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April 20, 2011

**LGBT Portrayal in College Newspapers: Content Analysis and Comparison of The
George-Anne and The Emory Wheel Coverage of LGBT Issues (2002-2010)**

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Abstract

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From Oliver Sipple, to Matthew Shepard, to same-sex marriage, the media and the LGBT community have had quite a relationship, first starting rocky to ending up as unspoken allies. A large part of the struggle for LGBT rights has involved becoming more visible to the general public and making sure that gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered individuals are portrayed in the media as deserving of civil rights and sexual freedom, rather than being seen as societal outcasts. And college campuses have played huge roles in social protests especially the LGBT rights movement. But what about college newspapers that these universities house? They are mostly student-run and are considered to be the voice of the student body and a representation of the campus mindset. They are also often considered more independent and more irresponsible than the mainstream media. I explore and analyze how two Georgia college newspapers, the George-Anne from Georgia Southern University and the Emory Wheel from Emory University cover LGBT issues on and off campus between 2002 and 2010. Both universities differ in terms of location and type and are somewhat extremes of each other. So I conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis of articles, which are categorized into topics like religion and homosexuality and violence, to see if their coverage are dissimilar as well. I also analyze and to conclude from my results as to which coverage is more positive, neutral or negative towards LGBT issues. Through the data collected and the analysis, I reason out which newspaper seems to abide by the rules of journalism and which one acts as an advocate for the LGBT community.

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Introduction

The Observer

When Notre Dame University students opened up their campus newspaper, *The Observer*, on the morning of January 10th 2010, they were greeted with a very disturbing editorial cartoon. The cartoon titled “The Mobile Party” carried the following conversation:

“What's the easiest way to turn a fruit into a vegetable?”

“No idea.”

“A baseball bat.” (Bass 2010)

“Fruit” is a derogatory term that is used to describe gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgenders and other LGBT community members. The very next day, the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) posted about the article on their website and strongly condemned this editorial decision taken by the newspaper.

This type of advocacy of anti-LGBT violence must stop. It isn't funny. What's more, it promotes hate crimes, which are all too prevalent in society today. (Bass 2010)

GLAAD also found another version of the cartoon that used the “AIDS,” or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, instead of “A baseball bat,” which brought them to question why the latter seemed a better replacement. After contacting the editor-in-chief, GLAAD said they expected a written apology for what they say was a “ a dangerously misguided decision” (Bass 2010). As promised, *The Observer* released a statement.

There is no excuse that can be given and nothing that can be said to reverse the damage that has already been done by this egregious error in judgment...The Observer, though an independent newspaper, is representative of the community of the University of Notre Dame and the values it so cherishes: family, understanding, service, respect and love... Unfortunately, the language of hate is an everyday reality in our society...On our part, we must practice more responsible journalism and editing. That this comic was published reveals holes in our editing practices, which are currently being addressed...The content of "The Mobile Party" is in no way representative of the views and opinions of The Observer or the Editorial Board. (The Observer 2010)

The Cornell Daily Sun

The Cornell Daily Sun at Cornell University, runs a column called “The Everyday Ethicist” that answers readers' questions on what would be the correct and, well, ethical thing to do in a situation, The columnist, in this case Elisabeth Rosen, would offer advice to a couple of readers. On August 31st 2010, one reader “Nervous Katy Perry Fan” wrote to Rosen.

Dear Everyday Ethicist,

I have recently been struggling with my sexuality. I think I’m a lesbian, but I’m not ready to come out. However, I live in a sorority house where a lot of the girls walk around in skimpy clothes, bathing suits, etc. Is it ethical for me to pretend to be straight? I don’t want to make anyone uncomfortable, but I feel bad living a lie, especially because if the other girls knew, their opinions of me would undoubtedly change.

Rosen responded:

Everyone has secrets. Your roommate might not know how to put in a tampon, or the skinniest girl on campus might have secret Twinkie binges every night. But these secrets don’t affect anyone else, while your’s does...It would be just as unethical for you to “pretend to be straight” to avoid discomfort as it would be for a guy to get breast implants in order to land a sweet single in Balch. No matter what the motivation, placing your roommates in a situation that could potentially make them very uncomfortable if they knew the truth is just not ethical. It’s not fair to you, either. You’re wasting time worrying about what they might think of you, when for all you know they might not care at all about your sexuality. (Rosen 2010)

Her careless remarks prompted many bloggers to post and request for an apology from *The Cornell Daily Sun*. Anna North from *Jezebel* wrote:

...What Rosen's basically saying is that Perry Fan is morally obliged to come out before she's ready just because the news might make some people uncomfortable. Translation: their comfort — or rather, their ability to register disapproval and possibly move to get her kicked out of the house — is more important than Perry Fan's right to privacy. (North 2010)

Another blogger Michael Jones wrote:

Actually, what's unethical is for someone to tell a questioning student that their sexual orientation might make others feel icky. That's hardly fostering a positive mood for coming out. Even worse, to suggest that other people should determine one's coming out process, instead of

the person in question, is pretty insensitive. (Jones 2010).

On September 2nd 2010, the editorial staff posted a disclaimer below the post, without any formal apology, saying:

Like all columns, the views and advice in this column do not represent the views or opinions of The Cornell Daily Sun. Cornellians seeking advice on gender, sexuality and identity should refer to Haven (Rosen 2010).

College Newspapers and the LGBT Community

The two examples above are some of many instances where a college newspaper's portrayal of the LGBT community would not be considered fair or appropriate. The change in attitudes about sexual orientation, the advent of bloggers and social media, and the rise of media watchdogs like GLAAD have brought about a need among all media outlets, big and small, to watch what they write or say about the LGBT community. Today in the mainstream media, making a mistake like *The Observer* did would cost much more than just strong disapproval from GLAAD (Bell 1999).

Indeed, LGBT issues have been receiving more attention in the public forum with the recent passing of the California Proposition 8, which defined marriage as between a man and a woman (The New York Times 2010). In 2010, President Barack Obama signed into law the repeal of “Don't Ask Don't Tell,” the military policy that discharged gay army men and women if they told any of their colleagues or superiors, making headlines. So did the the inclusion of sexual orientation in the federal hate crime laws in the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Act (The Library of Congress 2009). Same-sex marriage and civil unions, LGBT individuals in the military and AIDS have been some of the hot-button topics and their controversial nature make them the constant source of discussion and debate in the media. Therefore organizations like GLAAD try to ensure fairness and accuracy by media groups when reporting on these LGBT issues and individuals.

The Observer and *The Cornell Daily Sun* are also examples of the growing presence of these issues on campus. The acknowledgment and recognition by the student press of LGBT rights has become necessary. In August 2010, Campus Pride, a LGBT students advocacy organization, released a list of colleges that were “gay-friendly,” some of which were Carleton College, Ithaca University, Ohio State University, Pennsylvania State University, University of California Berkeley and Washington University in St. Louis (Garcia 2010). It becomes important for the university to maintain that image to attract more applicants, and to promote tolerance, especially in its college newspaper coverage.

Emory University’s campus newspaper, *The Emory Wheel*, began a series on LGBT issues in 2009, and it accompanied the very first article with an editorial piece. In the statement, the editorial board said, “...the campus has been and should reasonably be expected to be a comfortable place for LGBT students and their concerns. However, there is a crucial difference between being a safe space and being a fully understanding and accepting space.” (The Emory Wheel Editorial Board 2009). They went on to say that there were still steps and concerns that had to be addressed in plain view.

Like *The Emory Wheel*'s home, most campuses with an independent and daily newspaper tend to have a fairly liberal student population, which can shape what ends up on the front page (Zimmer 1975). While these newspapers aim to address student and campus issues, they also tend to participate in some form of activism concerning the student body, as seen in the editorial comment above. College newspapers mostly consist of editors and reporters who are themselves students, and so they aim to represent the average student views in their paper. Compared to professional newspapers, these publications tend to be run by inexperienced student journalists and can come under a more restrictive press environment because of university policy (Zimmer 1975).

It thus makes studying the portrayal of LGBT individuals and issues in these student newspapers interesting and essential. Gathering data on LGBT news articles can inform us on the role

these newspapers play in promoting or opposing LGBT rights. Through an effective coding system, we will be able to understand the kind of approach student newspapers take to framing such news, whether positive, negative or neutral. From an objective and sociological standpoint, this will hopefully open new doors for research in terms of LGBT issues like stereotyping and interaction in an academic environment such as a college. An analysis of the frequency of the articles and how they are framed will provide a snapshot of the views the majority of the editorial staff seems to be supporting. This research may also highlight the importance and the role of student newspapers in creating acceptability of an issue like LGBT rights. The student population, who reach the age of voting upon entry into the college, can be influenced or informed by the newspaper's coverage, thus playing a part in policy implementation.

This study will therefore involve an analysis and comparison of *The Emory Wheel* and *The George-Anne*, the Georgia Southern University's college newspaper and their coverage of the LGBT community between the years 2002 and 2010. The articles analyzed will cover a range of topics from religion and homosexuality, to violence against the LGBT community. They will also be examined in light of the coverage by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and *The New York Times'* coverage between 2002 and 2010.

The rationale behind picking two newspapers stems from two reasons; convenience and type. Emory University and Georgia Southern University vary on many points such as location, type of university etc. Further below I shall provide a snapshot of the two universities, explaining the key points on which they differ. Having two universities that are in some ways almost opposites of each other can provide two different backdrops to compare coverage. The analysis and comparison of the two could tell us whether, despite all the various factors, coverage between the two could be the same. Also most of *The Emory Wheel* and *The George-Anne* archives were easily available online and hence convenient for the study.

The date range of 2002-2010 was specifically chosen mostly for convenience. There were several issues missing from the *The George-Anne* archives before 2002 and therefore it did not seem wise to handle the coverage in a scattered manner such as that. Also, *The Emory Wheel* had most of its archives directly on its website, instead of in a PDF form like *The George-Anne*, from 2002 onwards. Additionally, the comparisons with the *The Atlanta Journal Constitution* meant that it had to be done from 2002 and after because *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* really became the "Journal" AND "Constitution" only in 2001, so looking at articles prior to that year would be confusing. Based on the two above situations, that conclusion to narrow down the analysis to 2002-2010, was reached.

Some research questions to be addressed in the content analysis are:

1. How are LGBT individuals and issues portrayed in each newspaper? In a positive, negative or neutral light?
2. Do the newspapers give out some information for those who need LGBT resources and help?
3. Do the newspapers give out information that is conducive to activism or opposition?
4. Do all the newspapers share similar attitudes and similar contents despite different colleges?
5. Do the stories tend to portray LGBT life as normal or make an effort to encourage acceptability?
6. Are the terms and approaches used in the articles politically correct and stay true to journalistic standards as proposed by GLAAD?

Keeping the questions and some of the descriptions in mind, I shall now move on to the next section that provides a brief history of the LGBT movement and how mainstream media have framed and presented it, whether as supporters or critics. We shall also understand the impetus behind college newspapers and how they work differently from the mainstream media. But instead of presenting this in chronological order, I have organized the literature review based on topics and issues that are pertinent in the LGBT community.

Literature Review

Defining Homosexuality

Before we dive into the key events and issues that frame the LGBT movement today, let me provide the context in which homosexuality started “coming out.”

Neil Miller 's (2006) “Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History” provides a comprehensive record of the LGBT history, and it is from here that I have collected information on the first acknowledgment of homosexuality by scholars. We know that homosexuality has been present through the ages from mentions of anal and oral intercourse between men from some ancient texts, but it had never been defined or named as “homosexuality” until 1869 when the term appeared in a pamphlet by Karl Maria Kertbeny as an appeal to remove Prussia’s anti-sodomy laws (Miller 2006).

Another historian John D’ Emilio (1992) in his book “Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University,” notes that around the same time in America, the surge of industries and growth in factories forced young men and women to leave their houses (D’ Emilio 1992:75). Interacting with the same and opposite sex allowed for more people to explore their likes and to connect with their innate sexual preferences as well, far from the watchful eyes of the family (D’ Emilio 1992). Terms like “sodomite” and “deviate” became more commonly applied to gay individuals by society at large as psychologists began to “discover” and classify homosexuality as a crime. Still, categories grew and caught on as part of the growing gay subculture. An essay by Donald Webster Cory, written in the years before World War II, mentions that the term “gay” was used by the homosexual community to avoid being labeled, whether it was putting up an advertisement for a roommate or in a conversation (Miller 2006). “Gay” was a code that was not a known technical term back then, or it was something that when mentioned connoted illegal and immoral activity.

The war saw many men being shipped off to fight and women being sent in hordes to work in factories to produce supplies for the war, creating sex-segregated areas. This put both men and women

in the same situation where they could experiment and act on desires they may have suppressed before. According to D' Emilio (1992), many experienced sexual relations with members of the same-sex. He includes the example of Lisa Ben, a woman who left her farming community to live in a female boardinghouse. She met many lesbians, hung out with them and eventually came out during the war. And she was not the only one (D' Emilio 1992). By the time World War II ended, there was a big change in the way sex was handled and talked about; “youth were enjoying greater autonomy in sexual matters.” (D' Emilio 1992:65)

Around then, the psychiatry community had moved from diagnosing homosexuality as a crime and sin to a condition and mental sickness (Miller 2006). But Alfred Kinsey's research, “Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,” published in 1948, countered this and argued that a majority of Americans were “in-between” on the scale of being attracted to only the opposite sex and being attracted to only the same sex (Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin 1948). A copy of his findings were published as an essay in David Shneer and Caryn Aviv's (2006) collection of essays called “American Queer; Now and Then.” In his conclusion, Kinsey (1948) states:

Homosexuality in the human male is much more frequent than is ordinarily realized. In the youngest unmarried group, more than a quarter (27.3%) of the males have some homosexual activity to the point of orgasm. The incidence among these single males rise in successive age groups until it reaches a maximum of 38.7 per cent between 30 and 40 years of age. (P. 14)

Kinsey's (1948) research shocked the field of sexology. Not only did this change all previous conventional ideas of sexual activity among the population but it also held that there was no so-called “species” of homosexuals that were not part of normal society (Miller 2006). Eventually, much after the research and the start of the LGBT rights movement, in 1973 the American Psychiatric Association announced that ““homosexuality ... by itself does not constitute a mental disorder”” (Miller 2006:232) That did not stop reports of suspicion and intense scrutiny of gay men and women during the McCarthy paranoia during the 1950s. But D' Emilio (1992) explains that despite that, McCarthy's campaign

against gay subcultures actually “fostered a collective consciousness of oppression.”

Stonewall and the Ensuing LGBT rights movement

The Revolution

Two organizations that played an important role in the beginnings of the LGBT movement were The Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis. The Mattachine Society was formed by a group of gay men in 1950 in Los Angeles, California. Having a structure based on the Communist Party, Mattachine aimed for “grassroots effort to challenge anti-gay discrimination” and “building a positive homosexual community and culture” (Shneer and Aviv 2006:226). The Daughters of Bilitis was created with help from the Mattachine Society in 1955 by a group of lesbian women in San Francisco, California. Daughters of Bilitis’ purpose was to provide education for the variant, education for the public, participation in research projects and investigation of the penal code (Shneer and Aviv 2006). This signaled lesbians moving out from the shadows of gay men to create their individual stance, viewpoint and social needs. These two organizations were one of the first and founding forces of the movement. Of course, once the Stonewall Riots on June 28 1969 took place, everything changed and the radicalization of the movement began. After Stonewall, the Mattachine Society lost much of its membership to more radical and militant LGBT groups (D’Emilio 1992).

During the early hours of June 28th, the New York Police Department raided the Stonewall Inn on the grounds of a illegal liquor license. Those wearing the attire of the opposite sex were taken to the police station. Patrons who were released, started forming a crowd and chanting. Soon the scene became violent with people fighting to get away and throwing objects at the police:

The police clearly rattled-- turned a fire hose on the crowd...police reinforcements arrived...people would re-form behind them -- yelling, throwing bricks and bottles...By the time order was restored, 13 people had been arrested. (Miller 2006:336)

This continued for another two days and eventually subsided by the end of the weekend. There

were many protests that followed, all calling for gay power. The previous apologetic gay culture was gone. The new generation did not care about having a squeaky-clean image and wanted change now.

One prominent individual who was part of this group was Harvey Milk, who became interested in politics after he noticed the economic difficulties of gay business owners on Castro Street in San Francisco. After running three times for San Francisco city supervisor, he became the first openly gay person to be elected to public office in 1977 (Miller 2006). Milk soon became popular with not only the gay population but even with some white members of the working class. Much of his campaigns centered on LGBT rights and opposing two important anti-gay proposals by Anita Bryant and John Briggs.

Response: The Rise of the Anti-Gay Movement

Major cities like Los Angeles and Washington D.C. began enacting gay rights protections in light of the growing movement. When it was Miami's turn, Bryant, a born-again Christian, started a campaign to repeal the ordinance of protecting individuals from discrimination based on sexual orientation. Her slogan was "Homosexuals cannot reproduce so they must recruit" (Miller 2006:372). Even after much media attention and gay activism against the repeal, Dade County voted in favor of the repeal. John Briggs, a California state senator, raised the issue of of banning openly gay teachers from teaching in public schools and created the Briggs Initiative, also known as Proposition 6 (Miller 2006). It stated that gay individuals and even supporters of gay rights should not be allowed to teach in public schools and could be legally discriminated against. Thanks to Milk's relentless campaigning and the lack of support from President Ronald Reagan himself, the initiative was quickly defeated.

Bryant and Briggs also represented the rise of conservative and religious organizations that were responding against the gay rights movement. Indeed, Christian fundamentalism was well-financed in the late 1970s and emerged to reverse all policies tolerating homosexuality (D' Emilio

1992). As sexuality became a more discussed and recognized issue in politics in the 1980s, so did the fervor of the religious right increase. This eventually culminated into the ex-gay movement in the 1990s when organizations like National Association for Research & Therapy of Homosexuality (formed in 1992) and Parents & Friends of Ex-Gays (formed 1998) declared that homosexuality was a “developmental disorder,” (Ghaziani 2008) similar to the thinking of psychologists before 1974. Their aim; to convert gays into ex-gays through religion and therapy.

More Obstacles: AIDS, Don't Ask Don't Tell

Gay rights organizations already had their hands full dealing with the anti-gay movement and fighting for civil rights when another obstacle appeared that rudely interrupted celebration of sexual tolerance. It was AIDS, the immune system disease that was first reported in homosexual men in 1981 (Miller 2006). This “gay cancer” scared the public and also seemed to validate the concerns of anti-gay leaders. As scientists found out more about the transmission of the disease, and as awareness and use of protection increased over the years, the hostility subsided but continued to provide fuel for lobbying for the antiquated state sodomy laws. This succeeded in the case of *Bowers v. Hardwick* in 1986 where Georgia’s sodomy law was upheld when Michael Hardwick sued the Attorney General of Georgia, Michael Bowers, for a declaration that the sodomy law was unsound (Ghaziani 2008).

Another issue that was part of the gay rights movement was the ban on gay men and women from serving in the U.S. Military, a policy instituted in 1943. However, in the 1970s, those who had been discharged began to challenge the decision by taking them up to court. One special case that became widely recognized was that of Air Force Technical Sergeant Leonard Matlovich. His story of coming out to his superior made the cover of *Time* magazine in 1975, which included a picture of him in uniform with the subtitle “I am Homosexual” (Miller 2006). Matlovich was discharged a few months after the article, and this news began to raise questions about the restriction. The military

continued to oppose any changes, but with the election of Bill Clinton in 1992, there was hope that the ban would be lifted, something Clinton had talked about in his campaign. Miller (2006:501) notes that in the first few days of the presidency there was one buzz word:

(It) was not the economy or health care, issues which Clinton stressed in his campaign. It was gays in the military. Before Clinton could issue his promised executive order, opposition mobilized.

Pressure from the Religious Right and a majority of Senators forced Clinton to compromise and signed into federal law the policy, “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell, Don’t Pursue” in 1993 and later “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell, Don’t Pursue, Don’t Harass,” which stated that during recruitment, individuals could not be asked about their sexual orientation and that they should keep it a secret while in service. The policy of Don’t Ask Don’t Tell, however, did not stop the military from continuing to discharge 1,212 gay servicemen and women in 2000 (Miller 2006).

The 1979, 1989, 1993 and 2000 Marches on Washington

Milk’s fight against Bryant and Briggs, and his eventual assassination, inspired the 1979 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, according to sociologist Amin Ghaziani (2008). In his book “The Dividends of Dissent: How Conflict and Culture Work in Lesbian and Gay Marches on Washington” (Ghaziani 2008), he explored and dissected the four national gay and lesbian marches that took place in Washington D.C. Ghaziani (2008) notes that around 125,000 gay men and lesbians marched on October 14, 1979, and while doing so demanded an end to discrimination based on sexual orientation and an end to anti-gay laws. This was the first time time that a march had been organized on such a large scale and it caught the attention of the public briefly. It was a way for the gay community to announce their presence and they did so through the slogan for the first march, “We are Everywhere.” (Ghaziani 2008:30).

The development of AIDS and “Don't Ask Don't Tell” slowed down and at the same time revitalized the gay rights movement. This could be seen in the different and much more radical mood of the 1993 National March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. Not only were the participants and organizers hurt by the onslaught of AIDS, the lives it claimed and the aggression from the rest of society, (Ghaziani 2008), they were also dissatisfied with the new policy for gays in the military and the lack of progress in some of the basic rights for the community. “A Simple Matter of Justice,” the march slogan, represented that anger. While the march in 1987 was about embracing identity and eradicating oppression, the 1993 march focused on getting equal rights and not special rights, taking a more mainstream approach. Around one million gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender individuals marched in Washington D.C. on April 25th, 1993, the largest group out of all the marches (Ghaziani 2008).

It was also through the marches that idea of “LGBT” eventually came about. In the very first march, which occurred right after the Stonewall, many radical members at first were opposed to the idea of a “uniform and monolithic movement” since it supported one of society’s favorite myths about gay people, namely, “that we are all alike” (Ghaziani 2008:27). As the LGBT right movement grew stronger in the early 1980s so did the need to affirm the separate entities of homosexuality. The umbrella term, “‘gay’ insufficiently represented the internal diversity of the movement” (Ghaziani 2008:29) and for the 1993 and the 2000 organized marches in Washington D.C., the titles were expanded to include “lesbian,” “bisexual” and eventually “transgender.” Ghaziani (2008) notes that to get to that level, much infighting ensued between members. For example, “bisexual” and “transgender” was not included in the first march because of the thinking among many gays and lesbians that the former were not decisive about their orientation and the latter became straight once they had a sex change. Simultaneously there was intense lobbying for reclaiming the term “queer,” which had previously been used with derision. “Queer symbolized the unity of people around a shared rejection of

identity categories” (Ghaziani 2008:148). Today, the paradox continues as the argument over maintaining identity boundaries or dissolving them is an issue in the movement. Or as Ghaziani (2008:148) summarizes:

There is a tension, between the politics of identity-blurring (fueled by a logic of deconstruction and the loosening of categories and the politics of identity-building (fueled by claims of ethnic/essentialist group membership and the tightening of categories).

The 1993 march was extensively covered by the media, which by this time were discussing sexuality more openly. Mainstream culture was coming to terms with the gay subculture and its liberation movement. It soon became part-and-parcel of the modern world. “It was now a legitimate public issue and a recognized part of American society and culture. The ‘Gay Moment’ had arrived.” (Miller 2006:504). And the entertainment industry decided to capitalize on it. Gay themes became popular in movies, television shows, and magazines. In 1997, there were at least 22 recurring gay characters on television shows (Ghaziani 2008). The portrayal, done by straight actors, was that of the stereotypical friendly gay, who was also normal and well-behaved. It was only around the late 1990s when there were more exclusively gay sitcoms and movies. Ellen DeGeneres not only became the first openly gay star of a television series titled “Ellen”, but she also played a gay character who was the lead (Miller 2006). Gays were finally entering the living rooms of the average American family that owned a television. However, in order to show true acceptance of the gay community, equality in civil rights was very necessary.

Demanding Civil Rights: Same-Sex Marriage

The generation of gays and lesbians that grew up in the 1960s were settling down and had partners with whom they lived just like any straight married couple, thus sharing economic duties. In 2000, 34 percent of lesbians and 22 percent of gay men who identified as cohabiting same-sex couples

had children (Miller 2006). So it would make sense for these couples to receive recognition as married and the benefits that come with it. But opposition from conservatives and religious right, who saw this as an affront to the sacredness of marriage, rendered all logical arguments for gay marriage as not negotiable. Enough so that in 1996, The Defense of Marriage Act was signed into law by President Clinton. It denied recognizing gay marriage and stuck to the Constitution's definition of marriage (i.e. it was between a man and a woman) (Miller 2006). Once again the gay rights movement had to attend to another compelling issue in its struggle for equality. Miller (2006:258) summarized it best by saying:

If gays in the military had been the major gay issue in the United States during the early 1990s, it was now the issue of same-sex marriage that had become the leading edge of the gay and lesbian movement.

But the decision for upholding civil marriage rights depended on the state and each approached it differently. While the Superior Court Judge in Alaska found no basis for prohibiting gay marriage, the Alaskan voters voted in favor of an amendment against same-sex marriage. After same-sex couples approached the Vermont Supreme Court for marriage licenses, the court ruled that they should receive the same benefits of marriage as a straight couple. But instead, Vermont reached a compromise that it would grant civil union i.e. the same benefits of a marriage "but without the polarizing 'M-word'" (Miller 2006:532). In 2003, Massachusetts became the first state to grant full marriage rights. For the purpose of this research it is important to note that on election day in 2004, Georgia was among the states that approved the constitutional amendment that marriage was between a man and a woman (Constitution of the State of Georgia 2009:7).

The LGBT movement on campus

LGBT youth played an important part in radicalizing the gay rights movement in its early stages and still do, as they are also the most easily targeted and harassed. This is evidenced by the history of

the Student Homophile League (SHL) on various college campuses. Why are these student groups important? Brett Beemyn (2003), whose essay on the history of LGBT student groups I have used as a reference point to discuss this article, explains:

“These organizations provide peer support and break down stereotypes among the majority student population and a training ground for advocates.” (Beemyn 2003:131)

College campuses had already been the sites of anti-segregation sit-ins and the student body holding protests by the time gay student groups began to appear (Miller 2006). The very first SHL was officially chartered at Columbia University in 1967 by Stephen Donaldson, an openly bisexual student who had been previously been involved with the Mattachine Society. The campus newspaper, *The Columbia Daily Spectator*, reacted negatively in its columns and quoted the dean of the college calling the group unnecessary (Beemyn 2003). They were saved by their faculty adviser, and the attention given to them by also *The New York Times* increased their membership to more than 20, including heterosexuals and lesbians as well.

However, the founding of SHL at Cornell University, by Jearld Moldenhauer who was inspired by the Columbia chapter, got off to a rocky start. Since students were afraid to reveal their sexual identities they were discouraged to join until Moldenhauer recruited more straight students and instituted pseudonyms in the roster to provide a cover (Beemyn 2003). Eventually these groups began to recruit members by slowly opening up their meetings and staffing tables. By engaging other radical groups and talking about their personal experience from an oppression standpoint, the SHL was able to make it important for radical heterosexual students as well. The Cornell chapter asserted their identity as a no-nonsense activist group by holding a sit-in at a bar that refused to serve gay patrons.

Due to the Stonewall and post-Stonewall events, gay liberation was thus able to acquire the status of a radical liberation movement along with the ranks of black power, feminism and anti-war sentiments. Now that we have a basic understanding of LGBT history, we shall examine the processes

behind the mainstream media coverage and read some examples.

Mainstream media

Media and the “Marketplace of Ideas,”

Media sociologists often refer to the theoretical concept of “the marketplace of ideas” when talking about the American mass media. Tawnya Adkins-Covert, Denise Ferguson, Selene Phillips and Philo Wasburn (2000:227), describe the marketplace as that which “stimulates the public's political interest and participation and makes available the specific information that the public needs to hold the government and public organizations accountable.” In their study of coverage by the media in a typical all-American city, the researchers noted that the marketplace and democratic processes walked hand-in-hand, so long as the channels for ideas to enter remained open (Adkins-Covert et al. 2000). This distribution of ideas can thus lead to more awareness of an issue, especially one that is conflict-ridden. Phillip Tichenor, George Donohue and Clarice Olien (1999), in their essay on community conflict and citizen knowledge, said that in a situation of conflict where there are two opposing sides on an issue, “newspapers play a reciprocal role, that appears basic to simulating citizens to learn about an issue” (Tichenor, Donohue and Olien 1999:34) and to strengthening discussions of the conflict.

Media and Framing

The way that the media frame the conflict and issue in news stories can also influence people's views and reactions, depending on which elements of the issue are chosen and how they are understood. In a study done on local news presentation of crime stories by Franklin D. Gilliam and Shanto Iyengar (2000), it was found that local news in 1997 followed a specific framed script. The script would talk about the act of violence and would generally be accompanied by a picture of a non-white perpetrator. “Crime is violent, and there is an individual perpetrator whose ethnicity is made

known to the audience” (Gilliam and Iyengar 2000:561). Therefore, a frame is already created in which to portray crime stories to viewers. And these frames are set by individual news organizations, thus making the news not as neutral and objective as one would expect.

Framing has been frequently addressed by those who have analyzed the media's coverage of the LGBT community. When talking about the media framing of AIDS and the conflict between religious conservatives and gay rights activists, Jamel Santa Cruze Bell (2006) and Thomas Conroy (2006), respectively, stated that the public receives information from the media that has been carefully selected and that reflects the existing norms of society (Bell 2006:98; Conroy 2006:136). Conroy notes that framing by the mainstream media can vary from framing done by other forms of alternative media. For example, what the mainstream media might frame as a “riot” could be framed by alternative media as a “rebellion” (Conroy 2006).

Media and LGBT in the 1950s

These frames and presentations can make individuals receiving them re-evaluate their position in society, according to Marc J.W. de Jong's (2006) study on media in the 1950s. Based on the representation, a certain group is marginalized if the stereotypes are continued:

Because mass media often represent a window to the world for many viewers, readers, listeners, and so on, relegating certain disenfranchised groups to invisibility can have dramatic effects on their everyday life. When groups of people do not exist in the main media, they are not discussed, critiqued or examined by many people, including key decision makers (De Jong 2006:39).

Before 1955, most news stories on the gay community were filed and framed under themes like “sex crimes,” “sex deviates,” “illness,” etc. (De Jong 2006:42). Since the concept of homosexuality was a relatively new phenomenon to journalists and the general public, it should not be surprising that news reports of cross-dressing in the late 1860s were made into tongue-in-cheek mocking stories. The

case of Eliza DeWolf, who was arrested for cross-dressing, had headlines like, “Who shall wear the breeches” and “The DeWolf in men's clothing” (Sears 2006:5). Jeanne Bonnet's murder was reported under headlines like “Tired of women's clothing” and Bonnet was characterized as a social outlaw. In all these stories, newspaper coverage created new social meaning but presented them as sensational and immoral (Sears 1999). “Newspaper coverage of these cases structured social meaning by creating and broadcasting new cultural characters that readers could use to interpret their social world” (Sears 1999:17).

The trend of reporting criminal sexual behavior and violations of “decency” laws, and linking the gay community to ongoing pedophilia, continued in the 1930s. Most reporters at this time were white and heterosexuals, indicative of the lack of diversity in the newsroom and in the paper. During the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy began his witch-hunt of communists and of “sex perverts,” based on the idea that the latter group were more likely to be traitors to the country because they did not conform to society's standards of sexuality (De Jong 1999). Journalists reflected positively on McCarthy's policies in their editorials, and they included opinion pieces that featured medical experts confirming the weakness of homosexuals. These scientists claimed that homosexuality could be treated with therapy and even procedures like castration. One example is a *New York Times* interview with Dr. Edward Strecker in 1953, who explained that a boy's homosexuality could develop at an early age because of a strong devotion to his mother (De Jong 1999). In his analysis of this time period, De Jong (2006) said that no journalist ever questioned these medical claims. Of course, at that time, a reporter could be fired for having pro-homosexual views and homophobia was also a very accepted practice. Articles also described homosexuals as feminine white men. Yet the stereotypes, while damaging also provided visibility to the community and sparked the first gay rights movement, what De Jong (2006) calls a double-edged sword of media coverage.

Media and Transgender issues

Around the same time in 1952, Christine Jorgensen, formerly George Jorgensen Jr., returned from Denmark to the United States after having completed her gender reassignment surgery. The news first released by the New York Daily was met with fascination (Arune 2006). Willow Arune (2006) in her study of transgender images in the media, noted that most of the articles written about Jorgensen may have created a media frenzy but were mostly sensational in tone. Even in recent coverage of the murders of transsexuals Gwen Araujo and Brandon Teena, Arune (2006) noted that coverage accorded was not the same as coverage of gay, lesbian and bisexual individuals:

“Gender identity” is only rarely included in protective laws, making the transsexual “fair game” for any aggressive and predatory journalist (Arune 2006:123).

Media and AIDS

The AIDS epidemic which surfaced in the 1980s was profiled as a “gay cancer” until 1987 when Hollywood actor Rock Hudson died from AIDS. Bell noted that a change in newsworthiness of AIDS shifted drastically. “The increased coverage represented the changing perception of AIDS in American society” (Bell 2006:101). Yet the depiction of gays affected by AIDS was not favorable and brought about the formation of GLAAD which eventually became a watchdog of mainstream media coverage (Bell 2006).

Media and Violence

An example of the media having a strong influence on the perceptions of the gay community in terms of violence can also be seen in the case of the *The Miami Herald* and *The Miami Daily News* reports on the murders of Judith Ann Roberts and William Simpson in 1954, an analysis done by Fred Fejes (2000). *The Miami Herald*, a popular newspaper with state-wide circulation, and the *Miami Daily*

News prior to 1954 presented the gay community with restrained tolerance in their newspapers. They often published advertisements and reviews of gay clubs and performances by female impersonators. But it was in January 1954 when the *Herald* began to rethink its coverage. An article in *ONE*, a gay magazine, declared Miami as one of the safest and most ideal places for homosexual individuals to live in. Rather than embrace this new reputation, which would be unthinkable in the 1950s, the *Herald* began to work with city authorities on a campaign that would regard homosexuality “as a stigmatized behavior for which, like gambling, petty corruption, and other acceptable pre-war vices, there would be no public tolerance” (Fejes 2000:342). As luck would have it, an opportunity did present itself.

When 14-year old Roberts was found murdered, disfigured and sexually assaulted, the community was shocked by the atrocity of the crime. Since Roberts was a minor, the police began to search and question pedophiles and child molesters in the city to gather suspects. Their first stop; the local bars and clubs that catered and served the gay community. Through these reports, the link between homosexuals and child molesters was created immediately and gave the *Herald* a chance to argue that providing “a civic atmosphere” was “conducive to murderous sex perverts” (Fejes 2000:342). The campaign almost suffered when the investigation took a different turn, but was salvaged by the murder of male airline steward. William Simpson, who was the victim of a homophobic attack by two men, Richard Killen and Charles Lawrence who claimed that Simpson made sexual advances towards them.

Any sympathy existing for Simpson was lost once his sexuality was revealed. Fejes notes that the *Herald's* coverage took a totally different direction than expected and portrayed the murderers and their spouses as victims instead (Fejes 2000). Above the fold i.e. the section right below the newspaper's name included a series of pictures of Killen's wife crying and looking distraught about her husband's arrest, with a quote from her as a caption. It said, “Why don't they clean it up?” in reference to the downtown city park where “such people” were known to frequent (Fejes 2000:330). This was

accompanied by the headline, “5,000 Here Perverts, Police Say,” that not only included an interview with Killen's wife but statistics on the number of homosexuals potentially living in Miami.

In another article, the head of the Miami homicide squad, Lieutenant Chester Eldredge, provided his explanation for the public of the different kinds of homosexuals, who according to him ranged from “relatively harmless homosexual to the fierce sadist who horribly mutilates and tortures his victim” (Fejes 2000:331). At the end, he added a ominous note:

These recent murders [of Judith Ann Roberts and William Simpson] emphasize the dire lack and absolute need for state-controlled and financed facilities for treatment of such persons... (Fejes 2000:332)

Soon, the *Herald* and the *Daily News* were publishing headlines like, “Clean This Place Up” and “Let's Do Something About It,” respectively (Fejes 2000:333). Taking cue from these titles, the Miami police raided a beach and Mayor Abe Aronovitz announced plans to regulate bars that served gay patrons. The *Herald* enthusiastically endorsed this at first, but later when Aronovitz declared an ordinance to stop bars from selling liquor to homosexuals, the *Herald* only published a brief paragraph describing it. Why the sudden waning of interest? *The Herald's* campaign to induce moral panic over gay communities and morphing the images of homosexuals from harmless to threatening, had been accomplished. “Now they were regarded at best as pathetic sick creatures or, at worst, as perverted sexual predators and child molesters who constituted a serious threat to society” (Fejes 2000:346).

Matthew Shepard's gruesome murder grabbed media headlines and had the nation's attention, enough for the Matthew Shepard Act for hates crime prevention to be passed. But immediately after, gay rights activists began to use it as yardstick to measure media coverage of LGBT violence. In the case of Sakia Gunn, a 15-year-old African-American lesbian who was murdered in 2003, Kim Pearson (2006) finds that media interest and reporting was severely lacking (Pearson 2006). *The Newark Star-Ledger* ran a very small story, indicating that editors may not have seen the story as gory enough to

investigate further. From interviews with reporters, Pearson (2006) found that biases in race, class and gender for stories of sexual orientation existed. These biases decided if the murder was “big” or “little,” an informal classification system created by editors (Pearson 2006). Gunn was stabbed because she and her friends informed two men they were lesbians when the men tried to pick them up. Shepard, a gay student at the University of Wyoming was literally crucified making his murder more lurid. Gunn was black and female and the murder happened in the city of Newark, New Jersey. Shepard was white and male and the murder happened in the small town of Laramie, Wyoming. In the eyes of the media, the latter warranted more reporting. Most LGBT journalists also said in interviews that the reporting on the LGBT community and issues is still quite inadequate (Pearson 2006).

Media and Gays in the Military

The New York Times, *Newsweek* and the *Saturday Evening Post* were some of the many media organizations regularly reporting on the harassment and removal of gays from the military in the 1940s and the 1950s. However, it was Leonard Matlovich's coming out story in *Time* that really brought the issue to the forefront in the 1970s. Many television reports on the debate started including interviews with well-known military figures and gay activists. However, in her observations, Rhonda Gibson (2006) noted that making the debate a central part of the coverage may have belittled the issue:

The media appeared to focus more on political sparring surrounding the ban than on the direct emotional or social ramifications of the interplay among various governmental organizations” (Gibson 2006:207).

Media, Outing and Oliver Sipple

President Gerald Ford's visit to San Francisco in 1975 would not have ended well had Oliver “Bill” Sipple, an ex-Marine, not lunged at Sara Jane Moore and stopped her from shooting the president. Little did Sipple know then that his act of bravery would not let his personal life end well

(Elwood 1992). After his save, Sipple's story was the major story of the San Francisco Chronicle and the Los Angeles Times, both respected newspapers who praised his modesty. But subsequently Milk, a good friend of Sipple revealed his sexuality and his role in the gay community to the media “trying to educate the public that not all gay men wear dresses and high heels” (Elwood 1992) and could be average and even heroes. The entire focus of the media changed from hero to “homosexual” hero. Reporters were beating down Sipple's door to get confirmation and every time he asserted that his sexuality was not important for people to know. The news eventually reached his family, whose pride soon turned to shame and who disowned Sipple. He sued many news organizations on the grounds of invasion of privacy, but lost because the judge ruled that the newspapers reported accurately and the topic was newsworthy. The fact that he was a gay hero, a novelty that had never ever appeared in the news before, made it particularly interesting. Due to the mental anguish combined with his heavy drinking, Sipple died alone in his apartment at the age of 47 (Elwood 1992).

John Elwood (1992) in “Outing, Privacy and the First Amendment” analyzed the phenomenon of outing in the media. Reporters and gay activists together out prominent individuals and public officials who may be involved in anti-gay policies, “to provide positive examples of gays, as role models to other gays and as ambassadors to mainstream America and....to break down the stigma surrounding homosexuality by making it commonplace” (Elwood 1992:748). He argued that Sipple's actions unfortunately warranted media attention and coverage because of the prominence of the president and the existing stereotypes. However, this did not apply in the case of Toni Diaz, a transsexual who became the first female president of a California college. Even though the election was historical and an important public event, the judge still found that her transsexualism was irrelevant to her position as the new president. Outing in the name of bettering perceptions of the gay community can thus have very serious economic, social and emotional ramifications on the person involved. Yet “advocates contend that each prominent homosexual outed serves as a role model for other gays and as

an ambassador to straights” (Elwood 1992:772). Michael Signorile, a gay rights activist and journalist at *Outweek* magazine, justified his frequent outing of the famous with this reasoning. At the peak of discussions on the gays in the military ban, he outed Pete Williams, who was the Assistant Secretary of Defense and the chief spokesman of the Pentagon (Gibson 2006: 200). Williams was vocal about his support for the ban, so his involvement made his sexuality an ironic fact to point out according to Signorile. The story was eventually picked up by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*.

The tragic case of Sipple is one of the most used examples to demonstrate the relationship between the media and the gay community, according to Rodger Streitmatter (2006). Despite the liberties taken with his privacy by gay rights activists like Milk and the press, Streitmatter (2006) does not blame them but the existing homophobia at the time. Only the skewed ideas of the gay community and the fascination the media had with something they had never covered before, drove the frenzy that led to Sipple's untimely death.

Media and same-sex marriage

Gays in the military was soon overshadowed by the issue of same-sex marriage. Damien Riggs (2006) in his study on gay parents in the media, noticed that there was a lot of equating same-sex unions with heterosexual unions. This he warns may not be the best representation for the gay community and can potentially ignore the oppression they face:

Lesbian and gay parents in the media are either shown as suffering from a disease or suggested to be the same as their heterosexual counterparts and that they are no different except for sexual preference (Riggs 2006:235).

Next I provide brief explanation of the people behind the creation of content for the college newspapers, their perspectives and some of the common issues that these student-run newspapers face when acting as a free press.

An Understanding of College Newspapers

College Newspapers and the Free Press

There are two important Supreme Court decisions that shape the First Amendment rights of college newspapers today, which Shawn Healy (2007) mentions when talking about editorial cartooning in college newspapers. One was the *Hazelwood v. Kuhlmeier* in 1988, where the judge ruled that First Amendment rights of high school students is not the same as that of adults and stated that school newspapers are not a “forum of public expression” (Healy 2007:267), as professional and college newspapers are. The second decision was in 2005, when a judge ruled in the case of *Hosty v. Carter* in favor of a prior restraint when an Illinois public university dean did not allow the student-run college newspaper to publish their latest issue, even after reviewing the article in question. This decision that applies to the states of Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin affects funded college newspapers and has raised concern about the freedom of student press.

Independent papers are free from the constraints of *Hazelwood* and *Hosty*, while private universities can control content indiscriminately (Healey 2007:267).

College Newspapers and their Impact

For many future journalists and journalism majors, writing and working for the college newspaper is a sort of training ground for learning how to work in a newsroom, deadlines and all (Armstrong and Collins 2009). In a study on the credibility of college newspapers among the readers on campus, Cory Armstrong and Steve Collins (2009) found that college newspapers were a more trusted source among young readers than the local newspaper, as somewhat expected. But the reasons for this high credibility vary. First of all, most college newspapers consist of student staff writers and editors. Since the people behind the college newspaper are just like the students reading them, there is a belief that the issues presented should and do relate to student concerns (Armstrong and Collins 2009). Even minorities prefer the coverage of college newspapers over the local news because it is assumed

that individuals at college are socialized to racial and cultural differences and that the college newspaper content is very different from their portrayal in local newspapers (Armstrong and Collins 2009).

Young adult readers are getting some benefit from their college newspaper that they are not receiving from the local paper. It may be locally targeted advertisements, engaging writing, interesting content, or a number of other things (Armstrong and Collins 2009:108).

College Newspapers and their Editors

While I have talked about the impact of the college newspaper on readers, I have not yet explored the thinking, rationale and even propensities of the people producing the content for the paper. Troy Zimmer (1975), who I mentioned in the introduction, conducted interviews with the college newspaper editors to find out more about their background and whether they were satisfied with their readership. No matter where the university was located or whether it was public or private, editors mostly identified themselves as “left on the ideological spectrum” (Zimmer 1975:458). Because of their leanings, most liberal editors were more likely than their conservative counterparts, if any, to select and publish stories of international and sociopolitical importance, depending on how big their budget was.

Thus the previously mentioned tendency for editors to see sociopolitical awareness as very important is partly a reflection of the political liberality of a majority of the editors (Zimmer 1975:456).

Zimmer (1975) hypothesizes that the presence of liberal editors could be a representation of the larger campus population and that there was a recruitment bias towards liberal students. He also notes that editors of larger newspapers saw their newspapers as performing well, having a high reader satisfaction. They believed that the majority of the campus tended to agree with the views of the editorial staff.

College Newspapers and Political Correctness

But this does not necessarily mean that all editorial staffs are liberal and pro-LGBT rights or always make politically correct decisions. *The Daily Pennsylvanian* at the University of Pennsylvania, *The Bengal* at Idaho State University and *The South End* at Wayne State University; these are just some of the few college newspapers that have published what Monica Hill and Bonnie Thrasher (1994) consider politically incorrect articles about a specific minority group. *The Daily Pennsylvanian* published a conservative column that criticized distastefully affirmative action and African-American organizations. *The Bengal* published an offensive editorial cartoon on Native Americans and *The South End* published an editorial cartoon on African-American that used the n-word (Hill and Thrasher 1994). These isolated incidents reflect the problems that exist in the campus newsroom. Even as campus demographics change to show more members from Asian, African-American, Hispanic, multiracial and Native American community entering colleges, Hill and Thrasher (1994) note that this diversity is not reflected in the editorial board of the college newspapers:

Campus newspaper incidents involving cultural, gender-related or ethnic improprieties seem to indicate the inexperienced journalists are having problems dealing with news content on issues that are outside their cultural experience. Their decisions seem to lack sound professional news reasoning, sensitivity to concerns of a multicultural audience, (Hill and Thrasher 1994:44).

And that is another important point they make. Unlike professional journalists, college newspaper reporters and editors are less liable and less answerable about the liberties they take with their content because of the audience they serve. But that does not mean college newspapers have not been severely criticized, as in the case of the offensive Prophet Muhammad cartoons re-published in Harvard University, University of Wisconsin and other college newspapers (Hill and Thrasher 1994).

The above background information serves to provide a context to the study. How it was carried out, the collection and arrangement of data and other detailed methodology information will be discussed in the upcoming section.

Methodology

The format and direction of this research was in part inspired by Beth Moellers (2006) study done on the Indiana University Bloomington's college newspaper, known as *The Indiana Daily Student*, and their coverage of alcohol use and abuse between 2001 and 2002 (Moellers 2006). The research examined how the newspaper reacted to incidents involving death due to alcohol and the Princeton Review ranking of Indiana University as the “No. 1 Party School” (Moellers 2006). A specific time frame of 2001 to 2002 was chosen because a student died during a keg stand in and it was around the same time that the Princeton Review results were revealed. Moellers (2006) content analysis involves mostly elements of quantitative and less qualitative or about quotes, which is the inclusion I have made. Her findings included the portrayal of alcohol consumption more as a policy issue than a health issue and as typical rather than out-of-the-ordinary. In the discussion, Moellers (2006) suggests that the research be used to understand attitudes about alcohol among students. This is something we shall also explore in the discussion, especially in terms of attitudes about the LGBT community and the issue of free expression.

The entire study will be focused on the two college newspapers, *The Emory Wheel* (from now on referred to as *EW*) of Emory University in Atlanta and *The George-Anne* (from now on referred to as *GA*) of Georgia Southern University in Statesboro, both located in the state of Georgia. Emory University was selected first because of the location of the research and the affiliation of this thesis to the Emory Sociology Department. Georgia Southern University was selected because it provides a contrast not only as a public university, but also as being located in a rural setting like Statesboro and its demographics. To understand these differences better, I have provided a snapshot of the universities and their unique aspects, which have been gathered from their respective websites and U.S. News & World Report College and Universities Rankings.

Table 1: Demographics at Georgia Southern University and Emory University

Georgia Southern University	Emory University
Statesboro, Georgia	Atlanta, Georgia
Founded: 1906	Founded: 1836
Public institution	Private institution
Undergraduate enrollment: 16,846	Undergraduate enrollment: 6,980
Setting: Rural	Setting: Suburban
Size: 700 acres	Size: 740 acres
Male: 52%	Male: 55%
Female: 48%	Female: 45%
Class of 2013	Class of 2013
White: 68.7%	White: 35%
African-American: 22.1%	Asian: 30%
Hispanic: 3.2%	African-American: 9%
Asian: 1.5%	Hispanic: 4%
Native American: 0.3%	Native American: <1%

It is interesting to note what Emory and Georgia Southern differ on. Apart from being a private institution and older than Georgia Southern, Emory has a lower undergraduate enrollment, is located in a suburban area and has a larger Asian population in its Class of 2013. Georgia Southern is located in a rural area and has a larger African-American population in its Class of 2013. There are some similarities as well. Both universities have a white majority, similar acreage and seem to have a higher percentage of men.

Ease of access, as mentioned before was also an issue that was considered, and these two newspapers maintained easily available online archives. The electronic copies were perused using software like Adobe Acrobat Pro, which provides a search function. The data collection process will involved going through issues of the *EW* and the *GA* between the years 2002 and 2010 and searching for articles that contain the terms “gay,” “lesbian,” “bisexual,” “transgender,” “transsexual,” “queer,”

“homosexual,” “same-sex” and/or “drag.” For the *GA*, there is a supplement magazine called *Southern Reflector Magazine* that appears every month or couple of months. Articles from this supplement have been included in this analysis since there is an overlap between the staff of the *GA* and *Southern Reflector Magazine*.

Here are some reasons for choosing this specific time frame. Issues from each year were available in complete sets between 2002 and 2010 and were very accessible online. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* became “Journal-Constitution” from the separate newspapers “Journal” and “Constitution” only in 2001, which meant that any quantitative comparison would have to start from the next year. Also the year 2004, the year that President George W. Bush was elected for his second term, was one of the first times that the amendment against same-sex marriage was brought up to voters. Other issues like Don't Ask Don't Tell were a constant source of debate between these years, along with incidents of violence against members of the LGBT community. It also appears, from the literature review above, that the surge in discussion of LGBT issues in the media really started in the 90s and it became more common in the 2000s, which would indicate that there would be more articles and data to tabulate, compare and analyze.

The articles that are picked have to be concerning LGBT issues and should be classifiable under the created categories, which shall be mentioned shortly. Word count, page number and section of the newspaper were noted for each article that is selected and meets the criteria above. The data are then tabulated into readable columns and rows. Once the articles were categorized, the content analysis will be conducted. Unlike Moellers (2006) study, I shall analyze based on quantitative and qualitative elements of the data. By looking at the articles from both aspects, I am able to provide a snapshot and go into further detail of what exactly the articles include and how they talk about the issues. Who, what, when, where and how is the classic reference for journalists when they are writing stories, and so, examining quotes and looking at who said what could provide insight into the college newspaper's

priorities, values and the editorial staff's frame of mind.

Before the analysis begins, I tabulate the number of articles published in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (from now on referred to as the AJC) and *The New York Times* (from now on referred to as the NYT). This tabulation is done using News Bank Inc.'s Access World News search engine, which includes full-text, titles and years of all major national and world newspapers. Using this software I compile the number of articles per year that include terms on topics like the economy, healthcare, immigration issues and LGBT issues. The terms were selected based on what were the buzz words and hot topics in the 2004 and 2008 elections, taken from multiple news websites and special pages devoted to the elections. The search terms used to find economy related articles were “economy,” “tax,” “recession,” “debt,” “unemployment,” and “housing.” Terms used to find healthcare- related articles were “healthcare,” “medicare” and “insurance.” Terms used to find immigration- related articles were “immigration,” “illegal” “immigrant,” “border security,” and “immigration policies.” Terms for LGBT issues were the same as the ones used for the college newspaper analysis. To avoid ambiguity, the option of “AND” between the terms instead of “OR” was used.

Then, the quantitative analysis of the collected data was conducted, which involves noting for each newspaper the number of front pages, the number of times the article appears in the news or opinions section, the number of articles in each designated category and the articles which mention one of the above terms the most or have an abnormally larger word count than the rest of the articles. This was conducted on a year-to-year basis. Next, the qualitative part of the content analysis was conducted, which is based on the categories which are mentioned below. In each category, there will be a brief description of the number of stories on that topic that appeared in the *EW* and the *GA*. After the general analysis, there will one or more *EW* and *GA* articles under that topic that will be analyzed for;

a)the campus and article background,

b)the number of quotes, who quoted who, why were they used and whether they were relevant,

- c)sufficient information on the LGBT community and resources,
- d)terminology used in the article and whether they were politically correct,
- e)the number and diversity of view points present and
- f)the overall slant of the newspaper on that topic (positive to neutral to negative) and whether they were encouraging and supportive of the LGBT community, thus being conducive to activism.

It is important to note that when discussing terminology, I will be referring to the National Lesbian & Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA) Stylebook (NLGJA 2010), which is similar to the Associated Press Stylebook, an industry standard on grammar, terms and punctuation for most news organizations. In fact on the NLGJA website, they state that the Stylebook (NLGJA 2010) is more of a complement to other media stylebooks. The NLGJA Stylebook (NLGJA 2010) provides a detailed list of what terms can be used to describe the LGBT community and other aspects of LGBT life.

The conclusion will discuss the analysis in a larger context and provide an overall picture of the differences in coverage between the *EW* and the *GA* and their role in the presence of mainstream media forms like the *AJC* and the *NYT*.

Below are some of the decision rules that define the categories under which the articles were classified. The categories were picked based on research and readings of LGBT history and some of the movement's present-day issues, a summary of which you saw in the literature review. By coding each article into categories, I will have a much more streamlined analysis of the data versus just looking at the number of articles and the word count as with the mainstream media.

Category decision rules

Sub-codes:

In the tabulation of data, along with the classification of each article into the below categories, there will be an addition of a sub-code for whether the article refers to an incident, person or issue on the campus of the college newspaper or off campus.

On-Campus Reference Code: OC

Off-Campus Reference Code: OFC

LGBT on campus

Reference Code: LOC

This category consists of articles about LGBT issues that are specific to the campuses at which the college newspapers are based. These include issues of housing, employment, discrimination, harassment, application and admission, health, and other policies and opinions that concern, involve and/or occur at the university. Mention of the university as the site of happening or as the actor in the article defines the rules of this category.

People

Reference Code: P

This category consists of articles that feature or profile an individual or group of individuals who are prominent LGBTQ individuals and/or are individuals who play an important role in the LGBT rights movement. Majority of the article should concern the individual, and if there is more than one person, then more than three sentences should be devoted to each individual. Within, the article a description of the individual's background, their sexual orientation and identity, their involvement with the LGBT community and quotes from an interview with the individual or acquaintances must be

included to qualify. The individual's sexual orientation, if relevant, has to be clearly stated in the article.

Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue, Don't Harass

Reference Code: DA

This category, an abbreviation of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue, Don't Harass" consists of articles about or related to the 1993 military policy. The majority of the article should discuss controversies, individuals, laws, organizations, movements, opinions and/or other issues related to the policy. A brief description of Don't Ask, Don't Tell and what it entails may or may not be necessary since its meaning is assumed to be understood by most publications.

Arts, Music and Entertainment, and Leisure

Reference Code: AM

This category consists of articles that focus on three areas of art, music and culture, with all having strong homosexual themes and being LGBT- related. For the arts, the article should review films, theater, fictional and non-fictional literature, visual arts, dance and other forms with LGBT themes along with the individuals involved in them. For music, the article should review LGBT related music pieces, performances, bands and musicians. Within culture, there are many sub-categories to define some aspects of the social and cultural life of the LGBT community that cannot be placed in either of the two categories. These categories are LGBT symbols, LGBT erotica, LGBT nightclubs, drag shows, drag kings and drag queens, bathhouses, and LGBT linguistics and terminology.

Note: The nature of this category is that it includes forms of expression.

Violence, Harassment and Discrimination

Reference Code: V

This category consists of articles about acts of violence, harassment and discrimination against LGBT individuals and LGBT topics and issues. The majority of the article should be a description of an incident that caused physical, psychological, financial and situational harm to an LGBT individual. It must be established in the article that the act was carried out because of the individual's sexual orientation.

Religion and homosexuality

Reference Code: RH

This category consists of articles that are about the different religious views on homosexuality, the LGBT movement, same-sex marriage and other LGBT- related issues. The majority of the article should be focused on the religion in question and its leaders' opposition or support about the above mentioned issues.

LGBT rights, pride and activism

Reference Code: RPA

This category consists of articles about LGBT- related organizations and the marches, speeches, award ceremonies, commemorations, symbols, protests, vigils, fundraisers, petitions and/or responses to incidents they organize concerning common LGBT issues which are listed as categories in this decision rule. The majority of the article should be about the planned gathering or event and has to be specifically LGBT- related.

Same-sex marriage and civil unions

Reference Code: SM

This category consists of articles about the right to marry for same-sex couples and to obtain the rights, obligations that come with it. The majority of the article should explore the topic of same-sex marriage in terms of the political, religious, and/or civil rights issues.

Academia

Reference Code: AC

This category consists of articles that focus on queer studies, queer theory and other scholarship and research that are related to LGBT history, identity and issues. The majority of the article should be about the relevant scholarship and its association with the LGBT rights movement.

Discussions and Speakers

Reference Code: DS

This category consists of articles that cover a discussion organized by one or multiple groups on or off-campus on the topic of homosexuality in relation to society. It also includes articles that cover a speech regarding LGBT issues delivered by a prominent speaker visiting campus.

Anti-Gay

Reference Code: AG

This category consists of articles that cover the anti-gay, ex-gay and homophobia movements. They may or may not be related to religious organizations. The majority of the article should include a description of the anti-gay event and the organizations behind it. This category may also include opinions that blatantly state anti-gay views.

Lesbianism/Transgender/Bisexuality/Gay/Queer

Reference Code: L/T/B/G/Q

This category consists of articles focused on only one of the above sexual identities and not the all-inclusive “LGBTQ.”

LGBT History

Reference Code: LH

This category consists of articles about LGBT movements, incidents, issues, concerns, attitudes and policies before the year 2000. The majority of the article should refer mostly to the prior incident even while commenting and mentioning its timeliness and relevance to the present.

Sports

Reference Code: SP

This category consists of articles about gay men and women in sports and sporting competitions organized specifically for the LGBT community. The majority of the article should be about a particular gay athlete, the challenges they face performing, homophobia in sports and/or the attitudes of spectators towards gay athletes.

LGBT Youth

Reference Code: LY

This category consists of articles about gay men and women under the age of 30 and the challenges, issues and consequences they go through during their school, college and post-college years. The majority of the article will talk about an individual who comes under the mentioned age group or about issues this particular age group faces.

Government

Reference Code: GO

This category consists of articles about acts, laws, bills, elected officials that concern LGBT rights and issues that do not include **DA** and **SM**.

Health

Reference Code: H

This category consists of articles about health issues and concerns in the LGBTQ community including topics like AIDS etc.

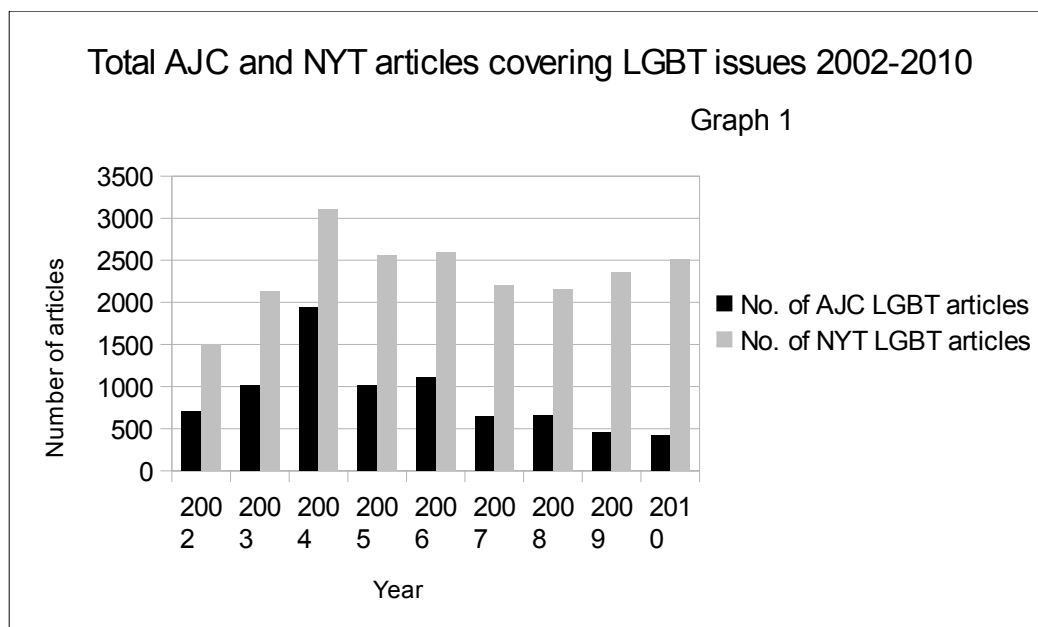
Since these codes are extensive, for the convenience of the reader there will be reference list for each abbreviation provided as footnotes at the bottom of each following page. I shall now look at some of the results derived using the methodology described above.

Results and Content Analysis

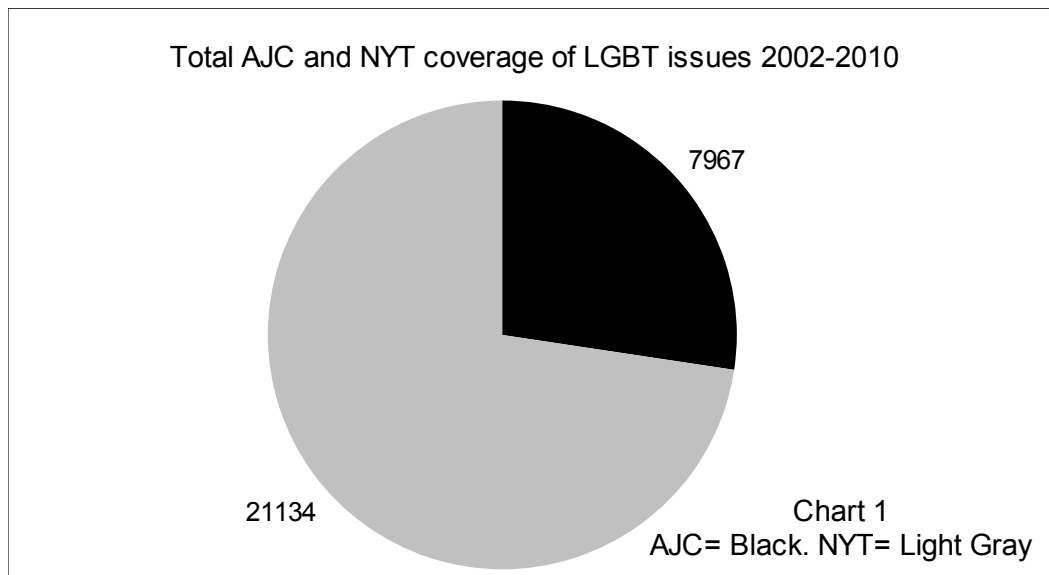
Quantitative Content Analysis

Statistics of AJC and NY T

I shall begin by noting the number of articles the AJC and NYT devoted to LGBT, healthcare, economy and immigration issues to provide context. The total number of AJC articles that covered LGBT issues from 2002 to 2010 was around 7,967 and the total number for NYT came to around 21,134 articles. Within the AJC, 24.31 percent i.e. 1,937 out of 7,967 of the LGBT articles were published in 2004, followed by 13.87 percent i.e. 1,105 articles in 2006, 12.75 percent i.e. 1,016 articles in 2005 and 12.73 percent i.e. 1,014 articles in 2003. Within the NYT, 14.72 percent 3,110 out of 21,134 of the LGBT articles were published in 2004 , followed by 12.27 percent i.e. 2,594 articles in 2006, 12.13 percent i.e. 2,564 articles in 2005 and 11.90 percent i.e. 2,514 articles in 2010. So while the distribution is more even among the NYT articles, the AJC has the higher percentage when it comes to 2004. The spike may be due to the amendment prohibiting same-sex marriage being a big issue during 2004.¹



¹AJC= The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. NYT= The New York Times



I also looked at how many economy, healthcare and immigration articles were in these two newspapers between 2002 and 2010. The total number of AJC articles that covered economy issues from 2002 to 2010 was around 58,209 and the total number for the NYT came to around 1,27,093 articles.

The total number of AJC articles that covered immigration issues from 2002 to 2010 was around 8,319 and the total number for the NYT came to around 24,655 articles.

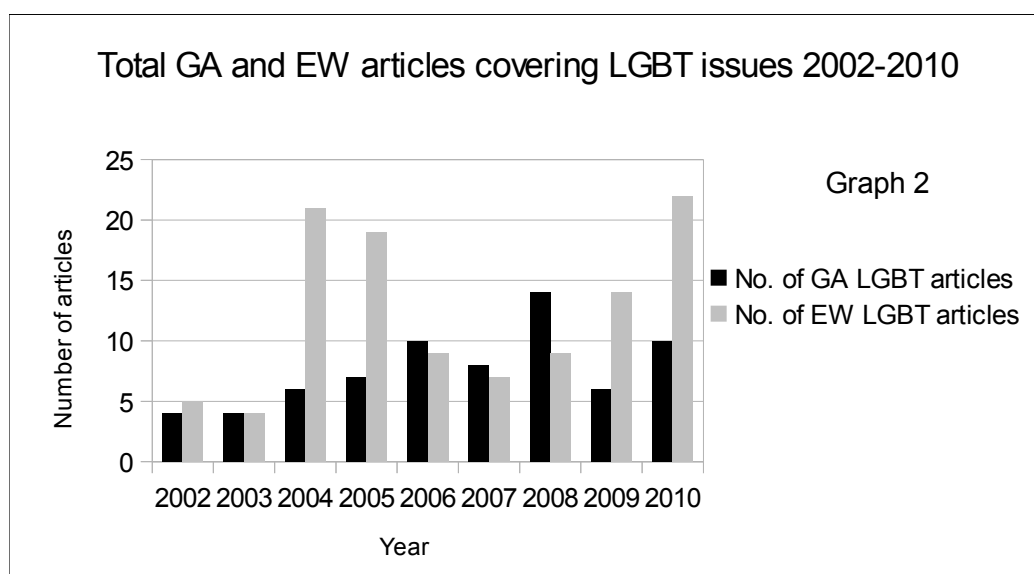
The total number of AJC articles that covered healthcare issues from 2002 to 2010 was around 15,140 and the total number for the NYT came to around 32,451 articles.

Coverage of all issues by the NYT far exceeded the number of articles by the AJC because of the national reach and distribution of the former. The economy was clearly the most covered topic between 2002 and 2010 in total, followed by healthcare, immigration and then LGBT issues, thus putting LGBT last on the ranks of election issues. ²

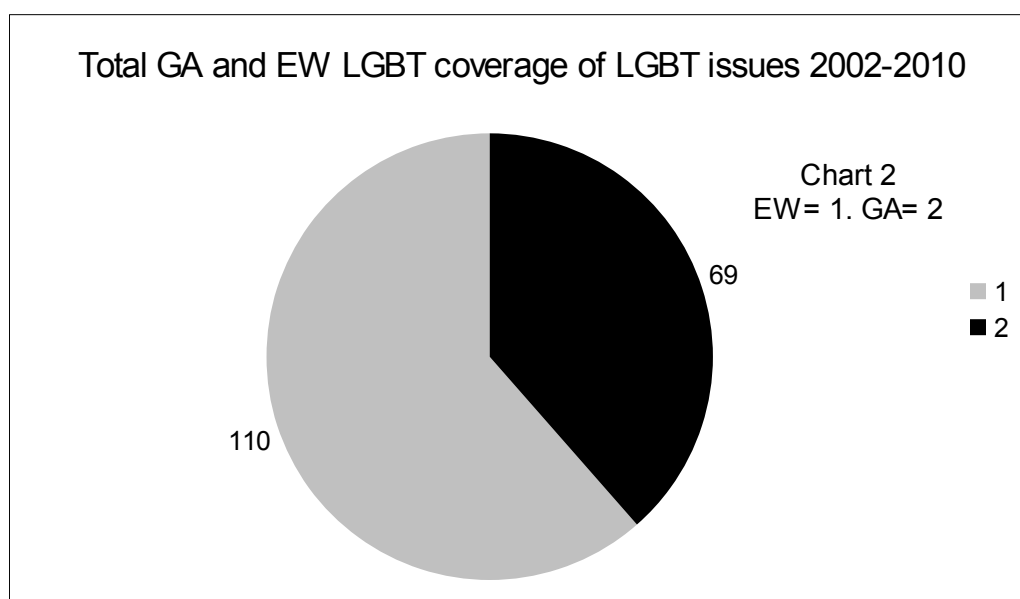
² AJC= *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. NYT= *The New York Times*

Total Statistics of the *GA* and *EW*

The total number of *GA* articles that cover LGBT topics are 69 whereas the total number of *EW* articles comes to 110 articles between the years 2002 to 2010. Within the *GA*, 20.2 percent i.e 14 out of the 69 LGBT articles were published in 2008, followed by a tie between 2006 and 2010 with exactly 14.4 percent i.e. 10 articles published. Within the *EW*, 20 percent i.e. 22 out of 110 of the LGBT articles were in 2010 followed very closely by 19 percent i.e. 21 articles in 2004. These results do not exactly mirror the results we saw in the *AJC* and *NYT*, which had the most number of articles in 2004. The high percentages during certain years and the uneven numbers could be indicative of coverage of more local stories pertaining to the university or the city and not necessarily national and state coverage as the *AJC* and *NYT* have done.³



³*AJC*= *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. *NYT*= *The New York Times*. *GA*= *The George-Anne*. *EW*= *The Emory Wheel*.



Comparisons with the AJC and NYT⁴

The AJC being a local Georgia newspaper would seem reasonable to compare with the two college newspapers in terms of covering LGBT issues from a local aspect. During the year 2004, Georgia residents were asked to vote on the defense of marriage amendment in the Georgia Constitution that made recognizing same-sex unions as unconstitutional. Thus it made the topic into a lot of the issues of the *GA*, *EW* and *AJC* in the form of news pieces and editorials. In 2004, there were 1,937 articles on LGBT issues, the most to be published in the *AJC* between 2002 and 2010. This trend is reflected in the *EW* where the total number in 2004 (21) is surpassed only by 2010 by just 1 article, due to the newsworthiness of the anti-gay incident on campus. The *GA*, however, only published 6 articles in 2004 versus 14 in 2008. Although all the 6 articles did talk about the amendment and were published in the Editorials section. The *NYT* published around 3,110 articles in 2004.

⁴AJC= *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. NYT= *The New York Times*. GA= *The George-Anne*. EW= *The Emory Wheel*

Statistics of *GA* (See Appendix A) ⁵

For *GA*, the highest number of articles on LGBT issues published was 14 in 2008, followed by 10 in 2006 and 2010, 8 in 2007 and 7 in 2005.

A total of 4 articles in 2002 were published in mostly the News or Features section and concerned on-campus events and issues and came under the category of LGBT rights, pride and activism (RPA), overlapping with categories like arts, music, entertainment and leisure (AM), violence, harassment and discrimination (V) and LGBT youth (LY). Only 2 out of the 4 total made it to the front page.

A total of 4 articles in 2003 were published in mostly the News or Opinions section and concerned 1 on-campus LGBT incident or issue and 2 off-campus ones. The articles were classified mainly under the same-sex marriage and civil unions category (SM). None of the articles in 2003 made it to the front page.

A total of 6 articles in 2004 were all published in the Opinions section and concerned all off-campus LGBT issues. The articles were classified mainly under the SM category and overlapped with the religious and homosexuality (RH) and AM categories. Being opinions pieces that are assigned to a specific page, naturally none of the articles made it to the front page.

A total of 7 articles in 2005 were published in mostly the Features section, followed by the Opinions page, and mostly concerned off-campus LGBT issues except for one article. The articles were mostly classified under the AM and RPA categories. Again, none of the LGBT-related articles appeared on the front page.

A total of 10 LGBT articles in 2006 were published equally in the Features and Opinions section and mostly concerned a mix of on-campus and off-campus LGBT incidents and issues. The

⁵ *GA*= The George-Anne. *EW*= The Emory Wheel. *LOC*= LGBT on campus. *P*= People. *DA*= Don't Ask, Don't Tell. *AM*= Arts, Music, Entertainment and Leisure. *V*= Violence, Harassment and Discrimination. *RH*= Religion and Homosexuality. *RPA*= Rights, pride and activism. *SM*= Same-sex marriage and civil unions. *AC*= Academia. *DS*= Discussions and Speakers. *AG*= Anti-Gay. *LH*= LGBT History. *SP*= Sports. *LY*= LGBT Youth. *GO*= Government. *H*= Health.

articles were mostly classified under the RPA category and overlapped with the V, LY and SM categories. None of the articles in 2006 appeared on the front page.

A total of 8 LGBT articles in 2007 were published mostly in the News section, followed by the Features section and one in Opinion section. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues and incidents. The articles were mostly classified equally under the RPA, AM and discussion and speakers category (DS) and overlapped with the RH category. None of the articles in 2007 appeared on the front page.

A total of 14 LGBT articles in 2008 were published equally in the News and Features section, with 2 being in the Opinions section. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues with 13 of them being on-campus. The articles were mostly classified under the AM category and overlapped with the LY, RH, LOC and V categories. Three of the articles made it to the front page.

A total of 6 LGBT articles were published in 2009 with the majority in the News section and the rest in the Features and Opinions section. 5 of them concerned on-campus LGBT issues and were classified under the RH, SM and RPA categories. Two of the articles made it to the front page.

A total of 10 LGBT articles were published in 2010 with 5 of the articles in the Features section, 4 in the News section and 1 in the Opinions section. 7 of them concerned on-campus LGBT issues whereas 3 concerned off-campus LGBT issues. A majority of them (8) were classified under the RH category and overlapped with the AM, LOC, DA, LY categories. None of the stories made it to the front page.⁶

There are a few articles to note that mentioned one of the terms I have selected to analyze, several times. “A lesbian's story” (The George-Anne/ Southern Reflector staff 2006), which was an interview with a lesbian GSU student, had the word “gay” 16 times, followed by “Legislation is not the

⁶ GA= The George-Anne. EW= The Emory Wheel. LOC= LGBT on campus. P= People. DA= Don't Ask, Don't Tell. AM= Arts, Music, Entertainment and Leisure. V= Violence, Harassment and Discrimination. RH= Religion and Homosexuality. RPA= Rights, pride and activism. SM= Same-sex marriage and civil unions. AC= Academia. DS= Discussions and Speakers. AG= Anti-Gay. LH= LGBT History. SP= Sports. LY= LGBT Youth. GO= Government. H= Health.

answer to all issues” (Fogle 2005), an editorial on the same-sex amendment ban, with the word “gay” appearing 13 times. “NAACP and GSA lead the way in forum” (Frazier 2007) had what NLGJA refer to as the scientific and medical term “homosexual” appearing 10 times in the article.

Statistics of *EW* (See Appendix B)

For *EW* the highest number of articles on LGBT issues published was 22 in 2010, largely because of a LGBT violence incident that happened on campus, followed by 21 in 2004, 19 in 2005 and 14 in 2009.

A total of 5 LGBT articles in 2002 were published mostly in the News section, followed by 2 in the Editorials section. They mostly concerned off-campus LGBT issues with 4 of them being off-campus. The articles were mostly classified equally under the LY, Don't Ask Don't Tell (DA) and People (P) categories and overlapped with the AM, LOC and RPA categories. Three of the articles made it to the front page.

A total of 4 LGBT articles in 2003 were published mostly in the Opinions section with 1 in the News section. They all concerned on-campus LGBT issues. All the articles were classified under the LOC category. Only 1 article made it to the front page.⁷

A total of 21 LGBT articles were published in 2004, a majority of which, 11, were in the News section followed by 9 in Editorials section. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues with 15 being on campus and 7 being off campus. The articles were classified mostly under the SM category (13), followed by LOC category (10) and overlapped with the V and AM categories. 3 of the articles made it to the front page.

A total of 19 LGBT articles were published in 2005, a majority of which, 8, were in the

⁷ GA= The George-Anne. EW= The Emory Wheel. LOC= LGBT on campus. P= People. DA= Don't Ask, Don't Tell. AM= Arts, Music, Entertainment and Leisure. V= Violence, Harassment and Discrimination. RH= Religion and Homosexuality. RPA= Rights, pride and activism. SM= Same-sex marriage and civil unions. AC= Academia. DS= Discussions and Speakers. AG= Anti-Gay. LH= LGBT History. SP= Sports. LY= LGBT Youth. GO= Government. H= Health.

Editorials section, followed by 6 in the News section and 2 in the Arts and Living section. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues with 15 being on campus and 5 being off campus. The articles were classified mostly in the RPA category (11) and overlapped with AM, V, LOC, LY, P and RH. Only 1 article appeared on the front page.

A total of 9 LGBT articles were published in 2006, a majority of which were in the News section, followed by the Editorials section. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues. The articles were classified mostly under the LOC category (5), followed by the LY category (4) and overlapped with AM and V categories. Only one article appeared on the front page in 2006.

A total of 7 LGBT articles were published in 2007, a majority of which were in the Editorials section, followed by the Arts & Living section. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues. The articles were classified mostly under the V category and overlapped with the AM, LOC and LY categories. Two articles appeared on the front page in 2007.

A total of 9 LGBT articles were published in 2008, a majority of which were in the Editorials section (5) followed by 3 in the News section. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues. The articles were mostly classified in the LOC category but overlapped with the LH, DS, SM, RH, H, P, RPA and AM categories. Two articles made it to the front page.⁸

A total of 14 articles were published in 2009, a majority of which (8) were in the News section, followed by 4 in the Editorials section. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues with 13 on-campus articles. The stories were mostly classified in the RPA category and overlapped with all categories except AG, SP, GO, H, L,G, B, DA. 5 articles made it to the front page. This was also the year when the *EW* did a special series on LGBT on campus.

A total of 22 articles were published in 2010 and were equally divided between the News and

⁸ *GA*= The George-Anne. *EW*= The Emory Wheel. *LOC*= LGBT on campus. *P*= People. *DA*= Don't Ask, Don't Tell. *AM*= Arts, Music, Entertainment and Leisure. *V*= Violence, Harassment and Discrimination. *RH*= Religion and Homosexuality. *RPA*= Rights, pride and activism. *SM*= Same-sex marriage and civil unions. *AC*= Academia. *DS*= Discussions and Speakers. *AG*= Anti-Gay. *LH*= LGBT History. *SP*= Sports. *LY*= LGBT Youth. *GO*= Government. *H*= Health.

the Editorials sections. They mostly concerned on-campus LGBT issues (18) due to an incident on campus involving violence against a gay student. This was also the same year that news came up that Westboro Baptist Church, the Christian fundamentalist group, was set to picket at Emory. Since the stories focused on the act of violence, most of the articles (18) were classified under the V category and overlapped with the LOC (16), LY(14), RPA, RH and AG. Eight articles appeared on the front page in 2010.⁹

The most common category for *GA* was RPA, which came to 27 articles out of the total 69 *GA* articles on LGBT issues. The most common category for *EW* was LOC, which came to 55 articles out of the total 110 *EW* articles on LGBT issues. The total number of front pages for the *GA* was 7 whereas the total number of front pages for the *EW* was 26.

A few special mentions; “Students celebrate their true colors” (Lee 2009), an article that was a part of the special series on LGBT life at Emory, had the word “gay” appear 22 times. “Men's or women's?: For transgender students a difficult question may be getting easier” (Englar 2006), an article that was about providing facilities for transgender students, contained the word “transgender” 14 times, and the follow-up article “Voicing Transgender Issues at Emory” that talked about the new unisex bathrooms on campus for transgender students, contained the word transgender 13 times. “Gender Studies Begins to Reach Critical Mass at Emory” had the word “queer” appear 14 times.

⁹ *GA*= The George-Anne. *EW*= The Emory Wheel. *LOC*= LGBT on campus. *P*= People. *DA*= Don't Ask, Don't Tell. *AM*= Arts, Music, Entertainment and Leisure. *V*= Violence, Harassment and Discrimination. *RH*= Religion and Homosexuality. *RPA*= Rights, pride and activism. *SM*= Same-sex marriage and civil unions. *AC*= Academia. *DS*= Discussions and Speakers. *AG*= Anti-Gay. *LH*= LGBT History. *SP*= Sports. *LY*= LGBT Youth. *GO*= Government. *H*= Health.

Qualitative content analysis

The following is a qualitative analysis of the *EW* and *GA* articles that have been classified under the categories mentioned above. There will be a general analysis of the articles that come under the categories, followed by a comparison of an *EW* article with a *GA* article on that topic. Certain categories like Sports (SP), Don't Ask Don't Tell (DA), Academia (AC), Health (H), Government (GO), LGBT rights, pride and activism (RPA), LGBT History (LH) and the L/G/B/T/Q category have been eliminated from the analysis because there were not enough articles under that category in one or both newspapers. For example, there were no articles that could be classified in the AC category from the *GA* whereas there were only 3 articles from the *EW*. Another reason is that the kind of topics discussed in that category were not similar enough between the *GA* and the *EW* to be compared. For example, the one article in the *GA* discussing transgender (T) issues talked about identity issues whereas the articles in the *EW* that covered transgender issues talked mostly about whether there were enough resources on Emory's campus that were directed specifically to transgender students. Also, some categories like People (P) and LGBT Youth (LY) that constantly overlap with each other in multiple articles have been analyzed together.

LGBT on campus (LOC)

Between 2002 and 2010, the *EW* published a total of 51 LOC articles and the *GA* published 5 articles in this category. The vast difference might be due to more policy discussions and incidents on Emory's campus. I shall look at instances where the *EW* and *GA* reported on policy changes made by their respective universities.

The *GA* article headline: "Safe Space Program Promotes Acceptance" (Stuart 2010)

Word count and page number: The total word count of the article is 577 words and it appeared on page 8.

Background: In 2007, Georgia Southern University launched the “Safe Space” program for the university's LGBT community. It is a training session by the Counseling Center for faculty, staff, students and university employees “teaching the importance of acceptance, knowledge and understanding of GLBT community at GSU” (Stuart 2010:8).

Quotes: The article provides details about the program along with an interview with the Gay Straight Alliance (GSA) faculty adviser, Kimberly Rowan. While it is a very straightforward and a typical “hard news” article, Rowan does not mince words about the importance of having such a support system in place. This is the only interview and viewpoint in the entire article and comes from an official source, a faculty member.

“We don’t try to slap a label on people and say ‘to become an ally you have to go to a gay pride march and wear rainbow colors.’ Instead, being an ally — for some people — means just saying ‘I support people of any sexual orientation or gender identity’,” Rowan said. “For other people [being an ally] may be saying something when they hear a negative joke. For some people, it may even mean becoming involved politically and fighting for marriage equality.” (Stuart 2010:8)

Another quote provides an “expert” point-of-view as to what LGBT students go through when on campus and links their experience to what the program could do if used effectively.

“Sometimes students don’t have that support from family, either they haven’t come out to their family or their family doesn’t quite understand or support. I think having someone here on campus, who they know they can turn to, is key in terms of overall well being...“They are less likely to be depressed and overall well functioning because they have been accepted for who they are”(Stuart 2010:8).

Points of view: Besides the interview with Rowan, there are no other quotes from students, gay or straight, or any other “Safe Space” participants. And even though having many sources in the article is quite important, for a general story like this it may not have been an issue.

Information on LGBT resources: The article provides sufficient details about the program including who can participate, the benefits from involvement, the effect on the GSU community, how it provides

support for LGBT students, and how heterosexual individuals that do this program can make a positive change for the campus as a whole. It also includes information at the end of the article such as a phone number and a Facebook fan page link for the Counseling Center, thus encouraging readers and students to enroll in the program.

Terminology and political correctness: The term “homosexual,” which is described by NLGJA (2010) as a term that should not be used in news articles unless in a medical context and in parallel to heterosexual, is not used in this article. When talking about the LGBT community as a group, the term “GLBT” and “GLBT members” is used instead. The writer does distinguish the different members and mentions the terms “gay,” “lesbian,” “bisexual” and “transgender.”

Overall portrayal: Therefore this article can be seen as a positive representation and portrayal of the LGBT community and its issues and is conducive to activism and action by the Georgia Southern community.

The *EW* article headline: “Emory Adds Protection for Gender” (Zelkowitz 2007)

Word count and page number: The total word count was 254 words and the article appeared on page 3.

Background: In 2007, Emory University added gender identity and sexual orientation as protected under its discrimination harassment policy. The article is about this new clause and what it means for the Emory community. The writer Rachel Zelkowitz (2007) briefly talks about what adding the clause means for LGBT students and faculty.

Quotes: Along with quoting the clause, the story includes an interview with Emory's Assistant Dean for Campus Life, Andy Wilson and it is the only interview in the article as we saw in the *GA* article. When talking about what appears to be a landmark decision, the writer includes only 2 quotes that are very general statements on its impact on the Emory community.

“It signals that we are a destination university for LGBT students, faculty and staff...”Most of us

have a learning curve around transgender issues” (Zelkowitz 2007:3).

Points of view: It does not include interviews with people who will receive benefits from this policy or from other students on their reactions. Again, since this is a very straightforward article on a policy, the *EW* might have considered delving into the topic of employment protection.

Information on LGBT resources: The article provided context to the clause, comparing it to other universities that have made this decision in light of growing on-campus LGBT concerns. There were no follow-up articles written to this topic and its length suggests that it served more as a news brief than as an explanation.

Terminology and political correctness: As in the *GA* article above, the term “homosexual” is not used when describing the group. Instead the term “LGBT community” is referenced.

Overall portrayal: Therefore this article is a more neutral perspective on the policy change than the *GA* article, but it is still conducive to activism than opposition, based on the quotes and description.

People (P) and LGBT Youth (LY)

Between 2002 and 2010, the *EW* published a total of 22 articles and the *GA* published 2 articles in the P category. The *EW* also published a total of 30 LY articles and the *GA* published 19 articles in this category I shall look at instances where the *EW* and *GA* featured an individual who identified themselves as part of the LGBT community or who are involved in activism around LGBT issues or who are connected to the LGBT community in an important and influential way. Since the two profiles that were selected were also overlapped with the category of LY, which concerns gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, youth, I shall include them in the analysis.

The *GA* article headline: “A Freshman for a Change” (Gabol 2010)

Word count and page number: 676 words and the article appears on page 9.

Background: A student named Derrick Martin was in the news in 2010 for requesting and receiving

permission to take his boyfriend to the prom in his Georgia high school. In the fall, Martin enrolled at GSU and was profiled by guest writer Aria Gabol (2010) in one of the early issues in the Features section on his experience and plans.

Quotes: The article (Gabol 2010) presents an interview with Martin talking about his friends' reaction to the controversy and his view on how gay people are treated at GSU. The quotes included show Martin reflecting positively on his experiences.

“Almost all of my friends were proud and really happy for me, but others were upset because they were worried ‘All the gay people are going to start coming here’, but my true friends were great.” (Gabol 2010:9)

Martin is also the founder of LifeVest, an organization that provides a sort of “life vest” to LGBT teens and adults. He talks about his role in the group and advises the rest of the GSU community on interacting with the LGBT community.

“Everyone should be more careful with the images they portray and the things they say,” said Martin, “Even the smallest comment can put somebody down, which is unnecessary, and being a freshman in college isn’t the easiest thing. campus holding my best guy friend’s hand and nobody will say anything” (Gabol 2010:9).

The article talks about what makes Martin unique, justifying the reason for the profile and highlighted his role and involvement in the LGBT community. But the article also portrays his sexuality as a normalcy and showed the readers that Martin is just like any other freshman.

Martin has only been here at GSU for a short time but already has a favorite spot...Another feature Martin said he really enjoys is all the fun events here on campus (Gabol 2010:9).

Yet the article does not go into further details about Martin being kicked out of his house and the outrage it created and tends to paint a more rosy situation and gives the incident a cursory mention.

Points of view: As a profile, this seems to be the only point-of-view that is being presented and could have done more with interviews with Martin's friends at GSU or other Project LifeVest members.

Terminology and political correctness: The term “homosexual” is not used in this article when describing the LGBT community or Martin. The reporter uses the words “LGBT” and “gay” but does so through Martin's quotes.

Overall portrayal: Therefor the article provides a positive portrayal of the LGBT community, provides information on a LGBT resource and is conducive to activism.

The *EW* article headline: “Students Celebrate Their True Colors” (Lee 2009)

Word count and page number: The total number of words is 2,549 and the article appears on the front page and continues onto page 5 of the newspaper issue.

Background: In 2009, the *EW* did a three-part series on the LGBT community at Emory, the past, present and future. The third article profiled a few students on campus about their journey in coming out to their friends and families and the difficulties they faced.

Quotes: The article (Lee 2009) here is much longer than the *GA* article, and includes more profiles in one story. So only a few quotes will be examined to allow for comparison. Here, around five students were profiled on their experiences of coming out to their friends and families and on whether they have found acceptance on Emory's campus. The article begins by introducing how important coming out is and provides examples of different experiences.

Each coming-out story is unique. Some are deeply emotional, others are matter-of-fact. Some people experience years of soul-searching, while some have always known they were gay... College junior Alec Fox knew he was attracted to guys since about the eighth grade, and came out to his family the summer before his senior year in high school. (Lee 2009:5).

The article also delves into some of the happiness and frustration surrounding coming out and its effect on forming an identity.

“Straight people don’t have to go to their friends and say, ‘Hey, I’m different than what you thought I was,’”

“[With] these conversations, I was living my life the way I wanted to live it, knowing that I was

becoming closer to the person that I am.” (Lee 2009:5).

There are at least a couple of paragraphs dedicated to each person's background and their present situation. At the very end there are resources mentioned for students are thinking about coming out and what they can expect from being gay at Emory.

Every year, in celebration of LGBT History Month and National Coming Out Day on Oct. 11, students are invited to share their coming-out stories anonymously or with their names attached. “I think that Emory is a great place to be a gay person,” Fox says. “But even 20 miles outside of Atlanta, I don’t think that’s a place to be gay.” (Lee 2009:5).

Points of view: As this is a special series article that comes to around 2,549 words, there are many different points of view, with two lesbians and three gay male students being profiled, along with the director of LGBT Life at Emory.

Information on LGBT resources and community: From the above statements and quotes, there seems to be a lot of information that will be useful for students who are thinking about coming out and those straight students who do not know about its nuances.

Terminology and political correctness: The term “gay” appears in the article 22 times and the word “queer” is used in a quote by a lesbian student. The NLGJA Stylebook (NLGJA 2010) notes that the term is offensive when used as an epithet but is now being reclaimed by some members of the LGBT community, so in this case the use of the word is not an issue. The term “homosexuality” appears but since it describes it in relation to religion, the context is not offensive.

Overall portrayal: Therefore the article portrays the LGBT community in a positive light and is conducive to activism and is encouraging of expression of sexuality.

Arts, Music and Entertainment, and Leisure (AM)

Between 2002 and 2010, the *EW* published a total of 27 AM articles and the *GA* published 22

articles in this category. Since this category covers not only LGBT arts and music, but also other general feature articles on relationships and adjustments, I will examine a few specific example before comparing two instances.

Articles that came under the AM category in the *EW* were mostly focused on the annual drag shows that occur at the university and are reviews of three plays, two film festivals, three articles on dating and relationships in the LGBT community, and one “bisexual” film review. The rest of the articles are a mixture of columns titled “Just Jac” by a lesbian student, who talked about her experiences with dating and other personal encounters with homophobia. Articles that came under the AM category in the *GA* also mostly focused on the drag shows that occurred, but in contrast provided more page space for Rueben Hayslett, a gay male student who wrote columns on his relationship and emotional experience as a a gay man. There were also articles reviewing the “Rocky Horror Picture Show” and “The Laramie Project,” two important plays that address different aspects of homosexuality and the screening of two LGBT films on campus.

I shall now look at instances where the *EW* and *GA* covered and featured the annual on-campus drag shows and compare how their reporting may have differed in presenting the events.

The *GA* articles' headlines: “Second Annual Georgia Southern Drag Show today at Russel Union” (Joyce 2008), “A Raving Good Time” (Joyce 2008) “Drag Show at Russell was a Waste of Money” (Anonymous 2008) and “Recent multicultural show sparks debate between students” (Buchanan 2008).

Word count and page number: “Second Annual” has 562 words and is on page 2. “A Raving” has 432 words and is on page 10 of the supplement *The Southern Reflector Magazine*. “Drag Show at Russell” has 423 words and is on page 4. “Recent Multicultural” has 458 and is on page 8.

Background: In 2009, the Multicultural Student Center and the Gay Straight Alliance held Georgia Southern's second annual drag show. The event was highly publicized because of the special appearance by Bianca Nicole, a well-know female impersonator from Atlanta. But controversy arose

when it was reported that \$1000 in student fees was used for the event. This fact brought up outrage from some students who thought the event was too explicit and vulgar to be considered cultural. Other students said that the money was going for something that allowed people to express their sexuality.

Quotes: In the very first article mentioning the show, “Second Annual,” the writer Derek Joyce (2009) explained the differences between the terms “transgender” and “transsexual” with reference to the show and what to expect. He also provided background information about Nicole.

A drag king or queen is a person who decides to project the opposite gender. This can be for performance reasons and preference of dress. (Joyce 2009:2).

The next installment by Joyce (2009) reviews the show, and provides a positive perspective of the experience. Here, instead of quoting members of the audience, Joyce writes the article as a spectator and as a first-hand account. He writes what he sees and his reactions to the show.

The audience was an almost ideal mix: homosexuals, heterosexuals, and members of every race all together in a celebration of self-identity.

I, for one, got a free kiss on the cheek during his second performance, Each of Bianca Nicole’s performances was different, ranging from a Latin-style crowd-pleaser to something reminiscent of a young Janet Jackson. (Joyce 2009:2).

But it was the third article, an opinion piece by an anonymous student that brings up the issue of the money and what he/she saw as the show's offensive material (Anonymous 2008). It was odd that even though *GA* policy states that any editorial pieces had to be signed with the writer's full name, the *GA* decided to make an exception for this piece, possibly because it does address a newsworthy issue. And it is clear it is not by the editorial staff because the writer refers to himself or herself in the first person.

...using shock-value to draw the record crowd only negated the effects of other events put on by the organization to do that.

Rather than trying to help students understand the similarities between the LGBT culture and their own, the multicultural center merely widened the gap by bringing the most stereotyped parts of that culture to the stage. Does that really help anyone?...calling it some kind of ‘multicultural student event’ when it was basically a strip show doesn’t accomplish anything.

They could also try to put some restraint on the performers to prevent the show from becoming what, at least this time, bordered on an orgy with the audience. (Anonymous 2008:4).

The *GA* followed up on this by interviewing students who agreed and disagreed with Georgia Southern even having the show (Buchanan 2009). Quotes ranged from positive to neutral to negative by the Multicultural Student Center officials to students.

“I don’t know if that would go under the heading of cultural event in my opinion.”
“I think you should have the right to express yourself.”
“The program wasn’t just meant to be sexually explicit; it was meant to be educational.”
(Buchanan 2009:8).

The article here presents a neutral perspective on the issue and examines all sides of the debate briefly.

Points of view: From all the four articles combined there seems to be a equal representation of all points of view, particularly because a voice is given to those who agree and disagree with having the drag show.

Information on LGBT resources and community: Joyce (2009) in his first article on the drag show provided a detailed description of the differences between a transgender, transsexual and transvestite, thus informing readers about the various aspects in the LGBT community.

Terminology and political correctness: Terminology used in the articles in describing the drag show through terms like “drag king” and “drag queen” are acceptable according to the NLGJA Stylebook (NLGJA 2010). However, in “Recent Multicultural,” the writer Chris Buchanan (2009) used the term “lifestyle” when talking about a survey that drag show attendees were asked to fill. According to the NLGJA (2010), this term is offensive and undermines the fact that homosexuality is innate and in-born and is therefor not a choice.

Overall portrayal: The overall portrayal of the LGBT community and the drag show ranged from mostly positive to neutral, and could be considered conducive to activism.

The EW articles' headlines: “Emory Drag Show Extravaganza” (Ong 2010), “Our Opinion: Drag Show Underscores Progress on LGBTQ Issues” (The Emory Wheel Editorial Board 2009), “Emory Pride Dresses Students and Faculty in Drag” (Molberg 2009) “Pretty (Wo)men” (Plocher 2006).

Word count and page number: “Emory Drag” has 161 words and is on page 10. “Drag Show” has 435 words and is on page 6. “Emory Pride” has 984 words and is on page 9 and 10. “Pretty (Wo)men” has 1,221 words and is on page 15 and 20. Besides “Drag Show,” all other articles were in the Arts & Living section.

Background: The Office of LGBT Life and Emory Pride at Emory hold the drag show annually. But the coverage by the *EW* in 2009 and 2010 differ in how the show was presented and what angle was taken in the story. Also in 2006, the Georgia Tech Pride Alliance held its drag show and the *EW* was there to cover it.

Quotes: In 2006, *EW* writer Ryan Plocher (2006) signed up to participate in Georgia Tech's drag show and describes in detail how he was transformed into a drag queen worthy for performance.

Finding our drag dresses wasn't easy, of course. Broad shoulders, flat chests and less-than-voluptuous hips were obstacles on our path to fabulosity.

First, after the lyric "any girl would touch your privates for a deuce," Singerman accepted money from me and then, his back to the audience, lifted up his skirt to show off a fancy, lace thong.

Big, bright eyes and eye creases, defined cheekbones and striking lips are trademarks of classic drag, and we had them all.

During our performance, our fans swarmed the stage to stuff dollar bills in our bodices, under our shoulder straps and even in Singerman's thong...The Queens of Emory proved the victors of the second annual Glitter Pop Drag Show. (Plocher 2006:8).

The above description provided a rare insight into the performance and also made it more personalized rather than giving the appearance of something too fantastical for the student's imagination. It was also a clever way to present the show instead of from an outsider viewpoint.

The two events' description in 2009 and 2010 are very similar in reporting as the *GA* articles above. But there are more quotes included in this article (Molber 2009) from the actual performers.

And there were paragraphs that talked about the involvement of the university staff in the program.

Residence Life & Housing were the victors on the campus administrators' end, channeling the performances of various divas, such as Whitney Houston and Aretha Franklin. (Ong 2010:10). "I got nervous right before I went on-stage, and I did blank out a little bit on some dance moves, but mostly it just clicked," he said. "I had this crazy idea no one was going to show up or the performers would be underprepared, but I can't imagine it going any better," Wise said. (Molber 2009:9, 10).

The *EW* also released an opinion piece (The Emory Wheel Editorial Board 2009) showing their outright support for the show and why it represents change in the way Emory views the LGBT community.

Administrators you would never expect to don full-out drag attire showed up in cheerleader costumes and dresses, ensuring an evening of nonstop laughter and standing ovations.

Although it may seem like a small deal as the Emory community mobilizes around significant LGBT concerns at the University, this further demonstrates the extent to which Emory can be considered a safe and comfortable environment for these issues to be broached. The Drag Show is yet another indicator that the campus is moving in the right direction. (The Emory Wheel Editorial Board 2009:6)

Points of view: The points of view here included mostly students who participated and who were spectators, giving it a bit of breadth. But there were no quotes or views from students who opposed the show as seen in the *GA* articles.

Information on LGBT resources and community: There was information about the drag show provided by Plocher's article as to how the show is organized and what processes are involved. But information on female impersonators was not provided extensively as Joyce's article in the *GA* and it might have been viewed as already understood by the *EW* readers.

Terminology and political correctness: Besides the terms "drag," which is acceptable according to the NLGJA (2010), there was no word used that could be considered questionable.

Overall portrayal: The portrayal of the LGBT community was definitely positive and the opinion itself is a statement that the coverage was indeed conducive to activism.

Violence, Harassment and Discrimination (V)

Between 2002 and 2010, the *EW* published a total of 31 V articles and the *GA* published 8 articles in the same category. The large number in the *EW* is mostly due to the on-campus incident that occurred in 2010 involving a gay male student being dragged from a fraternity party. Unfortunately, I could not find an equivalent instance in the *GA* to compare with the *EW* and I shall explain why. The 8 articles were not categorized primarily under V and were largely defined by another category such as AM. They may have mentioned or contained information about LGBT violence that was enough to have them overlap with the V category. Those *GA* articles cover accounts by Rueben Hayslett, who describes being raped by a man, (Hayslett 2008; Hayslett 2007), general discussions on violence against the LGBT community and a review of the play “The Laramie Project,” based on the murder of Matthew Shepard (Bridges 2002). There seem to be no articles that cover actual incidents of hate crimes in the *GA*, whereas the *EW* reported of 2 incidents on campus, one of a gay Emory student being dragged from a party (Smith 2010; Chokshi 2010; Friedman 2010) and the other of a homophobic graffiti (Zelkowitz 2010). The other incidents the *EW* reported on included a controversy at a local golf club, which did not provide the same benefits that straight couples receive to same-sex couples (Marek 2004), and even an opinion piece on a gay Rutgers University student, who committed suicide after being filmed secretly in a sexual encounter with a man (The Emory Wheel Editorial Board 2010). But even that story, which was reported extensively in national news networks, did not make it to the pages of the *GA*. It would be naive to say that acts of violence, harassment and discrimination do not occur in and around Statesboro for the *GA* to hear of it and cover it. They just may not be reported by the victim. Yet, I will not venture to guess what the editorial thought and decision was behind this exclusion and will move on to a category that has been covered broadly by both newspapers; religion and homosexuality.

Religion and homosexuality (RH), discussions and speakers (DS) and the anti-gay movements (AG)

Between 2002 and 2010, the *EW* published a total of 17 RH articles and the *GA* published 10 articles in this category. Since most of the articles in the RH category overlap almost simultaneously with the AG category (6 AG articles in the *EW* and 1 AG article in the *GA*) and the DS category, I will combine their analysis and look at religion and those religious movements that perpetrate anti-gay sentiments. This is not uncommon as we saw in the discussion of the anti-gay movement in the literature review. I shall examine and compare instances in the *EW* and the *GA* where the topic of coverage is the different religious views on homosexuality and whether there is opposition or encouragement from religious leaders.

The *GA* article headline: “For the Bible Tells Me So' Causes Controversy” (Oshinubi 2008), “For The Millionaire Activists Told Me” (Overmier 2008), “It's Not a Matter of Religion Anymore” (Glorieux 2004), “Response to Katie Glorieux's 03-03-04 column, 'It's Not a Matter of Religion Anymore” (Barbour 2004), “Student Arrested as Micah Speaks” (Greene 2009).

Word count and page number: “For the Bible” has 522 words and is featured on page 1 and 2. “For the Millionaire” has 465 words and is on page 4 of the Opinions section. “It's Not a Matter” has a word count that could not be determined due to the nature of the electronic copy and it appears on page 4 and 5 in the Opinions section. “Response” has 864 words and appears in 4A and 5A in the Opinions section. “Student Arrested” has 938 words and appears on page 1 and 8.

Background: The two articles “For the Bible” and “For the Millionaire” revolved around the controversy caused by the screening of a film at GSU that criticized Christian views on homosexuality. “It's Not a Matter” and “Response” were two editorials, one by a *GA* editor also criticizing Christian views on homosexuality and the second a response to the column defending Christian beliefs. “Student arrested” was an article on a preacher who came to campus and made bigoted remarks against the

LGBT community in the heart of campus.

Quotes: A *GA* editor Katie Glorieux (2004) wrote a column titled “It's not a matter of religion anymore.” In the column she talked about the issue of religion and homosexuality, in lieu of the upcoming elections and the amendment to prohibit same-sex marriage. She clearly vents her frustration at the religious fundamentalists:

This type of narrow-minded thinking comes from uninformed people who would rather follow than lead.
They (members of the LGBT community) will, however, be able to provide good, loving homes to those children who were abandoned by their “straight” parents.
Homosexual marriage will not lead to bigamy, bestiality or rampant child molestation. In fact statistically speaking 98 percent of pedophiles are self-proclaimed straight men. Allowing homosexuals to marry will not defile the sanctity of marriage because marriage is not a national law, and it should not be. It is a personal decision made between two consenting adults that love each other. (Glorieux 2004:4)

Her strong comments elicited a response article from a reader, Clint Barbour (2004), who defended Christianity and explained his reasons for believe that gay marriage was wrong.

So, according to Ms. Glorieux, because I believe that homosexuals should not be allowed to get married, I am, basically, stupid. Calling someone “narrow-minded” and “uninformed” because of his/her religious beliefs is, to me at least, “narrow-minded” and “uninformed.”
Who’s to say homosexual couples will not be just as abusive and neglectful as many heterosexual couples?
Marriage has always been defined as the bond between a man and a woman, and there is no reason to change that now. Marriage is a totally religious concept. And before anyone bashes me on “pushing my morality on others,” murder is morally wrong, and it is illegal. So is molesting children. And raping women. So why can’t homosexual marriages be morally wrong?
(Barbour 2004:4A)

Another such debate arose when the documentary “For the Bible Tells Me So” (Oshinubi 2008) was screened at GSU by the Multicultural Student Center, portraying what many saw as an extreme angle of Christianity. The *GA* reported on the controversy created by the scheduled screening.

“I just think it’s unfair that they would use my money to promote something that biased and stereotypical against my religion...The message it is trying to send is that you either agree with [homosexuality] or you’re a bigot,”
“With over 17,000 students with 17,000 experiences, it is not possible for everyone to agree or

share the same experiences or belief systems,”

“I think that students should see the film, because it helps them understand how it feels to be in that very complicated, complex position of being homosexual.” (Oshinubi 2008:1,2).

One reader, Mike Overmier (2008), went to the extent of criticizing the film's portrayal of Christianity in a separate column in the Opinions section, titled “For the Millionaire Activists Told Me So.”

After recently seeing this “documentary”, I was absolutely blown away by the hatred, ignorance, and misleading information promoted by the film.

They paint this picture that Christians are extremely hateful creatures whose only goal, topic of speech, and mission is to keep homosexuals down and it's simply unfair and untrue. Christians are called to love everyone but that certainly doesn't mean you have to agree with everything everyone does.

Apart from the warped interpretations of the Bible, the more than five GLBT special interest groups represented in the movie, and the twisted facts, I was surprised by the bigotry of the film itself. (Overmier 2008:4)

And finally in 2009, the *GA* reported on the visit by a bible-thumping preacher Micah Armstrong. whose statements made a lot of students angry, enough to lead to an arrest of a GSU student for attacking him (Greene 2009).

His remarks concerning the gay and lesbian community were what most upset students. Wearing buttons with stripes through the words “porn” and “homo,” Brother Micah antagonized members of the gay and lesbian community by referring to lesbians as “lesbos” during his remarks and stating that his only opposition to interracial marriage was between members of the same sex. “The issue is not skin, it's sin!” Brother Micah said. During this time, one student yelled, “How about you stop hitting your Bible and open it!” (Greene 2009:8)

The incident cause so much uproar that the story covered the entire front page and was accompanied by pictures and pull-out quotes from students condemning Armstrong.

Points of view: In the contentious issue of religion versus homosexuality, the *GA* tries to present several viewpoints from individuals who are pro-gay rights and conservative Christians. But from these articles, there don't seem to be actual comments or quote from gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgendered

individuals and other members of the LGBT community who are affected by the viewpoint or counter it. Yet there are other pro-gay rights voices, mostly from professors, straight students and school officials, included in the stories. Also it appears that Christian students oppose the fact that pro-gay rights individuals are misinterpreting Christian values and are portraying an extreme side of Christianity.

Information on LGBT resources and community: Details about the time of the screening of the film was the only additional information provided.

Terminology and political correctness: The term “homosexuality” is used often and the term “homosexual” is used mostly by those who write in opposition to the film screening or the issue of same-sex marriage.

Overall portrayal: The overall portrayal of the battle between religion and homosexuality in the *GA* seems a bit neutral because of the fair share of reporting and opinion space that is given to both sides. However since there was no opinion piece from the editorial board on any of the incidents, favoring one side or the other, I cannot say that the articles were necessarily conducive and encouraging of activism.

The *EW* article headlines: “AHANA Puts on 'Fabulous' Biblical Satire” (Rea 2004), “Yes, Tolerance is a Very Good Thing, So Why Not Tolerate Christians Too?” (Shank 2004), “Westboro Baptist Church to Protest at Emory” (Smith 2010), “Students Rally for Tolerance” (Dutton 2010), “Westboro Spreads Love (Accidentally)” (The Emory Wheel Editorial Board 2010), “Bishop Promotes Gay Civil Rights” (Dutton 2009), “Rabbi Calls for Support of Gay Civil Marriages” (Rahman 2007).

Word count and page number: “AHANA” had a word count of 373 words and was on page 3. “Yes, tolerance” had a word count of 534 words and was on page E7 in the Editorials section. “Westboro Baptist” had a word count of 302 words and was on the front page. “Students Rally” had a word count

of 1,218 and was on page 1 and 4. “Westboro Spreads” had a word count of 736 words and was on page 6 in the Opinions section. “Bishop” has a word count of 950 words and was on page 1 and 8. “Rabbi” has a word count of 473 words and on page 1 and 2.

Background: The “AHANA” and “Yes, tolerance” articles focus on a play that was presented by the organization, AHANA, that retells Biblical stories from the gay perspective. The “Westboro Baptist,” “Students Rally” and “Westboro Spreads” articles are about an incident when the Baptist fundamentalist group made a plan to visit Emory to protest “The Laramie Project.” The articles “Bishop Promotes” and “Rabbi Calls” were about separate talks by the bishop Gene Robinson and the and the Rabbi Steve Greenberg who support homosexuality and same-sex marriage.

Quotes: The *EW* reviewed a small production put up by AHANA, which stands for African-American Hispanic, Asian and Native American and is an theater, music and dance organization that portrays diversity and diverse issues. Titled “The Most Fabulous Story Ever Told,” the original play re-told “Biblical stories of Genesis and Exodus from the Old Testament, but from a homosexual perspective using homosexual protagonists.” (Rea 2004). Quotes mostly came from members of AHANA and the directors of the play.

“What if God’s Adam and Eve, had actually originated as two men — what if God had made Adam and Steve?”

“This is what AHANA is all about. We are questioning the morality of social subjects through satire.”

“Arts are an extremely powerful medium for political and social reform.” (Rea 2004:3).

While the *EW* positively reviews the performance, one reader, Alex Shank, responded to the interpretation, who said that while he liked the acting, he could not tolerate “heinous disrespect for others' values.” (Shank 2004:E7).

It cannot be torn and defiled, for that insults the very foundation of every Christian. Actors feigned slashing Jesus from the gospels in order to spite the conservatives and Fundamentalists. However, if liberals are going to keep universal tolerance, should they not recognize Christian Fundamentalism as a viable ideology, too?

No one wants their rainbow shattered. No one wants their god's name smeared. (Shank 2004:E7)

Shank's perspective differed slightly from Overmier's defense of Christian fundamentalism. Shank said that his argument was not against homosexuality but the fact that demeaning the values of Christianity was also being narrow-minded. Overmier's argument however said that just because he did not agree with homosexuality, it did not justify an extremist dismissal of Christianity.

When in 2010, the Westboro Baptist Church announced that they would picket the site of Emory because "The Laramie Project" was to be staged, the *EW* included a statement from Westboro and people associated with the play.

"God hates f-g-infested & f-g-enabling Atlanta, GA and all having to do with spreading sodomite lies via The Laramie Project."

"I think any response would come out of compassionate love and respect for Matthew Shepard and what he has done for gay rights," (Smith 2010:1).

In response to the news, Emory students created a rally to protest the demonstration, even though Westboro never showed up. Quotes from students, performers and school officials were included in the story reporting on the rally (Dutton 2010).

These included posters with messages such as "God Is Love" and "God Hates Hate," as well as a theology student's sign designating the holder as a gay minister-to-be.

"What they say is so ridiculous that you might as well say something ridiculous back."

"[The University's initial reaction was] that the show must go on, and that the protests and the counter-protests be handled in an organized way according to some ground rules that would protect the safety of all of the people involved."

"We want to focus our energy on giving a good final performance and spreading the message of the show to the audience, not dealing with crazy people outside." (Dutton 2010:1,4)

The Editorial Board (2010) at the *EW* also released a statement on the demonstration, supporting the students and calling out the Westboro church for what it is.

Yet with the congregation of the Westboro Baptist Church failing to show up, what occurred instead was a proud reminder to the rest of the community that Emory students, faculty, staff and affiliates are ready and willing to stand up publicly and boldly for what's right.

This is a church that shamelessly pickets everything from Bon Jovi concerts to theater productions to the funerals of fallen soldiers and coal miners...The Westboro Baptist Church is not affiliated with any Christian denomination; to even refer to it as a church feels unfair. However, we are more than proud of the statement made by those who did show up, and feel very strongly that they represented Emory in a way that should make every other member of the community swell with pride.

We hope this should show that Emory's community, when challenged, can wake up and mobilize itself to stand and advocate for the sort of ideals all ethically engaged universities should strive to stand for. (The Emory Wheel Editorial Board 2010:6).

And finally, the *EW* covered two talks where a Bishop and Rabbi made their support for homosexuality and same-sex marriage vocal. Bishop Gene Robinson (Dutton 2009) made national headlines by becoming the first gay man to be consecrated as the ninth bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire of the Episcopal Church of the United States America. He was invited to speak at Emory and he made the following statement.

“You can't take a 20th century word, stick it back into an ancient text, and expect it to mean something entirely unknown to the authors of the text,” Robinson said. “These verses are quoted as if our world has never changed.”

“Although I believe the New and Old Testaments to be the word of God, I do not believe it is the words of God.” (Dutton 2009:1,8).

Rabbi Steve Greenberg, who is also gay, was much more blunt on the issue of same-sex marriage (Rahman 2007).

“By denying the right to civil unions, states are in violation of civil rights,”

“[Civil marriage] is confusing. It puts government in a position of choosing which religion is right.”

“Religious marriage is a myth that is recreated with every heterosexual marriage,” Greenberg said. “If the whole world disappeared, Adam and Steve could not restart it. What God is doing with gay people is teaching men and women to wear a crown without hierarchy,” (Rahman 2007:1,2)

Points of view: The viewpoints in the *EW* concerning religion and homosexuality are mostly against the Bible's interpretation of homosexuality being a sin. Even the *EW* makes its position clear by publishing an opinion that declares the Westboro church as a hate-inciting group. There is only one column that does defend Christian values but does not directly speak against homosexuality and same-

sex marriage.

Terminology and political correctness: The word “homosexual” is used in some of the articles. It is interesting to note that the word “f-g” is used in a quote from the Westboro statement.

Overall portrayal: The articles and the *EW* itself mostly take strong stands against religious intolerance towards homosexuality. Therefore the overall portrayal here would be considered positive and quite conducive to activism.

Same-sex marriage and civil unions (SM)

Between 2002 and 2010, the *EW* published around 18 SM articles and the *GA* published 16 articles on the topic, another instance where the coverage of an LGBT issue has been almost equal.

Most articles here are opinions pieces and are expected to be so due to the disputed nature of the issue of same-sex marriage. I shall examine a few of these editorial pieces and look at the arguments they present.

The *GA* article headlines: “Gay Marriage: Why the Hell Not?” (Sparks 2003). “Response to Brandon Sparks' column 'Gay Marriage: Why the Hell Not?’” (Trapnell 2003). “Gays Not Alone in Disappointment Over Georgia's Amendment One Decision,” (McGuire 2004). “Reasons Vary for Votes Against Gay Marriage,” (Lane 2004).

Word count and page number: “Gay Marriage” has a word count of 614 words and was on page 4 of the Opinions section. “Response to Brandon” has a word count of 501 words and was on page 4 and 5 of the Opinions section. “Gays Not Alone” has a word count of 403 words and was on page 4 of the Opinions section. “Reasons Vary” has a word count of 350 words and was on page 5 of the Opinions section.

Background: As we are aware, 2003 and 2004 were important years for the issue of same-sex marriage. States like Georgia asked voters to decide on whether Amendment One, a definition of marriage

between a man and a woman, should stay or be completely removed from the state constitution. During the elections, Georgia voted in favor of keeping the amendment. But between that and the final results, students from Georgia Southern declared their sides and argued back-and-forth in issues of the *GA*. I shall look at two such cases.

Quotes: In 2003, Brandon Sparks (2003) the assistant news editor wrote an editorial piece on an incident where a gay couple officially married in Canada were not allowed to enter the United States. He believes it's high time that gay marriage was accepted in the U.S.

Every other married couple from Canada can enter the country by filling out this form. What is the difference between a legal homosexual marriage and a legal straight marriage? How can the U.S. Government, or any democratic government for that matter, stand up and say that two people who love each other should not be allowed to be legally married? (Sparks 2003:4).

Brian Trapnell (2003), however, responds to Sparks' column by saying that U.S. government laws do not work on the basis of what feels good and the custom officials were just doing their job. Even though he is optimistic about the future of same-sex marriage in the country, he believes that the right for marriage is still at the stage of debate and discussion and not yet acceptance.

Presently, homosexual marriage or a derivation thereof is legally “accepted” by individual states but not by the United States government. Canada’s laws are not the laws of the United States. Perhaps in the not-too-distant future, homosexual marriage will be the nationally accepted norm. But in order to reach a generally accepted conclusion, each side of the issue must honestly deliberate by recognizing its respective strengths and weaknesses. (Trapnell 2003:4,5)

The “Gays are Not Alone” opinion piece by a reader Rusty McGuire (2004) was originally a response to another opinion column supporting same-sex marriage. But another reader Chris Lane (2004) replied to his response providing an opposing viewpoint. The disagreement that occurred was interesting to analyze and have been thus included. In his response, McGuire (2004) talked about his disappointment over Amendment One being passed.

I really just don’t understand why this state’s residents feel so strongly that a marriage between

two people of the same sex is such a bad thing. Is the prospect of having to recognize such a marriage really so threatening that we need to legislate against it? When gay people decide to marry, it is for all of the right reasons. There is no social pressure for them to do so. In fact, they are taking a risk by standing against societal pressure. What compels them to do this? Love (McGuire 2004:4).

Chris Lane (2004) responded to the column by saying that gay rights activists had yet to use the democratic process to their advantage. His comments also corresponded with Trapnell's (2003) view that it was going to take a much longer time for acceptance by the majority to come about.

I would first like to commend Mr. McGuire for failing to assume, as many on the Left have done since the election, that the 70 percent of the electorate in those states are intolerant, religious zealots.

For most of us, upholding the ban is not a legal way of expressing contempt for homosexuals, but rather a protection of a 5,000-year-old institution that we hold dear. If this is to be changed, it will take more than liberal judges trying to ram it down our throats (Trapnell 2003:5).

Points of view: These four articles are just a few of the many SM articles that were reported. But based on the observations from above, the points of view provided are a balance of liberal and conservative and both coming from male students. Both sides attempt to provide their rationale for why or why not the U.S. government was ready to allow gay marriage. The liberal perspective was more focused on gay marriage being a civil right and an expression of love. The conservative perspective argues that the “5,000-year-old institution” of marriage is not ready for such a drastic change and that the fight for gay marriage had to find another way to achieve it.

Terminology and political correctness: It is again interesting to note that the conservative viewpoints and those who do not believe that the U.S. is ready for gay marriage, use the word “homosexual” and describe same-sex marriage as “homosexual marriage.”

Overall portrayal: The *GA*'s overall portrayal of the issue of same-sex marriage seems to be somewhat balanced and neutral, with the exception of the positive statement released by Sparks who is a member of the editorial board. There does not seem to be a particular inclination or encouragement for activism

from the *GA*.

The *EW* article headline: “A Dangerous Proposal” (Siekman 2004). “Marriage is a Civil Right” (West 2004). “No to Amendment One” (The Emory Wheel Editorial Staff 2004). “Amendment One is an Emory Issue” (West 2004).

Word count and page number: “A Dangerous” has a word count of 697 words and was on page 13 of the Editorials section. “Marriage is” has a word count of 781 words and was page 11 of the Editorials section. “No to” has a word count of 520 words and was on page 10 of the Editorials section.

“Amendment One” has a word count of 252 words and was on page 12 of the Editorials section.

Background: The vote to ban Amendment One in Georgia took full swing during the 2004 elections and generated quite a buzz on Emory's campus. We shall look at a few opinions that expressed their views on same-sex marriage.

Quotes: In his opinions piece Dan Siekman (2004) clearly states his disgust for then-President Bush's stance on gay marriage and explains that contrary to what conservatives believe, marriage has actually evolved and gone through many changes as an institution.

Even if, as Bush promulgated Tuesday, marriage is “the most fundamental institution of civilization,” it is surely also one of the most battered of civilization’s institutions... Amending the Constitution to say that only a certain group of people cannot do something would signal a dangerous turn in our history. In his attempt to steer us away from his dangerous and hateful intentions, Bush has employed the term “institution” to define marriage. I have been using it in that capacity throughout this piece. But what about love; Is it not also an institution? (Siekman 2004:13).

Talking more specifically about the state amendments, Kevin West (2004) writes an editorial piece “Marriage is” on the ins and outs of same-sex marriage and the benefits for the gay community. He also compares this vote to other civil rights movements where there was no such voting to decide who shall and shall not receive rights.

The brunt of the effect of the potential constitutional amendment is that it would cement laws negating all same-sex unions in Georgia, irrespective of where they were approved. There is little precedent to make this equal-rights movement a referendum issue. The decision to grant women suffrage, legalize interracial marriage and most effects of the civil rights movement were not voting matters.

If this legislation succeeds, the most detrimental effects to myself and other gay and lesbian students is witnessing our hopes die in the hands of discriminating politicians. (West 2004:11).

The editorial staff at the Wheel was not going to remain quiet on the issue. They released a statement (The Emory Wheel Editorial Staff 2004) stating that the University and its leadership bodies have to get involved in this political issue as it could affect the Emory community.

There is a significant legal possibility that such a mandate will interfere with Emory benefits currently provided to same-sex couples. In other words, healthcare, courtesy scholarship and residential benefits now equally awarded to both married and gay partnerships risk being revoked from the latter group. Being that Emory lists sexual orientation as a protected identity in the Discriminatory Harassment policy, the University is obliged to voice its opposition to the amendment. (The Emory Wheel Editorial Staff 2004:10).

West (2004) confirms this outlook by writing another column to the issue as a follow-up to those who said that Emory should not get involved in such matters.

Let us be crystal clear: Opposition to Amendment One is not a political issue, but instead, an Emory issue.

We, as students who have assented to University policies and as student representatives charged with upholding these values, are therefore not only justified, but also obligated to reaffirm Emory's values of nondiscrimination in the face of a policy that threatens it. (West 2004:12).

Points of view: All the perspectives in these and other opinions pieces on the subject are for same-sex marriage. Even an opinion on why Emory should not get involved in opposing the amendment was still for the ban. It appears that there are no counter-points or debates on the issue within the *EW* or the Emory community.

Terminology and political correctness: Most of the terminology used were "gay" and "lesbian" and the term "homosexual" was not used as often.

Overall portrayal: It is quite clear, not just from these four articles but all opinion pieces on same-sex marriage, that the *EW*'s portrayal seems to positive and very conducive to activism from the Emory community, urging them to vote for the ban and to take a stand.

Now that we have viewed both the quantitative and qualitative analysis of both college newspapers, I shall now summarize the findings and discuss the value and potential of this study.

Conclusion

As we come to the end of this study, it is important to state and reiterate some facts and information from the analysis for the summary and discussion.

In total, this study on college newspaper coverage of the LGBT community analyzed around 41 articles, many of which were part of one category, such as in the case of same-sex marriage and religion and homosexuality. The total number of articles for the *GA* came to 69 and the total number for the *EW* came to 110. Technically, if we were to take out the *Southern Reflector Magazine* articles, the number for the *GA* would be far less than what we have stated. If we were to create mainstream counterparts of the college newspapers based on just number of articles alone, the *AJC* would be parallel to the *GA* whereas the *NYT* would be a mainstream contemporary of the *EW*. But further qualitative analysis of a *NYT* article compared with the *EW* to measure similarities in coverage and attitude would be necessary to establish any relationship. From the analysis of the *AJC* and the *NYT*, I noticed that maximum coverage was of the economy and the events in 2008 that led to the recession. Of course this seems understandable since it has been the hot-topic for the past couple of years and in the eyes of the economic experts, the economy has not fully recovered.

Let us now look at some of noteworthy results that came from the comparing the *GA* with the *EW*. Data comparison with the *AJC* and *NYT* in terms of years did not match with those of the *GA* and the *EW*, as I noted above. Both the *AJC* and *NYT* coverage of LGBT issues peaked in 2004 and the *EW*

did come very close to reflecting that but the *EW*'s 2004 was marginally beaten by the year 2010. It was the same year that the incident of violence involving a gay student being dragged from a fraternity party had occurred and the *EW* essentially broke the news. It was a much talked about happening on campus for at least a entire week. The next issue that followed the scoop was essentially dedicated to the incident, just like any other mainstream newspaper would fill most of its pages when a massive natural disaster, an assassination or terrorist attack a la 9/11 occurs. On the other hand, the *GA* had the most articles in 2008 followed by 2004 coming nowhere close to the pattern observed in the *AJC* and the *NYT*. And in 2008, most of the *GA* coverage was geared towards the controversy created by the drag show and the screening of the movie "For the Bible Tells Me So," which prompted strong responses from Christian students. Most of the articles covered by the *GA* were classified under the category of arts, music and entertainment, and leisure (AM) and most of the articles covered by the *EW* were classified under the category of LGBT on campus (LOC). Also, most of the articles, including ones in the AM and LOC categories mentioned above, were on-campus issues.

It therefore appears that both newspapers give coverage of their campus and local community much higher priority than reporting on national incidents. This would seem obvious as that is what a college newspaper is supposed to do, but these newspapers could have fallen into the trap of just writing off wire information and only publishing opinions. They also provide, just like any local news outlet, interesting and unique perspectives on the LGBT community in their locale. The fact that both newspapers' news values seem intact and that they provide some sort of voice, small and big, to the LGBT community and its issues is definitely commendable.

Looking back now at the qualitative analysis, there are a few interesting observations to note in terms of portrayal. While there were no categories in the *GA* or the *EW* where there was a negative attitude towards or unfavorable portrayal of the LGBT community by the newspaper reporters or the editorial staff, there was still quite a noticeable difference. In all the categories, the *GA* covered LGBT

issues, people and the community very neutrally and often tried to create a balance by including some conservative or religious viewpoint in its articles or in its opinions. And this inclusion did not appear to be forced. For example, in the category of same-sex marriage (SM) we observed that there many anti-gay marriage opinions expressed by conservative students, who were given equal amount of editorial space as the pro-gay marriage side. And one can tell the difference just by use of terminology such as “homosexual” by conservative students versus the more politically correct “gay” used by liberal students. Most of the articles were written very carefully to not hurt the sentiments of either side and were so neutral to the point of being too dry and taking the idea of objectivity in the news too far. There were also no editorial statements made by the staff on any particular LGBT issue or in response to anti-gay opinions.

However, in the *EW*, most if not all articles portrayed the LGBT community and its issues in a very positive light, almost to the point that the *EW* was taking on the role of an activist fighting for gay rights. Most of the articles discussed LGBT issues in favorable terms and included information for all LGBT and questioning students. And the *EW* was certainly not shy about releasing statements that condemn any anti-gay movement or violence that was seen on Emory's campus, such as the news of Westboro Baptist Church visiting. It is definitely admirable that the *EW* and its editorial staff have come to an agreement on this issue and have geared part of their coverage to raising awareness. But on the flip side, many would call this slightly slanted reporting. There was really only one article that may have had something to say for the religion side in the debate on religion and homosexuality. Besides that, however, almost all the opinions, articles and views were pro-gay rights. While this is great news for the LGBT community at Emory, from a journalism perspective it might cause to question how open the Emory community and the *EW* is to other points of view. The *EW* may be conducive to activism but it may not be conducive and an effective outlet for dialogue as the *GA* is. Again, this could mean that majority of the student population agrees with the views of the *EW* since they do represent them and

would be expected to do (Zimmer 1975). Yet it seems hard to believe that there are no dissenting views, which could mean that conservative students feel uncomfortable expressing what they think on a campus that is largely liberal-oriented or that the *EW* is practicing some sort of gatekeeping from such opinions. Further research into the mechanics behind the *EW* editorial section and how it works would have to be done to find out.

If we were to use the *GA* and the *EW* as a sole source for understanding the general campus outlook on LGBT rights and as a reflection of what most of the student body supports, these would be some of the conclusions. From the *GA*, it appears that there is a mix of liberal and conservative students and some of whom are religious conservatives opposing same-sex marriage. Here both sides are quick to respond if one side berates the other. From the *EW*, it appears that most of the students are liberal and pro-gay civil rights. Here, most students are very prompt in expressing their opinions supporting the LGBT community. So while Emory would seem a haven for the LGBT students and those in favor of same-sex marriage, it does make us wonder whether those who think otherwise might find themselves isolated in thought from the rest of the campus. Thus we can define the *EW* and the *GA* and the role they play in the LGBT community and the fight for equal rights based on the above observations. The *GA* appears to be a passive actor as the media on Georgia Southern's campus and appears to be an outside observer rather than an embedded part of campus or an organization that is more involved with the issue. The *EW* appears to be an aggressive actor on Emory's campus and appears to be more of a crusader for LGBT rights rather than a somewhat neutral observer on the issue. Understanding framing of the issues is thus an important part of the analysis. And from the observations made in the analysis, it appears that *GA* follows the journalistic rules of objectivity more closely than *EW* which takes on the role of commentary and advocacy. It would be quite interesting to interview present and former members of the editorial staff at both newspapers to understand their decision-making and the ideology of the newspaper, perhaps an impetus for future research on the topic.

On the other hand, it is also intriguing to see how the demographics at Georgia Southern and Emory, which we saw earlier in the methodology, may shape the type of newspaper coverage of LGBT issues. The race majority at both universities was White, followed by African-American at Georgia Southern and Asian at Emory. Also, as I noted above, students on both campuses seem to be mostly male but the female population is not very far behind. Based on this fact, we make an assumption that most of the editorial staff at the *GA* and *EW* are white and male. This demographic information could indicate that newspaper coverage might be lacking in female and people of color perspectives. However, the expansion and growth of diversity at both campuses of Georgia Southern is starting to put more pressure on both publications to cater to different viewpoints. And that includes satisfying LGBT individuals, who are becoming more visible within the student body. In the terms of there being more variety of perspectives and the demographic influencing the coverage, the *GA* appears to win this round. Still it would be interesting to find out more about the demographics in each newsroom to see if there is indeed diversity in race, sex, and orientation among the reporters and editors. Then we could also find out whether those individuals in the newsroom have any influence on what ends up in the newspaper.

Of course, readers should assume that the above research is just a slice and should not be viewed as a complete representation of LGBT coverage by the *EW* or the *GA*. In the form of a lengthy paper or dissertation, comparing history of coverage before 2002 would be interesting. But in order for that to happen, the archives for both newspapers need to be collected, digitized and maintained extensively. Such a content analysis of college newspapers could also expand to include other newspapers in Georgia from other locations like urban areas and city universities. And through random sampling and selection, a college newspaper from Georgia and its coverage of the LGBT community could be compared with that of a college newspaper in a Northern or Ivy League school or with a school on the West Coast.

Ending on a full circle from our introduction, it is obvious that college newspaper coverage of the LGBT community has a long way to go. The examples of *The Cornell Daily Sun* and *The Observer* are indicative of that and the obligation that the staff at college newspapers have. They may not have the authority, certification or influence as professional news organizations may have, but by publishing information and exercising their free speech power, they are just as accountable and have to be mindful of what they say and how they use this ability to get information to the masses and affect the people's thoughts. This is more so for college students who are of the voting age, and are forming their own opinions through interaction with their peers and through what they see, read and hear. And with such a great power, great responsibility should be expected.

The choices made by the college newspaper newsroom and what they end up publishing represents what they as a news organization value enough to harness their resources and words. And that is really what a content analysis is for; to understand where a news organization stands on an issue and how these views could potentially influence many others. In this fight for LGBT rights, same-sex marriage and the war between religion and homosexuality, even the mainstream media seem to be unsure of their role and their position despite all the years of opposition and confusion and the cases of Oliver Sipple and Sakia Gunn. The *EW* and the *GA* will certainly have to think twice about whether they will take a stand or be a passive observer.

Appendices

Appendix A

Summary of information about The George-Anne coverage of LGBT

Year	No. of LGBT articles	No. of articles in NEWS	No. of articles in FEATURES	No. of articles in VIEWS/ OPINIONS	No. of articles in ENTERTAINMENT/ SPORTS and MISC.	No. of front pages
2002	4	2	2	0	1	2
2003	4	2	0	2	0	0
2004	6	0	0	6	0	0
2005	7	0	4	3	0	0
2006	10	1	4	4	1	0
2007	8	4	3	1	0	0
2008	14	5	5	2	1	3
2009	6	4	1	1	0	2
2010	10	4	5	1	0	0

Appendix B

Summary of information about The Emory Wheel coverage of LGBT

Year	No. of LGBT articles	No. of articles in NEWS	No. of articles in ARTS & LIVING	No. of articles in EDITORIALS	No. of articles in ENTERTAINMENT/ THE HUB	No. of front pages
2002	5	3	1	2	0	3
2003	4	1	0	3	0	1
2004	21	11	2	9	0	3
2005	19	6	2	8	3	1
2006	9	4	1	2	1	1
2007	7	3	4	5	0	2
2008	9	3	1	5	1	2
2009	14	8	2	4	1	5
2010	22	10	1	10	1	8

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