to a move from the mean to the maximum value, would result in $1.074^{10} = 2.042$ times more coverage for LGBT organizations.

Turning to the movement context in model 1, the number of active LGBT organizations did not have a significant effect. However, countermovement coverage has a very small positive effect on coverage of LGBT organizations. For each additional mention a countermovement organization receives, LGBT organizations should receive 1.002 times (or 0.2%) more coverage. If we consider an increase in countermovement coverage of 100 mentions,

then LGBT organizations are predicted to receive $1.002^{10} = 1.02$ times more coverage. This is not a large effect.

Finally, as the number of people who die of AIDS increases, so, too, does coverage of LGBT organizations. The IRR for AIDS Deaths is 1.071. Since AIDS Deaths is logged with base 2, each unit increase indicates that the number of deaths has doubled. So every time AIDS Deaths doubles, LGBT organizations are predicted to receive 1.071 times more coverage. At the height of the AIDS epidemic, deaths had double 15 times over. At this point, the effect of the epidemic on coverage is predicted to have been a $1.071^{15} = 2.798$ times increase in coverage of LGBT organizations.

Model 2 adds the three interaction effects. In this model, the main effect of Well Resourced SMO is no longer significant, however, the interaction effect of Well Resourced and Policy Score is significant and positive. The main effect of Policy Score is negative and significant, though the effect size is small. The overall effect for these two variables is that increases in the policy score suppresses coverage by a small amount for non-well resourced organizations, but for well resourced SMOs, increases in policy score increases coverage. The Policy Score main effect IRR is 0.993, so coverage changes by $(0.993 - 1) * 100\% = -0.7\%$ for each increase in the policy score, for organizations with few resources. The IRR for the interaction term is 1.023, so well resourced organizations are expected to gain 1.023 times more coverage for each increase in the policy score.

Turning to the next interaction between AIDS Policy Focus and AIDS Deaths, the interaction changes the effects of these variables. Model 1 did not find a significant effect for AIDS Policy Focus, but the measure has a significant and large negative effect on coverage in model 2. The main effect of AIDS Deaths is largely the same, and the interaction term has a significant positive effect. So the AIDS epidemic increases coverage for all organizations, but the effect is larger for organizations focused on AIDS. The AIDS Deaths IRR is 1.107, and the interaction term's IRR is 1.580, so AIDS focused organizations are expected to receive $1.107 * 1.580 = 1.749$ times more coverage each time AIDS deaths double. The

AIDS Policy Focus measure has an IRR of 0.00276, so AIDS organizations are expected to receive $(0.00276 - 1) * 100\% = -99.7\%$ less coverage than non-AIDS organizations. This is a significant decrease in coverage, and is driven in part by the fact that for the first twenty years of analysis there are no AIDS organizations (see below for a discussion of this limitation). If I consider the interaction term, the value of logged AIDS deaths needs to be nearly 13 (or about 7,700 deaths) for the combined effect of AIDS Policy Focus to be positive.

The final interaction is between Protest Tactics and AIDS Deaths. The main effect of Protest Tactics was negative in model 1, but it is positive in model 2. The interaction effect is significant and negative. The IRR for the main effect of Protest Tactics is 2.805, so organizations that engage in protest are predicted to receive 2.805 times more coverage than organizations that do not engage in protest. The IRR for the interaction term is 0.879, so each time AIDS Deaths double, protest organizations will receive $(0.879 - 1) * 100\% = -12.1\%$ less coverage. By the time the value of logged AIDS deaths reaches 8 (or 256 deaths), the total effect of Protest Tactics is negative. This happens by the second year of the epidemic.

These results lend support to a combinatorial hypothesis of why LGBT organizations receive the coverage they do. Effects in the main effect model change in the interaction effect model, some become significant in model 2 while other measures lose significance, suggesting that the true effects of these measures are captured only when they are combined with other measures. However, regression is not the best analytical tool to use for discovering combinatorial effects. For one, interaction effects often introduce multicollinearity, and time series models are already prone to multicollinearity if included measures have similar trends over time. Second, regression analysis assumes symmetric effects, so that if high values of an independent variable predict high values of the dependent variable, low values of the independent variable must necessarily predict low values of the dependent variable. This assumption is rather strong, as combinatorial hypotheses are often primarily concerned with how the presence of certain conditions combine, and do not have explicit expectations for the absence of conditions. This is likely the problem with the AIDS Deaths coefficient in model

2 - the large number of years with no deaths previous to the epidemic skews the results of the regression. Finally, including interactions between three or more measures are difficult to interpret and compound multicollinearity issues.

4.4 fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis

To supplement the regression analysis, I perform a fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) of high coverage (Ragin, 2008). FsQCA begins with a combinatorial analysis of causal measures predicting the outcome measure. It also allows for more than one pathway to the outcome, which is outside the scope of regression analysis. QCA also does not assume symmetric relationships, so while I may expect that the presence of a causal condition will lead to an outcome, the absence of that condition does not necessarily mean the outcome will not be present, since some other, alternative pathways may exist simultaneously.

To run fsQCA, I must first calibrate my measures into set membership scores (see discussion of calibration on page 45 in Chapter 3). I define my outcome set as high coverage — those years in which a particular SMO received a relatively high amount of coverage. In this context, a high amount of coverage is 7 articles in one year, or a week’s worth of coverage. This set is a fuzzy set, meaning cases receive a membership score ranging from 0 to 1 defining how much they are a member of the outcome set. This fuzzy set is calibrated using the direct transformation method from the yearly article count in which 3 articles is fully out of the high coverage set, 7 articles is fully in, and 5 is the crossover point, the point of maximum ambiguity about whether the case is a member of the outcome set.

I include seven causal sets in the analysis. The first is the set of high policy success, coded from the policy score of the SMO in that year, and designated POLICY. POLICY is a fuzzy set and is calibrated in two different ways. For SMOs with a general policy focus, and so assigned the overall policy score, the fuzzy set is calibrated with 5 fully out, 30 fully in, and 20 maximally ambiguous. For all other SMOs, POLICY is calibrated with 0 fully out,

10 fully in, and 5 maximally ambiguous. I chose these cutoffs by looking at the trend of the policy score over time. For the general policy score, the score passes 20 around 1990, so that the 90s and 2000s are largely coded as at least partially in the set of high policy success. For the individual policy scores, only Discrimination and Sodomy has achieved a high degree of success by the end of the time period. Discrimination passes 5 around 1990, while Sodomy passes 5 much earlier. Using five as a crossover point for individual policy scores then sets membership scores in a way that is congruent with the history of policy successes for both Discrimination and Sodomy.

Second, I include a set for those organizations who have an inclusive identity and is designated INCLUSIVE. This is a crisp set, meaning cases are either a member of the set or not, with no partial membership scores.

Third is the set of organizations that are well resourced, designated RESOURCES. This is a crisp set based on the coding of Well Resourced SMO as described above. Fourth is the set of organizations that engage in protest, a crisp set that is designated PROTEST.

Fifth is the set of years that have a liberal Congress. This is a fuzzy set based on the Liberal House measure described above. The set is calibrated with -10 as fully out, 10 as fully in, and 0 as maximally ambiguous and is designated LIBERAL.

Sixth is the set of organizations that focus on the AIDS policy domain, a crisp set that is designated AIDS. Finally, seventh is the set of years with a high number of AIDS deaths. This is a fuzzy set, based on the coding of AIDS Deaths as described above, with 0 deaths as fully out, 40,000 deaths as fully in, and 20,000 deaths as maximally ambiguous, designated DEATHS.

I used the QCA package (Dusa and Thiem, 2014) for R (R Core Team, 2015) to run the analysis. Table 4.4 contains the truth table for this analysis. Each row represents a configuration of causal sets, with the presence or absence indicated by 1 and 0, respectively, in the columns AIDS through INCLUSIVE. The Out column contains whether the row is coded as leading to the outcome. N indicates the number of cases that are members of the

row, and Cons. contains the row's consistency. See page 48 in Chapter 3 for more details about how row membership is assigned and consistency is calculated. I set the consistency threshold as 0.8, as there was a natural break between 0.828 and 0.586 in the truth table. There are six causal sets, so the complete truth table has $2^6 = 64$ rows. 35 of these rows do not have cases. The rows can be reduced into the following boolean expression:

RESOURCES*PROTEST + AIDS*POLICY + AIDS*PROTEST*inclusive +
 aids*RESOURCES*DEATHS*inclusive + aids*RESOURCES*policy*inclusive +
 PROTEST*POLICY*inclusive

In boolean expressions, a term in all capital letters is read as being present, a term in all lowercase letters is absent, and a missing term indicates that it doesn't matter if it is present or absent. An asterisk indicates logical AND while a plus sign indicates logical OR. Terms connected through logical AND can be considered a single configurational recipe, and configurations connected through logical OR represent alternative recipes to the outcome. There are some empirically interesting configurations in the remainder expression. First, there are no organizations with a high amount of resources that also protest, suggesting that it is very difficult for a protest oriented organization to gain resources, or there is significant resistance to well resourced organizations to engage in protest. Relatedly, there are no LGBT organizations that are well resourced and focus on a specific subgroup in the community. This could suggest that such there are barriers for niche organizations to receive resources, and/or strong incentives for well resourced organizations to become more inclusive. Other terms in the remainder expression are more likely due to limited empirical diversity rather than theoretical contradictions.

Solutions in QCA are derived from the truth table based on which rows have a high enough consistency score to be coded as having the outcome. QCA provides three types of solutions: complex, parsimonious, and intermediate solutions. The complex solution only uses the rows in the truth table designated as having the outcome to derive the recipes. The parsimonious solution uses any remainder rows it can to simplify the recipes by removing

Table 4.4: Truth Table for Analysis of High Coverage of LGBT SMOs

AIDS	RESOURCES	PROTEST	DEATHS	POLICY	INCLUSIVE	Out	N	Cons
1	1	0	1	0	0	1	9	0.986
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0.965
0	1	0	1	1	1	1	22	0.925
1	1	0	0	0	0	1	13	0.915
0	1	0	0	1	0	1	8	0.900
0	1	0	0	1	1	1	40	0.869
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0.830
1	0	1	1	0	1	1	10	0.828
1	0	1	0	0	1	0	14	0.586
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5	0.573
0	1	0	0	0	1	0	37	0.481
1	0	0	1	0	1	0	42	0.368
1	1	0	1	0	1	0	9	0.276
1	1	0	0	0	1	0	52	0.144
1	0	0	0	0	1	0	49	0.116
0	0	1	0	0	1	0	87	0.115
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	259	0.113
0	0	0	1	1	1	0	108	0.107
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	197	0.103
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	500	0.073
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	48	0.068
0	0	1	1	1	1	0	58	0.064
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	121	0.040
0	0	1	0	1	1	0	127	0.033
0	0	1	1	0	1	0	28	0.031
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	276	0.024
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	70	0.010
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	36	0.007
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	93	0.003

terms completely. The intermediate solution uses remainder rows to simplify recipes but takes into account expectations about the how the causal sets should relate to the outcome set. See page 50 in Chapter 3 for more discussion about how these solutions are derived. The results of my fsQCA are in Table 4.5, which contains both the complex solution and the intermediate solution in which the presence of each causal set is expected to lead to the outcome. The table also lists the SMOs that are covered by each recipe in the intermediate solution. My discussion focuses on the intermediate solution.

There are three pathways to high coverage, with an overall consistency of 0.826 and an

Table 4.5: fsQCA of SMO Coverage with Protest Tactics

Complex Solution			
Recipe	Consistency	Coverage	
AIDS*protest*policy*inclusive	0.909	0.083	
aids*RESOURCES*protest*deaths*POLICY	0.873	0.108	
aids*RESOURCES*protest*POLICY*INCLUSIVE	0.901	0.238	
AIDS*resources*PROTEST*DEATHS*policy*INCLUSIVE	0.828	0.041	
Total	0.894	0.362	
Intermediate Solution			
Recipe	Consistency	Coverage	SMOs
AIDS*inclusive	0.877	0.092	GMHC
AIDS*PROTEST*DEATHS	0.832	0.042	ACTUP
RESOURCES*POLICY	0.813	0.258	HRC, Lambda Legal, NGLTF, NCLR, GLAD
Total	0.826	0.380	

overall coverage of 0.380. About 83% of cases described by one of these configurations also receive high coverage, and about 38% of cases with high coverage are also described by one of these configurations. While this solution does not cover the majority of high coverage cases, it still covers a substantial proportion and represents theoretically and empirically important paths to high coverage.

The first recipe, AIDS*inclusive, indicates that AIDS organizations without an inclusive identity are likely to receive high coverage. This recipe has a consistency score of 0.877 and coverage of 0.092, so almost 10% of cases with high coverage are explained by this recipe. The recipe targets Gay Men’s Health Crisis (GMHC), the first organization focused on AIDS in the country. Founded in 1982, GMHC began as a call-in number for people to get more information about the disease. Over time, it greatly expanded to include providing services to AIDS victims and lobbying for more resources to be spent on services for victims of AIDS as well as medical research into treatments and cures. GMHC became a powerful voice influencing AIDS policy, especially in New York. They received more coverage than any other organization in six years during the late 1980s and early 1990s, and consistently high coverage from 1983 to about 2003.

According to the second recipe, AIDS*PROTEST*DEATHS, AIDS organizations that engage in protest during the AIDS crisis are likely to receive high coverage. The consistency

score for this recipe is 0.832 and the coverage is 0.042, so it is not a frequent recipe for high newspaper coverage but it is an interesting configuration. The recipe captures ACT-UP, one of the most notorious AIDS organizations for its confrontational tactics targeting Wall Street, pharmaceutical companies, and politicians during the late 1980s and early 1990s. ACT-UP received the most coverage of any AIDS or LGBT organization in the years 1989 through 1992. They maintain high coverage for the rest of the nineties, but coverage drops off after that.

The third and final recipe, RESOURCES*POLICY, captures well resourced organizations that have experienced a high amount of policy success. This recipe includes some of the organizational leaders of the LGBT movement, such as the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), Lambda Legal, and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF). All three organizations have been the top covered LGBT organization a handful of times during the movement's existence. This recipe also includes the National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR) and the Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (GLAD), two legal organizations that have been involved in advocating for same-sex marriage in the courts.

These three recipes can be combined to form the boolean expression $AIDS*(PROTEST*DEATHS + inclusive) + RESOURCES*POLICY \rightarrow COVERAGE$. Based on this solution, the secret to gaining high coverage is to be well resourced and politically successful. Crises create opportunities for other types of organizations to gain coverage. While GMHC was well resourced, it did not have a legacy of policy successes. ACT-UP was not well resourced, and it had a protest orientation, but the uncertainty and tragedy around AIDS allowed ACT-UPs emotional brand of activism to gain an incredible amount of coverage.

4.5 Conclusion

How well did the perspectives explain coverage of movement organizations? Political opportunity fared well in the regression, but the political opportunity measures did not help in QCA analyses that were not shown. Policy Reform was a significant predictor of coverage in the regression results, and was also a component of the largest recipe of high coverage in the QCA. AIDS Deaths significantly predicted coverage in the regression results, and was also part of the QCA recipe for ACT-UP. Finally, movement organization characters were significant in the regression and well resourced was part of the largest recipe in the QCA. Overall, a picture is building up of the movement being important for gaining media attention, but not by itself. The context the movement is mobilizing in, whether during a crisis or in a politically friendly environment, matters as to how effective the movement will be. Furthermore, movements are able to tailor their activity to suit the context, so that well resourced, institutional organizations can take advantage of politically friendly contexts while emotionally charged protest organizations can dominate coverage during times of crisis. These protest organizations provide the “authenticity” that Sobieraj (2010) finds journalists are looking for.

Chapter 5

Discourses of Homosexuality

Previous chapters have primarily dealt with the quantity of attention given to homosexuality and the LGBT movement. However, this is only part of the issue with news coverage of social movements. How does the news media contribute to the public discussion about homosexuality, and what role does the movement play in directing this discussion?

Social movements engage in the media arena for a variety of reasons. News coverage of movements and their activity can broadcast the movement's message to a far broader audience than the movement can reach on its own (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). It can cast legitimacy on the movement, since coverage indicates the movement is newsworthy (Ferree et al., 2002). It brings the movement to the attention of political elites, setting in motion the political process for policy reform. Movements also engage in the media arena because it is the primary location where contests over meaning and discourse take place (Ferree et al., 2002; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Meyers, 1994). Movements interested in changing the cultural understanding of an issue will want to engage in the media arena for this reason.

The news is where most people gain information about what is going on in the world beyond their immediate experience (Colby and Cook, 1991; Gamson, 2007). As such, public debate around issues is highly influenced by news coverage of the issue — what people know,

and how they understand an issue, is largely determined by what they hear from the news (Ferree et al., 2002; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). The media is a primary conduit through which popular culture is transmitted, and will be the primary target of movements wishing to change this culture.

The gay and lesbian movement has been targeting the media since its inception. The last night of the Stonewall Riots is attributed to the very negative coverage the first night received in the Village Voice (Alwood, 1996). The Gay Liberation Front and Gay Activist Alliance frequently targeted media outlets for publishing negative coverage of homosexuality. The goal was to have the news media treat gays and lesbians with respect and be fair in the amount and tone of coverage of gay rights.

5.1 Hypotheses

Public Opinion

What might explain why the way homosexuality has been talked about in the news has changed? One answer might be changes in public opinion. Perhaps public opinion on homosexuality improved and this was reflected in how homosexuality was covered in the newspapers. The relationship between public opinion and news media is more complicated than a unidirectional causal one, however. While the news media does reflect public discourses to an extent, it also shapes public discourse in a powerful way, highlighting certain issues as important and filtering out other issues (Gamson, 2007). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) discuss the ways in which changes in discourse about nuclear energy lead to changes in public opinion, arguing for a causal relationship that leads from discourse to opinion. This leads me to expect a correlation between public opinion and the tone of coverage of homosexuality, but tempers any causal claims about the relationship.

Hypothesis 1: Public opinion and the tone of coverage of homosexuality will be correlated. The causal relationship between the two will be more complicated.

Political Opportunity

A second explanation may be that political allies help drive the tone of coverage. Newspapers focus a great deal of attention on politics and political issues (Sobieraj, 2010) and so journalists may look to politicians to set the tone of discussion for controversial issues. Political allies are theorized to signal to movements themselves that the political process is open to their mobilization (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004), so perhaps a similar dynamic exists between politicians and news professionals. Friendly politicians model more friendly discussions, while antagonistic politicians model more antagonistic coverage. The Democratic party has traditionally been more supportive of gay rights than the Republican Party, including a gay ranks plank in their party platform as early as 1980. The Republican Party, especially once it allied itself with the Christian Right, has been firmly opposed to gay rights. This suggests:

Hypothesis 2: During periods when Democrats dominate the political process, the tone of coverage of homosexuality will improve.

Hypothesis 3: During periods when Republicans dominate the political process, the tone of coverage of homosexuality will worsen.

Policy Reform

A related explanation involves the role of policy reform on the tone of coverage. Periods of policy reform lead to greater news attention to social movements generally, and enforced policy reforms increase movement coverage specifically (Amenta et al., 2012). This pattern may also hold for the quality of coverage. Policy success in the political arena may signal to news professionals that the issue is both important and legitimate, improving both the amount and tone of attention of that issue. A policy reform may have an immediate effect, in that a policy success leads to instant improvements in coverage as the newspaper covers the political process of the reform. A policy reform may also have a legacy effect, in that as policy successes accumulate over time, coverage of the issue will further improve in tone.

Hypothesis 4: Pro-gay policy reforms will improve the tone of coverage of homosexuality.

Hypothesis 5: A legacy of pro-gay policy reforms will improve the tone of coverage of homosexuality.

Newspaper Leadership

A fourth explanation for changes in the public discourse around homosexuality could be changes in the leadership at the newspapers themselves. Chomsky and Barclay (2010) offers a compelling argument for this explanation, as they find that the number of front page articles in the New York Times significantly increases after the executive editor changes from one that was notoriously anti-gay to one that was far more sympathetic to gay and lesbian issues. It is the journalists and editors, after all, who ultimately decide what issues to cover and how to cover them (Schudson, 2002). For my case, it may be that as younger, and more gay friendly, professionals work at the paper, the coverage of homosexuality will improve.

Hypothesis 6: Improvements in the tone of coverage of homosexuality will be correlated with turnovers in news professionals at the newspapers.

Crisis

Perhaps the AIDS epidemic engendered a shift in the tone of coverage of homosexuality. Scholars have found that crises can change the public issue agenda (Birkland, 1998) and shift the discursive field (Bail, 2012). I have previously shown that AIDS brought considerably more attention to homosexuality and the LGBT movement. This increased attention may have also brought new frame packages to the conversation about homosexuality.

Hypothesis 7: The tone of coverage of homosexuality will dramatically shift during and after the AIDS crisis.

Movement Mobilization

Finally, the tone of coverage of an issue may be influenced by the strength of the movement or movements mobilized around the issue. Ferree et al. (2002) argue that successful media frames require organizational sponsorship, so that whether a media frame is adopted into the public discourse depends, in part, on the strength of its organizational sponsor. Movement resources increase the amount of coverage devoted to movements (Amenta et al., 2009) and movement organizations (Andrews and Caren, 2010), and with more coverage movements have more opportunities to influence the discourse of their issue.

Hypothesis 8: As the LGBT movement gains resources, the tone of coverage of homosexuality will improve.

5.2 Measuring Culture

How do I analyze the content of mainstream newspaper coverage of homosexuality? This problem is a cultural one, with an implied question of how to measure culture. Movement and culture scholars both have tackled this problem. Movement scholars have studied frames (Benford and Snow, 2000; Ferree et al., 2002; Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993), narratives (Polletta, 2008), ideologies (Oliver and Johnston, 2000), and discourses (Bail, 2012). Though each of these focus on different phenomena, a common element is a concept of a larger field of meaning that these phenomena are embedded in and interact with. Framing scholars speak of frame resonance as an important predictor of a frame's success (Snow and Benford, 1988), and conceptualize master frames as broader, more general collective action frames that both enable and constrain individual collective action frames (Snow and Benford, 1992). The efficacy of storytelling for collective action is limited by the social norms related to the appropriateness of when and how to tell stories (Polletta, 2008). Ideologies are multiple and interacting with each other (Oliver and Johnston, 2000).

Steinberg (1999) describes a discursive field as the bounded cultural space of mutually recognized, though not necessarily accepted, meanings and values that determine what can be said, who can say it, and how it will be received by its audience. The boundaries of discursive fields are not entirely fixed or clear, as discourse is multivocal and vulnerable to subversive reinterpretations. Discursive fields, then, structure contests of meaning like those involved in collective action framing, but are not determinant in these contests.

What does the discursive field as it relates to discourses about homosexuality look like? A complete analysis of a discursive field would require looking at all the discourses, ideologies, frames, conversations, signs, and symbols about homosexuality and the role that power and hierarchy plays in structuring these phenomena, which is beyond the scope of this project. I, instead, focus on one aspect of the discursive field, what I call in this project “claims.” Claims are similar to collective action frames, in that they contain normative statements about how things are or should be; they are more than just objective statements of fact. The diagnostic component of collective action frames often contain claims. However, claims are not complete packages like collective action frames, though they can serve as symbols for frame packages. They do not necessarily have a clear target nor a clear solution. This is the principle reason I chose to focus on claims rather than frames: complete frames may not appear whole in the news media, and focusing on frames misses other instances of normative meaning making around an issue.

Claims are more specific than discourses or ideologies. An exact definition of discourse is contested in the literature, but it generally refers to modes of communication that is both socially situated and socially constructed (Steinberg, 1999). Discourses themselves are complex and to focus on discourses to analyze the discursive field would require further reducing discourses into their constituent parts, which is a large task in itself. Similarly, ideologies are broad ideas, values, and beliefs about power and hierarchy in everyday life (Oliver and Johnston, 2000). Some ideologies are more explicit, like an American liberal political ideology, and so are easier to extract from an analysis of text. Others, however,

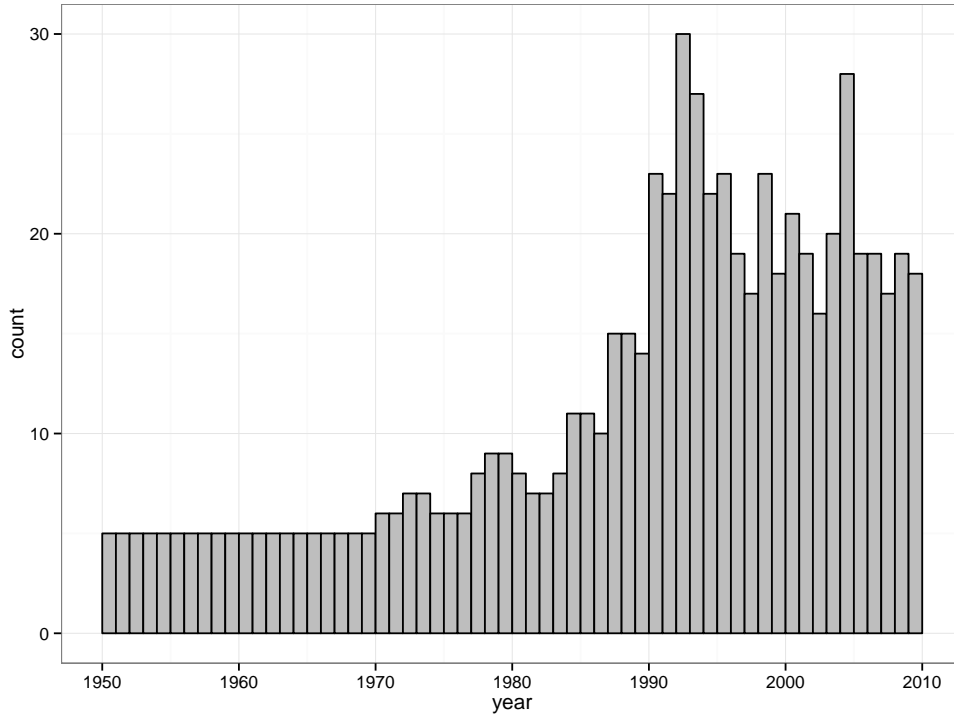
are far more implicit and taken for granted, such as dominant ideologies regarding proper gender roles prior to the 1960s, and so are more difficult to identify in texts. A claim makes a definite statement about an issue, taking a clear stand on the issue, making it easier to succinctly code than discourses and more reliably identifiable than ideologies.

To begin to construct the discursive field around homosexuality, I look at the co-occurrence of claims in the same article. If two claims appear together in an article, then presumably they share some underlying logic, as the author of the article has seen fit to include them both. By logic I mean which claims are legitimate or illegitimate, and which claims can function as legitimate counterclaims and which are illegitimate counterclaims. For example, a claim for civil rights is predicated on beliefs about who deserves rights, how the state confers civil rights, how civil rights are prioritized, and the role various groups hold in civil society. These logics are likely to change over time, as a specific claim gains or loses legitimacy, and groups making these claims gain or lose legitimacy. As the logics change, claims' roles in the discursive field will also change. Two claims will be associated, then, if they are perceived to be legitimately related (even if the reason they are related is because they are both illegitimate).

5.3 Data

I began with the population of articles in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and Wall Street Journal mentioning homosexuality between 1950 and 2010. To identify this population, I search each newspaper for the terms “homosexual” and “lesbian” starting in 1950, and the term “gay” beginning in 1980. I then created a 0.5% sample per year, with a minimum of five articles per year, to read and code information about the article itself. I also searched for mentions of 85 different nationally oriented LGBT movement organizations in the three newspapers and included a 2% sample per year of organizational coverage to make sure my coding sample included coverage of LGBT organizations (see page 10 in Chapter

Figure 5.1: Histogram of Coded Articles



1 for a discussion of this data collection). This resulted in a coding sample of 720 articles across 60 years (see Figure 5.1).

Coding Claims

In each article I coded, I identified each paragraph that referenced homosexuality in some way. This could be a quick, one-off reference, or a fuller discussion. The goal was to pull out paragraphs in which there was the possibility to find a claim about homosexuality. In 720 articles, I identified 2,382 qualifying paragraphs. In these paragraphs I coded for the presence of any of twelve claims about homosexuality. These claims were derived from an open coding of claims from a sample ($n = 841$) of paragraphs spanning the entire period. During this process, I asked of each paragraph: “What normative statement is being made about homosexuality or gays and lesbians?” I coded 636 unique codes in this way, and used these codes to decide on more general categories of codes, which are listed in Table 5.1. I

Table 5.1: Twelve Claims About Homosexuality

Claim	% of Paragraphs	% of Articles	N
Homosexuality is Criminal	2.90	5.28	69
Homosexuality is Immoral	6.59	12.78	157
Homosexuality is a Mental Illness	0.97	2.50	23
Homosexuality is Diseased	5.33	8.19	127
Gays and Lesbians Are Not Like Straights	1.22	2.92	29
Homosexuality is Bad	24.60	43.61	586
Gays and Lesbians Deserve Rights	21.96	21.81	523
Gays and Lesbians Deserve Respect	13.73	19.31	327
Gays and Lesbians Deserve Representation	7.22	10.97	172
Gays and Lesbians Are Like Straights	1.39	4.03	33
Homosexuality is Natural	1.43	2.22	34
Gay is Good	8.02	13.47	191

used six negative claims and six positive claims. Table 5.1 also contains the percentage of the 2,382 paragraphs each claim appeared in, as well as the percentage of the 720 articles each claim appeared in.

There were 376 (15.8%) paragraphs that did not contain a claim or whose claims were too ambiguous to properly code. An example of a paragraph with no claim is the following:

To her humor of contrast Miss Troy adds sly innuendoes, often with a dash of cool sex in them, also such nice little ironies as a workhouse cook named Borgia and an old maid who falls in love with a homosexual¹.

Homosexuality is mentioned briefly, with no explicit claim or context that would convey a normative statement about homosexuality. While most of these sorts of paragraphs appeared in articles with other paragraphs that did contain claims, I coded 102 articles that contained no claims about homosexuality.

“Homosexuality is Criminal” is a claim that captures affiliating homosexuality with criminality, or equates gays and lesbians as criminals. Discussions of sodomy law are coded with this claim, as are paragraphs that lump homosexuals with criminals when discussing social problems. Examples of paragraphs coded with this claim include:

¹Reynolds, Horace. January 3, 1960. “Pleasant Townland: The Graces of Ballykeen.” New York Times

A series of police raids resulted in the arrest of more than thirty persons today on homosexual charges.²

Nash talked about one aspect of the homosexual and society at large: the law. Said the minister, ‘Homosexuality isn’t illegal but all homosexual activity is, except in five states where adult relationships in private aren’t matters of the law.’³

“Homosexuality is Immoral” is a claim that captures statements about the morality of homosexuality, including religious claims against homosexuality. This claim also includes mentions of homosexuality as a perversion. Examples of these claims include the following:

Robert W. S. McLeod, administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, assured the committee that ‘the campaign toward eliminating all types of sex perverts from the rolls of the department will be pressed with increased vigor.’⁴

Janet Parshall, chief spokeswoman for the conservative Family Research Council, also condemned the coalition’s mailing. “If they’re going to talk about ‘the facts,’ here’s a fact: All the major religions of the world consider homosexuality wrong,” she said.⁵

“Homosexuality is a Mental Illness” captures instances in which homosexuality is affiliated with being mentally ill. The American Psychiatric Association considered homosexuality a mental illness until 1974 (Mayes and Horwitz, 2005). In the following paragraph, homosexuality is affiliated with both mental illness as well as criminality:

Mr. Jenkins began intensive psychiatric treatment last fall after the disclosure of his arrest with another man in a rest room of the Washington Young Men’s Christian Association, a place frequented by homosexuals, according to the police.⁶

In this next quote, the common trope of gay men being overly attached to their mothers is evoked in Freudian language, activating the affiliation of homosexuality with mental illness without being overt:

²June 4, 1961. “30 Held in Vice Case.” New York Times.

³Faris, Gerald. February 3, 1972. “Service Center Offers Help to Gays in West Hollywood.” Los Angeles Times.

⁴April 13, 1953. “425 Ousters in Morals Quiz by State Dept. Told.” Los Angeles Times.

⁵Goode, Erica. November 23, 1999. “Group Sends Book on Gay Tolerance to Schools.” New York Times.

⁶Franklin, Ben A. February 24, 1965. “Jenkins Answers Panel in Writing.” New York Times.

Dr. Gendrin puts it a little differently: ‘Sopranos, to a gay cult member, can be an ideal female figure which one can relate to via voice, temperament and, as we said, vulnerability. This vulnerability, from their own experience, is something most gay people immediately understand. These attributes can evoke an asexual response, almost an Oedipal thing ... a heterosexual response without sex. And don’t forget the motherlike voices of some cult-divas, Tebaldi, for instance, certainly Zinka Milanov.’⁷

“Gays and Lesbians Are Not Like Straights” captures claims about the fundamental differences between gay and straight people. This particular claim is classified as a negative claim because most instances of it were in anti-gay contexts, however it was not uncommon for this claim to be evoked by pro-gay speakers to justify gay exclusive spaces, celebrating the qualities unique to the gay community, or fighting against assimilationist forces. In the following paragraph, an undercover detective provides testimony to the New Jersey Supreme Court as it considers whether to overturn a ban on gays in bars. In it, the detective describes what he saw in gay bars, emphasizing the ways in which gay men were different than how straight men would presumably act in a bar:

They were conversing and some of them in a lisping tone of voice, and during certain parts of their conversations they used limp wrist movements to each other. One man would stick his tongue out at another, and they would laugh and they would giggle. They were very, very chummy and close. When they drank their drinks, they extended their pinkies in a very dainty manner. They took short sips from their straws; took them quite a long time to finish their drinks.⁸

However, as I mentioned, this claim could also be used by pro-gay speakers in arguments supporting a separate, unique, and valuable gay culture. In the following quote, the claim appears as a quoted sociologist defends a unique gay culture and argues against assimilating into heterosexual culture:

“Do we want to be like everyone else, behind a white picket fence?” asked Rinaldo Walcott, a sociologist at the University of Toronto. The answer for Mr. Walcott is a defiant no; he warns that marriage could water down gay culture and even provoke tensions between those willing to assimilate into the broader community and those who will not.⁹

⁷Wallace, David. June 10, 1979. “Music: Following the Stars... and Divas.” Los Angeles Times.

⁸November 7, 1967. “High Court in Jersey Overturns A Ban on Homosexuals in Bars.” New York Times.

⁹Krauss, Clifford. February 6, 2005. “The Right to Marry, or Not to Marry, Is the Issue Among Canada’s Gays.” New York Times.

“Homosexuality is Diseased” is primarily focused on claims made about gay men during the AIDS crisis, though it appears in other contexts as well. This claim asserts that homosexuality, specifically homosexual sex, is fundamentally diseased, or especially prone to contracting and spreading disease in ways that distinguishes it from heterosexual sex. An early example of this claim foreshadow’s how homosexuality will be connected to AIDS:

Sex is probably most ‘indiscriminate’ among homosexuals, and about 40 percent of the new syphilis cases come from homosexual encounters; the gonorrhea figure is much lower. Treatment is still hampered by the reluctance of some homosexuals to name their ‘contacts,’ and many doctors just do not remember to check for infection of the anus, a common homosexual malady. But partly as a result of educational campaigns by homosexual groups, more are seeking help. One of the patients at the Free Clinic was a male hustler named Gerry who shrugged off his infection as an ‘occupational hazard.’¹⁰

Once the AIDS epidemic started, early reports consistently pointed out that AIDS primarily impacted gay men:

In the United States, the leading hypothesis is that AIDS is caused by a virus that is transmitted from person to person by body fluids such as blood or semen. It has been speculated that the virus was brought to this country from Africa by an American male homosexual who then introduced it to the gay population here.¹¹

Conservative opponents of homosexuality used AIDS as justification to further persecute gays and lesbians:

In preliminary remarks Tuesday, Dannemeyer created a stir when he declared: ‘God’s plan for man was Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve.’ His graphic speech on the House floor was laced with anatomical detail of how homosexuals transmit AIDS.¹²

The final negative claim I coded for is “Homosexuality is Bad,” a general category for negative claims that didn’t fit in any of the other claims. Often the specific claims are vague,

¹⁰Roberts, Steven V. November 7, 1971. “The Venereal Disease Pandemic.” *New York Times*.

¹¹Nelson, Harry. November 16, 1983. “More Evidence Points to Africa Origin.” *Los Angeles Times*.

¹²Secter, Bob. October 3, 1985. “House OKs 90% Hike in AIDS Research Funds Attack Against Gays Led by Conservatives From Orange County.” *Los Angeles Times*.

implying homosexuality is wrong but with no specific reasons why. In the following paragraph, a student is “accused” of homosexuality, though it is not explained why homosexuality requires an accusation.:

Tea and Sympathy – Deborah Kerr, as a house mistress in a New England school, offers solace to John Kerr, a student accused of homosexuality.¹³

In the next paragraph, the author obviously considers the overt displays of homosexuality in the story’s protagonist to be unnecessary:

Bell, a Village Voice journalist, can set a scene, capture a personality or sketch a bar or courtroom with the best of them. But he is, in this work, too much with us. From the assignment in which his editor Tom Morgan sweet-talks him back from a Provincetown vacation (‘I hem and haw. On vacation. Don’t know a thing about John Knight. Don’t know Philadelphia. But Morgan is a con man with an irresistible manner. His method is to tell you how good you are . . . He’s done it to me before. . .’), through scenes of his homosexual activities, his playing footsie with a detective who is telling him about the diary kept by Knight (‘Under the table his leg rubs against mine and I try not to bestow motivations. But I’m aware of it. Boy, am I aware of it.’) all the way to the breakup of the affair with the florist pal he’s met while on the story.¹⁴

I also used this claim when someone expressed an opposition to gay rights without a specific reason:

Born in Salem, Ore., West grew up in Spokane. He served as an Army paratrooper and graduated from Gonzaga University in Spokane. He served as a police officer, a sheriff’s deputy and a state legislator. He frequently opposed gay-rights bills during his 20 years in the state House and Senate.¹⁵

Negative claims overall dominated coverage during the first two decades I coded. Starting in the 1970s, the incidence of negative claims declined and by the 1990s there were consistently more positive than negative claims in newspaper coverage of homosexuality (see Figure 5.2).

¹³Shanley, J.P. December 13, 1953. “Holiday Guide; Holiday Guide for Theatregoers.” *New York Times*.

¹⁴Kirsch, Robert. October 27, 1978. “The Book Report: A Mean-Streets Murder in Philly.” *Los Angeles Times*.

¹⁵July 23, 2006. “Obituaries: James E. West, 55; Spokane Mayor Ousted After Internet Sex Scandal.” *Los Angeles Times*.

“Gays and Lesbians Deserve Rights” captures pro-gay rights claims. This could include support for specific rights or policies as in the following two paragraphs:

With only a small band of women in visible opposition, this city is preparing to act on a proposed ordinance protecting the rights of homosexuals.¹⁶

‘This does not advocate a policy of affirmative action,’ Truax said, adding that AB 1 simply would extend to homosexuals the same civil rights for employment given other minorities.¹⁷

This claim also includes support for gay rights more generally:

Next weekend’s gay pride festivities in Los Angeles are likely to be the usual rollicking celebration of battles won and hardships overcome. The gay community is rightfully proud of its response to the first decades of the AIDS epidemic. And we have reason to rejoice in ongoing civil rights advances. But, as we celebrate, there is still a vexing problem we need to come to terms with: the centrality of drugs and alcohol to gay culture.¹⁸

“Gays and Lesbians Deserve Respect” captures statements asserting that gays and lesbians should be treated with respect. Included in this are statements condemning anti-gay violence, such as in the following paragraph:

‘Anti-gay violence has reached epidemic proportions,’ said Kevin Berrill, manager of the Washington, D.C.-based National Gay and Lesbian Task Force’s project on violence.¹⁹

Also included are statements that urge for better treatment of gays and lesbians, generally:

When he referred to Ellen Degeneres in print as Ellen ‘Degenerate,’ I called him and said, ‘What are you doing? You don’t need to poison the whole lake with your venom.’

¹⁶Henry, Diane. April 16, 1978. “Hartford Proposes to Enact an Ordinance Protecting Homosexuals.” New York Times.

¹⁷Greeley, Tom. September 15, 1983. “Duffy Denied County Help Against Homosexual Bill.” Los Angeles Times.

¹⁸Moore, Patrick. June 13, 2004. “Gay Community: High, and at Risk.” Los Angeles Times.

¹⁹Snyder, Ruth. April 10, 1986. “‘Gay Bashing’ - AIDS Fear Cited as Attacks on Male Homosexuals Grow.” Los Angeles Times.

I could hear him mumbling out of the side of his mouth, ‘These lesbians just drive me crazy.’ I’m sure I never changed his mind about anything, just as he never changed mine.²⁰

Finally, condemnations of homophobia are also included in this claim:

Even among Republicans, Paladino seemed to be emerging as someone best kept at a distance. The head of the state’s Republican Committee, Ed Cox, issued a terse statement saying in part: ‘We condemn any remarks that can be construed as homophobic.’²¹

“Gays and Lesbians Deserve Representation” encompasses statements and claims dealing with representation of gays and lesbians in a variety of outlets. Included in this are statements about openly gay politicians and the power of the gay vote:

“You’ll be surprised how quickly this will all be forgotten,” John Laird told his fellow Santa Cruz City Council members who chose him unanimously to be mayor. Laird, 33, a county worker who was vice mayor until his colleagues promoted him, is an avowed homosexual. “My being openly gay has nothing to do with my being mayor and has never affected my job as a council member,” he said. “People on the street just say ‘ho hum’ to it.”²²

All the major Democratic presidential candidates-and none of the Republicans-will be in Los Angeles tonight for what was billed as a nonpartisan forum on issues important to gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender Americans. The televised event showcases the status that gays’ votes and money have earned them in the Democratic Party, but also the continued controversy of their cause.²³

This claim also includes statements about how gays and lesbians are depicted in the arts:

GLAAD only seeks balance, he said. Instead of just the flaming transvestites or swishy interior decorators played for laughs, the group wants to see more characters that just happen to be gay.²⁴

²⁰Flynt, Larry. May 20, 2007. “The porn king and the preacher.” Los Angeles Times.

²¹Susman, Tina. October 12, 2010. “Paladino Defends Remarks on Gays.” Los Angeles Times.

²²November 18, 1983. “The State.” Los Angeles Times.

²³Calmes, James. August 9, 2007. “Politics & Economics: Forum Reflects Gays’ Clout.” Wall Street Journal.

²⁴Brass, Kevin. June 1, 1992. “Gay Group Says Progress Comes From Speaking Out.” Los Angeles Times.

In some ways, the earlier days of film were enviably casual about homosexual behavior. One of Edison's first efforts showed two men dancing, William Wellman's landmark 'Wings' featured an on-the-lips kiss between two male best friends, and gay bars made their first on-screen appearance in a 1932 item called 'Call Her Savage.'²⁵

Statements asserting that gays and lesbians are no different than straight people are coded "Gays and Lesbians Are Like Straights." As with the "Gays and Lesbians are not like Straights" claim, this could occasionally be used in an anti-gay way, praying on fears of the "invisible homosexual" during the early years of my study:

For every person who makes it apparent that he prefer his own sex, there are many more who lead seemingly straight lives and 'You'd never know they were gay,' as one person put it.²⁶

However, it was far more common to find this claim in a context supporting gay rights, as in this article following up on gay couples who had married in Massachusetts four years previously:

'Lesbian and gay couples get divorced for the same reasons that heterosexual couples do,' Ms. Kauffman said. 'Honestly the only thing that is different is that some people rushed to get married without thinking it through just because they could. It was an incredibly heady historical moment, and some people probably made the decision hastily.'²⁷

"Homosexuality is Natural" could also be called the "Born This Way" claim, as it includes statements asserting that being gay wasn't an illness, perversion, or choice, but something people were either born with or a characteristic that is impossible to change as an adult. This claim appears in one of the earliest articles coded for this project, in the context of the Kinsey Report:

If persons with any trace of homosexual history, or those who are predominantly homosexual, were eliminated from the population, there is no reason for believing that

²⁵Turan, Kenneth. March 15, 1996. "Movie Review: A Vital History Lesson on How Film Has Treated Gays." Los Angeles Times.

²⁶Faris, Gerald. February 3, 1972. "Service Center Offers Help to Gays in West Hollywood." Los Angeles Times.

²⁷Belluck, Pam. June 15, 2008. "Gay Couples Find Marriage Is a Mixed Bag." New York Times.

the incidence of the homosexual in the next generation would be materially reduced. The homosexual has been a significant part of human sexual activity since the dawn of history, primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal.²⁸

Equal protection of the laws applies to persons because of who they are rather than what they must do to deserve it. The notion that one chooses one's sexual desires in effect removes those desires from the realm of constitutional protection. But do homosexuals 'choose' their sexual orientation? No. Lesbians, gay men and bisexuals have within them, just as 'straights' do, the congeries of elements that create individual sexual desire. Gays do not choose to be gay, but they do in ever growing numbers choose to live their lives in harmony with their inner truths.²⁹

Finally, "Gay is Good" is the general positive claim category, for vague statements supporting gays and lesbians, as well as more specific supportive claims that could not be coded elsewhere. In this paragraph, the author says gays and lesbians should feel welcome at the bar they are reviewing, indicating, giving tacit approval to homosexuality:

The bar largely draws clean-cut heterosexuals, many of them N.Y.U. students, but anyone would feel welcome. (On Thursdays, half the patrons are gay.)³⁰

This claim also includes celebrations of gay culture:

And then there were the Village People, whose ascendance to cultural institution is a true triumph. The group, with three original members, underscored that with a wink by starting its set of such now-ubiquitous gay anthems as 'Macho Man' and 'Y.M.C.A.' with Grand Funk's 'We're an American Band.' And that they are.³¹

Figure 5.2 graphs the proportion of paragraphs containing any positive claim and the proportion of paragraphs containing any negative claim over time. Negative claims dominate coverage until the 1970s, when the proportion of negative claims declines. The proportion of positive claims increases beginning in the late 1980s and quickly the majority of paragraphs

²⁸Alexander, Holmes. July 1, 1950. "Congressmen Warned Against Kinsey Report." Los Angeles Times.

²⁹Dawidoff, Robert. February 27, 1998. "Commentary: Equal Protection for the Last Outcasts." Los Angeles Times.

³⁰Williams, Monte. October 22, 1995. "Cityscene: Two Sides of Avenue A, in One Nation." New York Times.

³¹Hochman, Steve. July 26, 1997. "Pop Music Review: Disco Reunion Shows the Era's Spirit Will Never Die." Los Angeles Times.

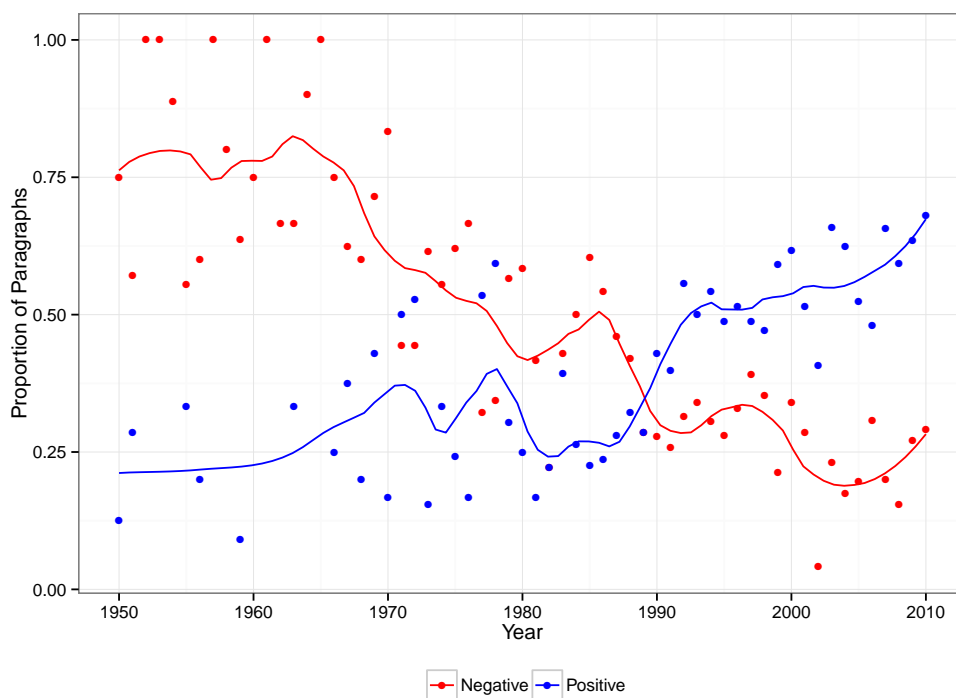
contain a positive claim. This pattern indicates that coverage improved in the early years not because homosexuality was talked about in a more positive light, but because it was talked about in a less negative light. Essentially, homosexuality moved from a largely uncontested negative realm of discourse into a contested realm (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). Until 1970, homosexuality was almost universally considered a bad thing, though gays and lesbians themselves weren't always bad people because of it. Beginning in the 1970s, this changed, with more and more voices expressing at least the possibility that homosexuality was a good thing. It wasn't just assumed that homosexuality was a bad thing anymore. Beginning in the 1990s, it shifted again, as the proportion of negative claims plummeted, and positive claims went largely uncontested (or, at the very least, their opposition was not presented as authoritative). What happened to cause these shifts?

The shift into the contested realm of discourse happened around the time of the Stonewall Riots, as younger activists advocated for gay rights in much stronger, more vocal ways than the previous generation. The emergence of a strong "Gay is Good" claim from the movement served to challenge, successfully, dominant claims about the morality and healthiness of homosexuality. The shift into an uncontested positive realm begins in the late 1980s when several things happened. First, President Reagan publicly discussed AIDS for the first time in 1987. Late in the previous year, Max Frankel took over as Editor of the New York Times. AIDS deaths continued to rise and in 1987 ACT-UP is founded. While it is impossible to disentangle these possible explanations at this stage, it seems highly likely that whatever explains the shift in coverage includes a combination of effects.

Speaker Types

In addition to the claims, I also coded information about who was speaking in each paragraph, including the type of speaker. I generated this list of speakers based on who was most likely to have something to say about homosexuality at some point during the period of my study. Table 5.2 lists the speaker types I coded for along with the number and percent of paragraphs

Figure 5.2: Proportion of Positive and Negative Claims in Paragraphs Discussing Homosexuality



each speaker type spoke. The author of the article was by far the most common speaker. While it isn't surprising that the author of the article was the most common speaker, what is surprising is how little all other speaker types were quoted talking about homosexuality in the articles. Even LGBT laypeople and LGBT SMO representatives combined only make up less than 13% of all the paragraph speakers. It seems, then, that the tone of coverage of homosexuality didn't change because gays and lesbians had a larger voice in the news directly. This doesn't preclude the possibility that gays and lesbians were working behind the scenes to shift the conversation.

While speaker types that are not the author don't appear very often, they might still exhibit some temporal trends that could point to why discourse about homosexuality changes so much during the study. Figure 5.3 plots the percent of paragraphs spoken by each of the top five most frequent speaker types, along with loess smoothed trends lines. Overall, there does not appear to be strong temporal trends. Long term averages remain fairly constant

Table 5.2: Speaker Types

Speaker Type	Paragraphs	Percent
Author	1638	68.77
Democratic Politician	53	2.23
Republican Politician	64	2.69
Other Politician	24	1.01
Medical Professional	24	1.01
Science Professional	21	0.88
Religious Professional	27	1.13
LGBT Person	147	6.17
LGBT SMO	159	6.68
Countermovement SMO	34	1.43
Other SMO	10	0.42
Law Professional	34	1.43
Police	27	1.13
Military	12	0.50
Other	108	4.53

for each speaker type over time. Perhaps, though, speakers other than the author tend to contribute more to the amount of positive claims appearing in the news. Figure 5.4 plots the proportion of paragraphs with positive claims by speaker type. Based on this figure, it does not appear that non-author speaker types are driving positive coverage of homosexuality. If anything, it appears that non-author speaker types have a decreasing share of the positive coverage between 1980 and 2000. This could mean that though the conversation is dominated by the authors of articles, who those authors are changes and so leads to changes in the tone of coverage of homosexuality. However, there doesn't seem to have been a large effect from the turnover in leadership at the New York Times in 1987.

5.4 Discourse Network Analysis

The evidence so far suggests that changes in the discourse about homosexuality in newspapers is driven by changes in the way journalists are talking about homosexuality.

Figure 5.3: Percent of Paragraphs by Speaker Type

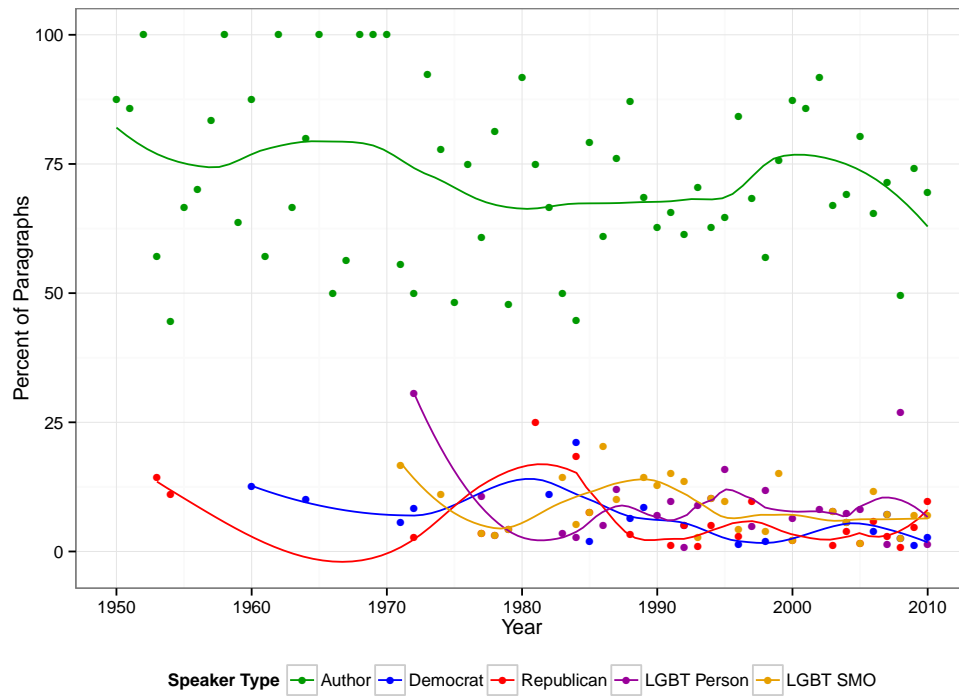
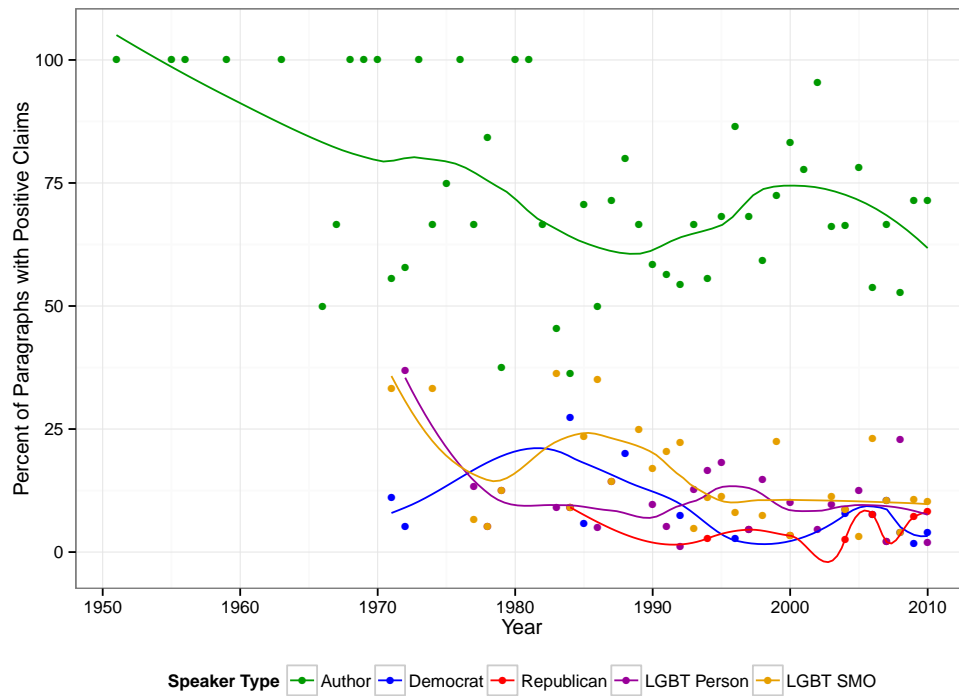


Figure 5.4: Percent of Paragraphs with Positive Claims by Speaker Type



Generating Association Networks

Social network analysis involves the analysis of relationships between entities (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). In social network analysis, a network consists of entities, represented as nodes, and the relationships between the entities, represented as ties or edges. My claim data form a network, with claims connected to the articles they appear in. This type of network is a two-mode network, because there are two types of entities represented in the network, and ties exist only between nodes of different types. Two-mode networks can be analyzed directly (Borgatti and Everett, 1997; Faust, Willert, Rowlee, and Skvoretz, 2002), however I am not interested in the role articles play in the network. I am interested in how claims are associated with each other through the articles they appear together in. This calls for transforming my data into a one mode network of association scores between claims. While there a number of different ways to calculate association scores, I chose a method described by Ginsberg and Young (1992) and used by Whitehead (2008) in studying animal association in the wild. My data are structured similarly to the way Whitehead structures his data, in my case each article represents a distinct observation about the interaction of claims appearing in that article, the articles can be aggregated to form discrete time periods, and measures of association can be calculated from these aggregated articles.

To begin my analysis, I first divide up the time under study into five periods based on theoretical and historical evidence. The first, 1950-1968, represents the period before the modern gay and lesbian movement emerged, in which gay activism was characterized by the homophile movement. The second period, 1969-1981, represents the emergence of the modern gay and lesbian movement until the emergence of AIDS. The third period, 1982-1989, represents the AIDS crisis, when the movement was almost solely focused on trying to survive the epidemic. The fourth period, 1990-2003, characterizes what is commonly referred to as the gay-nineties (a play on the 1890s nickname), a time when gay rights came into its own, LGBT organizations gained respect and legitimacy, celebrities starting coming out on their own volition, and homosexuality was treated with more respect in popular media. The

Table 5.3: Association Matrix of Claims for 1950-1968

	Bad	Crim.	Dis.	Good	Imm.	L.Str.	M.Ill	Nat.	Repr.	Resp.	Rights
Criminal	0.10										
Diseased	0.02	0.00									
Good	0.00	0.00	0.00								
Immoral	0.15	0.11	0.00	0.00							
Like Straights	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06						
Mental Illness	0.09	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.08					
Natural	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.33	0.08				
Representation	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00			
Respect	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		
Rights	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	
Unlike Straights	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.50

last period, 2004-2010, marks the era of same-sex marriage. In 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to legally recognize same-sex marriage and since then almost every state has passed policy regarding the recognition of these marriages (whether legally recognizing them, or constitutionally prohibiting them).

For each period, I calculated an association index for each pair of claims. Ginsberg’s (1992) association index is the proportion of articles in which either claim is observed that both claims are observed, or:

$$\frac{x}{N - D}$$

Where x is the number of articles both claims are observed, N is the total number of articles, and D is the number of articles were neither claim is observed. Calculating this for each pair of claims results in an association matrix as in Table 5.3. The matrix is symmetric, and so only the lower diagonal is displayed in the table. Association indices that are significant at $p < 0.1$ are in bold.

To test for significance of the association indices, I generate random graphs using the method described by Bejder, Fletcher, and Brager (1998). This method involves generating permutations of the original two-mode network by randomly selecting two articles and two claims in which each claim appears in exactly one of the articles and each article contains exactly one of the two claims. The two claims are then switched, so that the claims appear

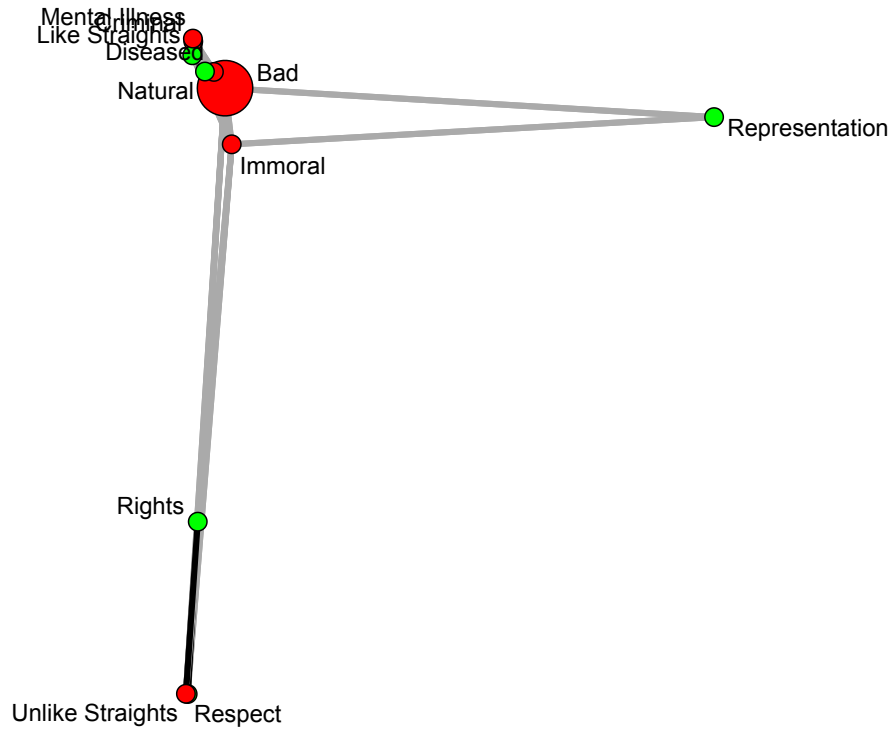
in the opposite article. This new graph is then used to generate the next permutation. This process is repeated enough times to generate a distribution of random graphs conditioned on the number of articles each claim appears in, and the number of claims that appear in each article. In other words, this conditions on the degree distribution of both articles and claims in the two-mode network. I generated 10,000 random graphs for my significance tests. Bejder et al. (1998) find that calculated p-values stabilize by 10,000 random graphs, and my own tests using 1,000, 5,000, 10,000, and 20,000 random graphs find that 10,000 generates p values with small enough variance to trust the results. Each random graph is converted to association matrices as described above, and the calculated p-value for each index is the proportion of random graph indices that are larger than the observed index.

I use the association matrices to draw network graphs of the relationships between claims. The graph for the entire time period appears in Figure 5.5. Darker lines indicate stronger associations between claims. The size of the nodes indicate the percentage of total articles during the period the claim appeared in. The location of the nodes are the first two dimensions of principal coordinates for the claims from a correspondence analysis of the two-mode network data for this period (Faust, 2005). The first dimension is along the horizontal axis in the network graphs and the second dimension is along the vertical axis. This means that nodes that are closer together in the network are more similar to each other in terms of the pattern of their article appearances than nodes that are farther apart.

1950-1968

The network shows a group of claims dominated by Bad, in the upper left corner of the figure. Two groups branch off from this core, one containing only Representation, to the right along the first dimension in the correspondence analysis, and another group, containing Rights, Respect, and Unlike Straights, along the second dimension. The associations between these three claims are the only associations significantly different from random in the network, and are also among the strongest associations in the network. These three claims also have the

Figure 5.5: Network Graphs of Association Indices, 1950-1968



Note: The first two dimensions of the correspondence analysis account for 15.78% and 14.4% of the inertia.

highest eigenvector centrality measures in this network. Table 5.4 contains the eigenvector centrality scores for all five networks. Eigenvector centrality is a measure of network centrality, or generally how important a claim is in the network. Eigenvector centrality is based on an eigendecomposition of the association matrix that defines the network so that the centrality scores are contained in the eigenvector of the largest eigenvalue of the decomposition. Practically, this means that higher scores are assigned to nodes that are connected to other nodes that themselves have high centrality scores. Thus, eigenvector centrality attempts to identify core-periphery structures in the network, in which the core consists of groups of

Table 5.4: Eigenvector Centrality Scores of Association Networks

claims	1950-1968	1969-1981	1982-1989	1990-2003	2004-2010
Criminal	0.03	0.23	0.27	0.01	0.13
Immoral	0.14	0.18	0.39	0.32	0.26
Mental Illness	0.03	0.38	0.09	0.00	0.00
Diseased	0.00	0.19	0.36	0.20	0.11
Unlike Straights	0.55	0.12	0.11	0.25	0.12
Bad	0.06	0.27	0.36	0.41	0.49
Rights	0.61	0.33	0.28	0.39	0.48
Respect	0.55	0.36	0.50	0.46	0.43
Representation	0.01	0.34	0.27	0.23	0.26
Like Straights	0.02	0.36	0.02	0.26	0.21
Natural	0.02	0.18	0.09	0.16	0.06
Good	0.00	0.36	0.29	0.36	0.33

nodes that are all connected to one another, and the periphery consists of nodes that are primarily connected to the core and not connected to each other. This kind of structure is what I would expect to find in a discursive field, with dominant claims in the core, connected to other dominant claims, and peripheral claims outside, connected to core claims attempting to gain the legitimacy associated with the core, and avoiding other peripheral claims.

In the 1950-1968 network, Unlike Straights, Rights, and Respect all have centrality scores above 0.5, while all other nodes have very low centrality scores. This triad, then, forms a core part of the network. What might this triad represent? I argue that during this period, especially during the 1960s, the law began to recognize certain, very fundamental, rights of gays and lesbians. These include the right to congregate in bars and the right to send newsletters and magazines through the mail. The only article during this period to include all three claims was about the New Jersey Supreme Court overturning a ban on gay bars. In this article, the state supreme court is quoted: “Although in our culture homosexuals are indeed unfortunates, their status does not make them criminals or outlaws. So long as their public behavior violates no legal proscriptions, they have the undoubted right to congregate in public.”³² Throughout the article gay men portrayed as very different

³²November 7, 1967. “High Court in Jersey Overturns A Ban on Homosexuals in Bars.” New York Times

from straight people, but they still deserved to be treated like human beings, and they had the right to assemble in bars. Other articles that included two of the three claims generally conveyed similar sentiments.

How might my theories make sense of this time period? With no political allies, no policy successes, and very little movement mobilization, I would expect fairly negative coverage during this time period. There are few alternatives to the dominant, negative claims being made during this period, and almost no one to voice these alternatives.

1969-1981

The next time period includes the years 1969 through 1981. The Stonewall Riots happened in June 1969, marking the beginning of the modern gay and lesbian movement. Throughout the 1970s, gay and lesbian activists experienced small successes at the municipal level throughout the country. Gay rights gained national attention in 1977 when former Miss Oklahoma winner, singer, and orange juice spokesperson Anita Bryant led a campaign to repeal a recently passed ordinance protecting gays and lesbians from discrimination in Dade County, Florida. The repeal effort was covered in the national news and marked the beginning of a national anti-gay Christian Right movement. The next year Bryant failed to pass a referendum in California that would have barred gays and lesbians from teaching in public schools. That same year, Harvey Milk, one of the first openly gay men to be elected to public office, city supervisor in San Francisco, was assassinated. Table 5.5 contains the association matrix for this period. Association indices that are significant at $p < 0.1$ are bold. Figure 5.6 contains the claim network for this period. As with the previous graph, the color of the edges indicate the strength of the associations between claims, the size of the nodes indicate how often the claim appeared, and the location of the nodes are principal coordinates from a correspondence analysis of the two-mode network for this period.

Notably, diseased is far from the other nodes, indicating a rather unique appearance profile as compared to other claims. This difference seems to define the first dimension of

Table 5.5: Association Matrix of Claims for 1969-1981

	Bad	Crim.	Dis.	Good	Imm.	L.Str.	M.Ill	Nat.	Repr.	Resp.	Rights
Criminal	0.13										
Diseased	0.02	0.08									
Good	0.09	0.05	0.08								
Immoral	0.07	0.17	0.00	0.11							
Like Straights	0.06	0.06	0.10	0.19	0.00						
Mental Illness	0.08	0.07	0.14	0.23	0.07	0.18					
Natural	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.10	0.14				
Representation	0.10	0.12	0.10	0.12	0.00	0.33	0.18	0.00			
Respect	0.13	0.09	0.06	0.19	0.14	0.10	0.19	0.13	0.10		
Rights	0.24	0.11	0.05	0.15	0.07	0.08	0.14	0.05	0.12	0.21	
Unlike Straights	0.02	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.06	0.00

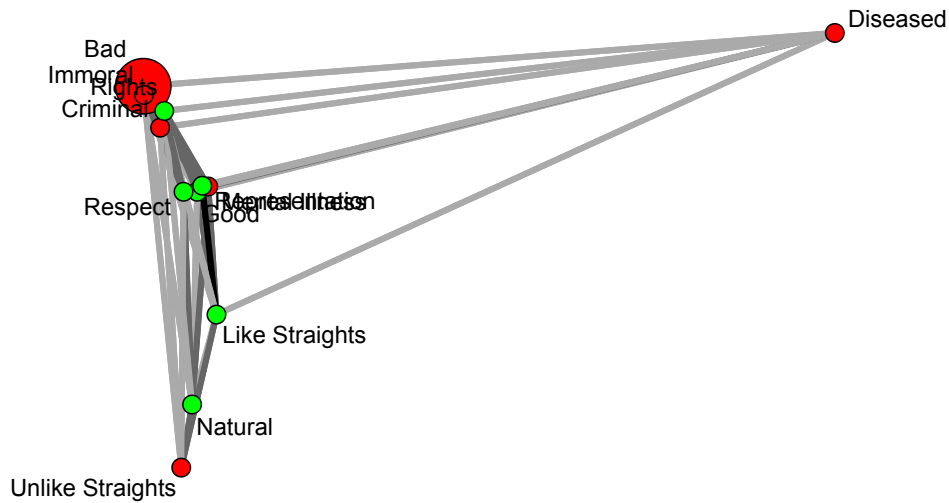
the correspondence analysis. The location of diseased is notable because of the location it will occupy in the next time period, during the AIDS crisis. Three associations are significant in this graph: Rights-Bad, Mental Illness-Good, and Representation-Unlike Straights. In terms of the eigenvector centrality scores, Mental Illness, Rights, Respect, Representation, Like Straights, and Good all have scores above 0.3, and most of these claims appear nearly on top of each other in the middle of the second dimension in the network graph. These claims, then, have similar article profiles and are all relatively strongly associated with each other.

A 1977 editorial in the New York Times supporting the right of gays and lesbians to be teachers exemplifies some of these associations. Quotes like “Present knowledge, then, does not justify barring homosexuals from teaching—though they may not be the best instructors for sex education”³³ offer support for the rights of gays and lesbians to teach, but not outright support for gay rights generally. The editorial also refers to the psychological origins of homosexuality: “Unfortunately, society’s knowledge of the causes of homosexuality is not sufficient to provide total reassurance. But the consensus among psychiatrists is that the propensity begins early, before school age, and that some ‘constitutional’ or physiological factors may be at work.”³⁴ In here, both the mental illness claim (in the reference to psychiatrists for the origins of the “propensity” of homosexuality) and the natural claim (in

³³October 24, 1977. “The Homosexual in the Classroom.” New York Times

³⁴Ibid.

Figure 5.6: Network Graphs of Association Indices, 1969-1981



Note: The first two dimensions of the correspondence analysis account for 14.13% and 12.94% of the inertia.

the reference to “constitutional” factors) appear. More generally, during this period there is growing recognition that gays and lesbians occupy a legitimate space in society, and growing acceptance of the kinds of rights and respect that entails, however the national news media is still ambivalent about the general acceptability of homosexuality. If gays and lesbians were lumped with criminals and prostitutes in the first period, they might be lumped in with beatniks and hippies during this period.

During this period, movement mobilization increased significantly. Numerous local, state, and national organizations were founded in this time, and the movement made some

notable political advances at the local level. During this period the LGBT movement also gained some political allies, particularly in the Democratic Party. LGBT activists met with representatives of the Carter administration in the White House in the late 1970s, and the 1980 Democratic Party Platform included a gay rights plank. Coverage may have been tempered, however, when Iphigene Sulzberger, the matriarch of the New York Times' publisher family, complained to her son about a 1975 article describing a gay ocean cruise experience and the word gay as an adjective was subsequently banned from the paper.

1982-1989

The next period is defined by the AIDS epidemic. Comprising the years 1982 through 1989, this marked the beginning of the AIDS crisis when death rates mounted and the federal government was seemingly uninterested in devoting the necessary resources to combating the disease (Alwood, 1996). Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) was founded in 1982 and become one of the premier AIDS organizations in the country. In 1987, ACT-UP was founded, bringing a new militancy to AIDS activism. Table 5.6 contains the association matrix for claims during this period. Association indices that are significantly ($p < 0.1$) higher than random are in bold. Figure 5.7 contains the network graph for this period. The color of the edges denote the strength of the association, the size of the nodes indicate how often the claim appeared during the period, and the position of the nodes are the principal coordinates of the first two dimensions from a correspondence analysis of the two-mode network for this period.

In terms of the position of the nodes, whereas diseased was positioned far from the other claims in the 1969-1981 period, in this period diseased takes more of a central position, indicating that diseased has a similar article appearance profile as the majority of other claims. More substantively, diseased was not used with other claims very often, prompting the difference in position from other claims in the 1968-1981 association network. During the 1982-1989 period, however, diseased was often used with other claims, pulling it into the

Table 5.6: Association Matrix of Claims for 1982-1989

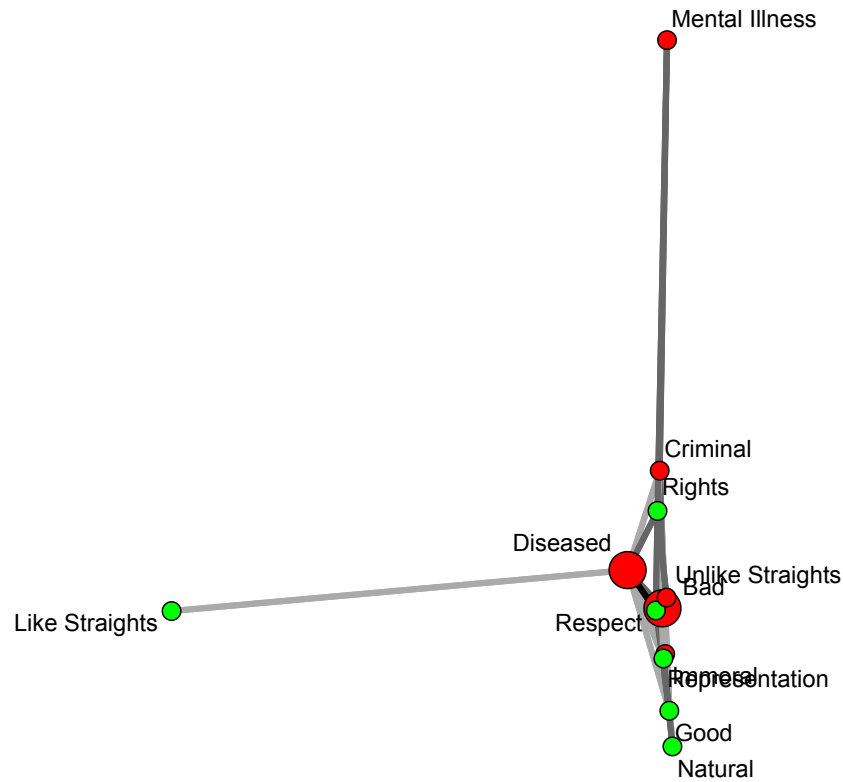
	Bad	Crim.	Dis.	Good	Imm.	L.Str.	M.Ill	Nat.	Repr.	Resp.	Rights
Criminal	0.09										
Diseased	0.12	0.07									
Good	0.10	0.06	0.03								
Immoral	0.10	0.11	0.06	0.14							
Like Straights	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00						
Mental Illness	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00					
Natural	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00				
Representation	0.11	0.00	0.07	0.11	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.11			
Respect	0.14	0.12	0.26	0.15	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.12		
Rights	0.11	0.07	0.11	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.07	0.12	
Unlike Straights	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11

center of the network. This is also reflected in the eigenvector centrality scores, as Diseased scored among the periphery during the 1969-1981 period, but is part of a core defined by Immoral-Diseased-Bad-Respect. Mental Illness has moved far from the center of the network, probably reflecting the declining legitimacy of the claim, as the American Psychological Association stopped considering it a mental disorder in 1973 (Mayes and Horwitz, 2005). Like Straights has also moved far from the center, possibly because the early affiliation of AIDS with gay men served to emphasize the differences between gays and straights, so the Like Straights claim falls out of favor.

Diseased was often invoked when anti-gay people used the disease to persecute gays and lesbians. I quoted Congressman Dannemeyer earlier on page 94, who repeatedly and viciously attacked gays and lesbians through the guise of addressing the AIDS epidemic. A 1985 candidate for mayor in Houston got into some trouble when he was overheard saying “...that one of his plans for combatting AIDS was to ‘shoot the queers.’”³⁵ During this period, Respect was often invoked as a counterclaim to negative claims in the context of AIDS. In the following quote, AIDS is explicitly associated with homosexuality, but it ends with a call for respect for the victims, to not fear them: “Mr. McFarlane is director of Gay Men’s Health Crisis, a group that assigns volunteers to help victims of AIDS, the immune system disorder that mostly attacks homosexual men and intravenous drug users. Besides

³⁵Shipp, E.R. October 26, 1985. “Concern Over Spread of AIDS Generates a Spate of New Laws Nationwide.” New York Times.

Figure 5.7: Network Graphs of Association Indices, 1982-1989



Note: The first two dimensions of the correspondence analysis account for 15.2% and 12.11% of the inertia.

the disease, AIDS victims must endure rejection by people who fear, erroneously, that AIDS is spread by slight contact.”³⁶ This kind of interplay between Diseased and Respect would define the way AIDS would be covered by journalists for the rest of the period, reminding the public that AIDS primarily infects gay men and, at the same time, asking for victims to be treated as human beings.

The AIDS epidemic radically changed the national conversation about homosexuality. Whereas before the debate was largely about whether and what kind of rights should be given to gays and lesbians, the 1980s was about the disease, how it was caused, and whether

³⁶December 11, 1983. “Topics; Medicine, False and True: Aides for AIDS.” New York Times

gay men were contagious to the heterosexual population. Issues about the rights of gay men versus what was good for public health were common debates in the news. The 1980s was also a time when the President and other Republicans were openly hostile towards gays and lesbians. The Republican Party formed a coalition with the Christian Right in the 1980 election of President Reagan (Fetner, 2008), and anti-rhetoric became common place in conservative conversations. The AIDS epidemic also caused drastic changes to the movement, as many activists died of the disease and movement resources were redirected to care for AIDS victims. These factors may explain why the core claim structure, Immoral-Diseased-Bad-Respect, was dominated by negative claims during this period.

1990-2003

Table 5.7 contains the association matrix for claims during the period 1990 to 2003. This period encompasses the “gay nineties,” a play on the nickname for the 1890s, this time referring to the incredible advances gay rights made during this decade. Many state level anti-discrimination laws were passed, new drugs made living long lives with AIDS and HIV possible, and much more positive depictions of gays and lesbians appeared in the mass media (Alwood, 1996). Figure 5.8 contains the network graph of the association matrix. Edge colors indicate the strength of association, node size indicates the relative frequency of the claim, and node position is determined by the principal coordinates from a correspondence analysis on the two-mode network for this time period.

During this period, Diseased has moved out of the central part of the graph, as has criminal and representation. Each of these claims form the points of a triangle, indicating that all three have very different appearance profiles from each other, and from the claims contained in the center of the graph. Focusing on the center graph, there are some interesting patterns. First, Like Straights is significantly associated with four other claims in the core: Unlike Straights, Bad, Good, and Rights. This signals a shift in the framing strategies of gay rights advocates, emphasizing the similarities between gay and straight people to justify

Table 5.7: Association Matrix of Claims for 1990-2003

	Bad	Crim.	Dis.	Good	Imm.	L.Str.	M.Ill	Nat.	Repr.	Resp.	Rights
Criminal	0.00										
Diseased	0.09	0.00									
Good	0.09	0.00	0.06								
Immoral	0.15	0.00	0.08	0.14							
Like Straights	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.02						
Mental Illness	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00					
Natural	0.04	0.00	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.07	0.00				
Representation	0.06	0.00	0.03	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.00	0.00			
Respect	0.24	0.00	0.11	0.18	0.17	0.06	0.00	0.05	0.11		
Rights	0.23	0.01	0.04	0.12	0.08	0.08	0.00	0.04	0.09	0.20	
Unlike Straights	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.02	0.29	0.00	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.06

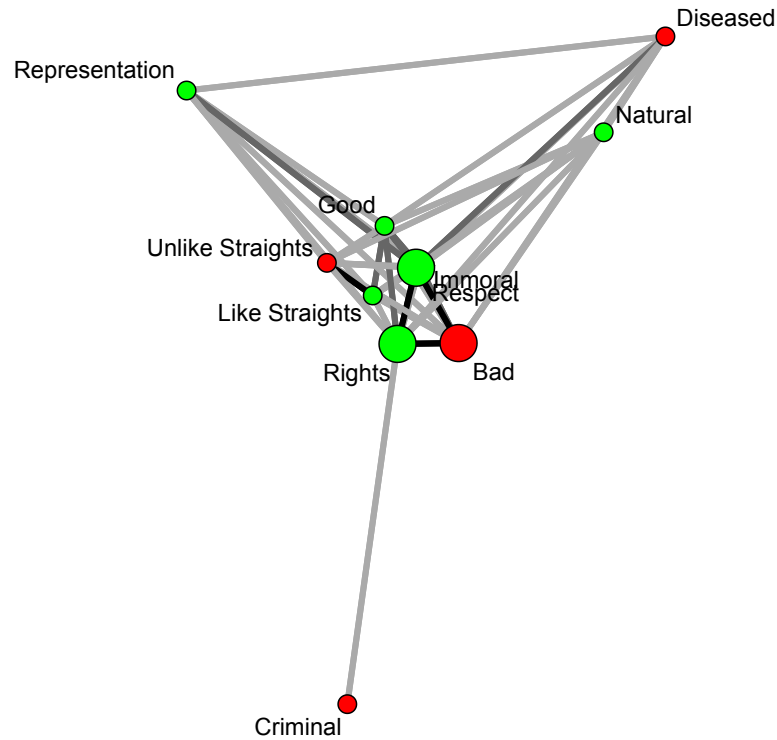
protections for gays and lesbians from discrimination and other rights. The Like Straights-Unlike Straights association is particularly strong in this network, driven, on the one hand, by pushback against the sameness argument, and on the other hand by gay rights advocates opposing an assimilationist strategy for advancing gay rights. The tension between the sameness and difference arguments in the media is well represented in a 1992 article about gay parenting. In describing the parenting situation of Michael, the author writes “But even in this day of ever-mutating family ties, Michael’s situation stands out as unusual.”³⁷ The author then describes Michael’s biological mother, his mother’s ex-lover, whom he calls his step-mother, and his biological father, a gay man who anonymously donated sperm. This serves to emphasize the differences between gays and straights, calling attention to the unique relationships in a same-sex parenting situation without acknowledging why such relationships are necessary nor that such relationships are not uncommon among opposite-sex parents. The same author later describes two men raising children together, and writes “His gay lover is employed outside the home, while Mr. Fisher works at home so he can care for the children.”³⁸ The author highlights the fact that the family has an “ideal” parenting situation, with one parent the breadwinner and the other the caregiver.

A second article during this period makes public the struggle with the sameness and

³⁷Goleman, Daniel. December 2, 1992. “Studies Find no Disadvantage in Growing Up in a Gay Home.” New York Times.

³⁸Ibid.

Figure 5.8: Network Graphs of Association Indices, 1990-2003



Note: The first two dimensions of the correspondence analysis account for 13.61% and 12.73% of the inertia.

difference arguments within the LGBT community. In the early 1990s, young activists began taking back the word “queer,” generating a great deal of controversy within the community about whether it was okay to use the word. The article summarizes this struggle as “The word is gaining currency in New York, San Francisco and other major cities, and the attendant controversy underscores a growing generation gap within the gay community. It divides youthful, self-described ‘separatists,’ roused to a new militant rage by the AIDS epidemic, from those who came of political age in the 60’s, and for whom political struggle has long focused on issues like privacy and tolerance.”³⁹ Older activists reactive negatively to the

³⁹Stanley, Alessandra. April 6, 1991. “Militants Back ‘Queer,’ Shoving ‘Gay’ the Way of ‘Negro’.” New

connotations of ‘queer,’ with one man quoted as saying “I just don’t get it – ‘queer’ is the word they used to torture us with.”⁴⁰ Younger activists, on the other hand, are fighting against what they perceive to be a growing assimilationist trend within the LGBT movement, with one woman quoted: “‘Gay, to me, has a very specific meaning,’ she said. ‘A certain kind of white, middle-class, assimilationist homosexual.’”⁴¹

Looking at the eigenvector centrality scores, there appears to be a core composed of Bad, Rights, and Respect, with Immoral and Good as members with slightly lower scores. A common pattern among the triad is to discuss a recently passed reform that extends some form of rights to gays and lesbians, which is justified through a respect claim— we have to extend these benefits because they deserve to be treated equally or as human beings. Then, to include balance, the article quotes someone opposed to the reform, which, during this period, was usually voicing opposition to the policy without giving a concrete reason why. Gay rights opponents still help as self-evident that homosexuality was a bad thing. For example, shortly after Colorado’s Amendment 2, which banned municipalities from banning discrimination against gays and lesbians, was overturned by the United States Supreme Court, Denver extended healthcare benefits to same-sex partners of city workers. A leader of Equality Colorado, a state LGBT organization, was quoted in the article, “What the City Council did was very powerful. It recognized same sex couples, and it said, We are going to treat you equally.”⁴² This quote invokes a respect claim as it praises the city council for recognizing the rights of gay couples. Later, the sole no vote on the city council was quoted, “I was concerned that we would be encouraging that life style by providing benefits.”⁴³ The city councilman is making a negative claim about homosexuality but the claim is not specific, and so is coded as Bad.

This period marked a rapid expansion of the movement on the national level, especially

York Times.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Brooke, James. September 18, 1996. “Denver Extends Health Coverage to Partners of Gay City Employees.” New York Times.

⁴³Ibid.

as the Human Rights Campaign grew in resources. During this period, President Clinton campaigned on ending the ban of gays and lesbians in the military and personally met with LGBT activists in the White House. The 1990s saw numerous policy reforms at the state and national levels as well. Public opinion improved during this period, reflected in, or perhaps guided by, unprecedented positive depictions of gays and lesbians in the popular media. These factors contributed to a claims network in which the proportion of positive claims grew, the proportion of negative claims shrank, and the core structure was dominated by positive claims.

2004-2010

The final period includes the years 2004 through 2010. In 2004, Massachusetts began issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples, marking the first state to do so. Shortly before, San Francisco made national news by issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples, though the courts put a stop to it after a couple weeks. Though these marriages were eventually nullified by the California Supreme Court, it set up the court case that would lead the state's supreme court to find that banning same-sex couples from getting married violated California's constitution in 2008. In response to San Francisco and Massachusetts, 12 states put ballot initiatives to pass state constitutional amendments defining marriage as between one man and one woman on their November ballots. President Bush supported a federal amendment to do the same during his reelection campaign. Thus, 2004 marked the year that same-sex marriage was catapulted to the front of the issue agenda for gay rights. By 2010, six states and the District of Columbia had legalized same-sex marriage, though California passed a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage a few months after the supreme court legalized it (Solomon, 2014). Table 5.8 contains the association matrix of claims for this period. Associations that are significantly higher than random at $p < 0.1$ are in bold. Figure 5.9 contains the network graph of the association matrix. Edge colors indicate the strength of association between claims, node size indicates the relative frequency

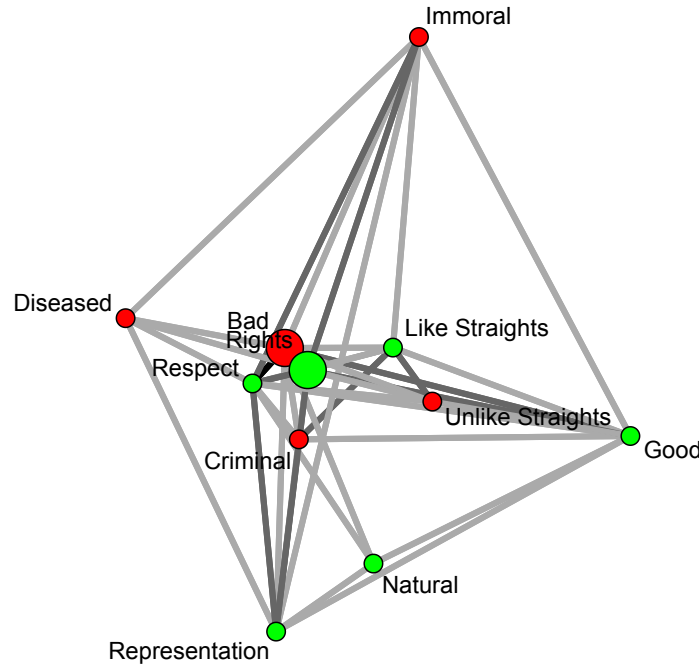
Table 5.8: Association Matrix of Claims for 2004-2010

	Bad	Crim.	Dis.	Good	Imm.	L.Str.	M.Ill	Nat.	Repr.	Resp.	Rights
Criminal	0.05										
Diseased	0.03	0.00									
Good	0.15	0.03	0.00								
Immoral	0.10	0.00	0.05	0.10							
Like Straights	0.06	0.12	0.00	0.08	0.04						
Mental Illness	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00					
Natural	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00				
Representation	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.07			
Respect	0.27	0.03	0.07	0.11	0.12	0.06	0.00	0.03	0.16		
Rights	0.34	0.04	0.04	0.16	0.13	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.19	
Unlike Straights	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.04

of the claim, and node positions are principal coordinates from a correspondence analysis of the two-mode network for this period.

Whereas previous periods had a tightly clustered central group of claims with unusual claims branching off, the claims in this network are more spread out along the first two dimensions of the correspondence analysis. The appearance patterns for claims during this period are not as similar as in previous periods, perhaps indicating a time of flux in the discursive field of homosexuality— there is ambiguity about what claims are most appropriate in a certain context, and what counterclaims are most effective. However, the Rights-Respect-Bad triad still appears in the center of the graph, and are the three most central claims according to their eigenvector centrality scores. Furthermore, the associations between Bad and Rights, and between Bad and Respect, are the only associations significantly different from random. So while other claims may be in flux, this triad seems to be the core claim interactions happening both in the 1990s and 2000s. Articles with at least one of these claims represent two-thirds of the articles in this period. In the context of the same-sex marriage period, articles with all three of these claims often invoke the rights claim in arguing for relationship recognition, and the respect claim to justify why civil unions weren't enough. In an article about New Jersey allowing civil unions, a state senator is quoted, "I have no doubt personally that we eventually will have gay marriages in New Jersey without any word symbols to diminish the beauty of two committed people of the same sex who love each

Figure 5.9: Network Graphs of Association Indices, 2004-2010



Note: The first two dimensions of the correspondence analysis account for 15.23% and 13.98% of the inertia.

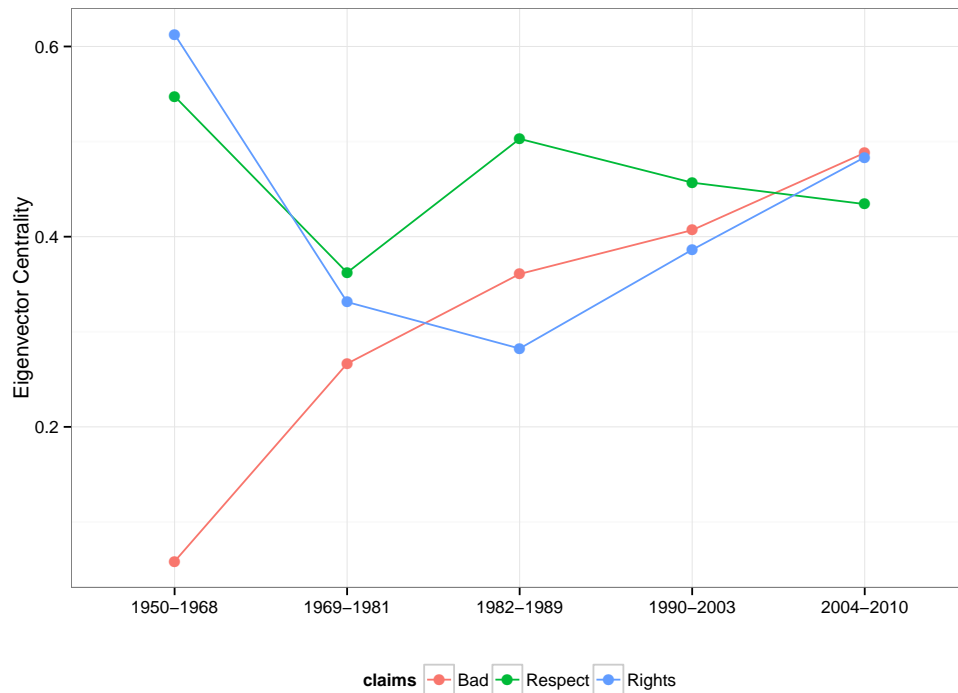
other.”⁴⁴ In this quote, civil unions are positioned as disrespectful to same-sex relationships, diminishing their beauty. She continues, “It would be wrong to delay providing the needed rights of marriage that will come with enactment of this legislation because of a dispute over words.”⁴⁵ Later, opponents get a chance to voice their dissent, and one anti-gay lawyer says New Jersey represented “the very best chance that genderless marriage advocates had to pull another Massachusetts.”⁴⁶

⁴⁴Barry, Ellen. December 15, 2006. “The Nation: New Jersey is 3rd state to allow gay civil unions.” Los Angeles Times.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Figure 5.10: Eigenvector Centrality Scores for Bad, Respect, and Rights Over Time

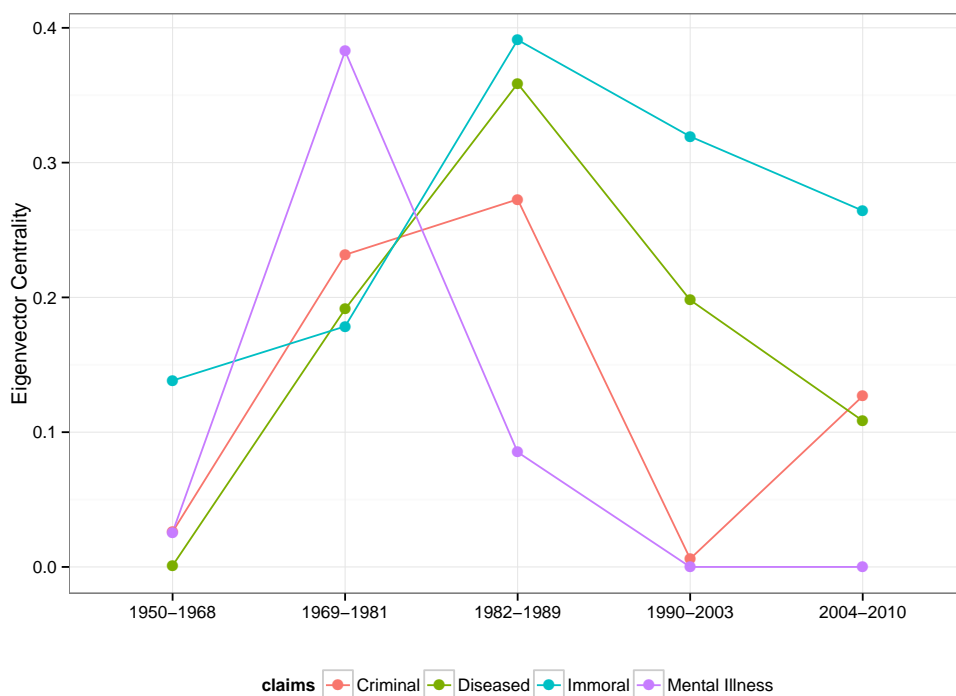


The beginning of this period was characterized by a relatively hostile political environment. President Bush was no ally of gay rights, and neither was the Republican controlled House. However, the national LGBT movement was relatively strong, and was able to secure marriage rights at a time when few thought it was possible. Public opinion on gay rights, and particularly same-sex marriage improved by a relatively large amount during this period, with a majority of Americans approving of same-sex marriages shortly after the period ended (Gallup, 2013).

Centrality Scores Over Time

What does all of this say about how and why the tone of coverage of homosexuality changed over time? To answer this, I graphed the eigenvector centrality scores of the claims over the five periods. Figure 5.10 graphs the centrality scores for the Bad-Rights-Respect triad that was featured in the 1990-2003 and 2004-2010 periods. Rights and Respect both start off

Figure 5.11: Eigenvector Centrality Scores for Criminal, Diseased, Immoral, and Mental Illness Over Time



with high scores, dip down, then climb back up. For Respect, the dip happens for just one period, 1969-1981, but by the next period it was highly central again, as people claimed that AIDS victims deserved respect. Bad, on the other hand, started with a low centrality and has increased over time. This is likely due to other, more specific negative claims falling out of favor and becoming more peripheral in the discursive field. Overtime, the negative claims anti-gay voices typically used to justify their positions lost legitimacy. They couldn't claim it was a mental illness. They couldn't claim it was criminal. Fewer and fewer people think it is immoral. As a result, the claims for opposing homosexuality become more vague, or shift to defending tradition instead of being about homosexuality itself. Bad becomes a catch-all for these various and vague defenses for anti-gay positions. The decline in legitimacy of specific negative claims is illustrated in the next figure.

Figure 5.11 graphs the centrality scores of four negative claims over time. The overall pattern seems to be a claim raising to a fairly central position for one or more periods

and then the centrality score falls away. The Criminal claim rises in centrality between 1950-1968 and 1969-1982. It rises again in 1982-1989, but falls to nearly zero by the next period, likely because sodomy laws lost their legitimacy during this period. Eight states repealed their sodomy laws in the 1990s (Kane, 2003), and the United States Supreme Court declared sodomy laws unconstitutional in the last year of the period. Mental Illness peaks in 1969-1981, but quickly falls away, as homosexuality is no longer considered a mental illness by psychiatrists after 1973 (Mayes and Horwitz, 2005). Diseased peaks during the AIDS epidemic in 1982-1989, then falls to lower centrality scores in later periods. Finally, Immoral remains relatively peripheral between 1950 and 1982, but during 1982-1989 it reaches a higher central score, and its centrality score falls more slowly than the others. The Immoral claim is the primary claim of the Christian Right, claiming homosexuality is a sin (Fetner, 2008). The centrality of the claim peaks during the 1980s when the Moral Majority enjoys a huge amount of influence in politics and the media. While it does decline after, it does so more slowly. The Christian Right has not regained the influence it enjoyed in the 1980s, but neither has it become irrelevant in politics. President Bush relied heavily on the Christian Right during his election campaigns. This would lead to Immoral retaining some legitimacy in the discursive field. These patterns provide an explanation for Bad's rise in centrality - more specific negative claims have declined in their centrality in the discursive field and so counterclaims to gay rights have taken on a more general character.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I've shown that the tone of coverage of homosexuality has improved for several reasons. First, the legitimacy of several negative claims has declined, or disappeared entirely, over the entire time period under study. For Mental Illness, this was due to psychiatrists and psychologists no longer considering homosexuality a mental disorder. For Criminal this was due to the overturning of sodomy laws as unconstitutional. These two cases suggest

that policy reforms are important for changing the narrative of an issue because they can remove the legitimacy of certain negative claims. Policy reforms might also explain the rise in the Rights claim in the last two periods, as policies conferring rights legitimize making rights additional rights based claims. Second, the mobilization of the movement, especially during the 1990s and 2000s, contributed to a rise in movement sponsored claims in centrality within the network as well as similarity with other claims. Rights and Respect become stable members of a core group of claims during the 1990s and 2000s, and Good and Representation are fairly central as well.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

I came to this project wanting to know how movements cause cultural change. In my dissertation, I have followed the newspaper coverage of homosexuality and the LGBT movement in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and Wall Street Journal over a 60 year period. I have tried to explain why the media paid the attention it did to the issue and the movement, and why the way the media covered homosexuality changed when and the way it did. Central to this project was the question: how do movement change culture? I chose to pursue this question through the news media, understanding that the news media has a powerful impact on the way the public understands issues (Ferree et al., 2002). The news media provide “frame packages,” or tools with which the public discusses an issue (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). When new frame packages enter the media, they offer opportunities for changing the public discussion, as Gamson and Modigliani found with nuclear energy after the Three Mile Island accident. Movements are sources of alternative frames (Ferree et al., 2002; Snow, 2004), and so gaining coverage in the news media provides an opportunity for the movement to insert their preferred frames into the public discussion. News coverage, then, is an important outcome for movements, and has the potential to lead to even greater success.

6.1 Evaluating Theories

Throughout my analysis, I was guided by six perspectives from the social movement literature that offered potential explanations for why movements and their issues gain media attention. My goal throughout each chapter was to try to explain the outcome the chapter focused on, and to evaluate the effectiveness of each perspective. How did these perspectives fair in the analysis?

Public Opinion

I was skeptical at the beginning of public opinion's explanatory potential. While certainly mainstream news outlets are not going to use frames that are too far outside the mainstream, research has shown that the causal relationship tends to be the other way around, with media coverage influencing public opinion on an issue (Brewer, 2003; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Iyengar and Simon, 1993; Simon and Jerit, 2007). In each of my chapters, public opinion did not contribute much to explaining newspaper coverage of homosexuality. In chapter 3, an investigation of the correlational relationship between coverage and public opinion indicated that public opinion changed after coverage did. When public opinion was added to the qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), the causal set for public opinion dropped out of the QCA solution entirely. Public opinion performed no better in chapter 4, and so was excluded from the analysis entirely. While the tone of coverage improved in chapter 5 at the same time public opinion did, other perspectives offered far more convincing reasons why, and it seemed more likely that the change in coverage was causing the change in public opinion, and not the other way around.

Political Opportunity

Political opportunity provided some useful ways to think about what was driving coverage of homosexuality. Newspapers typically have one or more political beat reporters, so the

political process and politicians get frequent routine coverage in the news media (Gans, 1979). When the political context is friendly to a movement and its issue, the issue is likely to appear higher on the political issue agenda, and be more likely to be covered by the news media. A friendly political context can also signal to media professionals that the movement and its issues are important, increasing coverage of the movement directly. Movements are also likely to adapt their media tactics to the political context in which they mobilize, which can make them more successful in gaining coverage (Rohlinger, 2006).

In my dissertation, I found mixed results for the explanatory power of political opportunity. In chapter 3, the political opportunity measures were not significant in the regression, but they did help in the QCA. A liberal Congress appeared in the political recipe for high coverage for the QCA that included protest events, and a presidential election year appeared in a recipe for high coverage in the QCA that included public opinion. This suggests that political opportunity is important, but only in combination with other factors, such as movement mobilization. In chapter 4, political opportunity measures were significant in the regression, but not useful in the QCA. A liberal Congress and coverage of the anti-gay countermovement both predicted more coverage in the regression analysis, but QCA that included these measures did not produce good solutions. Finally, in chapter 5, eras of improving tone of coverage of homosexuality coincided with relatively friendly Democratic Presidents. However, the 1990s, when the biggest improvement of the tone of coverage occurred, experienced a large conservative shift in the House that presaged a Republican takeover of both the White House and Congress in the early 2000s.

Overall, then, political opportunity seems to provide good guidance to macro-level contexts that might matter for coverage outcomes of movements, but there is more to the story than just the political opportunity. The evidence suggests that political opportunity acts in concert with movement characteristics and actions to produce outcomes.

Policy Reform

Policy reform focuses on this movement-politics relationship. Policy reforms starts with the idea that political success for a movement confers benefits to the movement's constituency that shift the political landscape so that the movement has a better chance of success the next time around (Amenta and Caren, 2004). Benefits conferred onto the constituency can include financial resources, in the case of social welfare programs, or legitimacy as import civic and/or political actors, in the case of civil rights legislation. These benefits in the political arena can also translate to the media arena. Movements with prior political success are more likely to be seen as legitimate political actors by the news media, and so more likely to be covered as part of the political process. Political success can also signal that the movement's claims or word views are legitimate and should be taken seriously in the public discussion of an issue. These benefits accumulate over time, as the movement achieves more political success.

Policy reform faired well in my analysis. In chapter 3, policy reforms were significant predictors of coverage in the regression analysis, and also a component of the political recipe for the QCA that included protest events. The absence of policy reforms was a component in one of the recipes in the QCA that included public opinion, however this recipe only covered one unique year, 1979. In chapter 4, policy reforms were significant in the regression results, and also a component of the largest recipe to high coverage for an organization. In chapter 5, the 1990s and 2000s, period with the most policy successes of the entire time of the study, had the most positive coverage.

Overall, it seems that policy reforms are an important part of the explanation for why coverage changed. Policy reforms focused media attention on the issue, especially during later periods. Policy reforms also helped explain why certain organizations received more coverage than others, as the successful organizations had more policy success, though this also combined with organizational resources, as I discuss below. Finally, policy successes signaled that gay rights was a legitimate political issue, delegitimizing conflicting claims

about homosexuality and shifting the discourse to one that emphasized the rights and respect that gays and lesbians deserved.

Newspaper Leaders

What appears in the news is ultimately up to the journalists and editors of the newspaper. It would make sense, then, that who is writing for and leading the newspaper would have an effect on the coverage of an issue. Chomsky and Barclay (2013) find a significant increase in front page articles about homosexuality in the New York Times after a change in the Editor and Publisher of the paper. In general, I don't find much evidence for news professional's influence on coverage of homosexuality. In chapter 3, the turnover rate of journalists had the opposite effect than expected in the regression, and when I tried to include it in the QCA it did not perform well and so I dropped it. In chapter 4, the turnover rate was not significant in the regression and was highly correlated with several independent variables and so I did not include it in the final analysis. It also did not perform well in the QCA for chapter 4. In chapter 5, large shifts in the tone of coverage happened around the time that the Editor at the New York Times changed, but this coincided with a variety of other events that could also explain the shift in tone, and so the evidence is not clear the change in leadership was the cause of the shift in tone.

Crisis

Crises have been shown to encourage new mobilization around an issue (Cable et al., 1988; Snow et al., 1998). Crises serve as focusing events (Birkland, 1998), bringing increased public attention on an issue previously ignored. Crises can also destabilize existing discourses, opening up opportunities for alternative frames to influence the discussion of the issue (Bail, 2012). The AIDS epidemic had a substantial effect on the LGBT movement (Alwood, 1996; Gould, 2009). Countless activists lost their lives to the disease and it dramatically shifted the movement's priorities. I would expect these kinds of impacts to have an effect on the

media coverage of homosexuality. I am not disappointed.

In chapter 3 and chapter 4, AIDS deaths are significant in each of the regression analyses, and also define alternative pathways to high coverage in the QCA. As I discuss in more detail below, the AIDS epidemic seems to function as an equivalent of political opportunity and policy reform, increasing coverage for those organizations poised to address the crisis. The epidemic also opened up opportunities for protest-oriented organizations to gain high coverage. This may be because the tragedy of the epidemic justified heated, angry displays of emotion that typically characterize disruptive protest, and that are normally dismissed in political discourse (Gould, 2009). However, as the body count rose in the AIDS epidemic, and public perceptions of the disease shifted from a fear of the unknown to a concern for the spread of the disease, public anger at the lack of response to the disease became legitimate in public discourse, and so the media was willing to pay particular attention to groups like ACT-UP that voiced this anger. The AIDS epidemic also had an obvious effect on the tone of coverage of homosexuality in chapter 5. The diseased claim was a peripheral claim in the period before AIDS, and far removed from the center of the graph according to the correspondence analysis. During the AIDS period, however, diseased was a highly central claim, and firmly located in the center of the graph. By the next period, in the 1990s, diseased was once again in the periphery of claims and removed from the center of the graph. The AIDS epidemic legitimized the diseased claim, causing a shift in the discourse of homosexuality, and even convincing gay activists to abandon sexual liberation as a central frame of their movement.

Movement Mobilization

While each of the perspectives above provided more or less help in explaining coverage, in every case the perspective was insufficient by itself to explain the outcomes. The activity of the movement was an important component in each interpretation of what explained each outcome. In chapter 3, the number of active LGBT organizations was a significant predictor

of coverage in the regression, and the number of protest events, as well the number of newly founded organizations, were both important for explaining high coverage of homosexuality. In chapter 4, a number of organizational characteristics and tactical orientations were significant in predicting coverage, and organizational resources were important in combination with policy success to gain high coverage for the organization. In chapter 5, representatives of the LGBT movement in combination with LGBT laypeople constituted nearly 13% of the paragraph speakers in my data. While not an overwhelming percentage, it outstrips any other speaker type besides the author of the article. This presence is seen in the association networks, as movement sponsored claims such as Rights and Respect gain prominence, in numbers, centrality, and similarity with other claims.

A story emerges from these results to explain coverage. Coverage changes because of movement engagement, but whether and how the movement is successful is determined by the interaction between the movement and its environment. In order for the media to take the movement and its issue seriously, the movement needs to show itself to be a serious political player by achieving some measure of policy success. This policy success signals to the media that the movement's issue is an important political issue and should be paid attention to. The media then turns to those organizations within the movement that has demonstrated the most success, both in terms of political outcomes and resource mobilization outcomes, to speak on behalf of the movement. However, in contexts in which the movement hasn't had much political success, protest may be a viable way to gain media attention, though research suggests this attention will not be that positive. An exception to this way be in the context of of a crisis. If the crisis is causing significant pain to the movement's constituency, and the response to the crisis is perceived to be negligent, then emotional protest may be seen as legitimate responses to a tragic problem. Even this crisis related protest, however, is not guaranteed to improve the tone of coverage, as discussion of the movement's issue will be dominated by the crisis rather than substantive political claims.

6.2 Limitations

My project has several limitations that prevent a fuller analysis of the outcomes. First, my central conclusion is that movements matter a great deal in changing the coverage of their issue. However, some of the data I have on movement mobilization and organizational characteristics are limited. I rely on the Dynamics of Collection Action dataset for protest data, and they only have data for the years 1960 through 1995. I cannot say how protest works during more recent years of gay and lesbian mobilization. My measure of organizational resources is also fairly crude due to the difficulty of collecting resource data for organizations over the time period I am looking at. Without direct access to organizational archives, I cannot construct the kind of rich resource measure that would be ideal for this analysis. Ideally, I would have data on the amount of resources an organization devotes to media strategies, but this is simply not available for enough of my organizations to be a viable measure. As a result, my analysis cannot speak to the effect of resource specialization by the movement. Related to this, my tactical orientation measures are about whether an organization typically engages in a certain tactic, but does not measure how often they engage in the tactic.

I also don't have rich data for changes in leadership at the three newspapers. Historical lists of editors at the Los Angeles Times and Wall Street Journal do not seem to be readily available online. For the New York Times, I rely on historical accounts of media coverage of homosexuality to make sense of changes in leadership at the paper. Ideal data for this perspective would include the editors and publishers for each paper and how they treated issues of homosexuality in deciding what to cover and where to place stories.

Finally, the way I coded claims meant I lost a good deal of nuance in claims, especially in negative claims in more recent years. The prominence of the Bad claim is due, at least in part, to a lack of category options for recent opposition to gay rights. While I was able to see how positive claims shifted throughout the network as time passed, and I was able to observe certain negative claims rise and fall in legitimacy based on the losing of official sponsors or changes in the social context, but in the 1990s and 2000s I haven't been able

to see how gay rights opponents have shifted their claims making in response to growing success on the part of the LGBT movement and shifting public opinion.

6.3 Next Steps

My results, as well as the limitations of my project, offer suggestions for future research. While I have shown that resources matter for media outcomes, I cannot show what kinds of resources matter specifically. Is it enough for an organization to have a large budget and many paid staff, or do some of those staff need to specialize in media strategies? Does having a large membership base really substitute for having a large budget, or does money matter more than members? A project that focuses on a handful of ideal-type organizations with rich resource data available would help answer some of these questions.

I have also shown that protest can, under certain circumstances, produce positive media outcomes. What is it about the circumstances that determine how effective protest might be? Are there certain kinds of protest that are better in certain circumstances than others? Is it possible for protest to change the public discussion for the better? The example of Occupy Wall Street suggests that it is - while the Occupy protests themselves were rarely covered favorably, they did jump start a national conversation about who was benefiting most from the recovery and greater scrutiny on corporate America.

Finally, how, exactly did movement actors influence the tone of coverage? Their presence in the overall discussion in the news was fairly small, the evidence suggest their impact was much larger. How did this happen? Was it enough for the movement to insert their preferred claims in the small amount of coverage they did gain to influence how homosexuality was subsequently talked about? Were movement actors in conversation with journalists behind the scenes to influence how they covered gay and lesbian issues? The work of GLAAD¹ suggests that the behind the scenes work was very influential in changing the way journalists talked about homosexuality. An empirical study focusing on the mechanisms of influence

¹Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation

would help movement scholars better understand how movement change culture.

Bibliography

- Alwood, E. (1996). *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians, and the News Media*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Amenta, E. and N. Caren (2004). The legislative, organizational, and beneficiary consequences of state-oriented challengers. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, pp. 461–488. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Amenta, E., N. Caren, E. Chiarello, and Y. Su (2010). The political consequences of social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology* 36(1), 287–307.
- Amenta, E., N. Caren, S. J. Olasky, and J. E. Stobaugh (2009). All the movements fit to print: Who, what, when, where, and why movement families appeared in the new york times in the twentieth century. *American Sociological Review* 74(4), 636–656.
- Amenta, E., N. Caren, and J. E. Stobaugh (2012). Political reform and the historical trajectories of u.s. social movements in the twentieth century. *Social Forces*.
- Amenta, E., B. G. Gardner, A. C. Tierney, A. Yerena, and T. A. Elliott (2012). A story-centered approach to the newspaper coverage of high-profile smos. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change* 33, 83–108.
- Andrews, K. T. and N. Caren (2010). Making the news: Movement organizations, media attention, and the public agenda. *American Sociological Review* 75(6), 841–866.
- Bail, C. A. (2012). The fringe effect: Civil society organizations and the evolution of media discourse about islam since the september 11th attacks. *American Sociological Review* 77(6), 855–879.
- Barakso, M. and B. F. Schaffner (2006). Winning coverage: News media portrayals of the women’s movement, 1969-2004. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 11(4), 22–44.
- Baumgartner, F. R. and B. D. Jones (2012). Policy agendas project.
- Bejder, L., D. Fletcher, and S. Brager (1998). A method for testing association patterns of social animals. *Animal Behavior* 56, 719–725.

- Benford, R. D. and D. A. Snow (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, 611–639.
- Birkland, T. A. (1998). Focusing events, mobilization, and agenda setting. *Journal of Public Policy* 18(1), 53–74.
- Borgatti, S. P. and M. G. Everett (1997). Network analysis of 2-mode data. *Social Networks* 19, 243–269.
- Brewer, P. R. (2003). Values, political knowledge, and public opinion about gay rights. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67, 173–201.
- Cable, S., E. J. Walsh, and R. H. Warland (1988). Differential paths to political activism: Comparisons of four mobilization processes after the three mile island accident. *Social Forces* 66(4), 951–969.
- CDC (2012). Hiv surveillance report. Report, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
- Chauncey, G. (1994). *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940*. New York: BasicBooks.
- Chomsky, D. and S. Barclay (2010). The mass media, public opinion, and lesbian and gay rights. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 6, 20.1–20.17.
- Chomsky, D. and S. Barclay (2013). The editor, the publisher, and his mother: The representation of lesbians and gays in the new york times. *Journal of Homosexuality* 60(10), 1389–1408.
- Clayman, S. E. and A. Reisner (1998). Gatekeeping in action: Editorial conferences and assessments of newsworthiness. *American Sociological Review* 63(2), 178–199.
- Colby, D. C. and T. E. Cook (1991). Epidemics and agendas: The politics of nightly news coverage of aids. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 16(2), 215–249.
- Corbett, J. B. (1998). Media, bureaucracy, and the success of social protest: Newspaper coverage of environmental movement groups. *Mass Communication and Society* 1(1), 41–61.
- D’Emilio, J. (1998). *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* (2 ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dusa, A. and A. Thiem (2014). *Qualitative Comparative Analysis*. R Package Version 1.1-4.
- Earl, J., A. Martin, J. D. McCarthy, and S. A. Soule (2004). The use of newspaper data in the study of collective action. *Annual Review of Sociology* 30, 65–80.
- Earl, J., S. A. Soule, and J. D. McCarthy (2003). Protest under fire? explaining the policing of protest. *American Sociological Review* 68(4), 581–606.

- Epstein, S. (1996). *Impure Science: AIDS, Activism, and the Politics of Knowledge*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Epstein, S. (2007). *Inclusion: The Politics of Difference in Medical Research*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Faust, K. (2005). Using correspondence analysis for join displays of affiliation networks. In P. J. Carrington and S. Wasserman (Eds.), *Models and Methods in Social Network Analysis*, Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences, Chapter 7. Cambridge University Press.
- Faust, K., K. E. Willert, D. D. Rowlee, and J. Skvoretz (2002). Scaling and statistical models for affiliation networks: Patterns of participation among soviet politicians during the brezhnev era. *Social Networks* 24, 231–259.
- Ferree, M. M., W. A. Gamson, J. Gerhards, and D. Rucht (2002). *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fetner, T. (2001). Working anita bryant: The impact of christian anti-gay activism on lesbian and gay movement claims. *Social Problems* 48(3), 411–428.
- Fetner, T. (2008). *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism*, Volume 31 of *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- French, C. W. (1987). *The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing.
- Gale Research Inc. (2012). *Encyclopedia of Associations*. Gale Research.
- Gallo, M. M. (2005). Winds of change: The daughters of bilitis and lesbian organizing.
- Gallup (2013). Gay and lesbian rights. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1651/gay-lesbian-rights.aspx>.
- Gamson, W. and G. Wolfsfeld (1993). Movements and media as interacting systems. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528, 114–125.
- Gamson, W. A. (2007). Bystanders, public opinion, and the media. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Gamson, W. A., D. Croteau, W. Hoynes, and T. Sasson (1992). Media images and the social construction of reality. *Annual Review of Sociology* 18, 373–393.
- Gamson, W. A. and A. Modigliani (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *The American Journal of Sociology* 95(1), 1–37.
- Gans, H. J. (1979). *Deciding What's News: A Study fo CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and TIme*. Random House.

- Geidner, C. (2015, February). Nancy reagan turned down rock hudson's plea for help nine weeks before he died. <http://www.buzzfeed.com/chrisgeidner/nancy-reagan-turned-down-rock-hudsons-plea-for-help-seven-we>.
- Ginsberg, J. R. and T. P. Young (1992). Measuring association between individuals or groups in behavioral studies. *Animal Behavior* 44, 377–379.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goldstein, N. (1992). *The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing.
- Goodwin, J., J. M. Jasper, and J. Khattra (1999). Caught in a winding, snarling vine: The structural bias of political process theory. *Sociological Forum* 14(1), 27–54.
- Gould, D. B. (2009). *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gross, L. (2001). *Up From Invisibility*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hackett, R. A. and Y. Zhao (1994). Challenging a master narrative: Peace protest and opinion/editorial discourse in the us press during the gulf war. *Discourse and Society* 5(4), 509–541.
- HRC (2006). Timeline: The courts and gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender rights.
- HRC (2009). State hate crimes laws.
- Iyengar, S. and A. Simon (1993). News coverage of the gulf crisis and public opinion: A study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing. *Communication Research* 20(3), 365–383.
- Kane, M. (2003). Social movement policy success: Decriminalizing state sodomy laws, 1969–1998. *Mobilization: An International Journal* 8(3), 313–334.
- Kane, M. (2007). Timing matters: Shifts in the causal determinants of sodomy law decriminalization, 1961–1998. *Social Problems* 54(2), 211–239.
- King, B. G., K. G. Bentele, and S. A. Soule (2007). Protest and policymaking: Explaining fluctuation in congressional attention to rights issues, 1960–1986. *Social Forces* 86(1), 137–163.
- Koopmans, R. (2004). Movements and media: Selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere. *Theory and Society* 33, 367–391.
- Kranz, R. and T. Cusick (2005). *Gay Rights*. New York City: Facts on File, Inc.
- Kriesi, H. (2006). Political context and opportunity. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Chapter 4, pp. 67–90. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Lipsky, M. (1968). Protest as a political resource. *The American Political Science Review* 62(4), 1144–1158.
- Mayes, R. and A. V. Horwitz (2005). Dsm-iii and the revolution in the classification of mental illness. *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences* 41(3), 249–267.
- McAdam, D. (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (2 ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, D. and Y. Su (2002). The war at home: Antiwar protests and congressional voting, 1965 to 1973. *American Sociological Review* 67(5), 696–721.
- McCarthy, J. D. and M. N. Zald (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *The American Journal of Sociology* 82(6), 1212–1241.
- Mendes, K. (2011). Framing feminism: News coverage of the women’s movement in british and american newspapers, 1968-1982. *Social Movement Studies* 10(1), 81–98.
- Meyer, D. S. (2004). Protest and political opportunities. *Annual Review of Sociology* 30, 125–145.
- Meyer, D. S. and D. C. Minkoff (2004). Conceptualizing political opportunity. *Social Forces* 82(4), 1457–1492.
- Meyer, D. S. and S. Staggenborg (1996). Movements, countermovements, and the structure of political opportunity. *The American Journal of Sociology* 101(6), 1628–1660.
- Meyers, M. (1994). Defining homosexuality: News coverage of the ‘repeal the ban’ controversy. *Discourse and Society* 5(3), 321–344.
- NGLTF (2009). Hate crime laws in the us.
- NGLTF (2012). State nondiscrimination laws in the u.s.
- Oliver, P. E. and H. Johnston (2000). What a good idea! ideologies and frames in social movement research. *Mobilization* 4(1), 37–54.
- Oliver, P. E. and G. M. Maney (2000). Political process and local newspaper coverage of protest events: From selection bias to triadic interactions. *The American Journal of Sociology* 106(2), 463–505.
- Oliver, P. E. and D. J. Myers (1999). How events enter the public sphere: Conflict, location, and sponsorship in local newspaper coverage of public events. *The American Journal of Sociology* 105(1), 38–87.
- Pierson, P. (2000). Increasing returns, path dependence, and the study of politics. *American Political Science Review*, 251–267.
- Pinello, D. R. (2003). *Gay Rights and American Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Polletta, F. (2008). Storytelling in social movements. In H. Johnston (Ed.), *Social Movements and Culture*.
- Poole, K. T. and H. Rosenthal (2011). Nominate data.
- R Core Team (2015). *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing*. Vienna, Austria: R Foundation for Statistical Computing.
- Ragin, C. C. (2008). *Redesigning Social Inquiry: fuzzy sets and beyond*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rohlinger, D. A. (2002). Framing the abortion debate: Organizational resources, media strategies, and movement-counter movement dynamics. *The Sociological Quarterly* 43(4), 479–507.
- Rohlinger, D. A. (2006). Friends and foes: Media, politics, and tactics in the abortion war. *Social Problems* 53(4), 537–561.
- Rohlinger, D. A., B. Kail, M. Taylor, and S. Conn (2012). Outside the mainstream: Social movement organization media coverage in mainstream and partisan news outlets. In J. Earl and D. A. Rohlinger (Eds.), *Media, Movements, and Political Change (Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change)*, Volume 33. Emerald Group Publishing.
- Schudson, M. (2002). The news media as political institutions. *Annual Review of Political Science* 5(1), 249–269.
- Shih, T.-J., R. Wijaya, and D. Brossard (2008). Media coverage of public health epidemics: Linking framing and issue attention cycle toward an integrated theory of print news coverage of epidemics. *Mass Communication and Society* 11(2), 141–160.
- Simon, A. F. and J. Jerit (2007). Toward a theory relating political discourse, media, and public opinion. *Journal of Communication* 57(2), 254–271.
- Smith, H. (1969, June). View from inside: Full moon over the stonewall. *Village Voice*.
- Smith, J., J. D. McCarthy, C. McPhail, and B. Augustyn (2001). From protest to agenda building: Description bias in media coverage of protest events in washington, d.c. *Social Forces* 79(4), 1397–1423.
- Smith, T. W., P. Marsden, M. Hout, and J. Kim (2013). General social surveys, 1972-2012. Technical report, National Opinion Research Center, Chicago.
- Snow, D. A. (2004). *Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields*, pp. 380–412. Oxford: Blackwell Publisher.
- Snow, D. A. and R. D. Benford (1988). Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. *International Social Movement Research* 1, 197–217.

- Snow, D. A. and R. D. Benford (1992). Master frames and cycles of protest. In A. D. Morris and C. M. Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers of Social Movement Theory*, pp. 133–155. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Snow, D. A., D. M. Cress, L. Downey, and A. W. Jones (1998). Disrupting the 'quotidian': Reconceptualizing the relationship between breakdown and the emergence of collective action. *Mobilization* 3(1), 1–22.
- Sobieraj, S. (2010). Reporting conventions: Journalists, activists, and the thorny struggle for political visibility. *Social Problems* 57(4), 505–528.
- Solomon, M. (2014). *Winning Marriage: The Inside Story of How Same-Sex Marriage Took on the Politicians and Pundits - And Won*. Lebanon, NH: ForeEdge.
- Soule, S. A. (2004). Going to the chapel? same-sex marriage bans in the united states, 1973-2000. *Social Problems* 51(4), 453–477.
- StataCorp (2011). *Stata Statistical Software: Release 12*. College Station, TX: StataCorp LP.
- Steinberg, M. W. (1999). The talk and back talk of collective action: A dialogic analysis of repertoires of discourse among nineteenth-century english cotton spinners. *American Journal of Sociology* 105(3), 736–780.
- Stone, A. (2012). *Gay Rights at the Ballot Box*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Streitmatter, R. (2009). *From 'Perverts' to 'Fab Five': The Media's Changing Depiction of Gay Men and Lesbians*. New York: Routledge.
- Truscott, IV, L. (1969, June). View from outside: Gay power comes to sheridan square. *Village Voice*.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). The news net. *Social Research* 45(2), 253–276.
- Vliegenthart, R., D. Oegema, and B. Klandermans (2005). Media coverage and organizational support in the dutch environmental movement. *Mobilization: An International Journal* 10(3), 365–381.
- Wasserman, S. and K. Faust (1994). *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitehead, H. (2008). *Analyzing Animal Societies: Quantitative Methods for Vertebrate Social Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.