

PROPOSITION 8:

The Weight of News Value in Advocacy,

Regional and National Media

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Issues of the News

On the night of November 4, 2008, millions of people celebrated the election of a Democratic president. After eight years of leadership from a Republican with conservative values, young liberals and progressives were excited about the prospect of change under the Obama administration.

But after the celebrations ended and these people woke up the next morning, social liberals quickly found at least one thing that burst their Obama bubble and challenged the idea that the election results meant a shift away from closed, conservative legal policies supported by arguments of “morality.” In California, a state that leaned Democratic in the presidential and congressional races, voters approved an amendment to the state constitution to ban the legal recognition of same-sex marriage.¹ The ban was a result of the passage of Proposition 8, a ballot initiative in the state.

Many U.S. citizens were blindsided by the decision. Although debate over the ballot initiative had raged for months in California, awareness of the issue across the country depended largely on what news sources the person relied upon in the months before the election.

Residents of California had a good opportunity to learn about the details of the Proposition 8 debate, as coverage of the issue was extensive in regional publications, particularly in the month just before the election. Readers of blogs focusing on the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities had been dissecting the back-and-forth of the ballot initiative for months. But national newspapers and broadcast news networks paid very little attention to the issue until just a few weeks before the vote.

Despite the lack of Prop. 8 coverage in the national media before the election, the story changed after the votes were cast and tabulated to reveal that same-sex marriage was eliminated

¹ “Election Results: California,” *The New York Times*. <http://elections.nytimes.com/2008/results/states/california.html>

in the state. While LGBT media and regional newspapers sustained a fairly consistent amount of coverage on the same-sex marriage ban even after the election, major national publications and broadcast stations greatly increased their coverage, with many discussing Prop. 8 daily, or even multiple times each day. An issue that mainstream media largely ignored before the election was being treated as a lead story after the fact. So where were these reporters for national news outlets before the election? And how could their absence have contributed to the success of Proposition 8?

The disparity in the media coverage of Proposition 8 before and after the election speaks to our society's "hindsight culture," meaning that we pay little attention to crises until after they occur and we are near powerless to stop them. It also reveals interesting insights into the weight of news value in the ranking of content from a variety of publication genres and raises important questions about the differing responsibilities of national news media, local news and advocacy publications.

PROP. 8'S JOURNEY TO THE BALLOT BOX

The contemporary struggle to legalize same-sex marriage in California has been an issue for over a decade. In March 2000, California voters approved Proposition 22, an ordinary statute that officially declared that only marriages between one man and one woman would be recognized by the state. The ballot measure passed with 61 percent of the vote.²

On May 16, 2008, however, the California State Supreme Court invalidated the statute, positing that it violated the state Constitution. After eight years of being officially banned from marrying their significant others in the state, gay and lesbian couples in California lined up to

² "California: Those Opposed to Two Initiatives Had Little Chance from Start, *The New York Times*, 9 March 2000. <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/03/09/us/2000-campaign-california-those-opposed-2-initiatives-had-little-chance-start.html>

receive their marriage licenses.

Same-sex marriages began being recognized on June 16, and in the four and a half months before the November election, an estimated 18,000 same-sex couples had married.³ But their weddings were mired in uncertainty; a new threat to legal gay marriage loomed as another ballot initiative found its way onto the ballot for the November election. The measure, Proposition 8, collected over 694,354 signatures in support of its passage in June, and as such, qualified for referendum.⁴ Also referred to as the “California Marriage Protection Act,” it added an additional section to the Declaration of Rights in the state constitution, which read: “Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California.”

Prop. 8 differed from the overturned Prop. 22 in two key ways. In 2000, when Prop. 22 passed, same-sex marriage already lacked legal recognition in the state, and the proposition simply reaffirmed this, specifically and officially banning gay marriage. But Prop. 8 suggested the *elimination* of a right that California residents had just been granted with the overturn of Prop. 22. Also, whereas Prop. 22 was an ordinary statute in the state’s Family Code, Prop. 8 advanced an amendment to the state constitution.

The respective campaigns pushed for months to sway voters. No on 8, the side opposing the gay marriage ban, came out of the gate strong, raising significant amounts of money rather quickly from couples determined to retain their right to marry and earning huge celebrity support, including Brad Pitt, Stephen Spielberg and even then-presidential candidate Barack Obama, which increased visibility of the issue as the election drew closer. Despite this, Yes on 8, the camp supporting the elimination of same-sex marriage, became steadily stronger and more

³ “California High Court Upholds Prop. 8,” *Los Angeles Times*, 27 May 2009. <http://articles.latimes.com/2009/may/27/local/me-gay-marriage27>

⁴ “Gay Nup Ban on California’s November Ballot,” *Queerty*, 3 June 2008. <http://www.queerty.com/gay-nup-ban-on-californias-november-ballot-20080603/>

dominant, handily winning support from the California Catholic community, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and ultra-conservative Focus on the Family organization.

The influence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, also known as the Mormon Church, should not be overlooked. In June Mormon Church leaders issued a decree to read to congregations urging them to get involved with the Yes on 8 movement, asserting that restoring “traditional” families was essential to fulfilling the Creator’s plan. Mormons accounted for huge percentages of volunteers who walked door to door in favor of Prop. 8, and millions of dollars from members of the Mormon Church poured into the fight.

Yes on 8 ran a campaign urging voters to “restore marriage” to the way it was before the state Supreme Court overturned Proposition 22. They argued that marriage should be protected and took issue with the overturn of Prop. 22 in general, saying that it countered the will of the people to ban same-sex marriage in the state. In early October, Yes on 8 worked hard to push the idea that continuing to allow gay marriage would greatly damage the state’s children, and the campaign falsely explained that if Prop. 8 were not approved, public schools would be required to teach about same-sex marriage. Despite statements from the California Teachers Association addressing that this claim was not true, the message stuck, and many analysts agree that this single fear based on the “save our children” idea was the most important contribution to the passage of Prop. 8.⁵

As the November elections drew closer, Yes on 8 gradually overtook No on 8 in the polls, a development that gay rights advocates blame on the No on 8 campaign’s slow response to the “kids” argument and inability to counter the emotional devotion of religious people. Then,

⁵ Fleischer, Dave. *The Prop 8 Report*. <http://prop8report.lgbtmentoring.org/read-the-report/appendices-overview/appendix-f-independent-non-campaign-media>

on November 4, Proposition 8 passed with 52 percent of the vote.

Aside from the presidential election campaigns, the fight for and against Proposition 8 was the costliest political campaign of the year, with No on 8 spending \$44 million to oppose the ban and Yes on 8 spending \$39 million.⁶

The election was one marked by misinformation from Yes on 8, missteps by groups opposing Prop. 8, and an overconfident No on 8 base, all of which contributed to the adoption of the California constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage. It was the media's responsibility to correct the misinformation, highlight the missteps, and appropriately convey the human impact of the campaign.

THE MEDIA'S COVERAGE

The media response to Proposition 8 can be examined as an interesting case study for how different types of publications assign news value to stories and, subsequently, how this influences the discussion surrounding those stories. The communicated scope and importance of Proposition 8 in the media was extremely varied depending on the news source. LGBT blogs, regional newspapers, national newspapers and broadcast media each covered the debate with varying degrees of intensity.

Coverage in LGBT Blogs

The Internet is home to a passionate and persistent LGBT-focused blogosphere—hundreds of blogs and other publications almost exclusively cover the LGBT community, including progressions in gay- and trans-related legislation, cultural pushes for greater tolerance and acceptance, and dissections of discrimination or prejudice toward the community. Dozens of

⁶ “Tracking the Money: Final Numbers,” <http://www.latimes.com/news/local/la-moneymap,0,2198220.htmlstory>

these outlets have achieved huge popularity, attracting tens of thousands of viewers each day. The readerships are active and passionate about the subject and, by a wide majority, already sympathetic to the LGBT community.

LGBT blogs offered the most thorough, consistent coverage of Proposition 8. They began writing about the proposition as soon as it was introduced as a potential ballot measure, and they continued to publish updates about every step in the legislative and electoral process. The blogs not only provided reliable, accurate information about the progress of Prop. 8, but they also corrected the Yes on 8 campaign's misinformation, critiqued the missteps of the No on 8 leaders and urged readers to take action. After witnessing the legalization of same-sex marriage in the state of California, the reporters and commentators in LGBT outlets did not want to see those marriages end, and they certainly did not want an amendment to the California constitution to be approved. As LGBT journalists, their perspectives are inherently upfront about their biases and desire for equality with regard to sexual orientation.

Queerty is an LGBT blog that publishes dozens of posts each day about LGBT politics, culture and discrimination. The website serves as an excellent example of how LGBT media covered the Proposition 8 debate.

The first time that *Queerty* mentioned Proposition 8 by name was on June 3, the day that supporters of the ballot initiative qualified the measure to be put before voters.⁷ The site was early in reporting the proposition's potentially strong support from the Mormon Church, and it also thoroughly charted the subtle changes in language that appeared on the ballot.⁸ As the summer progressed, *Queerty* made sure that readers did not forget about the threat to gay

⁷ "Gay Nup Ban on California's November Ballot," 3 June 2008, <http://www.queerty.com/gay-nup-ban-on-californias-november-ballot-20080603/>

⁸ *When first adopted as a ballot initiative, Prop. 8 read that it "Amends the California Constitution to provide that only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California." In late July, however, election officials changed the language to read that it "Changes California Constitution to eliminate right of same-sex couples to marry."*

Californians' marriage rights, writing every few days about various organizations or celebrities advocating for or against the rejection of the ballot initiative.

Beginning in mid-September, *Queerty* amplified the noise surrounding Proposition 8 even more, posting multiple stories each day about the massive donations on either side of the debate, dissecting the campaigns' advertisements and unveiling the falsehoods expressed in the Yes campaign's talking points. In the week before the election, *Queerty* published 24 stories that dealt directly and head-on with the push to ban same-sex marriage in California.

Much of *Queerty's* coverage before the election was preemptive, determined to reveal bigotry in Proposition 8 supporters, refuting their rationale for amending the state constitution to discriminate based on sexual orientation. After the election, the blog continued this preemptive insight, writing about the regional and national protests over the passage of the proposition and the lawsuits that followed in November. But it also reflected on Election Day with many posts about religious leaders' influence on the ban, the scapegoating by the national media on black people and Latinos, and continued criticism of where the No on 8 campaign went wrong. The website's reliable coverage did not change—in the month before the election, *Queerty* published at least 60 stories about Prop. 8, and in the month after the election, it published 57.⁹

The excellent coverage dating back to June was mirrored in several other LGBT blogs, including *Towleroad*, *Pam's House Blend*, *The Bilerico Project*, *AMERICAblog Gay*, and *Joe My God*. *Towleroad* provided especially thorough coverage, publishing a series of "Mega Updates" throughout the month of October, treating Prop. 8 like an LGBT rights crisis and packaging many links to help readers get as full of a picture as possible about the very real chance that

⁹ "Stories about Prop. 8" were tabulated manually using websites' internal search capabilities using the search term "Prop. 8." Each story dealt directly and primarily with the proposition.

Prop. 8 would pass.¹⁰ *Queerty*, *Towleroad* and the other blogs upheld their responsibility to the community to provide diverse, informative coverage that motivated action.

Coverage in California's Regional Media

Regional newspapers had a similar responsibility to provide thorough coverage on all of the California ballot measures. Since the majority of their readership comprises the voting constituency, it is important that they report specifically on the progress of election measures that apply to California residents.

These California-based newspapers were largely successful in keeping readers informed about Proposition 8. All six of the top California newspapers—*Los Angeles Times*, *San Jose Mercury Times*, *San Diego Union-Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Orange County Register* and *Fresno Bee*—published rather extensively on Prop. 8.¹¹ This paper hones in on coverage from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Orange County Register*, taking a look later at the *LA Times* as a national publication.

The San Francisco Chronicle and *Orange County Register* first mentioned Prop. 8 by name in the summer of 2008 (5/26 and 7/18, respectively), charting the change in the proposition's language and the early millions of dollars of donations that poured into both sides of the campaign, including, from the *Chronicle*, a piece on the out-of-state money supporting Prop. 8.

As in the LGBT media, the month of October saw a sharp increase in the volume of Prop. 8 coverage in these two newspapers. The *Register* ran dozens of articles about residents stealing

¹⁰ "Mega Prop 8 Update: Nation Watches as Groups Make Final Push," 3 Nov. 2008, <http://www.towleroad.com/2008/11/prop-8-update.html>

¹¹ "Highest Circulation CA Newspapers," *Mondo Newspapers*, www.mondonewspapers.com/usa/circulation/california.html

Prop. 8 campaign signs, spotlighted the two other gay marriage bans on ballots in Florida and Arizona, and published polling numbers and analysis. The *Chronicle* wrote much about the advocacy efforts of San Francisco mayor Gavin Newsom, investigated whether the 18,000 marriages that had occurred prior to the election would be nullified if Prop. 8 passed, and brought the Mormon Church to the forefront of the discussion about Yes on 8.

After the election, neither paper relented, with the *Chronicle* actually amping up its coverage even more and the *Register* delivering consistently strong, pervasive content, publishing daily with reflections on what went wrong in the campaign to allow Prop. 8 to pass. Because both publications had featured the Prop. 8 race so heavily in the previous months, it was not odd or a failure that their post-election coverage was also so extensive—rather, they were simply following up on a story they had been working on for months.

Coverage in National Print Media

The “follow-up” nature to the reporting in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Orange County Register* was starkly different from how the national media covered Proposition 8. In general, the national media took notice of Prop. 8 later than the advocacy and regional media, and their coverage before the election was minimal.

The New York Times, for example, peripherally mentioned Prop. 8 once in the middle of July, the only appearance of the measure until Sept. 19, after which the newspaper included one article each week about the debate. The *LA Times*, despite being based in California, is a paper with a more national consciousness. The paper didn’t publish on the debate until the middle of August, when it highlighted the California School Board Association’s potential impact on the election. It published weekly during the month of September and then dropped coverage until the week before the election, on October 26, after which it mentioned Prop. 8 at least once every

day.

This contrasts sharply with their post-election coverage of Prop. 8 and same-sex marriage in California. After seeing the makings of one of the most interesting series of legal back-and-forth movements over a wedge issue like same-sex marriage, which elicits great passion from both sides of the debate, the mainstream, national media began its heavy Prop. 8 coverage, which it continued to sustain for weeks after the election.

In the November days after the election, the *LA Times* published 16 articles about Prop. 8, including opinion pieces about black voters, news stories about protests and an editorial about how “both sides in the same-sex marriage controversy need to cool down.” And *The New York Times* wrote about Prop. 8 in 20 post-election articles, with pieces published on all but 8 days during the month of November.

The content was largely positive from both national newspapers, although there were definitely alternative viewpoints that we didn’t see in the LGBT media—viewpoints that dismissed the protests over Prop. 8 or slammed the courts for contesting the results of a state-wide referendum. In the first few days of November, both papers published unsigned editorials voicing a “No on 8” call to action.

It is interesting that the national media took such an interest in Proposition 8 after it had already passed. The clear trend should prompt discussion about our “hindsight culture”—our society’s inability to foresee crises or problems and unwillingness to treat them with the proper gravitas. *The New York Times* and the *LA Times* were clearly not in favor of the passage of Prop. 8—their editorials cautioning California voters to vote No on 8 are evidence of that. But did they not view the Yes on 8 proponents as viable agitators for change? Or did they simply misjudge the significance of Prop. 8 until after it proved itself to be powerful?

Coverage in National Broadcast Media

The national broadcast media experienced even more dramatic increases in coverage of Proposition 8 after the election. Fox News and CNN both featured almost no information about it until the week before the election, making them late to the Prop. 8 party.¹²

Fox News first mentioned Prop. 8 on Oct. 24, in a segment on *The O'Reilly Factor* that, predictably, slammed gay marriage advocates as people who infringe on freedom of speech. The proposition nabbed only two subsequent on-air mentions before the election. At CNN, the story was similar. Featured first on Oct. 14, the proposition was mentioned 8 times in October.

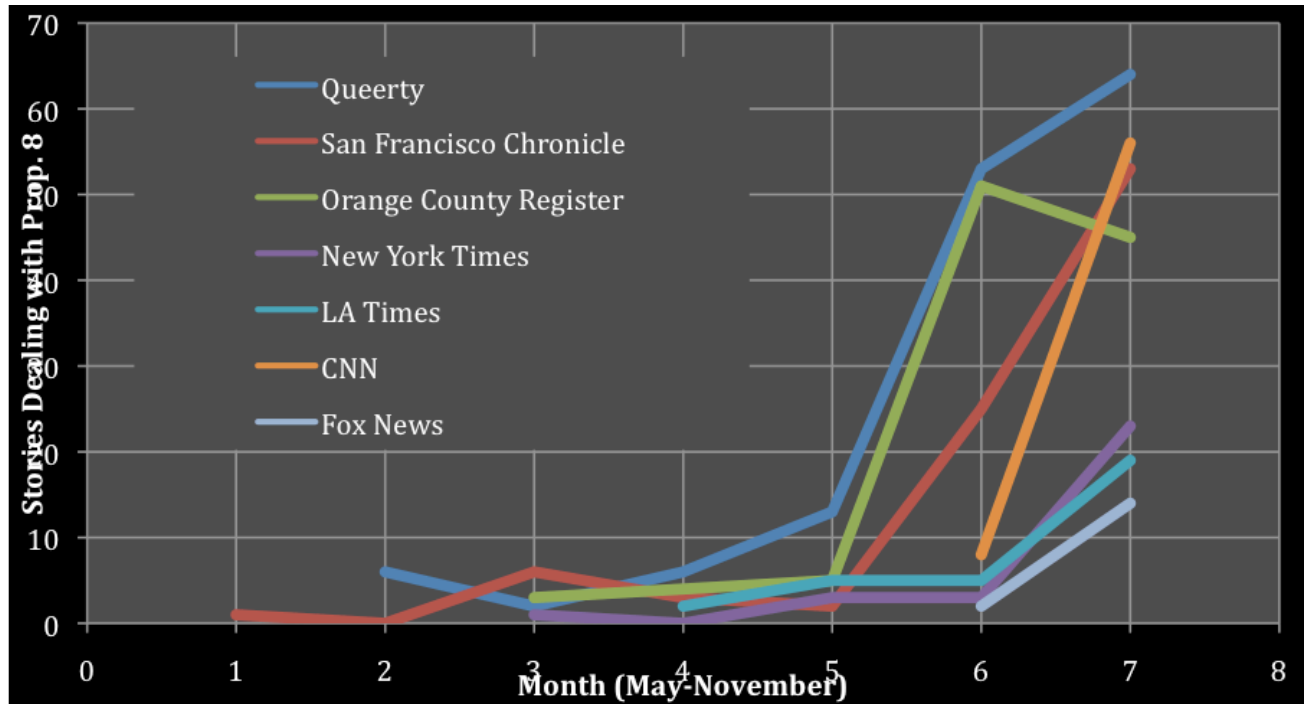
After the election, however, Proposition 8 became a lead story, mentioned multiple times each day on multiple programs for the two networks. Commentators weighed in on the legality of the ballot initiative, news stories highlighted celebrities speaking out against the election results, and video footage demonstrated the scope of the protests. With each new protest came a new television segment, especially on CNN, which featured 54 separate mentions of Prop. 8 after the election (compared with Fox News' 13).

With regard to broadcast media, the Prop. 8 coverage was unrelated to any partisan politics. Rather, across the board we saw information about Proposition 8, formerly declared essentially a non-story, explode into one of the biggest stories of the year.

This breakdown of coverage prompts an interesting discussion about news value. From this case study, we see that identification with the subject material—LGBT rights and issues—was most important, since coverage in LGBT blogs and news outlets was most pervasive. Also of importance was location, as some regional, California newspapers also provided exceptional coverage of the ballot initiative. National print and broadcast media, meanwhile, find state-based

¹² The LexisNexis database of broadcast transcripts was used to catalog all CNN and Fox News mentions of Proposition 8.

elections to be important, but preemptive stories have less significant news value than reactive reflections on major events.



PROBLEMS IN THE COVERAGE

This research is not to suggest that the national and broadcast media were the only outlets that experienced problems covering the Proposition 8 debate. Although No on 8 won the editorial support of many newspapers in the country, including most major newspapers like the *LA Times* and *The New York Times*, as well as a majority of the smaller papers in California, the editorials were no match for Yes on 8. It could be argued that some of the media's missteps in reporting on Prop. 8, such as a dependence on poll results and a lack of challenging Yes on 8's misinformation, contributed to its successful passage.

Overreliance on Polling

Six months after Prop. 8 passed, leaders of California's LGBT media convened to reflect on the coverage of the issue in the regional and national media. Cynthia Laird, news editor for *The Bay Area Reporter*, an LGBT-focused newspaper in San Francisco, admitted that her staff too often treated poll numbers as leading news.¹³

“Looking back, one of the things I would definitely do differently is not put so much emphasis and coverage on the public polls that were released during the campaign—the Field Polls and [those by] the Public Policy Institute of California,” Lair said during the roundtable. “I think our coverage of them on the front pages when they were released kind of fed into the complacency in the community, and I don't really think a lot of people realized just what a dire situation the No on 8 campaign was in.”

Many progressive media outlets fell into this trap, running poll numbers as news stories and treating the Proposition 8 campaign like another horserace-style election. The early poll numbers indicated a huge lead for No on 8, so many media outlets assumed there was little controversy regarding the ballot initiative and little to report on. By the time the polls had narrowed enough to catch the publications' attention, it was just a week or two before the election, and the story may not have had enough momentum.

The San Francisco Chronicle serves as an effective example of a publication with an overreliance on public polling numbers. In September the paper published an article that referenced results of a Field Poll that found that 38 percent of voters would likely say no.¹⁴

¹³ “Media Mavens Discuss Prop. 8 Coverage,” *The Bay Area Reporter*, <http://www.edgelosangeles.com/index.php?ch=parties&sc=&sc3=&id=90431>

¹⁴ “Opposition to Same-Sex Marriage Ban Grows,” *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 Sept. 2008. <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/09/18/BATM12VSRA.DTL>

A little over a month later, Prop. 8 was losing, with 44 percent of the projected vote,¹⁵ and even four days before the election, the *Chronicle* simply reported results of a Field Poll indicating the Yes on 8's revitalized strength, bouncing up to 49 percent, in an article entitled "Prop. 8 still trails, but margin narrows."¹⁶ It wasn't until a few days before the election that poll numbers indicated a win for Prop. 8. The tightening of the race, perhaps, explains the ramped-up coverage in larger media sources—they suddenly realized that Prop. 8 stood a chance of passing, panicked, and saturated their news outlet with coverage.

These polls made the fight against Prop. 8 seem low-stakes—with such low early numbers supporting the proposition, LGBT sympathizers may have thought, how could the ballot initiative possibly pass? Without a crisis, national print and broadcast media saw little reason to write about the proposition, and readers became unmotivated, uninformed and complacent in the passionate, fired-up right-wingers' mission to eliminate LGBT rights.

Failure to Address Inaccuracies in the Yes on 8 Campaign

To win supporters and get non-religious, non-conservative voters on their side, the Yes on 8 campaign knew that it needed talking points to rile up voters and show them the danger of not approving Prop. 8 to eliminate same-sex marriage.

One of their primary solutions to fulfilling that need was "Princes," the television commercial that ran most pervasively in California homes in support of Prop. 8.¹⁷ The ad features a little girl running to her Mom, saying, "Guess what I learned in school today? ... I learned how a prince married a prince, and I can marry a princess." A man from Pepperdine

¹⁵ "Margin shrinks in defeat of gay marriage ban," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 Oct. 2008. <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/10/23/MNJA13MEUP.DTL>

¹⁶ "Prop. 8 still trails, but margin narrows," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 Oct. 2008. <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/10/31/BA8C13RHTU.DTL>

¹⁷ "Yes on 8: Princes" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oqJCzs88VHQ&feature=player_embedded

University comes on screen, explaining, “When Massachusetts legalized gay marriage, schools began teaching second graders that boys could marry boys. The courts ruled parents had no right to object,” and then a voiceover announces, “Under California law, public schools instruct kids about marriage. Teaching children about gay marriage will happen here unless we pass Proposition 8.”

The "Princes" advertisement made a huge impact. It started airing in English on October 8, and, according to *The Prop 8 Report*, "Once established, its perspective on Prop 8 remained dominant in earned media coverage through Election Day, even in the closing days when No on 8 dominated paid TV advertising."

One of the primary responsibilities of journalism is to serve as a watchdog. This entails fact-checking claims made by influential political and cultural groups. However, the media largely did not address the inaccuracies in the “Princes” ad, which is considered the Yes on 8 attack ad that made the greatest impact, until many days after it began running. The newspapers wrote about the content of the advertisement and the passions it provoked in on-the-fence voters without stating that the content was actually false. *The San Francisco Chronicle* was the only paper that refuted the claim early, on Oct. 10. Papers either overlooked the inaccuracies in the advertisement completely, or didn’t respond until several days after it started running—even *The Orange County Register* didn’t run anything punching holes in the argument until Oct. 21,¹⁸ although it should be noted that *Queerty* blasted the advertisement on Oct. 10.¹⁹

In fact, according to *The Prop 8 Report*, an extensive study that primarily examined where the No on 8 campaign went wrong, the media actually helped reinforce the message

¹⁸ “Will Gay Marriage Be Taught in Public Schools if Prop. 8 Fails?,” *The Orange County Register*, <http://www.ocregister.com/articles/marriage-194584-gay-prop.html>

¹⁹ “Gay Marriage Activists Fight Back at Incendiary Commercial,” *Queerty*, 10 Oct. 2010, <http://www.queerty.com/gay-marriage-activists-fight-back-at-incendiary-commercial-20081010>

conveyed in the “Princes” advertisement. Newspapers wrote about the commercial, creating what *The Prop 8 Report* refers to as “earned media.” The report explains:

"Earned media has the potential to amplify the messaging of one or both sides of the campaign, particularly for those voters who are skeptical of messages presented in political advertising. When news coverage repeats the same points made in paid advertising, it can reinforce and legitimize campaign messaging."²⁰

“Princes” wound up steering the discussion surrounding Proposition 8 away from the actual issues and instead began talking about Prop. 8 as something that involved and affected public schools and children. The report researched this by studying news coverage of Prop. 8 in California. It found that before “Princes” started airing, 140 articles about Prop. 8 contained direct references to equality, but only 109 featured the word “school.” However, the week of Oct. 6, when “Princes” aired in full force, articles mentioning “school” appeared twice as often as both “equality” and “discrimination” combined. The Yes on 8 campaign managed to skillfully distract the public conversation.

Ultimately, although the media largely supported No on 8, they were unable to overcome the strong emotional message that Yes on 8 voters received and to which they responded. *The Prop 8 Report* explains this facet of the campaign, writing:

Yes on 8’s message is emotionally alarming, though not based in fact. Its claim is that children are endangered when they learn about LGBT people. This idea is such a long-standing canard that voters pay attention to it much more than is justified given its factual inaccuracy. The earned media reflected Yes on 8’s ability to dominate and dictate the terms of the debate around Prop 8: Voters reacted strongly to the argument, voters talked about it, the No campaign eventually was forced to address it, and the media covered it. Fear is a powerful motivator for voters, and fear of any stigmatized group has an even longer history of being used to win elections and to reinforce and justify social ostracism than fear of LGBT people. Without providing a powerful competing emotional narrative,

²⁰ “Fleischer, Dave. “Appendix F: Independent, Non-Campaign Media,” *The Prop 8 Report*. <http://prop8report.lgbtmentoring.org/read-the-report/appendices-overview/appendix-f-independent-non-campaign-media>

No on 8 was unable to resist Yes on 8's redefinition of Prop 8 in the minds of voters.²¹

Conclusion

These problems with the reporting of Proposition 8, coupled with the disparity in the amount of coverage for each type of media source, influenced the way that the public responded to the statewide ban on same-sex marriage in California. Although readers of LGBT media or California residents may have been adequately informed about the sparring debate about eliminating gay couples' right to marry, the shock that many social liberals in the rest of the country encountered on Nov. 5, 2008 is understandable given the lack of coverage reaching a national audience.

Whether newspapers intend to change public opinion or not, the power of the press is undeniable. Whether an issue receives news coverage often determines whether it is discussed on a personal level, between regular citizens in their daily lives, at all. According to Karl Frisch of *Media Matters* regarding Prop. 8, "The value of television coverage, radio coverage, print newspaper coverage ... is that those stories are getting in front of the eyes of people that may not seek out stories about their gay relatives or their gay neighbors or their gay co-workers. So it brings more people into the story that is so deeply going to impact our lives."²²

Examining the coverage of Proposition 8 before and after the 2008 election provides an important framework for understanding the dissemination of news about specific stories, in addition to highlighting the power of smaller, more focused news operations. LGBT blogs have

²¹ Fleischer, Dave. "Appendix F: Independent, Non-Campaign Media," *The Prop 8 Report*.

<http://prop8report.lgbtmentoring.org/read-the-report/appendices-overview/appendix-f-independent-non-campaign-media>

²² "Karl Frisch of Media Matters discusses the Prop. 8 trial," 1 April 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cA6HDm5GhZE>.

more time to focus on specific stories and provide constant follow-up, setting them apart from larger news organizations that must rank importance of stories and be diverse in their coverage.

This is not to say that national publications should have featured every possible development about Proposition 8 in their coverage. However, it is telling that while national print and broadcast media seemed to assign little news value to the ballot initiative before the election, affording it little space and attention, they found extensive time, space and energy to cover it after the election, when voters had already deemed same-sex marriage too dangerous or undesirable. The inconsistency in the coverage before and after the election was alarming.

The case of Proposition 8 was a monumentally important moment in the LGBT rights movement in the United States, as it marked a landmark referendum to take away a right already afforded to members of the LGBT community. Its broader application to residents across the country and its symbolic meaning for gay rights is extremely significant. Prop. 8's status as a potential game-changer should have been recognized by the mainstream national media before it successfully changed the game in a way that opposed equality.

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APPENDIX

Cataloging of "Prop. 8" Mentions in News Sources, May-November 2008

	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV
QUEERTY		6	2	6	13	53	64
SAN FRANCISCO							
CHRONICLE	1	0	6	3	2	25	53
ORANGE COUNTY							
REGISTER			3	4	5	51	45
NEW YORK TIMES			1	0	3	3	23
LA TIMES				2	5	5	19
CNN						8	56
FOX NEWS						2	14

QUEERTY

- > 6/3/08 Gay Nup Ban on California's November Ballot
<http://www.queerty.com/gay-nup-ban-on-californias-november-ballot-20080603/>
- > 6/4/08 Leno, Others Support Gay Nups
<http://www.queerty.com/leno-others-support-gay-nups-20080604/>
- > 6/23/08 Mormons Planning Marriage Push?
<http://www.queerty.com/mormons-planning-marriage-push-20080623/>
- > 6/30 - Gearing Up... Quote from Boston Globe
<http://www.queerty.com/gearing-up-2-20080630/>
- > 6/30/08 - Obama Opposes CA Gay Nup Ban Plan
<http://www.queerty.com/obama-opposes-ca-gay-nup-ban-plan-20080630/>
- > 7/23/08 Positive Language Change to Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/positive-language-change-to-prop-8-20080723/>
- > 7/23/08 Losing California Would Open Gay Flood, Says Right Wing Leader
<http://www.queerty.com/losing-california-would-open-gay-flood-says-right-wing-leader-20080723/>
- > 7/29/08 - Prop 8 Language Change Sparks Lawsuit
<http://www.queerty.com/prop-8-language-change-sparks-lawsuit-20080729/>
- > 8/1/08: CA Log Cabin Fighting Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/ca-log-cabin-fighting-prop-8-20080801/>
- > 8/5/08: CA Catholics Back Prop 8 as AG Offers Soft Support
<http://www.queerty.com/ca-catholics-back-prop-8-as-ag-offers-soft-support-20080805/>
- > 8/12/08: Prop 8 Language Sticks as CA Ballots Finalized
<http://www.queerty.com/prop-8-language-sticks-as-ca-ballots-finalized-20080812/>
- > 8/14/088: Prop 8 Activists Take on Teachers
<http://www.queerty.com/prop-8-activists-take-on-teachers-20080814/>

- > 8/20/08 - Millions Heaped into Prop 8 Fight
<http://www.queerty.com/millions-heaped-into-prop-8-fight-20080820/>
- > 8/28/08 - Majority of CA Voters Oppose Gay Nup Ban
<http://www.queerty.com/majority-of-ca-voters-oppose-gay-nup-ban-20080828/>
- > 9/10/08 - Mormon Leaders Make Small Moves on Gay Rights
<http://www.queerty.com/mormon-leaders-make-small-moves-on-gay-rights-20080910/>
- > 9/11/08 - Gay Nup Fight Strains LA GOP
<http://www.queerty.com/gay-nup-fight-strains-la-gop-20080911/>
- > 9/17/08 - Anti-Gay Foes Outraise Us in California
<http://www.queerty.com/anti-gay-foes-outraise-us-in-california-20080917/>
- > 9/18/08 - Brad Pitt is my Hero
<http://www.queerty.com/brad-pitt-is-my-hero-20080918/>
- > 9/19/08 - Pro-Prop 8 Democrat Campaigning with Obama
<http://www.queerty.com/pro-prop-8-democratic-campaigning-with-obama-20080919/>
- > 9/22/08 - Mormons Dominate Drive for Gay Nup Ban
<http://www.queerty.com/mormons-dominate-drive-for-gay-nup-ban-20080922/>
- > 9/22/08 - Gay Nup Group Releases Television Ad Against Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/gay-nup-group-releases-television-ad-against-prop-8-20080922/>
- > 9/24/08 - Gay Nup Supporters Want More from Ellen
<http://www.queerty.com/gay-nup-supporters-want-more-from-ellen-20080924/>
- > 9/26/08 - Newsom, Paterson Urge New Yorkers to Fight Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/newsom-paterson-urge-new-yorkers-to-fight-prop-8-20080926/>
- > 9/26/08 - Levi Strauss Donates \$25,000 to Maintain CA Gay Nups
<http://www.queerty.com/levi-strauss-donates-25000-to-maintain-ca-gay-nups-20080926/>

- > 9/29/08 - NY Times: Prop 8 "Mean Spirited"
<http://www.queerty.com/nv-times-prop-8-mean-spirited-20080929/>
- > 9/30/08 - Wentz Joins Marriage Fight
<http://www.queerty.com/wentz-joins-marriage-fight-20080930/>
- > 9/30/08 - Big (Gay) Spender
<http://www.queerty.com/big-gay-spender-20080930/>
- > 10/2/08 - Ellen to Anti-Gay Activists: You Don't Need to Promote Hate
<http://www.queerty.com/ellen-to-anti-gay-activists-you-dont-need-to-promote-hate-20081002/>
- > 10/3/08 - Biden, Palin Debate Gay Rights, but Find Few Differences
<http://www.queerty.com/biden-palin-debate-gay-rights-but-find-few-differences-20081003/>
- > 10/7/08 - CA Gay Fight Bringing in Record Dough
<http://www.queerty.com/ca-gay-fight-bringing-in-record-dough-20081007/>
- > 10/3/08 - Californians Debate Proposition 8
<http://www.queerty.com/californians-debate-proposition-8-20081003/>
- > 10/6/08 - Prop 8 Backers Claim Black Barack Obama Helps Their Cause
<http://www.queerty.com/prop-8-backers-claim-black-barack-helps-their-cause-20081006/>
- > 10/8/08 - CA Gay Marriage Fight in Trouble
<http://www.queerty.com/ca-gay-marriage-fight-in-trouble-20081008/>
- > 10/9/08 - Two Ads Come Out Against Prop 8 - One Soft, One Hard
<http://www.queerty.com/two-ads-come-out-against-prop-8-one-soft-one-hard-20081009/>
- > 10/9/08 - Gay Activists Call Off Bolthouse Boycott
<http://www.queerty.com/gay-activists-call-off-bolthouse-boycott-20081009/>
- > 10/8/08 Projected Plea...
<http://www.queerty.com/projected-plea-20081008/>
- > 10/9/08 - The Good Fight (T.R. Knight joins)
<http://www.queerty.com/the-good-fight-20081009/>
- > 10/10/08 - Gay Marriage Activists Fight Back at "Incendiary" Commercial
<http://www.queerty.com/gay-marriage-activists-fight-back-at-incendiary-commercial-20081010/>
- > 10/10/08 Newsom Praises CT Gay Nups
<http://www.queerty.com/newsom-praises-ct-gay-nups-20081010/>
- > 10/13/08 LA Mayor Fights for Gay Marriage
<http://www.queerty.com/la-mayor-fights-for-gay-marriage-20081013/>
- > 10/13/08 Vroom? Democratic leaders throwing gays under the bus by not doing enough to fight California's Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/vroom-20081013/>
- > 10/14/08 Ellen Tells Voters to Fight Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/ellen-tells-voters-to-fight-prop-8-20081014/>
- > 10/15/08 Michael Lucas' Marriage Announcement, from the "Right" Perspective
<http://www.queerty.com/michael-lucas-marriage-announcement-from-the-right-perspective-20081015/>
- > 10/16/08 Ian McKellen Comes out Against Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/mckellen-comes-out-against-prop-8-20081016/>
- > 10/16/09 Pepperdine Prez Lashes Out at Anti-Gay Prop 8 Propaganda
<http://www.queerty.com/pepperdine-prez-lashes-out-at-anti-gay-prop-8-propaganda-20081016/>
- > 10/17/08 - Ellen Buys TV Time to Fight for Gay Nups
<http://www.queerty.com/ellen-buys-tv-time-to-fight-for-gay-nups-20081017/>
- > 10/17/08 Biden Comes Out Against Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/biden-comes-out-against-prop-8-20081017/>
- > 10/17/08 Using Art to Fight Anti-Gay Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/using-art-to-fight-anti-gay-prop-8-20081017/>
- > 10/20/08 Biden: "If I Lived in California, I'd Clearly Vote Against Proposition 8"
<http://www.queerty.com/biden-if-i-lived-in-california-id-clearly-vote-against-proposition-8-20081020/>
- > 10/20/08 Calling Out Obama
<http://www.queerty.com/calling-out-20081020/>
- > 10/22/08 Prop 8 Fight Too Close for Comfort
<http://www.queerty.com/prop-8-fight-too-close-for-comfort-20081022/>
- > 10/23/08 - Right-Wing Claim: Prop 8 Will Prevent Children from Becoming Whores
<http://www.queerty.com/right-wing-claim-prop-8-will-prevent-children-from-becoming-whores-20081023/>
- > 10/22/08 CA State Senator Blasts Gay Nups
- > 10/23/08 Mormon Leader Aligns Gay Fight with Afterlife
<http://www.queerty.com/mormon-leader-aligns-gay-fight-with-after-life-20081023/>
- > 10/23/08 Prop 8 Losing Support in California
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- > 10/23/08 Politico Comes Out to Fight Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/politico-comes-out-to-fight-prop-8-20081023/>
- > 10/23/08: Cali School Honcho Steps Up: Gay Nups Have Nothing to Do With Education
<http://www.queerty.com/cali-school-honcho-steps-up-gay-nups-have-nothing-to-do-with-education-20081023/>
- > 10/24/08 Apple Gives \$100K to Bite Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/apple-gives-100k-to-bite-prop-8-20081024/>
- > 10/24/08 GOP Senatorial Hopeful Comes Out Against Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/gop-senatorial-hopeful-comes-out-against-prop-8-20081024/>
- > 10/24/08 Yes on 8 Sends Threatening Letters to Pro-Gay Opposition
<http://www.queerty.com/yes-on-8-sends-threatening-letters-to-pro-gay-opposition-20081024/>
- > 10/27/08 Parents Fight Anti-Gay Yes on 8 Exploitation
<http://www.queerty.com/parents-fight-anti-gay-yes-on-8-exploitation-20081027/>
- > 10/27/08 Newsom: We Can Stand Up to Right-Wing Extremists
<http://www.queerty.com/newsom-we-can-stand-up-to-right-wing-extremists-20081027/>
- > 10/27/08: NO!
<http://www.queerty.com/no-20081027/>
- > 10/28/07 Feinstein: "Vote No on Prop 8"
<http://www.queerty.com/feinstein-vote-no-on-prop-8-20081028/>
- > 10/28/07 Yes on 8 Had Child Singers Do Their Dirty, Anti-Gay Work
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- > 10/28/08 Milk Marketing Walks Political Tightrope
<http://www.queerty.com/milk-marketing-walks-political-tightrope-20081028/>
- > 10/28/08 Sam Jackson Fights Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/sam-jackson-fights-prop-8-20081028/>
- > 10/29/08 - "Yes on 8" Campaign Pulls on God-Fearing Heart Strings
<http://www.queerty.com/yes-on-8-campaign-pulls-on-god-fearing-heart-strings-20081029/>
Dissecting the religious scare tactics
- > 10/29/08 - Melissa on Prop 8: Lame.
- > 10/29/08 - Does Newsom Deserve Blame if Proposition 8 Passes?
<http://www.queerty.com/does-newsom-deserve-blame-if-proposition-8-passes-20081029/>
- > 10/29/08 - Man Beats Gay Peer with "Yes on 8" sign
<http://www.queerty.com/man-beats-gay-peer-with-yes-on-8-sign-20081029/>
- > 10/29/08 Californian Biotech Firms Sweating Over Prop 8, Urge Others to Oppose
<http://www.queerty.com/californian-biotech-firms-sweating-over-prop-8-urge-others-to-oppose-20081029/>
- > 10/30 Rose Under Fire for Prop 8 Silence
<http://www.queerty.com/rosie-under-fire-for-prop-8-silence-20081030/>
- > 10/30/08 "Legal Limbo"
<http://www.queerty.com/legal-limbo-20081030/>
- > 10/30 Gay Nup Site "Under Attack":
<http://www.queerty.com/gay-nup-site-under-attack-20081030/>
- > 10/31 SAG Comes Out Against Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/sag-comes-out-against-prop-8-20081031/>
- > 10/31 Flaming Support from San Diego Mayor
<http://www.queerty.com/flaming-support-20081031/>
- > 10/31/98 - Bill Clinton on Prop 8: "it's Unfair and It's Wrong"
- > 10/31/08 - Forbes.com Fights Gay Nups
<http://www.queerty.com/forbescom-fights-gay-nups-20081031/>
- > 10/31/08: Republicans Against 8 Invoke Reagan in New Ad
<http://www.queerty.com/republicans-against-8-invoke-reagan-in-new-ad-20081031/>
- > 11/3/08 - Sasha Baron Cohen
- > 11/3/08 Obama: Prop 8 'Unnecessary,' But Doesn't Believe in Gay Marriage
<http://www.queerty.com/obama-prop-8-unnecessary-but-doesnt-believe-in-gay-marriage-20081103/>
- > 11/3 Mormon Football Player's Wife Fights Prop 8 for Families
<http://www.queerty.com/mormon-football-players-wife-fights-prop-8-for-families-20081103/>
- > 11/3 What's Scariest than a Gay President?
<http://www.queerty.com/whats-scarier-than-a-gay-president-20081103/>
- > 11/3 LA Times Blasts "Yes on 8" Campaign's Tricky Tactics
<http://www.queerty.com/la-times-blasts-yes-on-8-campaigns-tricky-tactics-20081103/>
- > 11/3 Words...
<http://www.queerty.com/words-32-20081103/>

- > 11/3 Many Many Factors
<http://www.queerty.com/many-many-factors-20081103/>
- > 11/4 Ahmanson's Dangerous Crusade Goes Beyond Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/ahmansons-dangerous-crusade-goes-beyond-prop-8-20081104/>
- > 11/4/08 Record Dough...
<http://www.queerty.com/record-dough-20081104/>
- > 11/5/08 "You'll Want to Punch Them"
<http://www.queerty.com/youll-want-to-punch-them-20081105/>
- > 11/5/08 Prop 8 May Still Have a Chance
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- > 11/5/08 Gays Need to Grab Ballots, Says Out's Hicklin
<http://www.queerty.com/gays-need-to-grab-ballots-says-outs-hicklin-20081105/>
- > 11/5/08 California Votes to Put Discrimination in the Constitution
<http://www.queerty.com/california-votes-to-put-discrimination-in-the-constitution-20081105/>
- > 11/5/08 - Early Votes Project Prop 8 Passage
<http://www.queerty.com/early-votes-project-prop-8-passage-20081105/>
- > 11/6/08 Thousands Protest Prop 8 As Lawsuits Filed
<http://www.queerty.com/thousands-protest-prop-8-as-lawsuits-filed-20081106/>
- > 11/10 - Scapegoats: Let's Blame the Blacks!
- > 11/10 - Scapegoats: Let's Blame the Mormons!
- > 11/11 LA Prop 8 Protesters Target Blacks
- > 11/11 Sundance Reacts to Proposed Boycott
- > 11/11/08 - CA Supreme Court May Rule on Prop. 8 This Week
<http://www.queerty.com/legal-battle-for-prop-8-heats-up-20081111/>
- > 11/12 Your Prop 8 Protest Dance Scorecard
- > 11/11 How LA Voted on Prop 8
- > 11/11 The Prop 8 video your homophobic friends need to see
- > 11/11 Nate Silver, Statistical Genius, Says Prop 8 passed because of old people
- > 11/12 A clarification about Prop 8 Donors
- > 11/12 Just How Long is an LA March?
<http://www.queerty.com/just-how-long-is-an-la-march-20081112/>
- > 11/12 Artistic Director for California Musical Theatre resigns after Prop 8 Donation Revealed
- > 11/12 LA County Board of Supervisors Vote to Join Prop 8 Lawsuit
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- > 11/12 El Coyote Prop 8 Press Conference Goes Terribly Wrong
<http://www.queerty.com/el-covote-prop-8-press-conference-goes-horribly-wrong-20081112/>
- > 11/13/08 - Protests
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- > 11/13 New Yorkers Turn Out to Protest Prop 8
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- > 11/13 Yelp Won't Help Prop 8 Boycotts
<http://www.queerty.com/yelp-wont-help-prop-8-boycotts-20081113/>
- > 11/13 Watch the El Coyote Prop 8 Debacle
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- > 11/14 Oprah Takes on Prop 8 Today
<http://www.queerty.com/oprah-takes-on-prop-8-today-20081114/>
- > 11/14 Prop 8 Protests to Go National This weekend
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- > 11/14 Catholic School Forces Lesbian Mother Off PTA Board Over Prop 8
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- > 11/14 A Message to the Haters: Gay Boycotts & Protests Are Not Intolerant
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- > 11/15 Yes on 8 Uses Elton John's Words to Support Cause
<http://www.queerty.com/yes-on-8-uses-elton-johns-words-to-support-their-cause-20081114/>
- > 11/15 "I Don't Care What Your Spiritual or Religious Beliefs Are, It should not interfere with our government"
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- > 11/15 The Sunday Effect
<http://www.queerty.com/the-sunday-effect-20081115/>
- > 11/17 CA Attorney General to Respond to Suits over Prop 8 Today
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- > 11/17 SNL's Seth Meyers On Prop 8 Protests: Vote's Over
<http://www.queerty.com/snl-seth-meyers-on-prop-8-protests-votes-over-20081117/>
- > 11/17 Do Our Gay Leaders Have to Go?
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- > 11/17 Parts of LA Ravaged by Fire Also Parts that Voted for Prop 8
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- > 11/17 California Attorney General Asks Supreme Court to "Rule Quickly" on Prop 8
<http://www.queerty.com/california-ag-asks-supreme-court-to-rule-quickly-on-prop-8-20081117/>
- > 11/17 Focus on Family's Focus on Prop 8 Forces Major Layoffs
<http://www.queerty.com/focus-on-familys-focus-on-prop-8-forces-major-layoffs-20081117/>
- > 11/18 The Obama Plan for Gay Rights (and what he really means)
<http://www.queerty.com/the-obama-plan-for-gay-rights-and-what-he-really-means-20081118/>
- > 11/18 Salt Lake Tribune Cartoonist Makes Prop 8 Funny
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- > 11/19 Bay Boy Turns Prop 8 Protester
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- > 11/18 The Onion Explains Why Prop 8 passed
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- > 11/18 Chuck Norris is so Weak He's Terrified of Gay Anarchy
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- > 11/19 California Supreme Court Likely to Rule on Prop 8 Today
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- > 11/19 California Supreme Court Will Hear Prop 8 Lawsuits
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- > 11/19 Spacey Speaks Out on Marriage Equality
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- > 11/21 Nate Silver on African Americans, Prop 8 and Being a Hero to Gay Geeks Everywhere
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- > 11/23 A Decent Proposal for Equality
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- > 11/24 The No on 8 Campaign Virtual Town Hall Meeting You Don't Want to miss
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- > 11/24 Hollywood's A-List Gays Fighting Over Prop 8 Protests and Boycotts
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- > 11/24 San Diego Christian Church Apologizes for Prop 8 Via Giant Billboard
<http://www.queerty.com/san-diego-christian-church-apologizes-for-prop-8-via-giant-billboard-20081124/>
- > 11/24 Prop. 8 Protests Are Changing Minds—A Little
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- > 11/25 Kenneth Starr to Defend Prop 8 in CA Supreme Court?
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- > 11/25 No on 8 Leaders Scramble to Save Face Amidst Revelations of Month-Long Vacations, Minority Leaders Ignored and Incompetence
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- > 11/25 LA Film Festival Director Rich Raddon Steps Down Over Prop 8 Decision
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- > 11/25 Live Blogging the No on Prop 8 Campaign's Virtual Town Hall
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- > 7/1/08 Same-sex marriage foes defend state Prop 8
- > 7/16 Challenge tossed, gay marriage ban on ballot.
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- > 7/22 California - A dozen ballot measures, and counting, on election day - other than the few making headlines, most lack audience
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- > 7/24 Prop 8 backers take fight to kindergarten
- > 7/27 Out-of-state money floods to Prop 8
- > 7/29 Prop 8 backers sue to change ballot wording
- > 8/4 Prop 8 not retroactive, Jerry Brown says
- > 8/8 Judge refuses to order change in Prop 8 title
- > 8/11 Prop 8 backers drop challenge on wording
- > 9/17 Opposition to same-sex marriage ban grows
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- > 9/29 Like it or not, Newsom stars in first pro-Prop 8 TV ad
- > 10/5 Prop 8 sides tread lightly for swing voters
- > 10/7 Levi Strauss & Company Joins Campaign to Defeat Prop 8
- > 10/8 Prop 8 battle draws in \$46 million
- > 10/8 Money may be behind new concerns over Prop 8
- > 10/11 Prop 8 supporters fight fierce TV ad battle
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- > 10/13 Newsom becomes campaign tool for Prop 8 backers
- > 10/14 It's the two Gavins featured in the fight over Prop 8
- > 10/14 Conservative Christians lead push for Prop 8
- > 10/15 Newsy numbers in the Proposition 8 scramble
- > 10/16 Mormons subverting California civil rights
- > 10/18 SF Catholic Church walks fine line on Prop 8
- > 10/19 SF boosts weddings in face of Prop 8 fears
- > 10/22 Prop 8 rivals seek support in black churches
- > 10/22 Voters split in many ways on gay marriage ban
- > 10/23 Marriage shrinks in defense of gay marriage ban
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- > 10/25/08 Prop 8 opponents take lead in money race
- > 10/26 Jerry Brown's wording may trip up Prop 8
- > 10/26 Sam-sex marriage foe challenged from within
- > 10/26 Mormons face flak for backing Prop 8
- > 10/28 Newsom ignores risks, campaigns against Prop 8
- > 10/29 Couples with Prop 8 wedding jitters can turn to Castro chapel
- > 10/31 Prop. 8 still trails, but margin narrows
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- > 10/31 If Prop 8 passes, what about those who wed?
- > 10/31 Steve Young's wife lines up against Mormon Church on Prop 8
- > 11/1 Prop 8 database: More than you want to know?
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- > 11/4 Castro celebrates Obama, fears a Prop 8 win
- > 11/5 Could Newsom have prevented Prop 8's success?
- > 11/5 Castro celebrates Obama, bemoans a Prop 8 win
- > 11/5 Same-sex marriage issue back to state top court
- > 11/5 Prop 8 defeat could cost Newsom in long term
- > 11/6 Many Obama supporters also backed Prop 8
- > 11/6 Prop. 8 foes concede defeat, vow to fight on
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- > 11/7 It's God's fault—the cruel success of Prop 8? Not Newsom, not gays. Blame You Know Who.
- > 11/8 Furor Over Proposition 8
- > 11/8 No chance for normalcy after Prop 8 loss
- > 11/8 Thousands in SF march to protest Prop 8
- > 11/9 Catholics, Mormons allied to pass Prop 8
- > 11/10 Same-sex marriage backers hit Capitol, churches
- > 11/10 Why Prop 8 confounded pre-election pollsters
- > 11/10 Who's Counting? Prop 8 Protests census creates controversy
- > 11/10 Anti-gay marriage group steps up for Prop 8
- > 11/10 Newsom's community court measure backfires
- > 11/11 Not all religions for Prop 8
- > 11/11 The court will overturn Prop 8
- > 11/12 Prop 8: Undone by lack of grace and adolescent politics
- > 11/12 I think I just got screwed by Prop 8. Does that make me gay?
- > 11/12 Prop 8 foes are looking to try it again
- > 11/13 Fear of a Gay Planet - Violet Blue Knows exactly why Prop 8 passed, and it's distasteful
- > 11/13 State high court interested in Prop 8 suits
- > 11/14 Tolerance deserved for all

- > 11/14 A proposal for compromise on Prop 8
- > 11/14 Some areas of San Francisco voted to ban same-sex marriage
- > 11/15 Prop 8 protests could become national movement
- > 11/15 Bay Area demonstrates condemn Prop 8
- > 11/16 Trends beyond black vote in play on Prop 8
- > 11/16 Wealthy gay men backed anti-Prop 8 effort
- > 11/17 Prop 8: witch hunt and holy war make way for new beginning?
- > 11/17 Jerry Brown seeks legality of Prop 8
- > 11/18 Civility needed as Prop 8 debate continues
- > 11/18 Prop 8 hinges on who decides: judges or voters
- > 11/19 State supreme court rejoins Prop 8 battle
- > 11/20 Beyond race may not be utopian
- > 11/20 Amos Brown says foes boycott his fundraiser
- > 11/21 Collateral Damage: Young casualty of Prop 8
- > 11/21 Prop 8 divides Bay Area catholics
- > 11/22 Blacks, gays discuss fallout over Prop 8
- > 11/23 The ugly backlash over Proposition 8
- > 11/23 Gay-rights activists protest Prop 8 at Capitol
- > 11/23 Prop 8 backers splinter as court fight resumes
- > 11/24 A horn pokes Prop 8
- > 11/25 Is Harvey Milk still a force for change?
- > 11/25 FPPC Looks at Mormon Backing of Proposition 8
- > 11/30 Prop 8 supporters must face consequences

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- > 7/18 Field Poll finds opposition to gay marriage ban
- > 7/18 Anti-gay marriage amendment failing
- > 7/30 Hypocrisy and gay marriage
- > 8/3 Gay marriage foes: Let it go
- > 8/20 A Proposition 8 was forged in OC
- > 8/21 San Clemente won't take a stand on same-sex marriage
- > 8/24 California Focus: Gay marriage no clear winner
- > 9/7 Local donors give \$1.6 million for ban on gay marriage
- > 9/7 OC Donors give 1.6 million for ban on gay marriage
- > 9/16 Crusading for "Judeo-Christian Values" doesn't come cheap
- > 9/16 It's an accounting thing, charity exec says
- > 9/18 Laguna mayor speaks to support gay rights
- > 10/1 California Prop 8 Editorial: Intrusion into marriage should be even-handed

- > 10/4 Prop 8: A gay marriage challenge
- > 10/5 Column on Prop 8: I can, but you can't
- > 10/8 Tide turning on gay marriage measure?
- > 10/12 UCI Law dean speaks against gay-marriage ban
- > 10/13 Neighbors at odds over Prop 8
- > 10/14 Why California's gay marriage vote matters nationally
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- > 10/16 Prediction: 50,000 gay couples could marry if Prop 8 fails
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- > 9/16 Prop 8 failure would be followed by thousands of gay nuptials
- > 10/16 Guess who's tearing down the other side's Prop 8 signs?
- > 10/19 Gay marriage to be debated at Chapman University
- > 10/21 Prop 8: Where's the Money coming from?
- > 10/21 Will gay marriage be taught in public schools if Prop 8 fails?
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- > 10/21 Youth hold rally for gay marriage, despite parents' views
- > 10/21 In your face
- > 10/21 Five held on suspicion of stealing "Yes" on Prop 8 signs
- > 10/21 Same-sex couples rush to wed ahead of election
- > 10/22 Who in OC gave money to Prop 8?
- > 10/22 Prop 8 gaining ground
- > 10/22 OC Residents give \$6.2 million to support Prop 8
- > 10/22 Mary J. Blige, Melissa Etheridge rock out against Prop 8
- > 10/22 Who wants to unseat your member of Congress?
- > 10/23 Prop 8 Supporters, opponents take it to the street
- > 10/23 New poll shows Prop 8 losing
- > 10/23 Yorba Linda also has Prop 8 sign woes
- > 10/23 Proposition 8 Potpurri
- > 10/23 Yes on 8 Photos
- > 10/23 How does it harm my marriage?
- > 10/23 Dozens of students rallied for same-sex marriage at the Huntington Beach pier Tuesday
- > 10/24 Rick Warren supports Prop 8
- > 10/25 Rally for Equality slideshow
- > 10/27 Laguna Beach stands divided on Prop 8
- > 10/27 Who's giving to Prop 8?

- > 10/27 Capistrano Valley High student activists target Prop 8
- > 10/27 OC Poll: GOP Voters like Prop 8, Dem voters don't
- > 10/27 Prop 8 friends, foes now even in money race
- > 10/27 California isn't the only state voting on a gay marriage ban
- > 10/28 250 students chant, wave signs in Prop 8 rallies
- > 10/28 Prop 8 passions on Capitol's west steps
- > 10/28 Chapman Law School hosts civil debate
- > 10/29 Video: prop 8 supporters flock to rally on PCH
- > 10/29 Prop 8 brings people to the streets
- > 10/29 Prop 8 attracting big money
- > 10/30 Prop 8 sign-stealing ignites free-speech debate
- > 10/31 Dana Point man will keep replacing downed signs favoring Prop 8
- > 10/31 Prop 8 sign stealing goes high tech
- > 10/31 Prop 8 still behind, Prop 11 leading, etc.
- > 11/3 Steve Young (well, his wife) opposing Prop 8
- > 11/3 OC gay couple wed on Election Day
- > 11/4 Victory for Prop 8 threatened by uncounted votes, lawsuits
- > 11/4 Prop 8 remains ahead
- > 11/4 Prop 8 supporters make one last push in OC
- > 11/4 Prop 8 opponents working till the end, too
- > 11/4 Prop 8 divided Santa Ana councilwoman's family
- > 11/4 Prop 8 electioneering causes friction at OC precincts
- > 11/4 Church and State collide at this polling place
- > 11/4 All Capistrano "reform" candidates lead in absentee ballots
- > 11/4 Same-sex maeasure rankles polling place
- > 11/4 Mixed bag on Props
- > 11/5 Deep religious feelings drove OC approval of Prop 8
- > 11/5 Black, Latino voter support helps Prop 8
- > 11/5 Prop 8 outcome still appears in doubt
- > 11/5 Prop 8 opponents seek to overturn results
- > 11/5 SF city attorney to challenge Prop 8
- > 11/5 Same-sex marriage ban wins
- > 11/6 Prop 8 opponents concede defeat
- > 11/6 Seven arrested during hours-long Prop 8 protest
- > 11/7 Prop 8: the legal challenges
- > 11/7 Prop 8 protests
- > 11/7 prop 8: Reoccurring questions
- > 11/8 Prop 8 protestors march in OC without incident
- > 11/8 Nearly 100 protest Prop 8 in Huntington Beach
- > 11/10 South OC protest against Prop 8
- > 11/10 Prop 8: Over the Weekend
- > 11/11 44 State Lawmakers support of Prop 8 challenge
- > 11/11 Village same sex newlyweds strike back at Prop 8
- > 11/12 Prominent gay Republicans back lawsuit to overturn Prop 8
- 11/12 Prominent Gay GOP group backs lawsuit against Prop 8
- 11/12 Orange Grove: Separating marriage from entitlement
- > 11/13 Theater director resigns over his support of Prop 8
- > 11/13 Gay marriage heading back to the ballot?
- > 11/14 Prop 8 backers: We are being targeted
- > 11/14 Prop 8 leader portrays foes as an angry, dangerous mob
- > 11/15 Prop 8 protests roil Orange County and entire nation
- > 11/17 Laguna Beach to Outline cause of sewage spill, challenge Prop 8
- > 11/17 Prop 8 backers urge state Supreme Court to hear challenges
- > 11/18 Laguna Beach council backs Prop 8 legal challenge
- > 11/19 Court to hear Prop 8 lawsuit, but no gay marriages for now
- > 11/20 What are arguments vs. Prop 8?
- > 11/21 Lawsuit to overturn Prop 8 may face uphill battle.

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- > 9/19 Brad Pitt's pledge to support same-sex marriage
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- > 10/7 Gay couples rush to the altar
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- > 10/26 Biggest story about Prop 8
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- > 11/5 Editorial lamenting passage of Prop 8
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- > 11/7 Demise of Same-Sex Weddings Disheartens Businesses
- > 11/8 Protesting a Ban on Gay Marriage
- > 11/9 Mormon Church Draws Protest Over Marriage Act
- > 11/10 In California, Protests Over Gay Marriage Vote
- > 11/12 Anti-Gay, Anti-Family
- > 11/13 Theater Direct Resigns Amid Gay Rights Ire
- > 11/15 Mormons Tipped Scale in Ban on Gay Marriage
- > 11/16 Across US, Big Rallies for Same Sex Marriage
- > 11/18 California Asks Court to Weigh Ban on Gay Marriage
- > 11/20 Top Court in California Will Review Proposition 8
- > 11/21 With Same-Sex Marriage, a Court Takes on the People's Voice
- > 11/22 Activists Seek to Tie "Milk" to a Campaign for Gay Rights
- > 11/23 Marriage on the Rocks
- > 11/25 California's Legal Tangle
- > 11/26 Freedom Fighter in Life Becomes Potent Symbol in Death (Harvey Milk)
- > 11/26 Inquiry Set on Mormon Aid for California Marriage Vote
- > 11/29 The Prop 8 Campaign Money
- > 11/29 Gay Marriage and a Moral Minority

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- > 9/6 Extra Help for California's Prop 8
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- > 9/18 Brad Pitt donating \$100,000 to fight gay marriage ban
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- > 9/26 Why is Hollywood in Slo-Mo re: donations?
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- > 10/26 Prop 8 ads' invisible gays
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- > 10/27 A gay marriage Pandora's Box?
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- > 10/28 OPINION How would Prop 8 affect married same-sex couples? <http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/la-oe-broyles-jean28-2008oct28.0.143897.story>
- > 10/29 "Why not just have civil unions for everyone?"
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- > 10/30 Gay Married Couples face legal limbo if Prop 8 passes
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- > 11/1 The Logic Behind the Times' Endorsement of No on 8
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- > 11/5 Voters Approve Proposition 8, Banning Gay Marriage
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- > 11/10 The law and Prop 8 - Supreme Court has to untangle two important legal questions
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- > 10/15 Showbiz Tonight - Ellen asks you to vote No on 8
- > 10/20 American Morning – Both sides of the debate
- > 10/20 American Morning
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- > 10/22 - Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell
- > 10/23 - Showbiz Tonight
- > 10/27 - CNN Newsroom - They dissect the "Princes" ad
- > 10/29 American Morning - Reiterates the TV ads about teaching gay marriage in schools
- > 11/1 Anderson Cooper 360 - Mention about how big a deal it's going to be during the election
- > 11/1 CNN Newsroom - Prop 8 mention
- > 11/4 CNN Election Center - Bringing viewers up to date
- > 11/5 Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell - Gay Marriage ban passed in three states
- > 11/5 The Situation Room - Prop 8 Reflection
- > 11/5 American Morning - Reflection
- > 11/5 CNN Election Center - Votes coming in
- > 11/6 Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees - Prop 8 passes
- > 11/6 Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees - Protests and Lawsuits
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- > 11/6 Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell - Protests and outrage
- > 11/6 The Situation Room - Live report from a protest in LA
- > 11/6 CNN Newsroom - Is it retroactive? Not sure? "I think they are really in a limbo, legal black hole."
- > 11/6 CNN Newsroom - Basic Prop 8
- > 11/6 CNN Newsroom - Protests
- > 11/6 American Morning - Protests
- > 11/6 American Morning - General
- > 11/7 Anderson Cooper 360 - Backlash gets bigger
- > 11/7 Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell - Protesters Demonstrate against Prop 8
- > 11/7 CNN Newsroom - Protests
- > 11/7 CNN Newsroom - Back in state supreme court
- > 11/8 CNN Newsroom - Thousands protesting
- > 11/8 CNN Newsroom - Lawsuits and angry protests
- > 11/8 CNN Saturday Morning News - Protests
- > 11/8 CNN Saturday Morning News - 3rd day of protests
- > 11/9 CNN Sunday Morning - "Largest protests against Prop Eight since the measure banning gay marriage was passed on Tuesday"
- > 11/10 Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell - An Episcopalian pastor explains why she is protesting the Prop 8 gay marriage ban
- > 11/11 Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell - Prop 8 Goes to Court
- > 11/12 Anderson Cooper 360 - Protests against California's passage of Prop 8 intensify
- > 11/12 CNN Election Center - Lots of protests and lots of controversy surrounding California's Proposition 8
- > 11/12 Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell-Protests Growing Over Prop 8
- > 11/14 CNN Larry King Live - Controversy over same-sex marriage with Cynthia Nixon

- > 11/15 CNN Newsroom - 9am Gay activists hold nationwide rallies
- > 11/15 DL Hughley Breaks the News - Humorous look at Prop 8
- > 11/15 CNN Newsroom 4pm - Same-sex marriage demonstrations
- > 11/15 CNN Newsroom 5pm - Californians protest Prop 8
- > 11/15 CNN Newsroom 12pm - Marriage Battles
- > 11/15 CNN Newsroom 10am - Same-sex marriage rallies
- > 11/15 CNN Saturday Morning News 7am - Massive street protests all over the country
- > 11/16 CNN Newsroom 6pm - iReports
- > 11/16 DL Hughley Breaks the News -
- > 11/16 CNN Sunday Morning 7am - Huge protests still
- >> 11/17 Showbiz Tonight - Wanda Sykes on Prop 8 after coming out
- > 11/17 Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell - Wanda Sykes and Prop 8
- > 11/17 Lou Dobbs Tonight - Protesting Prop 8
- > 11/17 - CNN Newsroom 3pm Backlash still happening over Prop 8
- > 11/17 CNN Newsroom 1pm Protestors object to gay marriage ban
- > 11/17 CNN Newsroom 9am - Prop 8 protests
- > 11/17 American Morning 6am - Louder and louder against Prop 8
- > 11/18 Issues with Jane Velez-Mitchell-Newt responds to CA's Prop 8
- > 11/19 Anderson Cooper 360 - Same-sex marriage wars
- > 11/19 Anderson Cooper 360 10pm - Gavin Newsom
- > 11/19 Issues with Jane Velez Mitchell - Protests over ban go global, CA's highest court refuses to reverse the implementation.
- > 11/19 The Situation Room - The highest CA court will hear it
- > 11/19 The Situation Room - CA Supreme Court will hear challenge to Prop 8
- > 11/20 CNN Newsroom 1pm - CA Supreme Court agrees to hear challenges
- > 11/20 CNN Newsroom 12pm - CA Supreme Court agrees to hear challenges
- > 11/22 CNN Larry King Live with Judge Judy and Michael Moore

FOX NEWS

- > 10/24/08 Showdown in California Over Gay Marriage Ban, *The O'Reilly Factor*
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- > 10/27/08 Political Headlines on Fox Special Report with Brit Hume - 30 seconds
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- > 11/4 Live Election Coverage
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- > 11/5 California Votes to Ban Gay Marriage - Hannity & Colmes - Against Gay marriage
- > 11/5 Political Headlines with Brit Hume
- > 11/7 Washington Happenings
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- > 11/13 Reality Check: Drew Barrymore Protesting Against Prop 8 - Small piece
- > 11/13 O'Reilly Factor - Laura Ingraham blasts judges potentially overturning Prop 8
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- > 11/13 O'Reilly Factor - Talking Points Memo and Top Story – Blasting director of Truth Wins Out
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- > 11/14 Greta Van Susteren, California's Gay Marriage Ban- Celebrity Opinions
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- > 11/17 Protestors of Prop 8 Target Church Service - *O'Reilly Factor* - Against Gay Marriage
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- > 11/20 O'Reilly Factor Talking Points and Top Story
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- > 11/20 America's News Headquarters for November 20, 2008
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- > 11/25 Dennis Miller Weighs in on Economy, Prop 8 Protests - O'Reilly Factor

