

Don't Say Gay or No More Gay:  
A Content Analysis of Media Reporting on the  
Parental Rights in Education Bill

---

*Jazmine Velasquez*



TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

*The Boller Review: Vol. 8 2024*

## INTRODUCTION

In recent years, news media has become increasingly polarized. Debates about topics, such as Black Lives Matter, immigration reform, and the civil rights of LGBTQ+ Americans, for example, have divided news outlets into two camps: liberal and conservative, or Democrat and Republican. Through media devices, such as priming, framing, and agenda setting, the news media has a significant influence over the public's perception towards these topics, affecting how the public views social policy and subsequent decision making (Cruz and Holman 2022; Dejong et al. 2021; McCombs and Shaw 1972). More attention needs to be drawn to the different approaches liberal and conservative media outlets choose to present social policy, as it is imperative to revealing the hidden biases and ideologies they employ to shift public opinion (Hmielowski, Hutchens, and Beam 2020; Shultziner and Stukalin 2021). With this landscape in mind, the LGBTQ+ community has increasingly become a target of partisan media reporting that frames the community and its issues as divided. Oftentimes media focuses on the illegitimizing of queer identities and the implications of living a non-traditional lifestyle (Billard 2016; Dejong et al. 2021).

This article will explore how ideological differences in media influence the coverage of LGBTQ+ social policy and legislation. Specifically, I examine media coverage about HB1557, the "Parental Rights in Education Act." This legislation takes place in the state of Florida, where Governor Ron DeSantis has introduced numerous bills that restrict the freedoms of queer performers, educators, families, and gender non-conforming individuals (HRC Staff 2023). I investigate how the media has framed the discussion about this legislation and the possible implications these framing devices have for public opinion. To accomplish this, I gathered news stories from left, right, and center-leaning news outlets. I searched for news articles using the date range, in which HB1557 was first passed on February 24, 2022, to April 4, 2022, the week it was officially signed by Governor Ron DeSantis. This research is imperative to understanding how the public forms attitudes about salient issues that affect the liberties of LGBTQ+ individuals, as people form their attitudes through their consumption of media. The paper proceeds as follows. First, I review the literature about the role media serves in attitude formation. Then, I explore media coverage and its effects on two other minority groups: Black Lives Matter and immigration. I choose to look at this literature to gain insight into how minority groups generally are covered, and then end the literature review with looking into LGBTQ+ policy specifically. Following the literature, I provide my theory and hypotheses about how and why conservative and liberal outlets may report about LGBTQ+ differently. After my hypotheses, I describe my research design, methodology, and results. Broadly, I find that liberal

and conservative outlets discussed HB1557 using different frames, which I argue could affect how people view this piece of legislation. The conservative outlet in my sample employed the following themes: deviance, dogmatic, informative, disinformation, and positive education impact, while the liberal outlet used victim, homophobic politics, visibility, corporate activism, and negative educational impact. These themes are discussed in great length below. I end the paper with a conclusion that details what my findings suggest for how people view the LGBTQ+ population and legislation that directly affects them.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### The Role of Media for Attitude Formation

The political reality that exists in America has been carefully curated by numerous journalists, editors, and newsroom staff that have handpicked the exact coverage they want to display to the public (McCombs and Shaw 1972). The amount of a “healthy news diet” an individual partakes in acts as a critical factor in determining the attitudes they have toward any social policy issue (Calzo and Ward 2009). The average American citizen is not an expert in all matters surrounding social policy decision making, therefore the majority of Americans must receive their information from their prospective news media outlets of their choice. Broadcasting and printing coverage of a certain issue tells the public what to care about and how to feel about it. However, there are discrepancies between the public’s real sentiment towards a social issue and the way the news media reports on it (Dejong et al. 2021; Zhang and Min 2013; Langer and Gruber 2021; Mooney and Lee 2000). The attitudes of the general public are not accurately reflected by the news media but are rather led by the wants and needs of shadow actors, such as legislators, governmental leaders, and organizational heads (Bishin et al. 2020).

A method commonly used by the “elite” tends to focus on how issues, which includes LGBTQ+ issues, apply morally and democratically, whereas non-elite activists suggest that it is an issue of tolerance and acceptance (Brewer 2003; Hull 2001). Rather than reporting from a neutral perspective, the media increasingly has become more polarized and aligns itself with a prominent political figure it most closely ideologically aligns with (Levendusky 2013). As a result of this phenomenon, heavily right-wing or left-wing viewers become increasingly more devout and less amenable to hearing other perspectives (Hmielowski, Hutchens, and Beam 2020; Levendusky 2013). Some scholars have found that Americans are more likely to choose a media outlet that will affirm their preconceived notions and/or beliefs towards a certain issue. It is even more likely that they will be less inclined to hold their representatives accountable because they are not willing to receive the full scope of the issue from the opposing side (Taber and Lodge 2006; Levendusky 2013). Scholars suggest that the message processing and attitude changes that are held by the public are only confirmed by the news’ opinionated reporting, also referred to as “direct persuasion” (Feldman 2011). This “direct persuasion” method has been found to be equally placed among both sides of the political spectrum and the intake of “non-opinionated” news does little to change this outcome (Feldman 2011). American citizens are constantly faced with this political strife represented in the news media that either confirms or challenges their beliefs, attitudes, and opinions about any issue. After conducting an experiment that measured participants’ overall attitudes towards affirmative action and gun control, a study

found that participants repeatedly chose to partake in news media coverage that affirmed their previously held opinions and strengthened their attitudes towards the issue (Taber and Lodge 2006).

The theory of motivated reasoning exemplifies the relationship between the media and the public (Taber and Lodge 2006). Motivated reasoning involves mulling over a piece of evidence (or, in this case, news) and seeking possible reasons for failure while reinforcing previously held beliefs and attitudes, rather than accepting the possibility of a legitimate counterargument. What and how a media news outlet chooses to run a story does, in fact, contribute to the strengthening of attitudes and beliefs towards any social policy issue currently at the forefront. Affirming this finding, narrowcast media or politically narrow forms of media contribute to the growing fragmentation within the realm of public participation in political discourse (Jones 2002). This attitude polarization exacerbates the divide by reinforcing existing beliefs and limiting exposure to diverse perspectives. Previous scholarship has cemented the fact that the news media maintains an undeniable effect and influence over the public's disposition towards issues that are politically divided, especially when it comes to issues surrounding controversial decisions about human rights and liberties. The implications of these findings in previous literature have demonstrated increased reporting and awareness of the LGBTQ+ community, especially by communicating instances of trans homicides committed across the United States. The news media has employed framing devices that impact public perceptions of this community in continuously negative ways. Increased use of "deviance" framing, insensitive gender descriptions, and delegitimizing language has caused an increase of negative public perceptions across all political platforms. (Akerlund 2019, Billard 2016, Dejong et al. 2021).

## Media Coverage of Social Issues

### *Black Lives Matter*

Before examining the literature that investigates how the media reports on LGBTQ+ issues, it is important to take a comprehensive examination of prominent topics in the area of social policy reform. The Black Lives Matter movement and immigration reform are two salient issues that have contributed to the growing partisan lens of the average American viewer. I look at the media coverage of these two social issues because it is important to understand how media outlets have previously employed different methods of priming, framing, and agenda-setting during critical moments of issues specifically targeting minority people. It is imperative to examine the intersectionality of commonly marginalized communities, such as LGBTQ+ and people of color, because the stigmas these groups commonly face in the media, such as

discrimination, deviance, prejudice, and negative reporting, diminish the goals of their respective movements and attempts at social progression (Ramirez, Gonzalez, and Galupo 2018). During the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, numerous accounts of black Americans suffering a wide array of injustices ignited a strong racial divide amongst the American public. Immediately following a protest or devastating circumstance, an increase in media consumption amongst the conservative population skyrocketed and re-enforced racial tensions amongst the public (Jensen and Karell 2023). This specific reaction has proven problematic as protests surrounding racial inequality are most commonly delegitimized within the world of media reporting (Brown and Harlow 2019). Conservative media outlets seized this opportunity of the fragile political atmosphere by framing BLM protests negatively, emphasizing the possibility of racial threats while subsequently gaining a larger audience (Jensen and Karell 2023). A contributing factor as to why conservative media outlets prime and frame the BLM movement in this negative way is due to a lack of representation within its own newsrooms (Cruz and Holman 2022). Not only is there a lack of racial, ethnic, and gender representation, but also a lack of diversity in sexual orientation amongst newsroom journalists. In a study done by Miller (2006), racial minorities are more than five times underrepresented in newsrooms and attempts to close this growing gap have only decreased in the last 10 years. If racial minorities are not being prioritized in newsrooms, then the prioritization of sexual orientation diversity ranks even lower on this scale.

This failure to diversify newsrooms only solidifies the preconceived biases and prejudices of newsroom employees, which gives way to a specific use of language, framing, and agenda setting that can be used to further stigmatize marginalized populations (Capuzza 2014; Cruz and Holman 2022, 2). Due to the large amount of this specific delegitimizing news coverage that exists among center and right leaning media, it would be logical to assume that viewer's attitudes correlate. This practice contributes to the strengthening of preconceived attitudes and beliefs that conservative citizens hold and has proven to be a predictor towards determining those who hold less support for the Black Lives Matter movement (Brown and Mourão 2022). According to Brown and Mourão 2022, results of a survey measuring viewers attitudes about the Black Lives Matter movement before and after consuming negative news media primarily showed continued support, suggesting that there is an asymmetrical relationship between what the media pushes versus the real sentiment of the average viewer. Similarly, whilst discussing how the LGBTQ+ are represented in the media and associated attitudes, a common discrepancy exists when attempting to correlate why news media pushes certain agendas that do not commonly correlate with the beliefs of the majority.

### *Immigration*

In addition to the Black Lives Matter movement, the discussion surrounding immigration policy has taken a leading spot within the ecosystem of partisan news media. The use of inflammatory language in combination with the prominence of a single-issue agenda can affect the general sentiment and support for a salient social policy proposal. Research in this field has found that the more frequently the media chooses to negatively report on immigration-related topics, the more likely the public is to support an anti-immigration legislator or party (Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart 2007). Gerth and Siegert (2012) also find that framing devices surrounding immigration more commonly focus on high profile actors and their reactions to social issues suggesting that this media bias adequately represents the real issue at hand and rather inflates the grandiosity surrounding the actors involved. In addition to this, scholars, who have studied the relationship between media reporting and the effects it has on public opinion and support for immigration, have suggested that providing accurate information in place of previously held misconceptions does not meaningfully impact social policy preferences (Voelkel et al. 2022).

However, further research has found that it is still necessary to provide informational interventions to persuade citizens to review their ideologies, challenge their previously held beliefs, and update their policy preferences (Voelkel et al. 2022). This is necessary for the progression of affected minority groups to shed the negative frame surrounding policy that directly implicates them. Lecheler, Bos, and Vligenthart (2015) suggest that the specific framing used while discussing immigration directly correlates with the emotional reaction viewers have and the eventual support they had for this group. Manipulation of facts presented, tone, and phrasing while discussing immigration is commonly contorted to push a specific partisan agenda (Joseph 2017). Similar to LGBTQ+ reporting over time, polarized framing surrounding immigration has varied significantly and more recently became more harmful. Word choice and framing devices that focus on the dehumanization of the people affected clearly influence the way the public perceives this minority group (Card et al. 2022). More often, news media has been found to use riskier and controversial language and perpetuate harmful stereotypes when discussing political movements surrounding participants from minority cultures (Wright et al. 2023). It is critical to examine the relationship between the LGBTQ+ community and people affected by immigration issues because they are both framed by left- and right-leaning news media in negative ways. According to Bellovary, Young, and Goldenberg (2021), both left- and right-leaning news organizations express similar levels of both negative and positive effects when communicating news through social media, as well as find that both partisan outlets tend to use more negative framing techniques when communicating news to

their audiences. Partisan news outlets capitalize on the controversy surrounding these salient issues and employ harmful rhetoric and framing devices that do not lead to constructive conversations surrounding the people involved. The literature in this field has proven that the spread of disinformation and the de-legitimizing of salient social issues is little remedied by informative reporting (Brown and Harlow 2019; Voelkel et al. 2022). This suggests a motivating factor as to why news outlets may employ such strategies if they know their audience won't be persuaded otherwise.

### *LGBTQ+*

After examination of how other social minority groups are represented in the media and the most commonly used frames chosen to discuss them, the similarities the LGBTQ+ community shares with them are similar and unarguably relevant. Constantly grappling with misrepresentation, discrimination, prejudice, delegitimization, and bias, acknowledging that these factors lead to negative public perception is critical to understanding how media bias drastically influences attitudes surrounding persons affected by social policy legislation. The discussion surrounding the civil rights and liberties of the LGBTQ+ community has ranged drastically over time. Discourse surrounding their rights to live freely, express who they are, where they can be employed, and even use the restroom have all been highly politicized by both the left- and right-wing media in America.

Literature that is committed to measuring how the voices of the LGBTQ+ community are represented has found that there has been a dramatic uptick of visibility in the mainstream media, but it should not be assumed to all be positive (Schotel 2022). The visibility of transgender persons in international news coverage has significantly reduced the amount of delegitimizing language and framing it once used in favor of a frame of equal rights and victimization (Åkerlund 2019; Jacobs and Meeusen 2021; Oliveira-Araujo 2022). Overall, there is evidence in literature to suggest that the media is slowly becoming more tolerant in their reporting on LGBTQ+ persons, so why are LGBTQ+ rights so polarizing in American society (Van den Berg and Marinus 2017; Verhoeven, Paulussen, and Dhoest 2023)? Pan et al. (2010) finds that the ideological framing a news media leans towards will determine whether or not the outlet themselves will become pioneers for the advancement of political movements such as LGBTQ+ equality rights. The combined use of activism, morality debates, traditional American values, and threats to heterosexual families by large news media does have a profound effect on the way the public perceives LGBTQ+ individuals and consequently influences their political ideologies (Pan, Meng, and Zhou 2010; Syam et al. 2021).



Literature in this area focuses primarily on media priming, framing, and agenda setting, yet I found there to be a lack of follow-up in analyzing how articles specifically framed a controversial piece of legislation. After review, I am still faced with questions about how specific pieces of legislation are framed by the media, as the framing devices employed could ultimately impact how people view LGBTQ+ issues and policies that affect them. Also, I found that the literature often measures the reactions and/or attitudes of focus groups based on contrived media examples, but they do not look at real media examples. It is important to use real media examples when examining media bias because the implications of both positive and negative media framing have very real consequences to the people who identify with any social group and/or movement. Overall, these studies are just the tip of the iceberg when it comes to studying how minority groups are affected by heavily partisan media.

Further, there are consistent findings of how media framing affects the general attitudes and beliefs of the public. Various minority groups have been the target of hyper-political news coverage, and as a result, there tends to be a negatively guided discussion surrounding the social policy issues that directly affect them. However, what is missing are the real-life instances in which media bias truly marginalizes a minority community, specifically the LGBTQ+ community. By examining and researching how the ideological leaning of a media outlet affects the discourse surrounding social policy legislation, we will be able to better understand how and why partisan ideologies are so prominent across the news media spectrum and the motivations behind using specific framing and themes.

## HYPOTHESIS

Based on previous literature, it is important to note that citizens will generally consume media that is tailored to their preconceived notions and ideas (Voelkel et al. 2022). They will actively seek out media that affirm their beliefs and spread the presented ideas of the media to others. News media outlets frame social policy stories to their readers in this way (Gerth and Siegert 2012). They have a target audience and cater to what they want to see and hear. They want to be affirmed. With this in mind, I expect that CNN, the liberal outlet of interest, will be more likely to use the victim frame in their reporting about HB1557 than Fox News, the conservative outlet of interest. This is because CNN has shown a consistent pattern of liberal language within their headlines, appealing to its left-wing viewers (Weatherly et al. 2007). Liberal outlets tend to take an “activist” stance on social policy issues—especially through their word choice in reporting and specifically when discussion surrounding the LGBTQ+ community is at the forefront (Pan, Meng, and Zhou 2010).

H1: CNN will be more likely to use victim framing than Fox News.

Additionally, I expect that Fox News, the conservative outlet of interest, will be more likely to use the deviance frame in their reporting compared to CNN. This is because Fox News appeals to a larger conservative audience that maintains stricter viewpoints and opinions towards issues that deviate from the traditional Christian norm (Linneman 2004).

H2: Fox News will be more likely to use the deviance frame than CNN.

I expect that CNN is more likely to use the homophobic politics frame than Fox News because conservative politicians and reporters brought the issue of “morality” and “subversive” teachings about gender and sexuality to the forefront of media discussion. Traditionally on the left-leaning side of reporting, CNN has primarily focused on politicians pushing an agenda in attempts to worry their constituents about a problem that does not actually exist. As stated by former Press Secretary Jen Psaki after being asked why the White House opposes the then-proposed bill, “Do you have examples of schools in Florida that are teaching kindergartners about sex education?”<sup>1</sup> to which the reporter could give no examples of such instances occurring.

H3: CNN will be more likely to use the homophobic politics frame  
than Fox News.

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.newsweek.com/jen-psaki-wants-examples-when-fox-reporter-asks-about-florida-sex-education-1694940>

Following this prediction, I believe that CNN will further focus on the public backlash that has been spewed by not only public opposers to the bill but also from prominent figures in the media. By exposing this narrative to its viewers, I expect CNN to appeal to the public by showing them that they have support from people in positions of power who have largely spoken out against the bill. This narrative choice implies support and encouragement towards the affected community.

H4: CNN will be more likely to use the visibility frame than Fox News.

Next, I expect Fox News to use the dogmatic theme when discussing the intentions behind HB1557 because it elicits an emotional response from those who have children enrolled in the public school system. By pinpointing a source or group of people as the issue, it is much easier to not only garner support for but also place blame and demonstrate why bills like this must be passed to begin with (Herfroy-Mischler and Friedman 2020).

H5: Fox News will be more likely to use the dogmatic theme than CNN.

I expect that CNN will be more likely to bring attention to corporate activism than Fox News for a similar reason as to why I expect them to use the visibility frame. By demonstrating to the public what “allies” they have on their side of the argument, it states that they are not alone in their quest to oppose the bill and also offers a different perspective and how it is affecting a multi-billion-dollar company.

H6: CNN will be more likely to use the corporate activism frame than Fox News.

I predict that Fox News will be more likely to use an informative frame and language when discussing HB1557 to their readers. By approaching discussion around the bill from a seemingly neutral perspective by solely focusing on textual analysis, Fox News will lower the amount of preconceived bias and garner a more sympathetic response. By presenting its readers with factual evidence, it elicits a more positive and supportive reaction from a wide range of viewers who have only been exposed to reactive headlines previously.<sup>2</sup>

H7: Fox News will be more likely to use an informative frame than CNN.

---

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.foxnews.com/media/abc-news-poll-florida-education-bill-dont-say-gay>; also see: <https://www.politico.com/f/?id=0000017f-9034-d137-abff-f0f410670000> for actual poll results.

I expect in response to the previous hypothesis that CNN will be more likely to use framing that demonstrates the negative implications of HB1557's effect on LGBTQ+ children, teachers, and parents in school settings. Historically, parents have always been divided on whether or not they want more or less sexual education for their children in schools. Due to CNN's liberal approach in discussion framing, I predict that they will argue that it is important to allow children to be exposed to the increasing gender and sexuality spectrum so that they can be more informed when making these personal decisions. Previous literature has proven that the "Christian/ex-gay redemption discourse" is extremely harmful for LGBTQ+ students and CNN will make it a point to prioritize this perspective (Jones 2011).

H8: CNN will more likely use a negative educational impact frame than Fox News.

On the other hand, Fox News will focus on the positive impacts HB1557 will have on education by focusing on the reclamation of parental rights in the classroom. As previously established, Fox News caters to a traditionally right-wing conservative audience<sup>3</sup> who tends to object to the progression of LGBTQ+ rights, and I expect them to appeal to these values to garner more support for HB1557.

H9: Fox News is more likely to use a positive educational impact frame than CNN.

Lastly, I predict that Fox News will approach discussion about HB1557 by dismantling the most common phrases and ideas surrounding the bill, such as "Don't Say Gay," and by citing various polls that prove that Americans generally do support more restrictions on sexual education topics especially for children in 3rd grade and below. While it is not traditionally common for this topic to be taught at this age,<sup>4</sup> I predict that Fox will use this frame to de-stigmatize HB1557 and render its opponents as unreliable.

H10: Fox News is more likely to focus on a disinformation frame than CNN.

The use of Newsweek will be aimed at providing a neutral analysis of how the media is reporting on HB1557. While Newsweek is not a part of the direct analysis and is primarily used as a comparison, I do still expect that Newsweek will use *informative* and *corporate activism* frames frequently when discussing the bill because it offers the most neutral approach towards

---

<sup>3</sup> <https://pos.org/whos-watching-a-look-at-the-demographics-of-cable-news-channel-watchers/>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.guttmacher.org/journals/psrh/2000/09/sexuality-education-fifth-and-sixth-grades-us-public-schools-1999>

leading discussion surrounding the bill without showing a specific bias towards either side of the political spectrum.

H11: Newsweek is more likely to focus on the informative frame than CNN and Fox.

H12: Newsweek is more likely to focus on the corporate activism frame  
than CNN and Fox.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

A content analysis of various news articles from conservative, liberal, and center outlets are gathered to study how media outlets frame the discussion about the HB1557 Parental Rights in Education Bill. The selected news outlets are determined based on how symmetrically they rank with their assigned partisan lens on AllSides.com. At the time of this article, CNN, Fox News, and Newsweek were all rated with “high confidence” in their leaning into the left, right, and center political agenda. In order to capture the initial sentiment of media coverage when HB1557 was first passed, I will be using the dates of February 24, 2022, through April 4, 2022, to gather an initial consensus of how news outlets chose to present the bill to their viewers. The goal of this research is to determine how media outlets frame the LGBTQ+ community, specifically in their coverage of HB1557, revealing their amenability towards supporting social policy proposals that create or take away more protections for this group of people. A content analysis is the best approach for acquiring the necessary data as it will allow me to design themes necessary for measuring tonality, attitude, and framing of all data collected from the three major news outlets. I will then convert the acquired qualitative information into quantitative, measurable data to visually ascertain the relationship between the ideological leanings of a news media outlet and its framing techniques used when discussing HB1557.

## METHODS

I started collecting news stories on February 24, 2020, because that is when HB1557 was passed by Joe Harding in the State of Florida House of Representatives. It was then signed on March 28, 2022, so my end date for collecting stories is the following Monday, April 4, 2022. During the preliminary approach of choosing which term would be best to use to examine how news outlets are framing HB1557, I ran a search on Google Search using the search term “Parental Right in Education Bill.” For this term, less than a page worth of news articles appeared for each site: CNN, Fox, and Newsweek.

After a careful analysis of several articles that did pop up after this initial search, the phrase “Don’t Say Gay” seemed to be the dominant phrasing chosen by news outlets when reporting on the bill. I then performed a new search on Google Search using the term “Don’t Say Gay” for my date range and specific websites and received a more substantive amount of data to analyze. In total, I collected 100 articles across all three outlets. The term “Don’t Say Gay” was first used by CNN on January 24, 2022, when it passed its first Florida house committee, whereas Fox News did not address HB1557 as “Don’t Say Gay” until February 24, 2022. Equality Florida first referred to HB1557 in this way because it wanted to emphasize its message of “this legislation is meant to stigmatize LGBTQ people, isolate LGBTQ kids, and make teachers fearful of providing a safe, inclusive classroom” to garner attention and support to stop the bill from progressing through the House of Representatives (Equality Florida 2022). To begin coding each article for relevant themes and framing, I first solidified the independent and dependent variables. Many of the media framing devices or dependent variables were first created by Verhoeven, Paulussen, and Dhoest (2023) in a similar research study. The frames *victim*, *deviance*, *homophobic politics*, *visibility*, and *dogmatic* are used to measure the presence of negative and positive tonality present in news about LGBTQ+ topics. After reading through many of the articles, I also used a thematic approach and created my own frames that appeared often across the articles. These new frames included *corporate activism*, *informative*, *negative educational impact*, *positive educational impact*, and *disinformation*. For every article, I coded each theme (DV) as a one if it was present in the article or as a zero if no specific theme was present. Below, I describe each frame.

### *Frames (Dependent Variables)*

The *victim* frame portrays LGBTQ+ people as victims of discrimination. A primary argument in this framing device would mention instances in which LGBTQ+ teachers, students, and parents would be subject to social consequences because of certain policy legislation being made and/or implemented. Here is an example from CNN: “The bill would eliminate LGBTQ history from the

curriculum and prevent teachers from having discussions in their classrooms if questions about sexual orientation and gender identity came up.”<sup>5</sup>

The *deviance* frame portrays LGBTQ+ people as a threat to ‘normality’ (unnatural and immoral). A primary argument in this frame is that LGBTQ+ people and topics will corrupt children. For example, in relevance to HB1557, topics including discussion about gender identity and sexual orientation would be considered inappropriate and harmful to any child under the third-grade age-level. Here is an example from Fox News: “What are you allowed to do if some unionized teacher starts talking to your six-year-old about her genitals? Well, nothing is the answer, not one thing. You're not allowed to do anything. You have to sit back and allow that abuse to continue.”<sup>6</sup>

The *dogmatic* frame depicts LGBTQ+ people as a group with excessive demands and as hypocritically intolerant of people who do not subscribe to “rainbow ideology.” Every new demand from LGBTQ+ activists was “too much.” It is lumped under the terms ‘woke’ or ‘cancel culture.’ Here is an example from Fox News: “And so in Florida, our policies got to be based on the best interest of Florida citizens, not on the musing of woke corporations.”<sup>7</sup>

The *homophobic politics* frame portrays politicians as spreaders of LGBTQ-phobia. For example, in the case of HB1557, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis has been widely criticized by left media across the United States for leading a wave of homophobic policy legislation that is framed as a direct attack on the rights of the LGBTQ+ community. Here is an example from CNN: “*Cruel*. Really, that’s the only way to describe many conservatives’ determination to pick fights with LGBTQ Americans and with transgender children in particular...Even if these attacks don’t succeed in the long run, they’re already taking a psychological toll on LGBTQ Americans and their families.”<sup>8</sup>

The *visibility* frame emphasizes the need for more LGBTQ+ visibility through the presence of role models, media attention, and symbols in public spaces. For example, news articles that mention celebrities calling attention to injustices faced by the LGBTQ+ community or speaking out in support of the LGBTQ+ community. Here is an example from CNN: “Todd and Jeff Delmay know how to fight for the things they cherish most...Todd is running for Florida House District 100 and Jeff is the co-chair of Equality Florida, one of the organizations that sued this week in federal court to block the law’s (HB1557) implementation.”<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2022/02/24/politics/florida-lgbtq-school-bill-house-passage/index.html>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/tucker-carlson-democrats-media-lying-florida-parental-rights-education-bill>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/desantis-woke-disney-ceo-parents-rights-bill>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2022/03/10/us/lgbtq-rights-desantis-race-deconstructed-newsletter/index.html>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2022/04/01/us/florida-dont-say-gay-bill-desantis-critics/index.html>



The *corporate activism* frame depicts companies taking a stance on social issues (LGBTQ+). For example, news outlets will focus primarily on the reaction and statements made by large corporations such as Disney. Disney World Parks' CEO Bob Chapek was at the forefront of discussion surrounding the HB1557 Parental Rights in Education Bill and failed in denouncing or signaling support for the bill. Here is an example from CNN: "Disney CEO Bob Chapek spoke out about Florida's controversial "Don't Say Gay" bill in a staff email—but doubled down on his refusal to publish a public statement against it."<sup>10</sup>

The *informative* frame focuses on the actual text of the bill and tries to de-stigmatize the narrative surrounding it. For example, news articles made it a point to explicitly quote text directly from the language of the bill itself as a way to refute arguments geared towards negatively stigmatizing the bill's content. Here is an example from Fox News: "Critics have expressed outrage over the bill, suggesting it is anti-LGBTQ and bans the word "gay" in schools...such language does not appear in the legislation, nor does it ban casual discussions of topics relating to sexual orientation and gender identity in the classroom."<sup>11</sup>

The *negative educational impact* frame focuses on the consequences of the bill in school settings. For example, a common argument used in this frame is that LGBTQ+ educators, couples, and students would be subject to scrutiny and discrimination under this bill. Here is an example from CNN: "LGBTQ youth in Florida deserve better. They deserve to see their history, their families, and themselves reflected in the classroom."<sup>12</sup>

The *positive educational impact* frame focuses on the benefits of the bill in school settings. A primary argument is that opposers of the bill are attempting to indoctrinate children in school settings, and enforcement of this bill will prevent unwarranted discussion surrounding sexuality, gender identity, and orientation. Here is an example from Fox News: "...13 school districts in the state of Florida currently promote curriculum that encourages teachers not to talk to the parents of students about sexual orientation questions and changing gender identifications but to instead have the school district handle it. "That's just wrong," Harding said. "It's dangerous and wrong and so the bill does those two things it empowers parents by giving them a legal remedy to resolve if a school district is making these decisions without them."<sup>13</sup>

The *disinformation* frame focuses on overarching support for "Don't Say Gay" that crosses political lines. A primary argument is that the left media pushes divisive rhetoric and is

---

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2022/03/07/media/disney-chapek-dont-say-gay-bill/index.html>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.foxnews.com/media/gov-ron-desantis-disney-backlash-to-education-bill-house-speaker>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2022/03/10/us/states-anti-lgbtq-legislation-florida/index.html>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/florida-sponsor-bill-media-disinformation>

the sole cause of misinformation surrounding the bill. Another argument made is that overall public support for this bill is high which includes citizens who usually identify as left leaning politically. Here is an example from Fox News: “Does it say that in the bill?” DeSantis asked. “Does it say that in the bill?” As Donovan attempted to respond, DeSantis interjected, “I’m asking what’s in the bill because you are pushing false narratives. It doesn’t matter what critics say.”<sup>14</sup>

### *Independent Variables*

The independent variables I use are the political ideologies affiliated with each media outlet of interest: Fox News, CNN, and Newsweek.

Collectively, Table 1 displays the hypothesized themes for the media outlets of interest by ideological leaning.

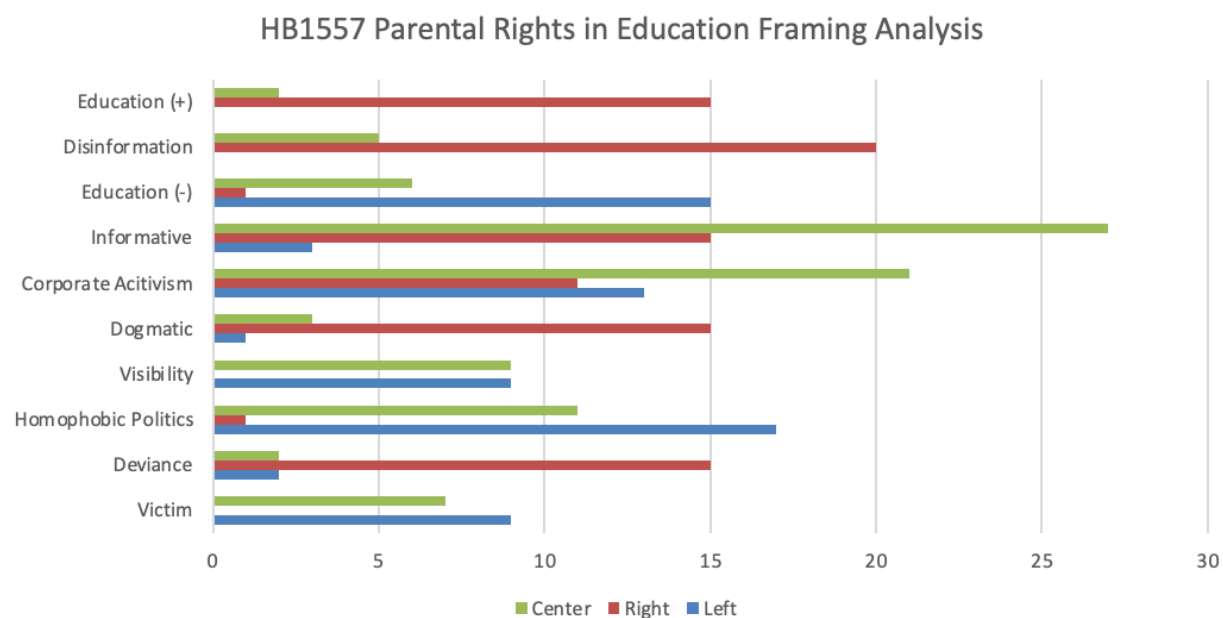
<b>Republican Themes</b>	Deviance	Dogmatic	Informative	Disinformation	Positive Educational Impact
<b>Democrat Themes</b>	Victim	Homophobic Politics	Visibility	Corporate Activism	Negative Educational Impact
<b>Independent Themes</b>	-	Informative	-	Corporate Activism	-

**Table 1:** Hypothesized Themes for Media Outlets by Ideological Leaning.

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.foxnews.com/media/ron-desantis-reporter-dont-say-gay-bill>

## RESULTS

Graph 1 displays the frames and their coding. The first theme I look at is **Positive Educational Impact**. This theme frames HB1557 as being beneficial to educators and parents because it protects children from inappropriate content in the classroom. Of the 100 stories in my dataset, 17 include this theme. Of these 17 stories, 15 came from Fox News, and the other 2 came from Newsweek. This suggests that Fox News is trying to emphasize the benefits of the bill, focusing on how it would help implement school policies that would not only empower parents in Florida school districts but also prevent children from having any discussions surrounding gender identity and sexual orientation. This result supports my initial hypothesis that Fox News focusing on the positive effects of the bill will result in them bringing attention to the reclamation of parental say in education and prevention of any topics concerning sexual education. Within this frame, Fox News emphasized this bill being a “successful message” for parents against the left’s homosexual agenda.<sup>15</sup> CNN did not use this theme, which suggests that the perceived positive effects this bill would implement are not legitimate causes for concern and would rather create a discriminatory and hostile atmosphere.



**Graph 1: HB 1557 Parental Rights in Education Framing Frequencies**

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/parental-rights-bill-teach-abcs-not-sex-ronna-mcdaniel>

The next theme I look at is **Negative Educational Impact**. This theme does the opposite of Education (+) in that it captures all of the negative implications this bill would have on classroom environments. Of the 100 stories in my data set, 22 stories include this theme. Of these 22 stories, 17 came from CNN, 1 from Fox News and 6 from Newsweek. This supports my hypothesis that CNN primarily focuses on the drastic impact this bill will have for educators, parents, and students who identify as anything other than their assigned gender at birth or align with a non-heterosexual orientation. CNN brings issue with the vague language used in the bill that leaves too much interpretation and authority to decision makers within the school system. Negative personal biases and attitudes towards LGBTQ+ could be exacerbated by the introduction of HB1557. Fox News only used this theme within 1 of its articles, which leans to strengthen their original argument in support of the bill. Unexpectedly, Newsweek contributed 6 articles to this framing device, which suggests that the social implications of this bill may outweigh the perceived educational benefits.

The next theme I look at is **Disinformation**. This theme aims to provide a “real ” look into the political sentiment surrounding HB1557 by providing polling examples and surveys that suggest left-leaning media, like CNN, do not accurately reflect the attitudes of traditionally liberal citizens. Of the 100 stories in my data set, 25 stories include this theme. Of these 25 stories, 0 came from CNN, 20 from Fox News and 5 from Newsweek. This suggests that Fox News heavily relied on the use of the disinformation narrative to delegitimize the argument coming from the opposing side. This finding supports my initial hypothesis that Fox News aims to dismantle discussion surrounding HB1557 that is not conducive to its own stance. CNN did not use this frame, which could suggest that dismantling the opposing side’s argument was not as high a priority over reporting on the ramifications and dangers this bill exposes members of the LGBTQ+ community to.

The next theme I look at is **Victim**. This theme is prevalent in articles aiming to present members of the LGBTQ+ community as victims of discrimination and injustice. Of the 100 stories in my data set, 9 came from CNN, 0 from Fox News and 7 from Newsweek. Because CNN and Newsweek have a similar number of articles addressing the bill from a victim frame, this could suggest that they both aimed to prioritize the consequences of HB1557 and provide examples of real persons affected by the bill and others similar to it. These findings support my hypothesis that CNN is more inclined to frame articles in this way due to their historical relationship with marginalized communities. Again, Fox News not using this theme in any of its stories may suggest that the implications of the bill towards the LGBTQ+ community is not relevant or conducive to conversation surrounding the bill. Fox News prioritizes the de-

stigmatization surrounding the bill, and reporting about the negative consequences it has on a portion of the population would be damaging to their goal towards increasing overall support.

The next frame I look at is **Deviance**. The theme portrays LGBTQ+ people as a threat to ‘normality’ (unnatural and immoral). A primary argument in this frame is that LGBTQ+ people and topics will corrupt children. LGBTQ+ persons are not considered in the same way heteronormative people are and are often portrayed to be the source of leftist problem-causing ideologies. Out of the 100 articles gathered, 19 contained this theme, 1 came from CNN, 16 came from Fox News and 2 from Newsweek. This data suggests that Fox News’ perspective towards the LGBTQ+ people is an underlying cause as to why HB1557 was introduced in the first place. This finding supports my hypothesis that Fox News’ viewers tend to hold more Christian beliefs that are inherently discriminatory towards the LGBTQ+ community. New gender and sexuality affirming language is seen as a threat to the status quo, and deviance framing is necessary to remind the public of traditional morals and values. CNN approaches use of this frame to demonstrate to its readers how the right is framing the argument around HB1557 and the LGBTQ+ agenda. This suggests that CNN is employing use of this frame as a hyperbolic example of how the “other side” sees this argument. Newsweek employed use of this frame by publishing think pieces written by outside researchers who explore the moral implications of the bill and its effect on children. Rather than taking a definitive stance for or against the bill, it explores the societal ramifications that could occur by acknowledging the use of deviant language surrounding the bill.

The next frame I look at is **Visibility**. This frame focuses primarily on bringing attention to those affected by discriminatory legislation and places prominent ally figures at the forefront of news headlines. Of the one hundred articles I analyzed, eighteen total articles had visibility frames. Of these eighteen articles, nine came from CNN and nine came from Newsweek; this may suggest that both media outlets deemed it necessary to demonstrate to the public the reactions of various celebrities, political, and corporate figures who have the power to shift public perspective. My initial hypothesis was correct in predicting that CNN would prioritize statements made by prominent figures but failed to predict the same outcome from Newsweek. These findings suggest that neutral news outlets prioritize sharing representation for all people, including those from marginalized communities, so that they are not solely criticized by partisan media. Fox News did not use this frame once while reporting on HB1557, which could mean to suggest that it was unimportant and/or irrelevant when discussing the implications of the bill. It is becoming clear that Fox News does not wish to discuss the feelings or opinions of the LGBTQ+ community because it is not conducive to their side of reporting. The only prominent

figures that are mentioned are Bob Chapek in a negative connotation or Ron DeSantis and how he defends the bill to critical opponents.

This brings me to the next **Dogmatic** frame. This frame is primarily used by Fox News when it does decide to speak about the LGBTQ+ community's relationship with HB1557. Of the 100 articles I coded, 19 used this dogmatic frame. 1 came from CNN, 15 came from Fox News and 3 from Newsweek. Again, CNN employed the use of this frame when reporting on discussions coming from the other side of the political fence. Fox primarily using this frame suggests a certain hostility towards LGBTQ+ opponents of the bill and often sparked discussion fueled by offensive accusations. This finding supports my hypothesis that Fox News would approach this topic in this way because of the values held by their majority audience. A common term used in this frame was that LGBTQ+ were "pedophiles" or "a threat" to school-aged children. Articles using this frame often antagonized LGBTQ+ people and their allies, asking combative lines of questioning designed to manipulate the bill's opponents into agreeing with them. For example, Fox journalists would often challenge HB1557 opponents by asking, "Why do you want to teach topics about sex to 8-year-old children? It is called the A-B-C's, not S-E-X." This type of discussion trivializes the real issue opponents of the bill bring forward and takes away from the real messaging the bill is trying to convey as well. Not only this, but it fails to acknowledge that there are many children who may identify differently from their assigned gender at birth and places them in the line of fire for discrimination and scrutiny. This frame does little to contribute constructively to the discourse surrounding the bill and is harmful to both sides.

The next theme I analyze is the **Homophobic Politics** frame. This frame focuses on prominent political figures, in this case Ron DeSantis, and how his methods of discussing the HB1557 bill affects the LGBTQ+ community. Of the 100 articles I gathered, 29 contained a homophobic politics frame. 17 came from CNN, 1 from Fox News and 11 from Newsweek. These results suggest that CNN cares more to report on the negative consequences legislation like HB1557 causes for marginalized groups like the LGBTQ+ community. These findings support the initial hypothesis made that CNN approaches this subject by refuting the hostile testimony given by conservative politicians who are pushing HB1557. Reports made about Ron DeSantis focused heavily on his use of inflammatory language, hostile tonality, and general attitude toward speaking with LGBTQ+ persons. It is cited that DeSantis visited the site memorializing victims of the Pulse Nightclub shooting. Usual opponents thought that a glimmer of compromise and consideration would be given after this display of compassion, but soon after that is when the bill was introduced, and DeSantis's unwavering support for it. Articles after this event

painted DeSantis in an unfavorable light and accused him of pandering and as a distasteful spreader of hate and discrimination. Only one article from Fox used this theme and only did so when discussing harsh feedback DeSantis received from a celebrity over social media.

The next theme I analyzed was the **Informative** frame. This theme focuses on pulling text from the HB1557 itself and uses it to correct arguments made against it. It was most commonly brought up that nowhere in the bill does it contain language that explicitly says, “Don’t Say Gay.” Of the 100 articles analyzed, 45 contained the Informative frame. 3 came from CNN, 15 from Fox News and 27 from Newsweek. This could suggest that Newsweek prioritized reporting on the bill from an informative frame to educate its readers about the language and rules the bill actually wishes to implement. If Newsweek were to approach reporting about HB1557 primarily from a frame that discusses its impact on education or in an outright dogmatic or deviant frame, it would be apparent to readers that they lean political to one side over the other. It is also important to note that Fox News uses this frame more commonly when discussing conversations surrounding the bill. This may suggest that Fox wishes to dismantle any negative implications that opponents of the bill suggest by pulling text that directly contradicts those claims made by the left.

The last and one of the most popular frames I analyzed is **Corporate Activism**. This frame depicts prominent corporations, like Disney, speaking out against the bill, its employees staging walkouts and protests, and public statements that have prompted Ron DeSantis to retaliate against them. Of the 100 articles, 45 contained this theme. 13 came from CNN, 11 from Fox News, and 21 from Newsmax. This suggests that Disney was an important player surrounding talks about HB1557 at its inception. Because Disney generally promotes characters and media supporting the LGBTQ+ and other marginalized groups, news reporting was focused on any action taken by CEO Bob Chapek and his stance on the bill. With the intention to directly affect school-aged children, families and educators alike wondered how this bill would exist in harmony with Disney’s message. CNN primarily used this argument to report on protests and walkouts being staged by Disney employees due to the lack and slow response given by Chapek. Fox News depicted Chapek as weak and incapable of making a decision not influenced by the leftist media and its supporters. Newsweek used this frame similarly to the informative frame as it provided an opportunity to report on the effects the bill is having on a part of society overall. This frame does not focus primarily on the feelings or attitudes displayed by the public or legislators but offers an opportunity to discuss the widespread reactions of the public and large corporations. This suggests that the bill has had unintended consequences outside of what it originally aimed to create.



## DISCUSSION

Finding that both right-leaning and left-leaning media outlets primarily use informative, corporate activism, disinformation, and homophobic politics frames when discussing bills that subject marginalized people, in this case, the LGBTQ+ community, to intensify scrutiny, implies that the news media aims to show generally who creates and promotes these kinds of bills, who supports or opposes them, and educates the public on what these bills actually mean for the everyday person.

Results show that right-leaning news outlets tend to bring about and facilitate harmful conversations surrounding proposed social policy legislation like HB1557. The implications of these findings could lead to a rise in discrimination and misinformation about the LGBTQ+ community. Employing the use of *deviance* or *dogmatic* frames that encourage the perspective of LGBTQ+ persons leading deviant or subversive lifestyles can bring about great harm for children who themselves are still developing their own personal identity. The ideological leaning of media outlets has a significant impact on how the public interprets the same bill by framing it in a way that supports its own beliefs and values and those of its intended audience. This same assertion can be applied broadly to all partisan outlets because, as demonstrated by the findings about Newsweek, even “neutral” media outlets tend to lean one way and direct the conversation that is sympathetic to one side or the other.

Framing around the bill has continued to vary across the political spectrum, but since its inception, HB1557 has had unintended consequences towards negatively affecting the world of the LGBTQ+ community. As insistent as the right media is that LGBTQ+ people are not the intended victims of legislation like this, its vague wording and subliminal messaging has led to far more severe consequences. Since its introduction, numerous bills similar to the Parental Rights in Education bill have influenced more discriminatory legislation across the United States. Alabama has advanced a measure prohibiting early classroom instruction on sexual and gender identity and passed legislation that outlaws gender-affirming medications for transgender children.<sup>16</sup> An Arizona bill aims to change the state’s sex-ed curriculum to focus on biological sex and “not gender identities.”<sup>17</sup> Louisiana lawmakers introduced legislation HB837 that would limit discussion of sexual orientation or gender identity in some grades and prohibit it all together in others.<sup>18</sup> Missouri proposed a HB1669 that would ban “gender or sexual

---

<sup>16</sup> <http://alisondb.legislature.state.al.us/ALISON/SearchableInstruments/2021RS/PrintFiles/HB1-int.pdf>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.azleg.gov/legtext/55leg/2R/bills/HB2011P.htm>

<sup>18</sup> <https://legis.la.gov/legis/ViewDocument.aspx?d=1260044>



diversity training” in public schools.<sup>19</sup> In Oklahoma, a proposed senate bill 397 would ban books from school libraries that focus on "the study of sex, sexual lifestyles, or sexual activity."<sup>20</sup> Tennessee's HB800 bans books and instructional materials “that promote, normalize, support, or address lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, or transgender issues or lifestyle.”<sup>21</sup>

These bills, some passed and some proposed, have had devastating effects for the LGBTQ+ community. The implications of media bias in discussing such salient social policy can be the difference between marginalized communities becoming the target of extreme prejudice and discrimination or the advancement and acknowledgment of the civil rights and liberties that they hold.

---

<sup>19</sup> <https://house.mo.gov/billtracking/bills221/hlrbillspdf/3668H.011.pdf>

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.oklegislature.gov/BillInfo.aspx?Bill=sb397&Session=2300>

<sup>21</sup> <https://wapp.capitol.tn.gov/apps/BillInfo/Default.aspx?BillNumber=HB0800>

## REFERENCES

- Åkerlund, Mathilda. 2019. "Representations of Trans People in Swedish Newspapers." *Journalism Studies* 20 (9): 1319-1338. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2018.1513816.
- Ana, Ines Langer and Johannes B. Gruber. 2021. "Political Agenda Setting in the Hybrid Media System: Why Legacy Media Still Matter a Great Deal." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 26 (2): 313-340. doi:10.1177/1940161220925023.
- Bellovary, Andrea K., Nathaniel A. Young, and Amit Goldenberg. "Left- and Right-Leaning News Organizations Use Negative Emotional Content and Elicit User Engagement Similarly." *Affective Science* 2, no. 4 (2021): 391-96. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42761-021-00046-w>.
- Billard, Thomas J. 2016. "Writing in the Margins: Mainstream News Media Representations of Transgenderism." *International Journal of Communication (Online)*: 4193+.
- Bishin, Benjamin G., Matthew B. Incantalupo, Thomas J. Hayes, and Charles Anthony Smith. 2020. "Elite Mobilization: A Theory Explaining Opposition to Gay Rights." *Law & Society Review* 54 (1): 233-264.
- Boomgaarden, Hajo G. and Rens Vliegthart. 2007. "Explaining the Rise of Anti-Immigrant Parties: The Role of News Media Content." *Electoral Studies* 26 (2): 404-417.
- Brewer, Paul R. 2003. "Values, Political Knowledge, and Public Opinion about Gay Rights: A Framing-Based Account." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67 (2): 173-201.
- Brown, Danielle K., and Summer Harlow. "Protests, Media Coverage, and a Hierarchy of Social Struggle." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 24, no. 4 (2019): 508-30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161219853517>.
- Brown, Danielle K., and Rachel R. Mourão. 2022. "No Reckoning for the Right: How Political Ideology, Protest Tolerance and News Consumption Affect Support Black Lives Matter Protests." *Political Communication* 39, no. 6 (September): 737-754.
- Calzo, Jerel P. and L. M. Ward. 2009. "Media Exposure and Viewers' Attitudes Toward Homosexuality: Evidence for Mainstreaming or Resonance?", 280+.
- Capuzza, Jamie Colette. 2014. "Who Defines Gender Diversity? Sourcing Routines and Representation in Mainstream U.S. News Stories about Transgenderism." *The International Journal of Transgenderism* 15 (3-4): 115-128.
- Card, Dallas, Serina Chang, Chris Becker, Julia Mendelsohn, Rob Voigt, Leah Boustan, Ran Abramitzky, and Dan Jurafsky. "Computational Analysis of 140 Years of US Political Speeches Reveals More Positive but Increasingly Polarized Framing of Immigration." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 119, no. 31 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2120510119>.
- Chamian Y. Cruz and Lynette Holman. 2022. "The Media, Public Perception, and Policy Decisions: An Analysis of Two Racially Different Newsrooms' Coverage of BLM and DACA." *Howard Journal of Communications* 33 (2): 197-215. <http://libres.uncg.edu/ir/asu/listing.aspx?id=23517>.
- DeJong, Christina, Karen Holt, Brenna Helm, and Skyler J. Morgan. 2021. "'A Human Being Like Other Victims': The Media Framing of Trans Homicide in the United States." *Critical Criminology (Richmond, B.C.)* 29 (1): 131-149.

- Equality Florida Action Inc. "Florida's 'Don't Say Gay' Bill Demonizes the LGBTQ Community." Equality Florida, 2022. <https://www.eqfl.org/florida-dont-say-gay-bill>.
- Feldman, Lauren. 2011. "The Opinion Factor: The Effects of Opinionated News on Information Processing and Attitude Change." *Political Communication* 28, no. 2 (April): 163-181. 10.1080/10584609.2011.565014.
- Gerth, Matthias A., and Gabriele Siebert. "Patterns of Consistence and Constriction." *American Behavioral Scientist* 56, no. 3 (2011): 279-99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211426326>.
- Hmielowski, Jay D., Myiah J. Hutchens, and Michael A. Beam. "Asymmetry of Partisan Media Effects?: Examining the Reinforcing Process of Conservative and Liberal Media with Political Beliefs." *Political Communication* 37, no. 6 (2020): 852-68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2020.1763525>.
- Hull, Kathleen E. 2001. "The Political Limits of the Rights Frame: The Case of Same-Sex Marriage in Hawaii." *Sociological Perspectives* 44 (2): 207-232. doi:10.1525/sop.2001.44.2.207.
- HRC Staff. 2023. "Gov. DeSantis Signs Slate of Extreme Anti-LGBTQ+ Bills, Enacting a Record-Shattering Number of Discriminatory Measures into Law." Human Rights Campaign. <https://www.hrc.org/press-releases/gov-desantis-signs-slate-of-extreme-anti-lgbtq-bills-enacting-a-record-shattering-number-of-discriminatory-measures-into-law>.
- Jacobs, Laura and Cecil Meeusen. 2021. "Coming Out of the Closet, also on the News? A Longitudinal Content Analysis of Patterns in Visibility, Tone and Framing of LGBTs on Television News (1986-2017)." *Journal of Homosexuality* 68 (13): 2144-2168. doi:10.1080/00918369.2020.1733352.
- Jensen, Jeffrey L., and Daniel Karell. "Perceived Racial Threats Increase Demand for Conservative Media: Evidence from Black Lives Matter Protests and Fox News Ratings." (2023).
- Jones, David A. 2002. "The Polarizing Effect of New Media Messages." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 14, no. 2 (June): 158-174.
- Jones, Tiffany. "A Sexuality Education Discourses Framework: Conservative, Liberal, Critical, and Postmodern." *American Journal of Sexuality Education* 6, no. 2 (2011): 133-75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2011.571935>.
- Joseph, Bryce. *Political Media Bias in the United States: Immigration and the Trump Administration*. University of South Florida, 2017.
- Lecheler, Sophie, Linda Bos, and Rens Vliegenthart. "The mediating role of emotions: News framing effects on opinions about immigration." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (2015): 812-838. doi:10.1177/1077699015596338
- Levendusky, Matthew S. "Why do partisan media polarize viewers?." *American journal of political science* 57, no. 3 (2013): 611-623.
- Linneman, Thomas J. "Homophobia and hostility: Christian conservative reactions to the political and cultural progress of lesbians and gay men." *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 1 (2004): 56-76.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. and Donald L. Shaw. 1972. "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (2): 176-187.

- Miller, John. "Who's Telling The News? Racial Representation Among News Gatherers in Canada's Daily Newsrooms." *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations* 5, no. 4 (2006): 133.
- Mooney, Christopher Z. and Mei-Hsien Lee. 2000. "The Influence of Values on Consensus and Contentious Morality Policy: U.S. Death Penalty Reform, 1956-82." *The Journal of Politics* 62 (1): 223-239.
- Pan, Po-Lin, Juan Meng, and Shuhua Zhou. 2010. "Morality or Equality? Ideological Framing in News Coverage of Gay Marriage Legitimization." *The Social Science Journal (Fort Collins)* 47 (3): 630-645.
- Ramirez, Johanna L., Kirsten A. Gonzalez, and M. Paz Galupo. "'Invisible during my own crisis': Responses of LGBT people of color to the Orlando shooting." *Journal of homosexuality* 65, no. 5 (2018): 579-599.
- Rubén Oliveira-Araujo. "The (R)Evolution of Transsexuality in the News Media: The Case of the Spanish Digital Press (2000-2020)." *Journalism*: 14648849221105316. doi:10.1177/14648849221105316.
- Schotel, Anne Louise. 2022. "Mainstream or Marginalized? How German and Dutch Newspapers Frame LGBTI." *Social Politics*.
- Shultziner, Doron, and Yelena Stukalin. "Politicizing what's news: How partisan media bias occurs in news production." *Mass Communication and Society* 24, no. 3 (2021): 372-393.
- Syam, Hamdani M., Nur Anisah, Rahmat Saleh, and Murti Ali Lingga. 2021. "Ideology and Media Framing: Stigmatization of LGBT in Media Coverage in Indonesia." *Journal Komunikasi, Malaysian Journal of Communication* 37 (1): 59-73.
- Taber, Charles S., and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3 (July): 755-769.
- Van den Berg, C. A. M., Mir Marinus, gender en moderniteit LS Religie, and OFR - Religious Studies. 2017. "Trans Scripts: The Representation of Transgender People in the Media in the Netherlands (1991-2016)." *Tijdschrift Voor Genderstudies* 20 (4): 379-397.
- Verhoeven, Emma, Steve Paulussen, and Alexander Dhoest. 2023. "Covering Inclusion: Frames, Themes, and Voice in News about LGBTI Topics." *Journalism*: 14648849231175216. doi:10.1177/14648849231175216.
- Voelkel, Jan G., Mashail Malik, Chrystal Redekopp, and Robb Willer. "Changing Americans' attitudes about immigration: Using moral framing to bolster factual arguments." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 700, no. 1 (2022): 73-85.
- Weatherly, Jeffrey N., Thomas V. Petros, Kimberly M. Christopherson, and Erin N. Haugen. "Perceptions of political bias in the headlines of two major news organizations." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 12, no. 2 (2007): 91-104.
- Wright, Chrysalis, Kwame Gatlin, Damaris Acosta, and Christopher Taylor. "Portrayals of the Black Lives Matter Movement in Hard and Fake News and Consumer Attitudes Toward African Americans." *Howard Journal of Communications* 34, no. 1 (2023): 19-41.

Zhang, Lihong and Young Min. 2013. "Effects of Entertainment Media Framing on Support for Gay Rights in China: Mechanisms of Attribution and Value Framing." *Asian Journal of Communication* 23 (3): 248-267.