

Recipes for Attention: Policy Reforms, Crises, Organizational Characteristics, and the
Newspaper Coverage of the LGBT Movement, 1969-2009

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ABSTRACT

Why do some organizations in a movement seeking social change gain extensive national newspaper coverage? To address the question, we innovate in theoretical and empirical ways. First, we elaborate a theoretical argument that builds from the political mediation theory of movement consequences and incorporates the social organization of newspaper practices. This media and political mediation model integrates political and media contexts and organizations' characteristics and actions. With this model, we hypothesize two main routes to coverage: one that includes changes in public policy and involves policy-engaged, well-resourced, and inclusive organizations and a second that combines social crises and protest organizations. Second, we appraise these arguments with the first analysis of the national coverage of all organizations in a social movement over its career: 84 LGBT rights and AIDS-related organizations in the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Wall Street Journal* from 1969 to 2010. These analyses go beyond previous research that provides either snapshots of many organizations at one point in time or overtime analyses of aggregated groups of organizations or individual organizations. The results of both historical and fuzzy set qualitative comparative analyses support our media and political mediation model.

Keywords: Social Movements, Political Sociology, Media, LGBT Movement

Scholars agree that gaining news media attention is important for organizations seeking social change (Andrews and Caren 2010; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Barakso and Schaffner 2006). But why do some advocacy and social movement organizations seeking similar social change gain more media attention than others? Under which conditions do organizations receive extensive coverage? Scholars have identified characteristics of organizations, movements, and political contexts that influence media coverage (Amenta et al. 2012a; Andrews and Caren 2010; Corbett 1998). However, these studies are limited as they address the organizational characteristics and actions that may spur media coverage or the wider political and social contexts that may do so—but not both. That is true despite the fact that the literature on the political consequences of movements shows that organizational and contextual factors work in concert to produce influence (Amenta et al. 2010; Giugni 2007). Previous studies of media coverage also produce puzzling results. Research focusing on organizations finds that highly resourced ones are well covered and protest-oriented organizations, typically low in resources (Lipsky 1968), are poorly covered (Andrews and Caren 2010). But research focusing on movements finds that protest-oriented ones get more coverage than movements that are not (Amenta et al. 2009).

To identify the conditions behind media coverage, overcome limitations in theory and analyses, and resolve puzzling findings, we advance a media and political mediation model. This builds on the political mediation model of movement consequences by incorporating theoretical insights from the social organization of the news media. Political mediation theory holds that combinations of political contexts and movement characteristics and actions produce

political consequences (Amenta et al. 2010; Giugni 2007). The media and political mediation model adds insights into how the operating procedures of mainstream national newspapers (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Schudson 2002) interact with characteristics of organizations—their resources, identities, and strategies—to influence their coverage. From this model, we develop two main arguments: First, we argue that policy changes will boost the long-term coverage of movement organizations that address the issues being advanced, and organizations with extensive resources and inclusive identities will benefit most. Second, we argue that crises will provide short-term opportunities for protest-oriented organizations to gain high coverage. Thus our hypotheses address why some highly resourced organizations rather than others receive high coverage, as well as when less resource-advantaged organizations can gain coverage.

[Figure 1 about here.]

We develop and appraise these arguments through an analysis of the national newspaper coverage of 84 national lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights and LGBT AIDS-related organizations—all the national organizations that operated in the United States between 1969 and 2010. We follow this movement from 1969, when the Stonewall riots marked the rise of the modern LGBT movement (Armstrong and Cragg 2006; D'Emilio 1998), through 2010, analyzing every mention they receive in three national newspapers: the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Los Angeles Times*. The LGBT movement's coverage has varied dramatically, and it has engaged in a variety of tactics, targeted a variety of issues (Stone 2013), and mobilized in different social and political contexts. The movement is also of considerable interest in itself, as it received almost no media attention before the 1980s, as Figure 1 indicates, but became the ninth-most covered U.S. movement by the end of the twentieth century. The LGBT movement has secured more favorable cultural representations (Bernstein 2002;

Moscowitz 2013) and many recent policy successes, including winning marriage equality nationwide, whereas fifty years ago only one state had decriminalized sodomy (Kane 2007). Furthermore, the movement's coverage presents some puzzles. For example, while Gay Men's Health Crisis was well respected and resourced, the protest-oriented and lightly resourced ACT UP briefly dominated the coverage of the AIDS movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Although Lambda Legal, the Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders, and the National Center for Lesbian Rights are all legal organizations that have been active since the 1970s, Lambda Legal has received far more coverage (see Figure 1).

We employ two sorts of analyses to appraise the media and political mediation model, address these puzzles, and better understand the coverage of the LGBT movement. First, we examine the historical course of the LGBT movement, identifying the kinds of organizations and contexts our model would expect to produce media attention. Second, we rely on fuzzy set qualitative comparative analyses (fsQCA) to appraise our hypotheses more rigorously. These analyses are appropriate because our hypotheses are combinations of conditions leading to high coverage, and we posit more than one causal combination (Ragin 2008). Both sets of results provide support for our hypotheses: A favorable policy context interacts with the policy focus of organizations to provide high newspaper coverage for highly resourced organizations with inclusive identities. A context of crisis interacts with a protest orientation to provide high coverage in the short run for organizations engaging in protest.

RESEARCH ON THE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

The newspaper coverage of movements and their organizations is important for many reasons. Newspapers can reach large audiences (Gamson 2007) and influence the policy process (Baumgartner and Jones 1993). Media attention reinforces organizations (Vliegenthart et al. 2005) and supports their views of social problems and solutions (Koopmans 2004). Although scholarship has addressed the different aspects of the coverage of movement organizations and collective action (Gans 1979; Oliver and Maney 2000; McCarthy et al. 1996; Rohlinger 2007; Ryan ; Schudson 2002; Smith et al. 2001; Andrews and Caren 2010; Sobieraj 2010), this emerging literature has been both theoretically and empirically limited.

Scholarship on coverage outcomes has not theorized and analyzed simultaneously the influence of the characteristics and activity of organizations *and* the wider contexts on the organizations' coverage. However, the scholarly consensus on the political consequences of movements is that there are neither any magic-bullet characteristics of movement organizations, nor any contexts that always produce movement influence; instead, political influence is contingent upon combinations of contexts, organizational characteristics, and strategies (Amenta et al. 2010; Giugni 2007). We argue that this might be the case for media coverage as well—a different type of external movement outcome. Empirically, there are many more studies of the coverage of collective action (see review in Earl et al. 2004), than of movement organizations, despite the fact that the latter are more extensively covered. Moreover, existing overtime studies of movement coverage (Amenta et al. 2009; Amenta et al. 2012a) do not address why individual organizations within a movement gain coverage, whereas studies of the coverage of individual organizations within a movement (Corbett 1998; Andrews and Caren 2010) are typically

snapshots that neglect contextual circumstances that may be influencing the results and usually focus on only one or some organizations, not all organizations within the movement (Barakso and Schaffner 2006; Rohlinger 2006; Rohlinger et al. 2012).

Our study addresses theoretical and empirical limitations in the literature. We propose a media and political mediation model of news coverage for movement organizations that builds on political mediation arguments (Amenta et al. 2010) and on the work of scholars who address interactions between politics, news media, and organizations (Ferree et al. 2002; Oliver and Maney 2000; Rohlinger 2007; Amenta et al. 2012a). We also address both political and social contexts that influence coverage possibilities for movement organizations. Using this media and political mediation model, we develop specific expectations about combinations of political and social contexts and organizations' actions and characteristics that will lead to coverage and posit causal recipes for coverage for both resource-rich organizations and protest-oriented ones. Empirically, this study is the first to examine the newspaper coverage of the population of organizations in a movement over its entire career. Our arguments and research design also seek to resolve conflicting findings: having protest-oriented organizations increases a movement's coverage (Amenta et al. 2009), but well resourced movement organizations are far better covered than protest-oriented ones (Andrews and Caren 2010).

A MEDIA AND POLITICAL MEDIATION MODEL OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE

Our media and political mediation model starts with the political mediation model of movement political outcomes (see reviews in Amenta et al. 2010; Giugni 2007). That model holds that social movements and organizations seeking political change do not have control over political outcomes in the way that they do over their own strategies of mobilization, organizational

identities, policy foci, and tactical approaches. Political mediation arguments specify which sorts of organizational characteristics and strategies are likely to be politically influential under different political circumstances. We argue similarly that specific political contexts provide opportunities for movement influence over news media institutions, but that influence depends on a match between contexts and organizational characteristics and actions. We also seek to integrate the expanding literature on the news media's role in politics and the policy process literature (see review in Wolfe et al. 2013).

However, because journalists, not political actors, have the final say over what appears in newspapers, we augment the political mediation model with insights from perspectives focusing on the social organization of the news (Gans 1979; Schudson 2002) and the news media as an institution (Boydston 2013; Cook 1998; Sparrow 1999). These related perspectives see professional journalists as making decisions about what is “news” through standard procedures (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978). They focus on timeliness, the impact of the events, the prominence of protagonists, the proximity to readers, and the unusual or highly conflictual (Harcup and O'Neill 2001; Mencher 2008). News institutions also supply journalists to cover events routinely in a patterned way through news desks and beat assignments. These standardized decision-making processes strongly influence the opportunities for the coverage of movement organizations, which are covered far less than political institutional actors (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). We argue that opportunities for coverage of movements are related to national policy changes and crises and disasters. In what follows, we develop hypotheses regarding how aspects of news institutions interact with wider social and political contexts and movement organization characteristics to produce extensive coverage.

Two important contextual conditions for gaining media attention include policymaking and crises. The politics of *policy-making* receives a high profile in coverage, as it has high impact and involves prominent elected officials, to whom reporters have great access (Fishman 1980; Gans 1979; Oliver and Maney 2000; Sobieraj 2010; Tuchman 1978; Bennett 1995). Policies receive recurrent attention as legislators propose, enact, and amend them; so do law-like court decisions and executive orders and decisions about policy enforcement. News also focuses on *crises* such as high unemployment, floods, earthquakes, wars, and outbreaks of diseases (Molotch and Lester 1975). Crises score high on timeliness and novelty, have a large impact, and involve elites trying to resolve the crisis. In revising the political mediation model to account for the operating procedures of national newspapers, we argue that specific political and social contexts deemed newsworthy by journalists provide opportunities for media attention for organizations seeking social change. However, policy changes will provide opportunities for some kinds of organizations, and crises will provide opportunities for others.

Policy Changes, Strategic Orientations, Resources, and Identities

We follow political mediation thinking in arguing that policy changes will increase the long-term attention to organizations engaged in specific sorts of political and strategic action. Although policies favoring a movement's constituents will increase attention to a movement as a whole, as scholars have found (Berry 1999; Amenta et al. 2009; Amenta et al. 2012b), some organizations will benefit more than others. An organization's coverage depends in part on how political developments coincide with its *policy emphases* (McCarthy et al. 1996; Rohlinger et al. 2012). Organizations engaging in action on a specific line of policy will benefit if that policy has been advanced politically, regardless of whether the organization influences the policy's advancement. For movements whose issues are advancing on a number of policy fronts, organizations acting

on a wide range of policy will gain coverage at the expense of organizations with no policy focus and organizations focused on policies that make little progress. For instance, the environmental movement seeks to advance legislation regarding climate change, clean air, the protection of wildlife, and cleaning oil spills among other goals. In the wake of policy gains, organizations with either wide policy foci or with a focus on a specific issue for which policy has progressed will be perceived as more legitimate actors by news organizations. Moreover, we expect the effects of policy changes on the coverage of movement organizations to occur as new policies are adopted, but also to be cumulative. Although we expect organizations to gain coverage when their policy is being addressed, we also expect a path-dependent, policy legacy effect (Pierson 2000). That is, we expect that *the greater number of policy advances over time, the greater the media attention will be for the relevant organizations*. A policy has a life after its passage, and an organization that has advocated for a policy and has been treated as a spokesperson regarding it will typically have further coverage opportunities, such as during the course of the implementation of the policy or when changes are proposed to it. These organizations will come to represent the movement in the news media, through positive feedback loops (Wolfe et al. 2013) in which gains in policy and coverage increase support (Vliegenthart et al. 2005), which in turn increases the media standing of the organization.

However, following insights from the social organization of the news, we also argue that some organizations with advantaged policy foci will be boosted in news coverage over others depending on other organizational characteristics. First, organizations with *extensive resources*, staff, experience, and expertise (Rohlinger 2002) will be more likely to gain media attention than organizations without such advantages. If two organizations are acting politically in the same advantaged policy area, the better resourced and more experienced one is more likely to be seen

by the national news media as a legitimate actor. Second, we expect organizations that more *inclusively represent* the constituency of the movement will gain in coverage. These more inclusive organizations claim to speak for a wider constituency and are more likely to be perceived by the media as legitimate spokespersons. In the anti-war movement, for example, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, Educators for Social Responsibility, and Grandmothers for Peace represent subgroups, whereas the War Resisters League and Fellowship of Reconciliation are more inclusive. When they are advantaged by policy, resource-rich and expansive organizations are often seen as synonymous with the groups they claim to represent: for instance, veterans and the American Legion, gun owners and the National Rifle Association, senior citizens and the AARP (Amenta et al. 2009). In short, positive changes in policy will promote the coverage of organizations that advocate for those policies, but especially those organizations with extensive resource mobilization and inclusive identities.

Crises and Protest-Oriented Movement Organizations

Our model also goes beyond political mediation thinking in holding that social contexts will improve the chances of coverage for those organizations engaged in protest, which are often less resource rich (Lipsky 1968) and are covered less frequently than well resourced organizations (Andrews and Caren 2010). Specifically, we argue that news institutions and procedures influencing the coverage of *crises* and disasters (Molotch and Lester 1975) will greatly improve the chances to gain coverage of *protest-oriented organizations*, which are typically not well resourced. It has long been argued that crises spur social movement activity (Buechler 2004; Snow et al. 1998; Van Dyke and Soule 2002), but we argue that crises provide coverage opportunities for protest-oriented organizations. To conceptualize crisis, we draw on Walsh's (1981) "suddenly imposed grievances" and Snow et al.'s (1998) conception of "quotidian

disruptions,” or break-downs in daily routines. We employ a fairly strict definition of crises. Along with the outbreak of deadly diseases, we consider wars, massive unemployment, and major natural and man-made disasters as crises. Journalists often seek “authenticity” in protests (Sobieraj 2010), and we expect journalists to find protest-oriented organizations as genuinely newsworthy social responses to crises and for movements to supply access to people affected by the crisis. Crises can also cast uncertainty or doubt on the legitimacy of existing experts, allowing movement actors to challenge previously dominant accounts and provide alternatives (Colby and Cook 1991; Epstein 1996). During periods of crisis, unprecedented events can create public confusion, which leads to challenges to the legitimacy of existing elites and new political opportunities for challengers (Bail 2012). It would fit our argument that Tea Party protests were covered extensively in part because they occurred during the Great Recession and provided an alternative account of a crisis experts were failing to resolve. Similarly, anti-war protests would be expected to be more newsworthy during periods with extensive war deaths. However, because crises are usually not long term in nature, we *do not expect protest-reliant organizations to retain coverage gains after the crises abate*. That circumstance may account for their overall lower profiles in coverage. In short, crises will facilitate the news coverage of movement organizations based on protest, but will not likely have the same long-term benefits on their media standing that policy changes have for policy-focused and better resourced organizations.

Overall Expectations

The media and political mediation model expects two main routes to high movement newspaper coverage. One comes through changes in policy. These augmentations will provide coverage opportunities for organizations that address an advantaged policy or organizations that address an advantaged policy among others. Among organizations advantaged by policy, those that are

highly resourced and have more inclusive identities will have coverage advantages over those that do not. We expect that such organizations will gain coverage benefits each time policy augmentations occur in a positive feedback loop. A second route involves crises. We expect that these social disasters will provide coverage opportunities for protest-oriented organizations. However, given their lack of resources and the typically short-term nature of crises, we do not expect that such organizations will be able to convert such opportunities into long-term media attention. Next, we turn to how we seek to appraise these claims through the LGBT movement.

DATA AND METHODS

To appraise these arguments and hypotheses, we analyze the complete national newspaper coverage of organizations constituting the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) movement, including organizations that focus on AIDS. This movement and the conditions surrounding it vary in key ways. The organizations have a variety of action orientations, resource profiles, and identities, and the organizations' constituencies have experienced gains and setbacks in policy and suffered through the enormous crisis that was the AIDS epidemic. The 1969 Stonewall riots, which scholars and activists consider the birth of the *modern* LGBT rights movement, mark the beginning of the analyses. Although there are notable organizations before then, they receive almost no newspaper attention. We end analyses in 2010 for reasons of data availability.

We focus on social movement and political advocacy organizations, relying on standard definitions that conceptualize them as formal, nationally oriented, and political and that act on goals allied with those of a social movement (as summarized in Amenta et al. 2012a). Beginning with a list of LGBT rights and AIDS-related movement organizations from the Political Organizations in the News (PONs) Project, and augmenting it with searches of monographs and

the Encyclopedia of Associations, we identify 84 qualifying LGBT rights or AIDS-related organizations. We include the vast bulk of national, politically oriented AIDS organizations, as almost all such organizations were initially connected to the LGBT movement. Although we include organizations that do not focus exclusively on the gay community, we exclude those AIDS organizations that primarily focus on non-gay communities, such as the National Minority AIDS Council and the National Alliance for Children, Youth, and Families.

Our main outcome measure relies on the population of mentions of these movement organizations in articles in the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Wall Street Journal* across four decades starting in 1969. We choose these newspapers because they have national circulation, represent both geographical and political diversity (Ferree et al. 2002), and have digital archives that span the time period, which the *Washington Post* unfortunately does not. We searched ProQuest Historical and Current Archives for news articles that mentioned the LGBT movement organizations for a total of 6,562 articles: 3,482 from the *New York Times*, 2,488 from the *Los Angeles Times*, and 592 from the *Wall Street Journal*. Newspaper data have some limitations, including the fact that many protests are missed by them (Earl et al. 2004; Oliver and Maney 2000; McCarthy et al. 1996). Although we focus on mentions of organizations, rather than protest, and employ more than one newspaper (Earl et al. 2004; Ferree et al. 2002), these national newspapers will necessarily miss most local events (Andrews and Caren 2010; Davenport 2010). That said, local issues of national significance are routinely covered by the national desks of these newspapers. For example, the campaign to repeal Miami-Dade county's anti-discrimination ordinance, lead by Anita Bryant, received extensive national coverage despite being a local issue. Similarly, the Proposition 8 campaign in California to stop same-sex marriage received extension attention from national newspapers in the East.

Our unit of analysis is the “organization-year,” and our outcome measure is the number of articles mentioning an organization in a particular year. Organizations enter the data when they were founded or in 1969 if they were founded in or before then, and remain in even after they disband as they are still at risk of gaining coverage. If more than one organization is mentioned in an article, each organization gets credit, though being mentioned more than once in an article does not lead to additional counting. All together, 67 organizations received some coverage. Data regarding the resources, identities, and actions of organizations were generated from several sources. Forty-five organizations had at least one entry in the Encyclopedia of Associations, and 42 had usable websites. For the 20 organizations with neither source of information, we relied on scholarly monographs. To address policy change, an important contextual causal variable, we rely heavily on the Policy Agendas Project (Baumgartner and Jones 2012). Data on the annual death rate due to AIDS come from the Center for Disease Control and Prevention.

We appraise our arguments in two ways. First, we analyze the coverage of the LGBT movement over time. This allows us to compare across and within movement organizations during the AIDS crisis and in the wake of policy changes. Some organizations had characteristics we expect to lead to coverage in these circumstances and some did not (see Goertz and Mahoney 2012). Second, we employ fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analyses (fsQCA). These can address hypotheses, such as ours, that are multiply interactive and indicate multiple causal pathways to the same outcome (Ragin 2008). Because fsQCA is based on set logic, it mimics the form of our combinational hypotheses. We seek to understand the multiple determinants of high coverage for an organization at a given point in time, not whether a given measure significantly produces an additional increment of coverage, net of other factors. FsQCA

also avoids the technical problems that multiple interactions often cause for regression analyses, while retaining all relevant information and providing significance testing (Ragin 2008). Finally, fsQCA allows us to identify the individual organization-years that are connected to the specific hypothesized combinations, making for a more extensive dialogue between theory and data.

HISTORICAL ANALYSES OF THE NATIONAL COVERAGE OF THE LGBT MOVEMENT

A brief history of the newspaper coverage of the LGBT movement provides opportunities for preliminary appraisals of our model. On June 28, 1969, police converged on the Stonewall Inn, inaugurating the modern gay and lesbian movement (Alwood 1996; Armstrong and Cragge 2006). Before then the *New York Times* had only five mentions of LGBT organizations. Some organizations spawned by the Stonewall riots gained attention, including the protest-oriented Gay Liberation Front (Gross 2001) and the Gay Activists Alliance, but throughout the 1970s the coverage of LGBT organizations remained meager, peaking at 56 total articles in 1972.

Extensive coverage of the LGBT movement began with the outbreak of AIDS, the first case being identified in 1981. New organizations focused on gay men with the disease, notably Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC), founded in 1982, which grew along with the crisis. In 1987, AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) emerged, staging dramatic demonstrations to demand more attention to AIDS from government and health officials (Epstein 1996). ACT UP gained the greatest amount of coverage of any LGBT or AIDS organization from 1989 through 1992. By the mid-1990s, AIDS deaths declined, thanks to a new generation of drugs. While ACT UP quickly lost its coverage, GMHC remained in the news throughout the 1990s when new developments in HIV/AIDS were covered. The AIDS epidemic transformed the LGBT movement (Bernstein 2002), bringing stronger ties between the lesbian and gay communities.

Organizations gained wider identities, with many adding “Lesbian” to their name. Additionally, the homophobic reactions to the AIDS epidemic by conservatives highlighted the importance of repealing sodomy laws and passing anti-discrimination ordinances.

In the 1990s and 2000s the LGBT movement made significant policy gains, influencing the coverage of organizations. Wisconsin passed the first statewide anti-discrimination bill that included sexual orientation in 1982, and by 2009, 22 states protected against anti-gay discrimination, with 14 of those also protecting against transgender discrimination. States were also passing hate crime laws that included sexual orientation. By 2005, 30 states had such laws, and in 2009 Congress passed a federal hate crimes bill that included sexual orientation and gender identity (HRC 2009). These policy advances primarily worked to the coverage benefit of the larger, general focus organizations, such as Lambda Legal, the Human Rights Campaign, and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, in comparison with smaller organizations and larger organizations with specific identity foci. For example, Lambda Legal, a large and broad-identity organization that focuses on legal strategies, received far more coverage than the large, but single-identity National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR) as well as the less resourced Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (GLAD). During the 1980s, Lambda Legal litigated for a variety of rights, especially those connected to recognition of surviving partners of AIDS victims, and during the 1990s turned to issues of discrimination, garnering extensive coverage (see Figure 1). GLAD and NCLR also engaged in these types of legal tactics, but received far less coverage.

[Figure 2 about here.]

Until very recently, one policy area saw little forward movement: marriage equality. Instead, the first moves were backward, with Congress in 1996 passing the Defense of Marriage

Act that forbade the federal government from recognizing same-sex unions. And although Massachusetts became the first state to grant same-sex marriages in 2004, that year saw a flurry of ballot initiatives to amend state constitutions to ban the recognition of same-sex marriages; many more states amended their constitutions similarly over the rest of the decade. These efforts, generated massive media attention for the issue (Moscowitz 2013). However, at the same time, more states began legalizing same-sex marriages, with six doing so by 2010. While organizations, like NCLR, focusing on family issues did receive boosts in coverage (see Figure 1), the larger, generally focused organizations gained the most, especially the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) and Lambda Legal. Figure 2 compares the coverage of these two organizations with that of the Family Equality Council (FEC), a long established, if smaller, organization focused on LGBT family issues. HRC became the de facto spokesperson for the LGBT movement during the 1990s, and benefited the most from recent marriage equality developments. Most marriage gains have come through the courts, and Lambda Legal, the movement's legal leader, has also gained extensive coverage, far more than FEC.

These policy histories offer preliminary support for our hypotheses. Although there have been many protest organizations in the modern LGBT movement, the AIDS epidemic brought extensive coverage of the protest-oriented ACT UP and launched the career of the Gay Men's Health Crisis. The policy gains the movement made in the 1990s and 2000s led to increased media attention for the multi-issue-oriented, large, and broad identity organizations. The Human Rights Campaign, Lambda Legal, and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force account for a quarter of all movement coverage, and in recent periods for nearly half.

OUTCOME MEASURES, CAUSAL MEASURES, AND HYPOTHESES

To assess our hypotheses in a more rigorous fashion, we employ fuzzy set Comparative Qualitative Analyses (fsQCA) (Ragin 2008 chaps. 4-5). Our main outcome measure is high *coverage*, based on the number of articles in which an organization is mentioned each year. In fsQCA, each measure is converted into a set membership score, ranging from 0 to 1, through a calibration process. The investigator must indicate how scores relate to set membership, including the selection of a lower limit for full non-membership, an upper limit for full membership, and a crossover point, corresponding to half membership (Ragin 2008). To calibrate our outcome measure, we begin with a week's worth of daily coverage being considered fully in the set of high coverage. This indicates that the organization is significantly visible, and only 26 of the 84 organizations ever received 7 or more mentions in a year. We choose 3 mentions per year as the lower limit, and 5 as the crossover point. Thus an organization gaining a week's worth of coverage, or more than that, is included in the set of high coverage and scores one. Any organization with three articles or fewer scores zero, and organizations with four, five, or six articles are considered partly inside the set. We also created a weighted measure of coverage based on the prominence of coverage (Ader 1995; Corbett 1998; Koopmans 2004; Vliegenthart et al. 2005; see Andrews and Caren 2010). However, the weighted measure is almost perfectly correlated ($\rho=0.97$) with the raw measure and, unsurprisingly, produces almost identical results (not shown, available in an online supplement⁴). For those reasons, we employ the raw indicator, as it is far easier to interpret.

⁴ The online supplement for this article can be found at <http://thomaselliott.me/research/recipes/>

Political Mediation and Organizational Characteristics

Our first causal measure taps political mediation thinking in simultaneously addressing a key political context—policy reforms on LGBT issues—and the action orientations of LGBT organizations. Each organization is assigned a yearly *policy* score, which is associated with both the organization’s policy focus and how far such policies have advanced. This score is based on all major legislative, executive, or judicial actions that were substantively about LGBT issues previous to and including a particular year; we identify them by way of monographs, LGBT organization websites, and the Policy Agendas Project (NGLTF 2009, 2012; HRC 2009, 2006; Kane 2003; Pinello 2003; Baumgartner and Jones 2012). We also include state level ballot initiatives and referendums (Stone 2012). We code across eight policy areas that have received significant policy attention: AIDS, discrimination, family, free speech, hate crimes, immigration, military, and sodomy. Each major policy development in each domain is coded for whether the change was beneficial for the LGBT community or not; a favorable policy development adds one to the policy score and an unfavorable development subtracts one. We also calculate a general score using all policies. We sum the scores over time because we expect the effects of successive policy gains on organizations to be cumulative—a policy legacy effect. So a score in a particular year represents the net sum of all policy changes in that particular domain for that year and all previous years. An organization with a particular focus is assigned the score for its policy area, and an organization engaging in many policy arenas is assigned the general policy score. An organization with no policy focus or a policy focus on an issue with no action scores zero. This set varies by both year and organization. For the individual policy areas, the measure is calibrated with 3 for its lower limit, 7 for its upper limit, and 5 as the crossover point. For those

organizations acting on many issues, the measure is calibrated at 5 and 9, with 7 as the crossover point. (See the online supplement for a detailed account of this measure.)

Our media and political mediation model, however, holds that some organizations advantaged in policy will gain more media coverage than others. Coverage depends on two other organizational characteristics: inclusive identities and resources. And so we first include a categorical measure of whether the organization has an *inclusive* identity, encompassing the entire LGBT community, as opposed to having a specific identity focus (e.g., the lesbian community). What counts as inclusive has shifted over the years, as trans identities were recognized as important constituents of the community. Our inclusive measure takes this historical context into account, with organizations required to be inclusive of trans members and issues beginning in the 1990s. We also code an organization as well *resourced* in a given year if its annual budget, exceeds \$1 million in inflation-adjusted 2000 dollars or, when it is missing budget data, if it has staff or membership numbers comparable to movement organizations with budgets exceeding \$1 million—the median budget for organizations with budget data. Organizations with lower budgets, staffs, or membership score zero. So do organizations with missing data, as they are almost certain not to be large.

Social Crises and Protest-Oriented Organizations

The media and political mediation model also holds that there are routes to coverage for protest-oriented organizations that are not well resourced: specifically, protest-oriented organizations will achieve coverage during social crises. The AIDS epidemic was the signal crisis for the LGBT movement, with tens of thousands of gay men dying and the LGBT movement charging the government with doing too little to address the disease. To measure this crisis, we include a yearly count of *AIDS deaths* compiled by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC

2012). This measure is calibrated at a lower limit of 0 deaths, an upper limit of 40,000 deaths, and a crossover point of 20,000 deaths. We include a categorical measure of whether *protest* was an organization's main form of collective action. We also include a categorical measure for whether a movement organization has an *AIDS policy focus*, as we expect only AIDS-focused organizations will be so advantaged.

Hypotheses in Set Notation

Although each causal measure is expected to have a positive influence on coverage, we have specific expectations about different combinations or pathways to high coverage, based on our theoretical model. We expect more than one way or recipe to coverage, and each way or recipe has multiple parts to it. For the non-AIDS-related LGBT movement organizations, the expected causal pathways include the political mediation measure, high organizational resources, and an inclusive identity. When put into set equation form, these expectations read as follows:

POLICY*RESOURCES*INCLUSIVENESS → HIGH COVERAGE.

(In fsQCA terminology the presence of a causal condition is indicated by the upper case and its absence by the lower case; a plus sign (+) indicates the operator “or” or set union and the asterisk (*) indicates the operator “and” or set intersection.) Our specific expectations for AIDS-focused movement organizations are that during the crisis when AIDS deaths were high, protest-oriented organizations, will gain high coverage. In fsQCA terminology, these expectations read as follows: AIDS FOCUS*PROTEST*AIDS DEATHS → HIGH COVERAGE.

FSQCA ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION

Before engaging in the fsQCA, we ran negative binomial regressions with random effects on coverage with the six causal measures and several control measures (not shown, available on request). Two versions of the causal measures, AIDS Deaths (logged) and SMO Resources (a

categorical measure as above), had significant and positive coefficients. We also ran a regression with three interaction components, and these results provided some support for our hypotheses, but suffered from severe multicollinearity. In addition, our hypotheses are asymmetric: the presence of the AIDS crisis is hypothesized to lead to high coverage in some circumstances but we do not expect its absence to have any negative effect. The AIDS Deaths and AIDS Policy Focus measures behaved erratically in the regressions, in part because of regression's assumption of symmetric relationships. FsQCA is designed to address combinational and multi-causal theories and asymmetrical influences (Ragin 2008).

In the fsQCA, we address both the “consistency” and “coverage” of different recipes that are sufficient for high coverage for an organization-year, which are similar to goodness of fit and explained variance in regression analyses. In set logic terms, “consistency” means the degree to which cases with a given combination of causal conditions constitute a subset of the cases with the outcome and is a sort of goodness of fit measure. “Coverage” indicates the degree of overlap between the cases with the causal combination and the cases with the outcome, indicating the degree to which the outcome is accounted for or explained by the causal combination. For instance, attempting a suicide with a gun produces a suicide, or is “consistent” with the outcome suicide, at a rate of about 88 percent; only 12 percent of such attempts fail. Moreover, gun suicides constitute or “cover” about half of U.S. suicides. The rest occur by other means, such as drug overdoses, that are less consistent with the outcome (Amenta et al. 2009). In our analyses we employ the R package for QCA (Dusa and Thiem 2013; R Core Team 2014).

The “truth table” appears in Table 1, which indicates the existing combinations of causal measures and the outcome associated with each combination. Because there are six causal measures, the truth table potentially includes 2^6 or 64 “rows,” or vector space corners. Given the

large number of potential configurations and the limited diversity in the data, about 56 percent of them are empty, meaning they contain no cases. One important result is that there are no organizations that simultaneously rely on protest and also have extensive resources, which helps to justify our treating these organizations as mutually exclusive. In another preliminary examination, we also perform a test for necessary conditions, which we did not hypothesize and which indicate that no measure or combination is necessary. (These results are not shown, but are available in an online supplement.)

[Table 1 about here.]

To address sufficient conditions, we reduced truth table rows with high coverage scores of 80 percent or higher (that is, a “consistency” level of 0.80 or higher) (Ragin 2008). The 80 percent level is standard in fsQCA, though empirical breaks in the data are also often chosen (Schneider and Wagemann 2010). In this instance there is a major break in consistency between the sixth and seventh rows of the truth table (.83 versus .65), indicating that the results are robust to choosing various standards of consistency (see Table 1).

[Table 2 about here.]

The analyses produced three solutions (see Table 2). Together they have a consistency of 0.895, thus producing high newspaper attention 89.5 percent of the time, and a combined coverage of 0.363, meaning that more than one third of “organization-years” with high newspaper attention were accounted for by one or more of the solutions. Although this coverage is not overwhelming, it is substantial, as it accounts for about 96 organization-years’ worth of high newspaper attention. Because we do not expect any absence conditions to be producing high coverage, we can eliminate them in the discussion of individual solutions; that is, we report what Ragin (2008) describes as the most theoretically justified “intermediate” solutions.

The results support both of our main hypotheses. The first solution addresses our expectations involving non-AIDS-related LGBT organizations and about the ways that political mediation leads to extensive newspaper coverage:

POLICY * RESOURCES → HIGH COVERAGE.

This solution is similar to our first expected solution and provides extensive support for our first interactive hypothesis. As with the hypothesis, the policy measure and resources measure are both required for high coverage. However, the solution does not require organizations to have an inclusive identity. This term covers a quarter of high-coverage cases.

The results for explicitly AIDS-related movement organizations also mainly support our expectations. The two solutions in the table can be reduced to the following:

AIDS FOCUS * (AIDS DEATHS * PROTEST * INCLUSIVE +
RESOURCES * inclusive) → HIGH COVERAGE

And because we are discussing only AIDS-focused organizations, they can be reduced further to AIDS DEATHS*PROTEST *INCLUSIVE + RESOURCES * inclusive → HIGH COVERAGE.

The first solution indicates that extensive newspaper coverage was generated by AIDS organizations with protest orientations during the AIDS crisis, as we expected. The solution also includes the inclusive identity measure, however, suggesting that inclusive identities may also be necessary for protest organizations to gain extensive coverage. Protest organizations already face barriers to gaining high coverage, so even in contexts that favor their coverage, inclusive identities may be required to be viewed as legitimate spokespeople for those impacted by the crisis. Throughout the movement's history there have been protest oriented organizations, but only during the AIDS crisis do protest organizations receive the amount of coverage that ACT UP does. Although this solution covers only about four percent of the high coverage cases, it is

important theoretically in supporting our claims about the coverage potential of protest organizations in crisis situations. Moreover, there are no truth table rows in which protest-oriented organizations otherwise achieve high coverage. The second solution includes highly resourced AIDS organizations—during the crisis and afterward—without an inclusive identity and covers another eight percent of high coverage cases. Though unanticipated by our model, this result suggests that a crisis regarding a specific issue may work similarly to a policy change—it provides a media advantage to high-resource organizations focused on that issue. In short, crises aid protest-oriented organizations, but also those with extensive resources.

We ran these analyses through a series of robustness checks (Schneider and Wagemann 2010). To ensure uncommon configurations were not skewing our results, we dropped rows from the truth table that had fewer than five cases and reran the analyses. We also ran additional analyses on the two frequency thresholds (1 and 5) using 0.75 as the consistency cutoff points. Each of the alternative analyses yielded results identical to those in Table 2. Removing inactive organizations from our analysis also does not alter the results. Using the weighted coverage score unsurprisingly produced identical solutions with similar consistency and coverage. We also altered the calibrations for high coverage since 2000 to take into account the fact that newspapers have lost significant advertising revenues and have cut back on newsroom staff.⁵ The results remained virtually the same. (Detailed results are available in an online supplement.)

⁵ To test an expanded conceptualization of crisis, we also ran analyses in which crisis also scored one for years 2004-2005, including the same-sex marriage setbacks of that period, and combined this with the deaths measure. The results produced identical causal recipes with very similar consistency and coverage scores. These results can be found in an online supplement.

Which organizations most closely fit the different profiles? FsQCA also helps analysts make sense of the cases in this way (Schneider and Wagemann 2010). The organizations with wide policy foci benefitting in news coverage from policy changes include the Human Rights Campaign, Lambda Legal, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and the Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders. The HRC was the earliest organization to benefit, beginning in 1990, with Lambda Legal reaching a high level of coverage the following year. For the most part, once these organizations become highly covered they remain highly covered, as we would expect given the policy advances also largely remain. The results do not require, however, an inclusive identity. This is because the National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR), an organization that has historically focused on issues involving lesbian women, achieved high coverage beginning in 2003 and continuing throughout the rest of the period. NCLR was instrumental in marriage equality in California, participating in San Francisco's unilateral issuance of marriage licenses in the spring of 2004, and lead council in the court case in which the California Supreme Court declared banning same-sex couples from getting married violated the state's constitution in 2008 (NCLR 2015). Thus, while the majority of cases had inclusive identities, NCLR was an exception due to its position relative to the same-sex marriage issue.

The combinations involving AIDS organizations during the crisis period mainly implicate ACT UP during its heyday, beginning in 1988 through much of the 1990s. The Gay Men's Health Crisis mainly constitutes the combination concerning well-resourced AIDS movement organizations. It began a run of extensive coverage in 1984. For GMHC, the AIDS epidemic served a functionally similar role as policy scores do for non-AIDS organizations, legitimizing the organizations in the eyes of the media and leading to routine coverage whenever AIDS is discussed. These results help to confirm the historical analyses above.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This article makes theoretical, analytical, and empirical contributions. The results show the value of our media and political mediation approach, which builds from the political mediation model and incorporates the operating procedures of newspapers in modeling the newspaper coverage of movement organizations. Our wider perspective augments the political mediation model, which expects policy changes to boost the coverage of movement organizations promoting that policy or set of policies. We agree, but argue that such organizations must also be well resourced and have an inclusive identity to gain extensive coverage, given that such organizations fit better with standard media practices. The media and political mediation model also addresses the conditions—involving crises—under which protest-oriented organizations, which are typically less resourced, will gain newspaper attention.

The findings also shed light on the empirical puzzle that some studies show that resource-rich and institutionally focused organizations gain far more coverage than protest-oriented organizations, whereas other studies find that protest-orientations boost newspaper coverage for movements as whole. We argue and find that there are more pathways to coverage for resource-rich organizations, but also argue and find that there are ways for protest-oriented organizations to gain attention, even if these are more limited. We also show the utility of analyzing the population of coverage for all the organizations in a movement over the career of its challenge. To draw conclusions about the drivers of movement organization coverage, studies need to go beyond snapshots of all organizations in a movement, to go beyond following a few organizations over time, and to go beyond analyzing the coverage of only the larger movements. As for the LGBT movement itself, this analysis of its national newspaper coverage helps to confirm accounts that see its modern origins in the wake of Stonewall—it received virtually no

national newspaper coverage before 1969—and its takeoff during the AIDS crisis (Armstrong and Cragg 2006; D'Emilio 1998; Gross 2001; Alwood 1996).

This study does have several limitations. We show that resources matter in gaining media coverage for organizations, but because of the lack of detail in the Encyclopedia of Associations and websites, it is unclear which resources are the most important. Also, although we talk about the strategies and actions of organizations, such as advocating policies or protesting, our indicators address only *whether* they do these things, not how much, when, or how exactly they do them. More detailed research is needed to address whether and how movement organizations' media (Ryan et al. 2005) and other strategies of collective action matter in gaining attention in which larger contexts. Moreover, we examine only the overall coverage of organizations and do not address the valence of this coverage or how substantive the coverage might be (Barakso and Schaffner 2006; Alwood 1996). We also examine only national coverage in nationally oriented newspapers; local newspapers may work differently. Other limitations have to do with the case. For instance, the LGBT movement has been closely connected to the political left and the Democratic party and thus may not have implications for right-wing movements. Also, the results regarding the LGBT movement probably have few implications for movements that do not significantly seek policy change. Finally, the movement is less socially diverse than many movements seeking civil rights and protection.

All the same, our findings about the coverage of organizations in the LGBT movement are suggestive regarding how movements' public profiles evolve over time, at least for movements that become influential. A movement may require dramatic events, either through protest or crisis or both, to prompt coverage in its early years. The LGBT movement was strongly influenced by a public crisis. Possibly high unemployment served a similar function for

Depression-era movements such as old-age pension, unemployed workers, and labor movements, and war deaths may have done the same for peace movements. As a movement becomes larger and sees political action on its issues, coverage turns its focus to policy concerns and the larger organizations that engage those policies. This pattern was found with the labor movement (Amenta et al. 2009). The findings also support arguments that posit a positive feedback influence of policy gains on social movements and their newspaper coverage (Amenta et al. 2012a). Those organizations that gain media attention likely increase their influence within the movement as a whole (Vliegenthart et al. 2005).

Our arguments and findings call for further research about why movement organizations receive attention from the mass news media, the sorts of attention they receive, and the consequences of this coverage. It will be especially productive to think further through the processes by which newspapers and other mass news media treat movements and their activities as “news.” We have suggested some specific political and social contexts and aspects of organizations that may combine to make them newsworthy, but additional thinking is needed to address issues such as the type of coverage movements actors receive. At the movement level, it should be possible to model more complex influences of protest and coverage in which some organizations protest and other, better resourced organizations reap coverage benefits (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). The amounts and quality of coverage may also influence the political and social changes that movements seek (see review in Amenta et al. 2010; Walgrave and Vliegenthart 2012). All of this suggests thinking more about and hypothesizing further about the impact of the interactions between news media operating procedures, movement organizational characteristics, capacities, and strategies of action, and political and social contexts.

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Table 1: Truth Table of High Coverage and Six Causal Measures

AIDS	Deaths	Protest	Resources	Policy	Inclusive	Coverage	N	Cons.
1	1	0	1	0	0	1	10	0.987
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	17	0.939
0	1	0	1	1	1	1	23	0.929
0	0	0	1	1	0	1	8	0.899
0	0	0	1	1	1	1	40	0.870
1	1	1	0	0	1	1	10	0.833
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	8	0.645
1	0	1	0	0	1	0	14	0.584
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	37	0.513
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.499
1	1	0	0	0	1	0	37	0.441
1	1	0	1	0	1	0	10	0.275
1	0	0	0	0	1	0	36	0.147
1	0	0	1	0	1	0	52	0.144
0	1	0	0	0	1	0	245	0.099
0	1	0	0	1	1	0	56	0.089
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	618	0.083
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	134	0.083
0	0	1	0	0	1	0	136	0.083
0	1	0	0	1	0	0	40	0.081
0	1	1	0	1	1	0	48	0.064
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	79	0.057
0	1	1	0	0	1	0	38	0.035
0	0	1	0	1	1	0	78	0.031
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	309	0.023
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	78	0.013
0	1	1	0	0	0	0	36	0.007
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	93	0.003

Table 2: Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analyses of High LGBT SMO-Year Newspaper Coverage with Six/Selected Causal Measures

Intermediate Solution	Coverage	Consistency	Included SMOs
RESOURCES*POLICY	0.233	0.903	HRC, Lambda Legal, NGLTF, NCLR, GLAD
AIDS*DEATHS*PROTEST*INCLUSIVE	0.042	0.833	ACT UP
AIDS*RESOURCES*inclusive	0.088	0.905	GMHC
	0.378	0.890	

Figure 1: Newspaper Coverage of LGBT SMOs, Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders, Lambda Legal, and National Center for Lesbian Rights, 1969-2010

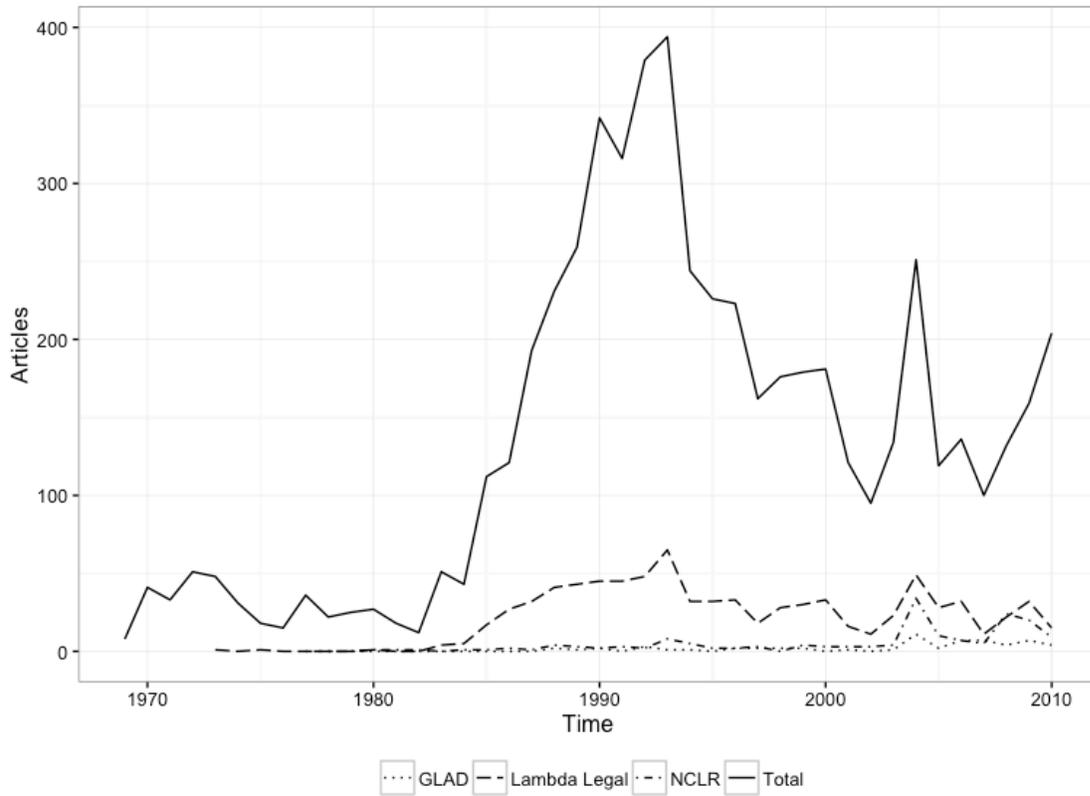


Figure 2: Coverage of the Human Rights Campaign, Lambda Legal, and the Family Equality Council

