

WHERE ARE ALL THE VOICES? TEXAS LGBT NEWS

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WHERE ARE ALL THE VOICES? TEXAS LGBT NEWS

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DEDICATION: To everyone who envisions a world where all people are treated equally with dignity and respect, this body of work is dedicated to you. May it serve as a capsule of what once existed and a seed for what is possible.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABSTRACT	x
 CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	4
III. BACKGROUND	6
Texas LGBT Newspapers: Recent, Past and Present	6
Texas LGBT Newspaper Closures	7
IV. SIGNIFANCE	10
V. LITERATURE REVIEW	12
LGBT Press Effects Identities and Attitudes	12
Evolving History of LGBT Press	14
LGBT Press: From the Closet to the Niche	18
Advertisers: LGBT People a Potentially Lucrative and Complicated Audience	20
Mainstream Media Treatment of LGBT People	24
A Boom Gone Bust?	24
Great Recession: Grave Consequences for Publishing	32
VI. METHODOLOGY	36
In-depth Interviews.....	36
Content Analysis.....	37
Variables	37
Sample	38

Editorial Content.....	38
Advertisements	39
Data Analysis.....	40
Editorial	40
Advertisements	41
VII. RESULTS	42
Interviews	42
Dallas Voice History.....	42
Target Audience.....	45
Advertising Philosophy	46
Sex Sells: Evolving Advertising Content	48
Evolving Editorial Content.....	49
Looking Forward	51
Content Analysis.....	55
Number of Pages.....	55
Editorial	57
Number of Stories	57
Story Categories.....	58
Target Audience.....	61
Story Placement.....	62
Story Length	62
Advertisements	63
Number of Advertisements.....	63
Advertisement Categories.....	63
Advertisement Placement.....	65
VIII. DISCUSSION.....	70
21 st Century: From Newspaper to News Magazine.....	70
Fluctuating Editorial Content	73
Moving to Mainstream?.....	73
Change in Advertisements.....	74
Limitations.....	76
Future Research	77
APPENDICES	79
REFERENCES	99

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Total number of pages in the <i>Dallas Voice</i>	56
2. Total number of stories in the <i>Dallas Voice</i>	57
3. Percentage of political and entertainment stories in the <i>Dallas Voice</i>	59
4. Total number of advertisements in the <i>Dallas Voice</i>	63
5. Placement of sex/dating advertisements in the <i>Dallas Voice</i>	66
6. Placement of alcohol/bar/nightclub advertisements in the <i>Dallas Voice</i>	67
7. Placement of professional services advertisements in the <i>Dallas Voice</i>	68
8. Placement of advertisements categorized as other in the <i>Dallas Voice</i>	69
9. First edition of <i>Dallas Voice</i> May 11, 1984	71
10. February 10, 2012 edition of <i>Dallas Voice</i>	72

ABSTRACT

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SUPERVISING PROFESSOR: KATE PEIRCE

An important medium for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people is extinct in Texas: LGBT newspapers. One LGBT news institution continues publishing, but, as this research documented, the publisher of the *Dallas Voice (Voice)* has transformed his publication from a weekly newspaper to a weekly news magazine. Through in-depth interviews and a content analysis, I documented how this publication evolved as economic and technological pressures affected the entire publishing world.

Previous research has documented the importance of LGBT media; it helps individuals cultivate their identities and gain an understanding of themselves and the social-political landscape around them. LGBT publications also facilitate these individuals to speak to each other and the mainstream society around them.

Voice's history mirrors a documented transformation among many of the country's notable LGBT publications: a move away from functioning as an "alternative" medium to operating as a "niche" publication. Such a change means the *Voice* had to revamp their content in order to attract mainstream advertisers and stay in touch with a changing audience. The difference between operating as an "alternative" versus "niche" publication is important to understand because it means the difference between functioning as a "public service" versus a business.

My research also details how the *Voice*'s publisher and senior news editor envision their publication in the 21st century. They also discuss how *Voice* must continue to evolve and adapt to a readership that is also undergoing enormous transformations.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Every Thursday evening an industrial park outside of downtown Dallas, Texas, begins humming. Around 10 p.m., half a dozen workers load ink into large troughs. A tractor inserts large reams of paper to feed the machine. With the push of a few buttons, the turn of various levers, the printing of the *Dallas Voice (Voice)* begins. This is the sight and sound of an increasingly bygone era in Texas, a printing press churning out news stories and pictures about a thriving LGBT community. This printing press has seen how *Voice* changed over the years. What I see is the printing of the only remaining LGBT news magazine in Texas. How much longer this printing press continues producing *Voice* is questionable.

Researchers have extensively studied how minority, niche and alternative media give voice to disenfranchised people by helping them inform themselves about relevant social/political developments in their communities. These non-mainstream media also enable marginalized individuals to speak to each other and speak to the mainstream community around them. If minority, niche and alternative media cease operations, then who will speak up for these people? Who will give voice to the voiceless? Mainstream media? How do disenfranchised individuals continue informing themselves without media that cater to their distinctive needs?

For LGBT people, the cohesion of an LGBT community is tied to the development of an LGBT press (Pobo, 2008). LGBT media play a vital role in helping LGBT people understand themselves (Calzo & Ward, 2009) and the politics around them (Fejes & Lennon, 2000). Scholars have extensively studied LGBT media to explain how it forms attitudes, conveys images and messages and influences perceptions. Researchers have continuously struggled to classify and to survey gays and lesbians accurately to gain demographic information. The problem with conducting a comprehensive and scientific survey of LGBT people is the vast psychological, sociological, political and religious conflicts complicating and oppressing LGBT people. These conflicts have made painting a comprehensive picture of LGBT people an elusive goal (Fejes & Lennon, 2000).

One method to acquire an understanding of LGBT people is through the media they consume and their unique media-consumption habits, but in Texas, the newspapers they historically consumed are vanishing. This trend is in contrast to research that shows LGBT people are generally more affluent, especially gay men and deeply devoted to brands and establishments that support their community. They prefer reading newspapers that target them (Burnett, 2000) (Witeck, 2009) because the mainstream media often ignore LGBT people and fail to report fully on issues vital to them (Baim, 2009) (Bernt & Greenwald, 1992) (King, 2009) (Sullivan, 2010). For LGBT newspaper publishers and those who seek to start an LGBT newspaper, this audience should be a lucrative one if the literature accurately portrays LGBT people as an affluent demographic to target. Going into this research, I thought I would seek to further understand the evolution of *Voice*, the last remaining Texas LGBT newspaper, from its founding to present day operations. But what I learned is that *Voice* started as a newspaper, but now operate

more like a news magazine. This evolution is pivotal to understanding how a niche publication must adapt to various economic forces in order to survive a publishing world that has seen the bankruptcy of prestigious publications.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEACH QUESTIONS

Despite the immense importance of LGBT newspapers, the 21st century has seen the closure of numerous LGBT newspapers across the country, especially in Texas. In Texas during the 90s, the state had at least three LGBT newspapers but two of them closed with little notice. Now, only one viable LGBT news magazine, *Voice*, continues operating in Texas, which is alarming because if *Voice* closes then LGBT Texans will have an even more limited range of options to find valuable political and social information about their community. One of the main options in Texas will then be the mainstream media, the same industry frequently criticized for ignoring LGBT people (Burnett, 2000). Another option would be blogs and websites dedicated to Texas news, but many of those sites simply repost original reporting conducted by other news institutions. Since *Voice* is the only organization, with a full time staff focused on covering LGBT people in Dallas, then where will the Texas based blogs and websites go to find news about LGBT Texans?

This thesis catalogues the history of *Voice* and analyzes the content of the publication to answer the following research questions: (a) How was the last remaining LGBT news magazine in Texas founded? (b) How is *Voice* adapting to the 21st century

pressures of operating a niche publication targeted to LGBT people? (c) How has *Voice*'s advertising and story content changed since its inception?

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND

Texas LGBT Newspapers: Recent, Past and Present

The scholarly literature lacks a comprehensive historical accounting of the recent demise of LGBT newspapers in Texas. When researchers discuss the LGBT press as a whole, they detail a range of diverse publications including local monthly magazines, local weekly newspapers, local entertainment guides, national monthly magazines, national daily and weekly newspapers, and monthly and weekly lifestyle magazines.

It is difficult to assess the status of LGBT Texas media because a comprehensive list is not easily accessible. No known organization actively and accurately tracks LGBT newspapers in Texas. A search must be undertaken to ascertain the LGBT press. Some newspapers are difficult to track because they form overnight and cease operations the next month. The Texas Media Directory (2011) provides its subscribers with a comprehensive, searchable online database of media entities in Texas, and most subscribers use it to disseminate press releases. The database lists two media organizations under “Special Interest: Gay/Lesbian.” Those are the *Dallas Voice* and *OutSmart* magazine. Both entities are operating today. While *Dallas Voice* publishes a weekly newspaper with local, statewide and some national news, *OutSmart* publishes

a monthly magazine that has soft news, features and profiles of individuals. *OutSmart* arguably falls into the category of “monthly lifestyle magazines.” Since this case study solely focuses on LGBT weekly newspapers in Texas, *OutSmart* will not be analyzed. This means *Voice* is the sole, viable LGBT weekly news source in Texas.

Texas LGBT Newspaper Closures

Two other LGBT newspapers closed in the past five years: *Houston Voice* and *TXT Newsmagazine (TXT)*, which was formerly *The Texas Triangle (Triangle)*. In a state like Texas with more than 20 million people, it may alarm media scholars that Texas only has one newspaper with full-time journalists covering LGBT people.

In November 2009, an article in the *Houston Press* announced the closure of the *Houston Voice*. Despite the *Houston Voice*’s 35-year history of covering LGBT people in one of the nation’s largest cities, a small article unceremoniously announced the publication’s failure (Connelly, 2009). The literature and a few published news articles provide exceptionally little information about the demise of the *Houston Voice*.

An article titled “Thirty Years of Gay News” published in the *Houston Voice* celebrated the publication’s 30th anniversary in 2004. The article provides a brief history of the newspaper. Henry McClurg, who had a broadcasting background, founded the *Houston Voice* in 1974. At the time, it was named the *Montrose Star*. The publication was renamed the *Houston Voice* (Fisher, 2004).

During more than three decades in existence, “the paper has covered everything from the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s to political upheavals and victories to the

monumental U.S. Supreme Court decision in 2003 that struck down the Texas sodomy law” (Fisher, 2004). *Houston Voice*’s parent company Windows Media declared bankruptcy in 2009, which led to the *Houston Voice*’s closure. News reports indicated the company’s owners were unable to repay the millions of dollars in loans taken out with the hopes of building a national newspaper chain (Henry & Saunders, 2010).

Until the founding of *The Texas Triangle (Triangle)* in 1992, LGBT people in Austin lacked a professional publication to inform them of politics within the community. The publication was a statewide weekly with a circulation of 10,000 to 15,000 (“Gay Newspaper,” 1996). Kay Longcope, a former *Boston Globe* reporter, founded the publication with her partner Barbara Wohlgemuth. They used Longcope’s severance package from the *Boston Globe* to begin the publication and during its first several years, the paper posted profits (Bull, 1996).

The *Triangle* was unique at the time because it did not accept sexually explicit advertising, a mainstay for many gay and lesbian publications. Longcope described her reasoning:

We thought those ads are degrading to gay men by treating them as nothing more than sex objects. After we started the paper with that philosophy, we got calls from gay men thanking us for our approach. What we did learn was that there was a market for that kind of advertising, and we took a financial hit. In the short term we knew it would hurt us, but in the long run we expected to get more mainstream business. (Bull, 1996)

In September 1996, the publication’s owners announced the paper would close because of newsprint cost, limited advertising revenue and mounting debt (Bull, 1996).

Published news articles are unclear about what transpired with the *Triangle* between the time the original owners announced the publication's closing in 1996 and Robert Moore's purchase of the *Triangle* in 2004. Moore is also the publisher of the *Dallas Voice*.

The *Triangle* published its final edition on December 31, 2004, but from its remains, Moore formed a new publication named *TXT Newsmagazine (TXT)*. *TXT* was formed by combining two publications owned by Moore: *Triangle* and *Qtexas*, an LGBT entertainment magazine (Webb, 2006). *TXT* was Texas' only statewide gay weekly newspaper with offices in Houston, Austin and Dallas. Like its predecessor, the *Triangle*, *TXT* could not sustain itself and ceased publication on December 30, 2006. Webb (2006) attributes *TXT*'s demise to competition with local magazines in Houston, Austin and Dallas that had more local content and were more attractive to local advertisers.

CHAPTER IV

SIGNIFICANCE

The purpose of this case study is to fill the void in the scholarly literature concerning the issues of operating the only weekly news magazine in Texas in 2012. LGBT Texans are in a unique and dire situation. While many other states seek to expand legal protections for LGBT people, Texas lawmakers have systematically denied their LGBT citizens the same rights and privileges enjoyed by their heterosexual neighbors. In order for a group of people to mobilize and to advocate for change, those individuals must be equipped with political information. As the literature suggests, a press responsive to all citizens is necessary for disenfranchised people mobilize politically (Anderson, 2007) (Pobo, 2008). Historically, the mainstream press ignored LGBT people or provided hostile coverage of them. Today, the mainstream media are criticized for superficial reporting on LGBT people and not fully exploring the complex issues surrounding the LGBT community (Burnett, 2000). Consequently, the LGBT press is the only source for LGBT people to gain an understanding of themselves and the politics pertaining to them (Biam, 2009) (King, 2009) (Landau, 2009) (Sullivan, 2010).

A review of the literature shows a dearth of research examining the evolution, comprehensive status and future of LGBT press in Texas. A few marketing companies have compiled a numeric accounting of this country's LGBT press but the

information does not analyze the unique social, political and economic forces in play that may influence the ebb and flow of the numerical amount of publications operating in this country. Specifically concerning the Texas LGBT press, only non-scholarly articles are available to explain why LGBT newspapers have recently closed across the state, but these articles do not provide context regarding the effects of a diminishing LGBT press in such a hostile political environment. This thesis provides answers to how the only LGBT weekly news magazine in Texas is adapting to 21st century pressures on the media.

CHAPTER V

LITERATURE REVIEW

LGBT Press Effects Identities and Attitudes

The evolution of a viable LGBT community is often tied to the creation of an LGBT press “which helped transform an illicit, almost exclusively sexually oriented subculture into a broadly based mainstream movement” (Pobo, 2008, p. 1). LGBT publications distribute information about relevant events and news, both local and national, to their readers. A major difference between the mainstream press and the LGBT press is that the LGBT press is often the only outlet for isolated LGBT readers to gain social and political information pertinent to their lives:

In contrast to women, minority and most other marginalized groups, lesbians and gay males as youths, young “closeted” individuals, have little or no help in understanding their sense of difference. They search both their interpersonal and media environment for clues in understanding their feelings and sexuality. Often they turn to the lesbian/gay media for information and images on which to base their developing identity. (Fejes & Lennon, 2000, p. 36)

A study by Calzo and Ward (2009) reinforces the notion that LGBT media

influence the cultivation of identities and attitudes about LGBT sexuality. Calzo and Ward (2009) surveyed 745 men and women attending a large university to understand how informal and formal sources of information cultivated young men's and women's attitudes and beliefs toward homosexuality. In Calzo and Ward's (2009) study, the formal sources included health-care professionals and school sex education courses. Informal avenues include parents, friends and the media. The participants ranged between the ages of 17 and 27. The results showed that media (television/movies) and friends ranked among the most influential for cultivating and developing attitudes toward homosexuality. Parents were ranked as providing the least influence (Calzo & Ward, 2009). Despite the fact that the results do not discuss newspapers or LGBT publications, the results do support what numerous other studies have found: Young people often seek external sources of information like the media to help them understand complex information about themselves and others. Not only are LGBT publications influential in developing and defining identities for readers, these publications also serve to represent LGBT people to the general public (Fejes & Lennon, 2000).

Gomillion and Guiliano (2011) surveyed participants in a gay pride parade in Austin, Texas, and conducted in-depth interviews to determine how the media and which forms of media impacted a homosexual's identity. Their methods shed light on the dynamic coming-out process, and how a homosexual person becomes aware of his or her non-heterosexual feelings. The results showed Internet and books ranked as the most significant impact on a person's coming out. Television and movies were less influential than the Internet and books. Music and magazines ranked at the bottom, the least influential overall (Gomillion & Guiliano, 2011). During the in-depth interview portion

with homosexual and bisexual men and women, Gomillion and Guiliano (2011) found a prominent theme of media role models having a significant impact on the development of their identities:

Beyond making participants feel comforted, GLB [gay, lesbian and bisexual] role models in the media made participants feel as though it was acceptable to be GLB and helped participants view their identity more positively ... In essence, seeing GLB individuals in the media normalized these participants' own GLB identities and made them feel more socially acceptable. (p. 346)

At the same time, the participants discussed how stereotypical treatment and representation of homosexuals in the media made them feel alienated and limited their identity expression. Without LGBT representation in the media, the participants at times felt invisible to society (Gomillion & Guiliano, 2011). Since this study showed the importance of LGBT people seeing role models in the media during the coming out process, an absence of LGBT role models in the media could have disproportionately negative impacts on youth because they spend 20 percent of their awake-time watching television (Fouts & Inch, 2005).

Evolving History of LGBT Press

The LGBT press has gone from fledgling to “a money making machine” in about a century. The earliest known non-mainstream media to address LGBT issues has European roots in Prussia in the 1890s when Magnus Hirschfeld founded a committee to

discuss German laws on homosexuality. In 1899, his group formed the first scholarly journal to study homosexuality. The journal was titled *Jarhbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*. Under Adolf Hitler's dictatorship, much of Hirschfeld's work was destroyed, but other gay and lesbian publications flourished in Europe before World War II (Pobo, 2008).

During the early 20th century before World War II, LGBT people in the United States relied on informal publications such as leaflets and short-lived newspapers to learn about issues concerning homosexuals. Advocacy for gay and lesbian issues was dangerous because publishing the material could lead to complicated legal problems. This stifling climate lasted until after World War II, when conditions changed that allowed the LGBT press to form and eventually flourish (Pobo, 2008).

When millions of veterans returned home from the war, they sometimes brought with them more liberal views about homosexuality. A step towards a more formalized and organized LGBT press began in Los Angeles just after WW II. In 1947 and 1948, nine issues of a newsletter called *Vice Versa* were published. This publication provided lesbians an avenue to express their thoughts and feelings. *Vice Versa* featured entertainment reviews and was written using the pseudonymous "Lisa Ben, an anagram for lesbian" (Pobo, 2008).

In the 1950s, two significant gay and lesbian organizations, the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, spurred the development of influential and proactive publications. Although technically independent of the Mattachine Society, *ONE* magazine, founded in 1953, was the most provocative and significant of the early LGBT publications. Dale Jennings, its first editor, and many of the magazine's early staff

members were members of the Mattachine society. *One* challenged the dominant views and stereotypes of homosexuals (Pobo, 2008). A year after its founding, the Los Angeles postmaster seized the magazines and prevented them from being mailed, claiming “that the magazine was ‘obscene, lewd, lascivious and filthy’” (Pobo, 2008, p. 2). Lower federal courts upheld the postmaster’s actions, but ultimately the U.S. Supreme Court in January 1958 reversed the findings of the lower courts and allowed the publication to be mailed through the U.S. Postal Service. This court case cleared the way for other LGBT publications to be delivered through the mail (Pobo, 2008). The *Mattachine Review* was founded in 1955 in San Francisco. The *Mattachine Review* was more moderate than *ONE* and focused on gay history and culture. It ceased publication in 1966 (Pobo, 2008).

The Daughters of Bilitis launched their own magazine, the *Ladder*, in 1956. “The *Ladder* self-consciously attempted to reach out to lesbians away from the large cities and avoided an overtly political stance, concentrating instead on poetry, fiction, history, and biography” (Pobo, 2008, p. 3). The magazine ceased publication in the 1970s.

It is essential to note that these early publications did not have a vast audience. In fact, they had small circulations and operated under extremely difficult financial conditions. The early U.S. gay and lesbian publications relied on donations and were often financed by the publications’ editors, writers and/or sponsoring organizations (Pobo, 2008). A constant and substantial advertising revenue source was not a viable option, as most businesses did not consider LGBT people a potential target audience. Despite those conditions, *Vice Versa*, *One*, the *Mattachine Review* and the *Ladder* survived long enough to make an impact and laid the foundation for LGBT press to experience explosive growth in the late 1960s and beyond.

American history from the invention of the printing press to the turbulent 60s and 70s is dotted with examples of marginalized groups utilizing various forms of primitive and advanced printing presses to publish newspapers/newsletters/leaflets to mobilize and create change (Anderson, 2007). Simple methods of reproducing articles and information, like the mimeograph and eventually the photocopier, led to the growth of “underground” newspapers in the 1960s (Anderson, 2007) like the *Washington Blade*, one of the oldest LGBT newspapers in the country (Schartzman, 2009). These “underground” newspapers provided a forum for the counter culture to express their unhappiness with society and government oppression through street vendors, word of mouth or hand-to-hand circulation by newspaper staff. In the mid 60s, most major American cities and college campuses had an “underground” newspaper. By 1973, most of these “underground” publications had folded (Anderson, 2007).

In 1967, two crucial events happened to label this year as the “watershed” moment for LGBT publications, the founding of *The Advocate* in California and the opening of the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore in New York City's Greenwich Village. The founding of the Oscar Wilde Bookstore is significant to LGBT publications because it provides a venue for LGBT people to gather at one location and to obtain books and magazines that address their issues. The Oscar Wilde Bookstore is considered the first business catering to gay men and lesbians that was neither sexually nor alcoholically oriented (Pobo, 2008). The bookstore closed in 2009, another victim of the Great Recession’s impact on LGBT publications and bookstores (“2009 Gay Press Report,” 2010).

The Advocate, founded in Los Angeles in 1967, began as a local newspaper

concentrating largely on local events and issues. It evolved into a national news magazine and is considered the most influential journal of gay liberation (Pobo, 2008). *The Advocate* continues operating and publishing today.

The LGBT press flourished in the 1970s. Most major cities in the U.S. had at least one significant LGBT publication. During the 1980s and 1990s, LGBT publications expanded to include scholarly journals and books (Pobo, 2008).

LGBT Press: From the Closet to the Niche

For most of its existence, Fejes and Lennon (2000) described the LGBT press functioning as a “minority medium:”

They were granted little legitimacy by the mainstream press and often harassed by officials in local communities who viewed their publications as not much better than pornography. As it was typically difficult to develop a secure source of advertising or subscription revenue, these publications experienced on-going financial difficulties and the staff was often unpaid.
(p. 36)

Prior to the 1969 Stonewall Riots in New York City, which are often considered the beginning of the gay rights movement, gays and lesbians were mostly invisible in the mainstream media. If reporters did cover LGBT people, the coverage was often hostile, from a heterosexual perspective and in a stereotypical fashion (Pobo, 2008). Some media began covering homosexuals soon after Alfred Kinsey published his groundbreaking and

controversial study of human sexuality, which estimated that 10 percent of the population could be homosexual (Gibson, 2004) (Fouts & Inch, 2005).

As a “minority medium,” the early LGBT press had numerous, salient functions such as cultivating a positive identity, solidifying a political movement, providing a voice for the politically disenfranchised group, and allowing LGBT people to speak to each other (Fejes & Lennon, 2000). Feelings of alienation and disenfranchisement are the same reasons why members of various ethnic groups shunned main stream media and turned to ethnic media (Johnson, 2010).

Fejes and Lennon (2000) consider the 21st century LGBT press to function less as a “minority medium,” as in the 60s, 70s and early 80s, and more of a “niche medium:”

It organizes its editorial and feature content to attract and expand that audience. While a niche medium may be organized around a specific focus or interest like boating or computing and thus attract advertisers selling those products, it also creates an audience that has a demographic profile attractive to other advertisers as well. (p. 37)

This push to make the audience attractive to advertisers can be seen in LGBT publications since the late 80s when many publications revamped their layout and content “[f]or example, *The Advocate*, a national lesbian/gay biweekly magazine, put all sexually explicit material into another publication which it sold separately, and focused on news, cultural and feature stories that would not be problematic to advertisers” (Fejes & Lennon, 2000, p. 38). This push towards forming a “commodified audience” is counter to what Anderson (2007) describes how a prototypical “alternative” publication functions. Those “alternative” publications are strictly concerned with advancing an issue, cause or

movement regardless of its “salability,” and publishers are generally not concerned with “the bottom line.”

These publishers take risks that mainstream publishers rarely take. They take risks on bringing to print voices of minorities, new authors, experimental writing, and controversial and radical subjects, in addition to numerous translations and reprints of classic older titles. (Anderson, 2007)

As the research shows, more and more LGBT newspapers are pushing away from the “alternative” publication format and aligning themselves as “niche” publications because they are increasingly shaping their content to attract mainstream advertisers.

Advertisers: LGBT People a Potentially Lucrative and Complicated Audience

The transformation from “minority medium” to “niche medium” has its problems. Attracting mainstream advertisers means publications must appeal to an audience that can purchase the advertisers’ products. The more expensive the products, the more lucrative the advertising dollars. Fejes and Lennon (2000) noted how the commercialization of LGBT media has led those publications to present a white-gay-male perspective since this audience is usually more affluent and able to purchase the products advertised in LGBT publications.

The LGBT market is considered to be extremely lucrative, a “dream market,” because when compared to heterosexuals, LGBT people, especially homosexual men, who read LGBT magazines, mostly hold professional jobs, have higher incomes with spending power in the billions of dollars, are better educated and extremely loyal to

brands/establishments that are gay friendly (Witeck, 2007) (Burnett, 2000). On the other hand, homosexual women are likely to earn less money than homosexual men.

Researchers attribute this wage disparity to ongoing gender discrimination throughout society (Burnett, 2000).

Mainstream advertisers are taking note of this lucrative market and increasingly targeting LGBT people (Burnet, 2000) with “gay-specific content” (Dawley, 2007). An advertising and media industry analysis shows the “number of Fortune 500 brands advertising to gay consumers continues to grow, up from 19 in 1994 to 150 in 2004 and 183 [in 2006]” (Dawley, 2007).

To gain a better understanding of homosexuals’ attitudes toward advertising, Burnet (2000) conducted a survey and discovered advertising is less likely to sway LGBT people in making purchasing decisions compared with heterosexuals. In fact, the advertisements may be especially ineffective if the messages are condescending and hostile to LGBT people (Burnet, 2000).

The advertising within LGBT publication can be problematic for both gay men and women. A content analysis conducted by Saucier and Caron (2008) of the advertising within four popular gay national magazines discovered the advertisements objectify men in a similar degree found in mainstream media’s widespread objectification of women. More than 90 percent of advertising in the gay publications analyzed by Saucier and Caron (2008) depicted a fit, youthful looking man. Three out of the four magazines depicted shirtless men in more than two-thirds of their advertisements. The extreme attention paid to gay men’s bodies can have a detrimental effect, “[m]ore than heterosexual men, gay men have been found to struggle with body image issues,

including but not limited to body dysmorphia, anorexia and bulimia, and muscularity” (Saucier & Caron, 2008, p. 506).

Further research by Gonsoulin (2010) shows how LGBT publications are not exempt from using stereotypical and unhealthy advertising methods and images, similar to mainstream media. The researcher analyzed and compared the advertisements in *Marie Claire*, a lifestyle magazine that targets heterosexual women, to *Curve*, a lifestyle magazine that is aimed at lesbians. The main research questions were:

What happens when the male gaze is omitted from consideration in a lesbian-owned and -run media outlet? Does this kind of venue allow a public expression on the part of gay women where they are free to define and portray themselves in a way that is divorced from feminine-heterosexual norms? Is there greater racial, size, age and androgyny-based diversity in the images? Do lesbians continue to objectify women in the pages of their magazines, and do they give models more or less agency in the process? (Gonsoulin, 2010, p. 1159)

The research showed that eliminating the “male gaze” does not necessarily end a magazine from the propensity to objectify women. While *Curve* displayed a diverse collection of body images, both magazines were equally likely to depict models wearing little clothing:

Lesbians seem able to break free from the societal norms of femininity, youth, and thinness, but there are still many instances of objectification and much more racial diversity could be included. It is possible that *Curve*’s impulse to break away from heteronormativity is stifled by its

need to secure adequate advertising dollars as Sender's (2003) findings would indicate, especially considering the fact that most of those dollars are controlled by mainstream heterosexual corporations and corporate executives. (Gonsoulin, 2010, p. 1171)

To suggest that LGBT people are one homogenous audience consuming the same values and information is a mistake. Grouping LGBT people into any single category is problematic for researchers and publishers because this is an extremely diverse and complex group of people. There is disagreement about the very meaning of the "LGBT community." Some prefer the word "homosexual" to describe themselves. Others prefer the term "queer." Trying to take a census is even more difficult:

Even if an attempt were made to provide a census of lesbians and gay males in the United States, such an effort would be highly problematic. The major difficulty lies in the ambiguity of the category being measured. In contrast to categories of racial and ethnic identity that have long histories of measurement, the category of lesbian and gay identity is a relatively new one. There is no established method or standard in defining this category as an object of measurement. (Fejes & Lennon, 2000, p. 27)

Complicating the survey of LGBT people is the separation among desire, behavior and identification. For example, a heterosexual man who has a one-time homosexual experience and continues to have homosexual desires may not label himself "homosexual." Obtaining truthful answers about a politically charged topic, such as homosexuality, complicates the ability to survey LGBT people. Legal obstacles abound.

After all, in some parts of the country like Texas, revealing one's homosexuality could lead to termination from a job.

Mainstream Media Treatment of LGBT People

Currently, the mainstream media cover lesbian and gay people more than at any other point in the media's history. Riggs and Patterson (2009), however, found that homophobia and transphobia are still present in the mass media but more subtle and complex than in previous decades. For instance, the researchers challenge the widespread use of the phrase "that's so gay" in the media as "queer hate" and perpetuating homophobia because the phrase equates gay with something bad.

LGBT media outlets and publications are credited with being the first to accurately and fairly report on the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 80s (Bernt & Greenwald, 1992) (Henry & Saunders, 2010). During the 70s and 80s, the early years of HIV/AIDS, managers at *The New York Times* were accused of fostering a homophobic atmosphere within their own newsroom because some editors "frowned upon coverage of gay and lesbian culture," thus ignoring the flourishing AIDS epidemic exploding in their city (Signorile, 2002). That hostile environment finally abated at *The New York Times* and grew into an accepting atmosphere where the *Times* is now credited with being a supporter of LGBT rights (Signorile, 2002).

Some LGBT newspaper publishers and reporters believe the mainstream press may be reluctant or lack the ability to cover them fully (Bernt & Greenwald, 1992) (Biam, 2009) (Landau, 2009). From the front page of the newspapers, mainstream media

are continuously criticized for not digging deep enough to untangle the complex issues among LGBT people (King, 2009) (Sullivan, 2010). In the comic and society pages of mainstream newspapers across the country, researchers have found clues to the industry's reluctance or inability to treat LGBT people fairly. Fitzgerald (1994) wrote how "gay characters in [comic] strips are rare -- and controversial." The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (2008) is still fighting for all of the country's newspapers to respect newly wedded/joined same-sex couples. Only "72 percent of all daily newspapers (1,049) in the United States now accept wedding and/or commitment ceremony announcements for same-sex couples." This amount is up from 70 newspapers in 2002.

Newspapers are beginning to cover transgender people but often the publications focus is on sensational topics like the "Pregnant Man" Thomas Beattie. Also, newspapers often use derogatory language, such as "tranny," to characterize trans people (Lindsay, 2008) (Riggs & Patterson, 2009). For example, in February 2008, *the New York Daily News* published the headline "Fooled john stabbed Bronx tranny" to describe a crime where a 25-year-old transgender woman was murdered. Not only is the word "tranny" offensive to many readers, the headline also characterized the trans woman as a "trickster," which is a common stereotype (Lindsay, 2008). That same year, *The Boston Herald* reported on the police department's efforts to arrest sex workers. Within the story, the reporter included the phrase "giant naked trannies" when referring to a trans-woman (Lindsay, 2008).

For bisexuals, the landscape can be more troubling. Yescavage and Alexander (2001) noted that in terms of visibility in the mass media lesbian and gay people “have entered a new era of tolerance and even respectability.” On the other hand, the coverage and representation of bisexuals in the media and in scholarly research remains almost invisible (Yescavage & Alexander, 2001) (Riggs & Patterson, 2009).

Landau (2009) wrote about the importance of seeing LGBT in mainstream media outlets:

Countless communication scholars argue that visibility in mass media is an important goal of the gay and lesbian movement because some recognizable representational form of homosexuality is necessary for political power and equality of gays and lesbians and fundamental to developing their identities. Portrayals of gays and lesbians in mainstream news discourse are significant since news stories and photojournalism play a role in constructing (gay) politics in contemporary American civic life. (p. 81)

Raley and Lucas (2006) determined that LGBT people have gone from a “nonrecognized” group in prime-time television to a group increasingly depicted but often ridiculed. Homosexual characters remain underrepresented on television programming (Fouts & Inch, 2005). If they are represented, homosexual characters are more likely to be male (Fouts & Inch, 2005) and not depicted in everyday situations and having romantic relationships (Raley & Lucas, 2006). When lesbians are portrayed on television, the portrayal lacks a full picture. Ciasuillo (2001) finds that normalization efforts are made to ensure that lesbians appear “normal”- not threatening to heterosexuals

in any way, maybe even “heterosexual,” and “feminine.” The “butch” woman rarely makes it as a main character or subject, but when she does, the “butch” lesbian is painted as domineering, poor, unattractive and threatening (Ciasuillo, 2001).

Further negative treatment of LGBT people by mainstream media can be found in newspaper coverage of same-sex parenting between 2004 and 2005. Landau (2009) examined how news stories and accompanying photographs treated the issue of same-sex parenting during 2004 and 2005, a time when various states were in the process of granting or denying same-sex couples the right to marry or form civil unions. The researcher discovered “homophobic, (hetero)sexist, and heteronormative constructions are repeated, overall putting forth the site, and the literal sight, of a heterosexual child as a synecdoche and social test for gay familial life” (Landau, 2009, p. 80). The researcher came to this conclusion because the press ignored the same-sex parents in the articles, focused on the child and asked how well the same-sex parents could raise a “normal” heterosexual child:

...this concentration on the children highlights them in four main fashions: they confess or “come out” about their “secret” of having same-sex parents, they are social scientific experiments, they are compulsively heterosexual, and, lastly, they perform stereotypical male and female gender. (p. 82)

The news articles rarely, if ever, focused on the families operating under an oppressive, heteronormative society. Instead, the press accounts also did not treat these families as unique unto themselves; instead, the articles frequently discussed whether or not these children will “grow up to be homosexual,” suggesting that homosexuality is a choice to

be made, and heterosexuality is the ideal. The articles explained the medical procedures for these same-sex parents to have a child, as if the child is some sort of medical experiment. On the other hand, the media rarely, if ever, discuss the sexual intercourse needed for heterosexual parents to conceive a child. Even the photographs accompanying these articles are problematic, because pictures of the child dominate them. If the same-sex parents are pictured, Landau (2009) found the parents are often cropped out of the pictures thus “pushing gayness to the sidelines in silence.”

To find out how much coverage newspapers devote to substantive LGBT topics, Gibson (2004) analyzed the content of lifestyle sections of four leading newspapers: *The Denver Post*, *Houston Chronicle*, *The Baltimore Sun*, and *The Seattle Times*. What the researcher discovered was disappointing. A reader of those four major newspapers would read only average about 50.8 gay-themed stories on a monthly basis. The most common story, 31 percent, was entertainment reviews concerning a local play, television programming, concert, books and movies that are connected to the LGBT community:

[T]his is strong support for those who claim that newspapers fail to cover the everyday lives’ of sexual minorities. Very few of the stories coded as gay-themed were about lifestyle issues of concern specifically to gays or lesbians. The stories were much more likely to deal with popular entertainment featuring gay characters. (Gibson, 2004, p. 93)

As the previous articles reviewed for this thesis noted, LGBT people, especially bisexual and trans people, have a long way to go until they achieve equal treatment in the mainstream media.

A Boom Gone Bust?

Some consider the 21st century to be the “good ol’ days” for LGBT media because the Internet provides new avenues for publications to generate advertising revenues, and the number of people reading LGBT media is larger now than ever before (Biam, 2009). Interestingly, during the past five years, the overall readership of LGBT publications has decreased (“2006 Gay Press Report,” 2007; “2009 Gay Press Report,” 2010).

In January 2010, *Southern Voice* (*SoVo*), one of Georgia’s oldest and most respected LGBT weekly newspapers closed. While other LGBT print and online news and entertainment publications exist in Georgia, activists lamented the closure of *SoVo* as a blow to the ability of Atlanta’s LGBT people to continue to be informed about politics and issues important to them (Henry & Saunders, 2010). *SoVo*’s fate is tied to its parent company, Windows Media, which bought *SoVo* in the late 90s:

While some readers had criticized *SoVo* for becoming more corporate and less fun following its takeover by Window Media in the late '90s, the paper didn't fold because of lack of readership. Instead, its owners borrowed millions they couldn't pay back in an ill-conceived attempt to build a national newspaper chain. (Henry & Saunders, 2010)

Windows Media went bankrupt in 2009, which led to the closure of other significant LGBT publications like the *Washington Blade* and the *Houston Voice* (Chibbaro, 2010) (Henry & Saunders, 2010) (Schartzman, 2009).

The *Washington Blade* is significant because of its longevity. It was founded shortly after the 1969 Stonewall Riots in New York City. In its early life, the *Blade* was a single sheet of paper. Eventually the free weekly newspaper grew to a circulation of more than 20,000 and counted a quarter million visitors to its website on a monthly basis. Windows Media purchased the *Blade* in 2001 and closed it down in 2009 after declaring bankruptcy. However, the newspaper's closure was short lived because former staff members purchased the publication and reopened it in April 2010 (Chibbaro, 2010) (Schartzman, 2009). It continues operating today.

In a case study of the *Windy City Times*, Chicago's oldest LGBT weekly newspaper, Biam (2009) wrote that LGBT media are experiencing the same pressures felt by mainstream media, the pressure to make money. Biam (2009), publisher of *Windy City Times*, described how the newspaper adapted. Despite embracing the web early on, the publisher said the newspaper makes more money through its traditional print version of the publication:

Our on-line revenues do continue to grow, but they're still less than ten percent of the total. So if we were to eliminate our print products, we would also have to cut staff and freelancers in a way that would negatively influence our content — not an appealing option. (Biam, 2009)

In 2008, the unique on-line visitors to *Windy City Times* surpassed 20,000 on a weekly basis:

That meant we were seeing more visitors to our website than the number of copies of *Windy City Times* we were printing. We also started offering readers the option of downloading complete PDF file of our publication,

advertising and all, and have seen a dramatic increase in weekly downloads. (Biam, 2009)

The *Windy City Times* publisher said the answer to increasing revenues is to wean advertisers from relying on print publications to reach audience members. Eventually, the publisher hopes to show advertisers the full potential of the Internet and other nontraditional advertising methods (Biam, 2009).

The *2009 Gay Press Report* (2010) provides the latest available accounting of LGBT publications in North America. A New York advertising agency and a media placement firm based in New Jersey annually produce the report. The *2009 Gay Press Report* (2010) primarily tracks advertising in LGBT publications and, in the process, collects information about the composition and size of this country's LGBT publications. Those publications include local magazines, local newspapers, local entertainment guides, national magazines and national newspapers.

In 2009, the report identified 251 LGBT publications. This is 27 fewer than in 2008. The report described the combined circulation of all LGBT publications as 2,387,750, down 27.6 percent since 2008. In 2006, the combined circulation of all LGBT publications was 3,777,488 ("2006 Gay Press Report," 2007; "2009 Gay Press Report," 2010; Witeck, 2007). More than a million subscribers were lost between 2006 and 2009, showing how the Great Recession may have had a substantial and lasting impact on LGBT press:

As indicated, 2009 was a particularly volatile year for consumer magazines as well as the gay and lesbian press. In difficult economic times, niche publications are the first to go (as well as the first to recover). Thus early in

2009 (within the time frame of this report), it became apparent that several prominent LGBT titles were struggling (page counts were painfully down).

(“2009 Gay Press Report,” 2010, p. 10)

The *2009 Gay Press Report* (2010) is the latest report available. Some economists say the Great Recession officially ended June 2009 (Lee, 2010), which could reverse the losses of the LGBT press.

Great Recession: Grave Consequences for Publishing

The Great Recession left its impact on the publishing world, an industry once known for its high profit margins (Morton, 2010). It led to the closure of storied newspapers and massive layoffs of professional journalists across this country. The Great Recession, the longest recession since the Great Depression, started in December 2007 (National Bureau of Economic Research [NBER], 2010) (Chowdhury & Manzoor, 2010) and officially ended in June 2009 (NBER, 2010). A recession is defined as “... a period of falling economic activity spread across the economy, lasting more than a few months, normally visible in real GDP, real income, employment, industrial production, and wholesale-retail sales” (NBER, 2010). Between December 2007 and June 2009, the United States suffered the loss of 7.4 million jobs:

A report in March from the Population Reference Bureau showed that more than 70 percent of Americans age 40 and over felt they had been affected by the economic crisis. Government data indicate that the net worth of the average American household has shrunk by about 20 percent

- the greatest such decline since the end of World War II. (Chowdhury & Manzoor, 2010)

Gone are the days of “speculative excesses in housing and financial markets”

(McKinney, 2011). The Great Recession rattled the business world:

The Great Recession contributed to a significant increase in business bankruptcy. Business bankruptcy increased from 25,900 in 2007 to 58,700 at the peak of the Great Recession in 2009 and declined slightly to 58,300 in 2010. (McKinney, 2011)

The publishing business was not isolated from those increased bankruptcy rates. Between 2007 and 2009 the newspaper industry saw a 30 percent decline in revenue streams (Pew Research Center’s Project of Excellence in Journalism [PRCPEJ], 2011), and the United States saw considerable workforce reductions and closures among leading newspapers. In 2009, six major publishing companies filed chapter 11 bankruptcy. Some of those companies owned well-respected publications like the *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Minneapolis’ Star Tribune*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Philadelphia Daily News*, and the *Chicago Sun-Times* (Smolkin, 2009).

Newspapers are vital instruments that ensure citizens have the information to participate in their local democracies. Research shows voter turnout drops when a newspaper is not present in a community (Smolkin, 2009). Even a partial list of newspapers that closed during the Great Recession or experienced substantial staffing reductions is astounding: (a) 150-year-old *Rocky Mountain News* in Denver ceased operation, (b) 146-year-old *Seattle Post Intelligencer* slashed staffing and is only available on-line, (c) the 138-year-old paper *Tucson Citizen* in Arizona is now only

available on-line as an opinion site, (d) *The San Francisco Chronicle* and *Boston Globe* had significant layoffs and wage reductions (Smolkin, 2009). “When the final tallies are in, we estimate 1,000 to 1,500 more newsroom jobs will have been lost—meaning newspaper newsrooms are 30% smaller than in 2000” (PRCPEJ, 2011). This reduction in actual journalists digging up stories and reporting on events could, in the end, further the demise of newspapers because the publications may not be producing enough captivating stories to attract readers (Morton, 2010). During the height of the recession, some experts predicted “[i]n 2009 and 2010, all the two-newspaper markets will become one-newspaper markets, and you will start to see one-newspaper markets become no-newspaper markets” (Smolkin, 2009).

The Pew Research Center’s Project of Excellence in Journalism [PRCPEJ] annual report titled “The State of the News Media 2011” reports the worst of the economic devastation in the media business appears to be over, and the state of the American news media seems to be improving, especially in 2010. However, newspapers continue to see their revenues decline in a changing media landscape, which is “an unmistakable sign that the structural economic problems facing newspapers are more severe than those of other media” (PRCPEJ, 2011). More Americans are reading their news online than in print and “half of all Americans (47%) now get some form of local news on a mobile device” (PRCPEJ, 2011). The viewing of news on mobile devices introduces new complexities into the publishing world, because publishers now must grasp new digital formats and abilities like how to construct a newspaper to be read on emerging mobile tablet devices or how to use various aggregate websites to reach a larger audience

(PRCPEJ, 2011). Pew (2011) reports the media have lost their role as “the intermediary others needed to reach customers:”

In a media world where consumers decide what news they want to get and how they want to get it, the future will belong to those who understand the public’s changing behavior and can target content and advertising to snugly fit the interests of each user. That knowledge — and the expertise in gathering it — increasingly resides with technology companies outside journalism.

Compared with other developed nations, U.S. newspapers sustained some of the most dramatic closures, reductions in workforce and revenue decreases partly because of newspapers in this country relying too much on advertising:

For instance, globally, advertising makes up 57% of overall newspaper revenues, while circulation makes up 43% ... By contrast, U.S. newspapers on average generate 73% of total revenue from advertising, selling the print copy for less to maximize readership they can deliver to local advertisers. (PRCPEJ, 2011)

Newspapers usually rebounded and recovered advertising losses after previous economic downturns, but in this new digital age where advertising dollars are more fluid and newspapers struggle to generate revenues from their readership, it is unclear if newspapers will land on solid ground (Smolkin, 2009).

CHAPTER VI

METHODOLOGY

In-depth Interviews

In order to answer the research questions regarding how *Voice* was founded and how *Voice* is adapting to the 21st century pressures of operating a niche publication, I utilized in-depth interviews with the founder/publisher of the newspaper and the newspaper's senior editor. The Texas State University Review Board reviewed (EXP2011W6062) my proposed research and exempted my research from full or expedited review.

In-depth interviews were the best method to explore the newspaper's founding and evolution because, unlike surveys, interviews gave the participants the latitude to fully explain the complex forces within a newspaper environment. The interviews were semi-structured, with a list of topics and open-ended questions previously decided, but I deviated from the list of questions in order to gain a full understanding of the participant's answers. The interviews were recorded with a video camera and later transcribed during the data-analysis process. I then compared the participants' responses to find broad similarities about the topics covered. The founder and publisher of *Voice*, Robert Moore, and the senior news editor, Tammye Nash, were interviewed in July 2011 at their offices in Dallas. I covered the following topics with Moore: (a) the found of

Voice, (b) advertising philosophy, (c) evolution of *Voice* and (d) future of the LGBT press.

As senior news editor for *Voice*, Nash is in a unique position to explain the organization's news philosophy as an LGBT publication. I covered the following topics with Nash: (a) how the publication's news coverage changed over the years and (b) the future of the LGBT press.

Content Analysis

Variables

In order to answer my last research question regarding how *Voice*'s content -- both advertising and editorial—has changed since its inception, I conducted a content analysis. The editorial portion of the content analysis will examine the following variables: (a) number of pages in each edition, (b) number of stories in each edition, (c) the categories of these stories, (d) the target audience, (e) placement of the story within the newspaper and (f) the length of each story. The advertising portion of this analysis will examine the following variables: (a) total number of advertisements in each edition (b) advertisement category and (c) placement of advertisement within the newspaper.

Sample

The sample came from the Dallas Public Library. Viewing the newspaper required me to sit at the archives in February 2012 and sort through boxes and stacks of newspapers. To gather my sample for the content analysis, I selected the first edition of *Voice* published in May 1984. After that, I selected the first edition published in March of each year; however, some of the editions were unavailable. When I couldn't obtain the first edition from March, I obtained the next available edition in the same year. Also, I analyzed the most recently published *Voice*, which was the February 10, 2012 edition. My total sample consisted of 21 newspapers. *Voice* newspapers published in the following years were not available for public view: 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, and 2005. A complete listing of all newspapers analyzed can be seen in Appendix A.

Editorial Content

When I began my content analysis, I first counted the total number of pages, beginning with the front page and ending with the cover. I included those pages of the newspaper because articles were usually included on the front page, and an advertisement could usually be found on the back cover.

Then, I counted the total number of stories. For the purposes of this study, a story included any article, of any length, within the newspaper, excluding standalone pictures

graphics and cartoons. I assigned each story an identification number. I then categorized each story as targeted towards men, women, all genders, or transgender people.

After noting the target audience for the story, I then determined the story's category as health, political, entertainment, religion or other. A health story is defined as a story that deals with health topics such as, but not limited to, sexual health practices, HIV/AIDS, medical advice, and health trends. Political stories are defined as, but not limited to, reporting on local or national public office candidates, debates about national, state or local legislation and state and national recognition of LGBT rights. Entertainment stories are defined as, but not limited to, light hearted topics, music, movies, book reviews, vacationing, consumer trends, horoscopes, gossip and restaurant/club reviews. Religious stories are defined as, but not limited to, discussing a deity, churches, pastors and religious dogma. "Other" stories are defined as, but not limited to, discussing crime, sports, obituaries, letter to the editors and community calendars. Each story's location within the newspaper (page number) was documented. Furthermore, I categorized the story's length as brief, average or in-depth. A brief story is defined as one column long or less. An average story is longer than one column but encompasses less than a full page. An in-depth story is defined as one page or longer.

Advertisements

In each *Voice* analyzed for this research, I counted the number of advertisements in each edition and noted the specific page number where the advertisement was placed within the newspaper. I then assigned each advertisement an identification number and

categorized it as sexual/dating, professional services, alcohol/bar/nightclub and other. A sexual/dating advertisement is defined as one that promises any sexual services, printed or implied. This category included the following: (1) dating and sex telephone services many of those services used the offer of finding sex, talking about sex, sexual imagery and/or sexual innuendo as enticement, (2) bath houses—most of these establishments offered the obtaining of sexual pleasure as enticement, (3) sex video stores and (4) sex toy stores. Professional services is defined as any advertisement offering housing, retail, travel, automotive, photography, business, medical, financial and legal services. An alcohol/bar/nightclub advertisement is defined as having any reference, pictures or products associated with alcohol and/or an establishment that primarily sells alcohol to patrons. The “other” category is defined as an advertisement for educational, political, community oriented, tanning, plays, concerts, sports, conventions, movies, health club/gym and religious content. The newspapers contained a number of other advertising venues but they were not evenly distributed among all the newspapers; therefore, I excluded the following forms of advertising from the content analysis: (1) the classified section, (2) business directories, (3) special advertising inserts and (4) personal ads.

Data Analysis

Editorial

Using the above raw data, I found differences in the number of pages and stories the newspaper contained over its lifetime. Because the number of pages in each

newspaper changed from year to year, I did not examine the overall frequency of the variables. Instead, I calculated percentages and averages to find long-term trends. Within each individual publication, I calculated the percentage of stories in each category (health, political, entertainment or other), length (brief, average or in-depth) and target category (male, female, all, transgender).

Then using percentages, I determined where each subject category was found on average (the first third of the paper, middle or last third of the paper). I entered all the information into a spreadsheet to compare each publication's content to the entire sample.

Advertisements

After collecting the sample, I compared the differences in the number of advertisements among all the newspapers. I then calculated the percentage of advertisement categories (sexual/dating, professional services, alcohol/bar/nightclub and other) in each publication. I determined where each advertisement category was found most often (the first third of the paper, middle or last third of the paper)

CHAPTER VII

RESULTS

In-depth Interviews

Dallas Voice History

Voice publisher, Robert Moore, remembers picking up his first LGBT newspaper more than three decades ago:

I was in college, and *This Week in Texas* was publishing. I was going to school at Texas Tech ... (visiting) the first gay bar I frequented as a regular customer and *This Week in Texas* was distributed there... When you see something in print, it's more real. It's more alive than when you just visualize it. You can kind of visualize the gay community (by reading an LGBT newspaper), sort of think 'All these gay people that are like you are out there somewhere' ... It's no longer a mythic community. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

For Moore, reading an LGBT newspaper had a major impact on his life, a familiar story recounted by researchers who indicate LGBT media have a lasting and significant impact on young people's identities. Moore said he never aspired to grow up to be

publisher of a LGBT newspaper; it simply happened by accident. Moore said the founding of *Voice* was “a stream of circumstances that (were) very lucky for me” (Moore, personal communication, July 2011).

Prior to the founding of *Voice* in May 1984, Moore worked for a now defunct publication called the *Dallas Gay News*. He sold advertising for the publication part-time for about a year and a half, while he was trying to find a new job and change careers.

Moore and a fellow coworker, Don Ritz, grew disillusioned with the publication. They did not believe the newspaper reflected the diverse Dallas LGBT community, partly because it was owned and operated by a company in Houston:

Any publication that wants to cover gay issues, in a very broad sense, can do that. The mainstream media is good about that, but in order to really dig down and be reflective of your community, you need to cover organizations that make that community vibrant. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

In particular, Moore said he tried to convince the *Dallas Gay News* to cover the numerous sports leagues (bowling, tennis, softball, volleyball and tennis) in the LGBT community with no success:

The publisher at that time and the owner said at that time, “Gay people don’t care about sports.” And he was dead wrong, absolutely dead wrong. ...He did not live here. He did not go to events here. He did not talk to people here. He was not integrated into the community. He did not have a sense of what was important here. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Moore eventually received an offer from one of the previous partners of the *Dallas Gay News*, William “Bill” Marberry, who left the company, and offered Moore and Ritz the opportunity to help start their own LGBT newspaper. Six weeks after a brief meeting, Ritz, Moore and Marberry, invested about \$800 and founded the *Dallas Voice* in 1984. Volume one, issue number one rolled off the press on May 11, 1984 (“From 1984 to 2009,” 2009). More than a quarter century later, *Dallas Voice* is still publishing on a weekly basis.

Moore described the name of the newspaper, *Dallas Voice*, as “reflective of the City of Dallas. It’s not Texas Voice. It’s not the South Voice. We wanted it to focus on Dallas and make sure it had Dallas in the name... It’s *Voice* as a news institution. It’s *Voice* as a way for people to speak to other people of the community” (Told to Author, July 2011).

He cited his prior work for the *Dallas Gay News* as a major advantage when starting *Voice*:

I was there for a year and a half. I had the relationships with all the advertisers. We went around and told people we were going to leave the *Dallas Gay News*, and we were going to start a publication based in Dallas, owned here, runned here, and we hoped they would come with us. Everyone did. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Moore and Ritz bought out Marberry in 1985. Moore held the position of advertising manager, and Ritz held the position of controller. Ritz retired from *Voice* in 1998 and died in January 2001. Robert became the sole owner (Nash, 2009).

In 1996, the publication launched its website www.dallasvoice.com (“From 1984 to 2009,” 2009). The website features frequent updates on events and news in the Dallas LGBT community and, to a lesser extent, news from across the state. They also have an active Facebook page, where reporters post frequent updates on their stories.

Target Audience

Moore wants his newspaper content to be conventional enough to attract advertisers, but he recognizes the audience many may not be totally mainstream:

If we get too mainstream, all we are going to do is copy coverage that anybody is doing. As long as we can keep an audience that is GLBT centric, gelled and keep delivering a readership to an advertiser time and time again then we’ll continue to have income that we can continue to buy content, create content put that content up. If we become so generic that we can no longer keep a GLBT audience gelled around our product and picking up our product, there’s no reason for us to exist, and there’s no reason for an advertiser to come to us. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Moore, citing previous marketing studies, said the newspaper’s readership consists of 70% men and 30% women, all of whom generally speak English. He said his publication strives to appeal to people of all genders. Moore said many of the significant topics covered in the paper appeal to everyone in the LGBT community, including topics like marriage equality, military discrimination and fair adoption practices. He recognizes that

in terms of age groups, his older readers—no age range provided—generally prefer to read *Voice*'s printed newspaper, while his younger readers—no age range provided—generally prefer the online version of the newspaper. In broadly generalizing his audience, Moore said his publication is “geared toward people who are politically involved, better educated and more professional (type) people” (Moore, personal communication, July 2011).

Advertising Philosophy. Moore relies primarily on advertisements to generate revenue to operate *Voice*. He said he maintains an advertising-to-editorial ratio of 50-50 or 60-40 in order to keep the business profitable:

You can only spend as much money as you take in. It is a formula that says ... for every ad you take in ... you are assuming you can print that page and the opposing page and pay for the person who wrote it. And pay a little of rent. Pay a little bit insurance. Pay a little bit of telephone... It seems to be a formula that works. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

The original advertisers in *Voice*, according to Moore, are similar to the advertisers that dominated LGBT publications in the early years, “..we had a built in base of advertisers. There were the three ‘B’s’. The bars. The baths (bath houses). The bookstores” (Moore, personal communication, July 2011). These industries often relied

on hypersexual imagery to entice the readers of *Voice*. Most, if not all, of Moore's advertisers in the early years were local companies.

Moore recalls his earliest professional services advertisement came between 1987-88 when a gay Dallas dentist decided to have an advertisement in his paper. Other professional services advertisements followed from lawyers, few retail outlets and some apartment complexes, but the Fortune 500 brands were distinctly absent. Moore attributes the lack of national brands in the early years to not only prejudice against LGBT people, but also legitimate market forces:

...if you would be any publication that went into a national brand at that particular time with our product, they wouldn't give you the time of day because you weren't big enough. You had no depth. You had no reach. You are simply too small, and they wouldn't deal with you. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

On the few occasions *Voice* did land a mainstream advertiser, Moore said usually a person working at the company, who was LGBT or an ally, would vouch on behalf of his newspaper. Moore mentioned one case in particular involving a car dealership. Prestige Ford took the risk of advertising in *Voice*. As soon as the public learned of Prestige Ford's advertisement in an LGBT publication, protests broke out, led by conservative, religious organizations. Despite intense media coverage and protests, the owners of Prestige Ford continued and continue to advertise with *Voice*.

It took hard data to eventually entice national brands to begin advertising in *Voice*. In the 90s, Moore said publications that were part of the National Gay Newspaper

Guild pooled their resources and commissioned a study to examine the LGBT market.

Moore can't recall the specifics of the study, but he called the market research pivotal:

We could go and present ourselves as a group to Madison Ave and say these are the demographics of all these newspapers. Here's the readership of all these publications combined and if you invest in this group, this is the community you are reaching. Here's who you want to reach, and here's the stats, and we can prove it. It wasn't a myth anymore. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Now, it is very common within *Voice* to see brands such as Prudential, BMW, and Mercedes to name a few.

Sex Sells: Evolving Advertising Content. The advertising content of many LGBT publications, including *Voice*, has changed over the years, and Moore said it was deliberate. As *Voice* attracted more and more mainstream/professional services advertisers, he pushed the hypersexual advertisements to the back of the newspaper, even eliminating some of the most graphic images. The paper currently does not allow images of full frontal nudity in their advertisements, but they still allow images of partially clothed individuals. Sexual images are present in *Voice* advertisement content, but in a more subdued tone that in years past. Moore acknowledges sex sells:

There's a benefit and a cost for allowing that sort of thing. Many of the professional service people that are in our publication, if we allow those hypersexual marketing pieces in *Voice*, they (professional services) would pull out. They would not be on page ten and hypersexual ads back on page

62. They just wouldn't be in it. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Moore sided with the professional services advertisers because that industry is so large and diverse that it generates more venue for *Voice* than advertisers that rely on hypersexual imagery.

Evolving Editorial Content

Voice Senior Editor Tammye Nash details what her news philosophy is *not*:

My news philosophy is not ... "it bleeds it leads." That is not my news philosophy..... I want to inform. I want to educate. I don't want to shy away from controversy, but I don't have any interest in creating controversy just for the fun of it either. I want people to have an opportunity to read, understand and know about what's going that affects this community. (Nash, personal communication, July 2011)

Nash has been working with *Voice* for more than 20 years. This is the first and only LGBT publication she has worked for, but she did work for the mainstream media in the past:

When I worked in the mainstream press, the community was geographical. Now in the LGBT press, it's not so much a geographical community; it's a community of likeminded people. (Nash, personal communication, July 2011)

Nash concentrates her coverage on local LGBT issues with a sprinkling of statewide topics. She understands that she can't compete with the mainstream press in covering national and global topics like global warming and war.

Nash has seen the content of the newspaper and other LGBT newspapers change over the years from publications covering overtly sexual and risqué topics to one covering issues like finance, vacationing, and the arts, all topics that can be found in non-LGBT oriented publications. When asked if the newspaper content, her audience and LGBT people are going mainstream, Nash replied:

In some ways, I think we are. I look at myself. I'm married 10 years. My wife and I have two sons.... My idea of a big weekend is going to see the new Disney movie that came out or Harry Potter. My life is not that different from my sister who is married to a man and has a daughter. We do family things. (Nash, personal communication, July 2011)

In the formative years of LGBT media, Nash said the medium reflected the struggle of its audience:

When I first started in the LGBT media it was kind of a sexual revolution. "I had the right to be who I am," and your sexuality was part of that. Just having the right to love whomever you want, we have reached that goal. Now we want to love whoever we want and be a family. Look at the issues at the forefront: marriage and parenting. (Nash, personal communication, July 2011)

Nash believes LGBT publications will continue to gravitate towards the mainstream just like their audience is increasingly doing so.

Looking Forward

Moore is perplexed. Despite market research and his own experience indicating the LGBT audience is a lucrative readership that advertisers want to reach, Texas has only one functioning LGBT news magazine. He said the secret formula is "... holding the line fiscally. Obviously, I would love to pay my people more. I would love to run more color, any number of things I would love to do, but I'm not going to do it until the revenue is there" (Moore, personal communication, July 2011). For publications like his to continue operating in the future, Moore said LGBT newspapers must be operated as a business, rather than a "public service" (Moore, personal communication, July 2011). He blames poor business decision making in the past, rather than a lack of profitability, for the closure of other LGBT Texas newspapers like the *Houston Voice*:

When Windows Media bought them and relaunched the *Houston Voice* as a new publication, (they owners) really increased their staff, increased their photography ... increased their writing, increased the graphic quality; it was quite good. But so much baggage had been accumulated over the years that they could not turn the tide.... Unfortunately with the history with the people who owned the *Houston Voice* who made so many bad decisions and poisoned the water in the marketplace for them with advertisers ... they burned so many bridges. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Moore doesn't envision a future in Texas where a statewide LGBT newspaper will exist. That opinion is based on his own experience of trying to operate a statewide publication called *TXT*.

In 2004, Moore purchased the former *Texas Triangle* (*Triangle*), founded in Austin, Texas. The *Triangle* published its final edition December 31, 2004, but from its remains, Moore formed a new publication named *TXT Newsmagazine* (*TXT*). *TXT* was formed by combining two publications owned by Moore: *Triangle* and *Qtexas*, an LGBT entertainment magazine (Webb, 2006). At that time, *TXT* was Texas' only statewide gay weekly newspaper with offices in Houston, Austin and Dallas. Like its predecessor, the *Triangle*, *TXT* could not sustain itself and ceased publication on December 30, 2006.

Moore learned a lot from his experience with *TXT*. He firmly believes that operating a statewide LGBT publication in Texas is impossible at this point for three reasons: (1) In order for LGBT publications to gain an audience to sell to advertisers, the newspaper must be representative of the local community. A statewide publication would have to cover so many communities that no one specific town would gain an attachment to the publication. (2) *Voice* and other LGBT publications rely on a solid base of advertisers within their immediate communities. In turn, advertisers want access to a local audience:

Even in digital, it is local, local, local. I don't believe a car dealer in Houston is going to be interested in advertising to a gay market in Dallas. They (statewide publications) just aren't representative of their local communities because advertisers want to reach a local audience.

(Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

(3) Distributing a newspaper from a printer in Dallas to all parts of the state of Texas is simply too costly. The advertising revenue, at current levels, could not support such a labor intensive, expensive process.

Moore said the financial future of *Voice* is looking strong with the ending of the Great Recession. Starting in 2008, when the economy contracted, until the first quarter of 2010, *Voice* lost revenue according to Moore:

All media got hurt. All businesses got hurt. We are consumer sensitive. People aren't buying houses. If they aren't buying cars, or not eating out, or not buying clothes, then we are impacted by that. The last six months of 2010 was much better for us. The first two quarters of 2011 were dramatically better than 2010 was. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Moore acknowledges that his publication has changed over the years and will continue to look different in the future. It was founded as a newspaper, but now looks more like a magazine. Rather than feature numerous articles on the front page, *Voice* now usually covers its entire front page with a photograph enticing readers to the feature story inside. Moore said the availability of news instantly on the Internet forced his publication to undergo the transition:

In print, we are a weekly publication. You can't do breaking news stories as a weekly publication anymore. One, we need to be forward looking or cover topics that are timeless so that's really the reason. We're not going to come out with big headlines any more that say "This Happened on Tuesday." By the time a publication comes out on Friday, the big news on Tuesday is gone. That is now fed to the digital productions. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Many have speculated that newspapers will eventually cease publishing physical copies, opting to put their entire content solely online. Despite the fact that *Voice* continues to expand its online products (Facebook, Twitter, blogs), Moore does not see his print version disappearing anytime soon:

I will tell you that the National Gay Newspaper Association reports news organizations, newspapers, still get 90 percent of their revenue on print. Almost no one has figured out how to make money online. It is print that creates content. Print subsidizes digital almost every step of the way....The only really profitable digital publications are aggregators ... they have no original content. (Moore, personal communication, July 2011)

Nash believes that one day LGBT newspapers will probably stop publishing a print edition. She doesn't think that will happen next year or in the next five years, but the era of printing news on paper could end in her life time. According to Nash, the Internet holds the future for LGBT publications' long term survival but relying on the medium has two main weaknesses: (1) the proliferation of bloggers who may pose as journalists and (2) the inaccuracies that are sometimes published because of the intense pressure to be the first to break a story. Regarding the increase in bloggers who pose as journalists, Nash believes the phenomenon could dilute the field of journalism:

There's a difference between a journalist and somebody with a computer who can sit down and talk about whatever they want to talk about and put themselves out there as an expert. A journalist is somebody who takes the time to talk to people and try to find out the truth or at least the facts....

We have a code of ethics we try to adhere to. On the Internet, anybody can call himself or herself a reporter. (Nash, personal communication, July 2011)

Nash believes LGBT people should and will always have a newspaper that reports on issues concerning their community, because LGBT people are far from gaining full acceptance by mainstream society. Nash points to other disenfranchised minority communities who still have their own publications, decades after beginning their fight for civil rights:

We have an African-American press. Not to imply that African Americans are fully equal in this country; they're not... but there is still an African-American press out there. They see things in a different way. They give more attention to certain subjects that the mainstream press is not going to do. (Nash, personal communication, July 2011)

Nash's opinion is counter to some LGBT journalists who envision a day when LGBT newspapers will be obsolete because LGBT people will eventually achieve full equality under the law and blend into mainstream society.

Content Analysis

Number of Pages

Voice has undergone tremendous changes in the past three decades. One of the most significant and volatile changes can be found in the number of pages in the

publication from its inception on May 11, 1984 to the final edition analyzed for this study February 10, 2012. Figure 1 shows how drastically *Voice* added, and at times, subtracted the number of pages in its publication.

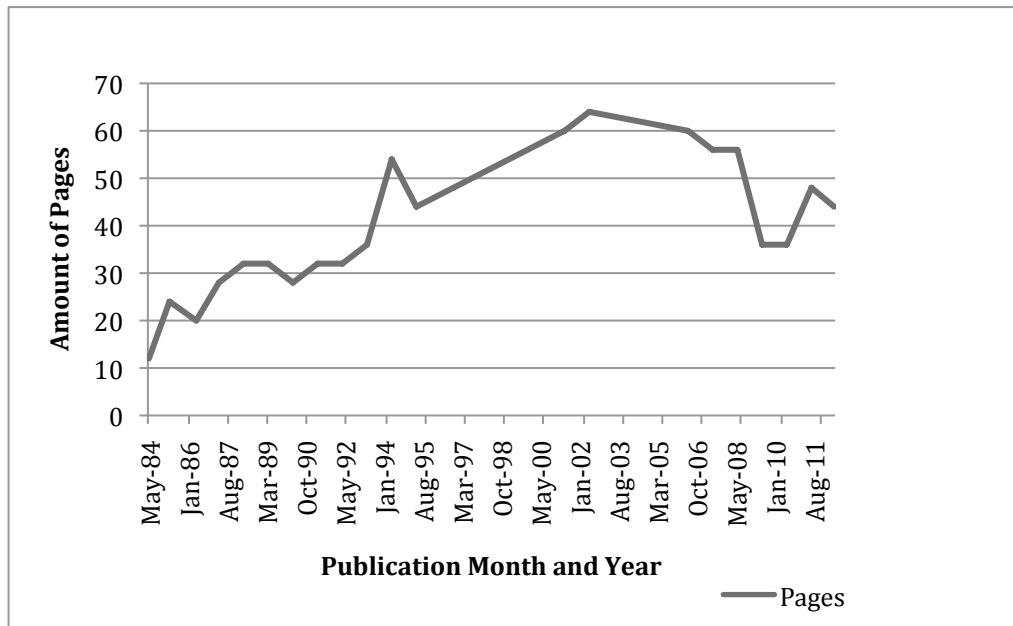


Figure 1. Total number of pages in the *Dallas Voice*.

The May 1984 edition contained 12 pages. From that edition through its first two decades in existence, my research shows *Voice* experienced a steady growth trend, because most editions analyzed increased the total number of pages until after March 1, 2002. The greatest number of pages could be found in the March 2002 edition with 64 pages. Soon after March 2002, my research shows, the number of pages in *Voice* entered a downward trend. The greatest drop in pages happened between March 7, 2008 and March 5, 2010, where the total number of pages dropped from 56 to 36 respectively. My final sample, the February 2012 edition of *Voice*, contained 44 pages, which is the same number of pages featured in the March 3, 1995 edition.

Editorial

Number of Stories. *Voice* had a humble editorial beginning. In its first publication, the paper featured 10 stories. By March 1, 1985, *Voice* doubled the number of stories to more than 20. Between the editions in March 5, 1993 and March 11, 1994, stories within *Voice* nearly double from 19 to 33. This major story increase in the early 90s coincides with the significant growth in overall pages in the publication exhibited in Figure 1.

The most stories in one publication happened in March 3, 2006. At that time, as seen in Figure 2, *Voice* ran 57 stories. After 2006, I found a noticeable downward trend of stories. In February 2012, the last edition analyzed, *Voice* ran 22 stories, an overall number of stories unseen since March 1985, when *Voice* ran 22 stories as well.

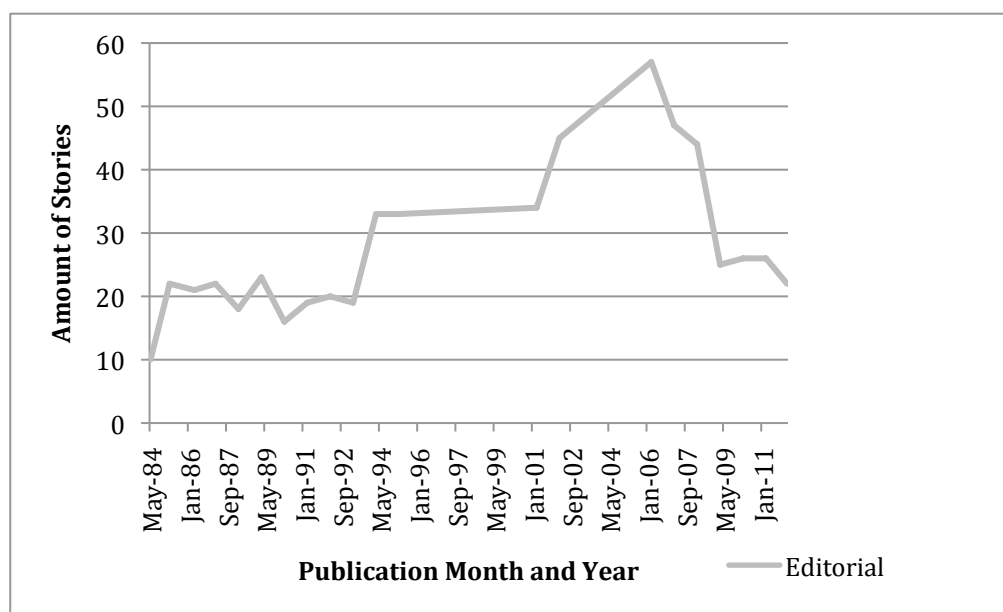


Figure 2. Total number of stories in the *Dallas Voice*.

Story Categories. On average, most of the stories analyzed fell into the entertainment category, followed by the political category. The average of entertainment stories within each *Voice* was 36.04%. On average, each newspaper contained 31.10% political stories. Stories labeled as other averaged 18.81%. Health stories averaged 11.72%. Religious stories were featured the least amount at 2.32% on average. But from newspaper to newspaper, the percentages of stories in each category, at times, fluctuated dramatically (See Appendix A).

Entertainment is the only category to ever account for half of the editorial content in the newspaper, but it required a slow and steady climb to reach such a level. The first edition of *Voice* featured 40% entertainment stories. An example of an entertainment story featured in the March 1, 1985 edition is a story about a popular play debuting in Dallas. The story was featured on the front page, and the headline read “Tom Stoppard’s ‘The Real Thing’ Opens March 5th at the Majestic” (See Appendix B1). The lowest number of entertainment stories can be found in the March 1993 sample, when it accounted for 21.05% of stories. Between 1984 and 1995, entertainment stories fluctuated wildly. Beginning in 1995, *Voice* entered a trend where the entertainment stories never dipped below 29.79% of stories. On March 3, 1995, *Voice* ran a travel article on page 20, in the lifestyle section, with the headline “Remote Kauai offers pacific visual delights” (See Appendix B2). In the March 2011 and February 2012 samples, entertainment stories accounted exactly 50% of the overall editorial content (See Appendix C1). One of the most recent examples of an entertainment story is in the February 10, 2012 edition. The article, with the headline “Romancing the tune,” is about

an openingly lesbian singer named Nancy Beaudette, who performed in Dallas (See Appendix C2).

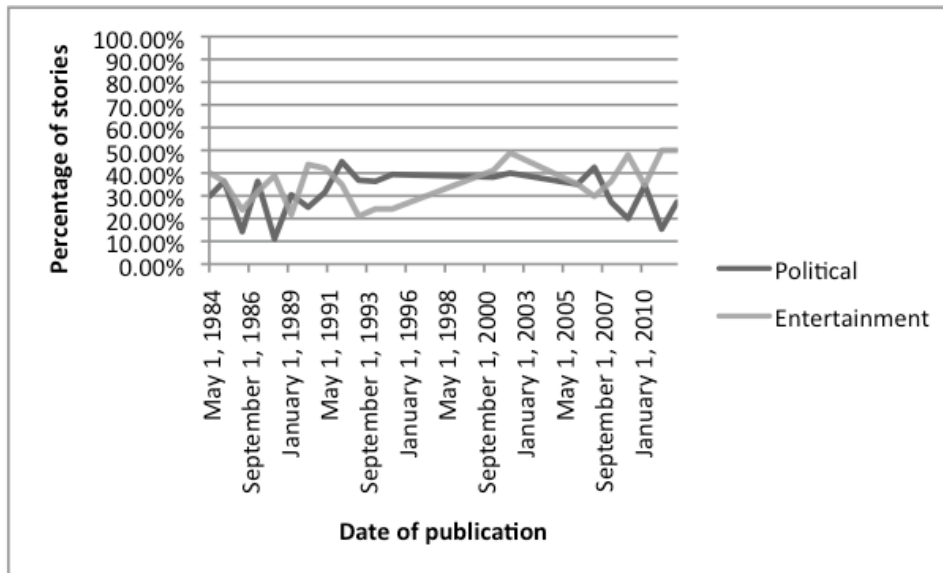


Figure 3. Percentage of political and entertainment stories in *Dallas Voice*.

Political stories accounted for 30% of the editorial content in *Voice*'s first edition in 1984. The first edition featured a political story on its front page with the headline "Dallas Gay Community Rally Together for Election." The story reported how the local LGBT political caucus and a gay political group endorsed candidates who then went on to win enough votes to reach a runoff election with other unendorsed candidates (See Appendix D). Between the samples in 1984 and 1991, the percentage of political stories drastically fluctuated from year to year. On March 6, 1992, a political story was featured on the front page with the headline "Texas primary vote set Tuesday." The story covered how local LGBT leaders encouraged their community to vote in the Presidential Primary featuring then President George Bush and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton (See Appendix E). Between 1991 and 2007, the political stories consistently accounted for

more than 30 percent of the editorial content. Starting in 2008, *Voice*'s political content dipped below the 30%, hitting 15.39% in 2011, and then rebounding to 27.27% in 2012 (See Appendix F1). One of the most recent examples of a *Voice* political story can be found in the March 4, 2011 edition. An article on page four has the headline "Lesbian challenging in District 7." The story details how Casie Pierce could be the first out lesbian to serve on the Dallas City Council if she won her race, which she did not (See Appendix F2).

Political and entertainment stories consistently made up the bulk of the newspaper in terms of editorial content. In the publication's early years, Figure 3 shows how political and entertainment stories traded spots in terms of the most editorial content. Between 1991 and 2000, political stories consistently accounted for more of the editorial content, but after 2001, Figure 3 shows entertainment stories accounting for higher percentages of editorial content. With the exception of 2007, entertainment stories consistently tied and exceeded political stories in terms of overall percentage.

The period between 1984 and 1994 saw some of the highest percentages of health stories in *Voice*'s history. In this time period, health stories consistently accounted for at least 5% of stories. In *Voice*'s first edition in 1984, health stories accounted for 10% of stories. In 1986, the percentage of health stories jumped to 42.86%. An example of an early health story in *Voice*'s history is a March 3, 1987 article with the headline "Gay Methodist blasts church's AIDS program" (See Appendix G1). A health story in the March 5, 1993 edition, with the headline "AIDS advocates praise Clinton budget," details how President Bill Clinton's administration infused \$320 million into AIDS care, intervention and research funding (See Appendix G2). In 1994, the percentage of health

stories dropped from 27.21% to 9.09%. In 2002, no health stories were found. Between 2002 and 2008, health stories accounted for single digit percentages. After 2002, the percentages rebounded to 12% in 2009. Since 2009, health stories never accounted for more than 12% of overall editorial content (See Appendix H1). In the March 6, 2009 issue, one health story has the headline “Local leaders pleased with choice for AIDS policy chief.” The story, on page six of the newspaper, reports on President Obama naming Jeffrey S. Crowley, an openly gay man, to lead the administration’s Office of National AIDS Policy (See Appendix H2).

Religious stories consistently accounted for the least amount of stories within in each publication. In the first edition of *Voice*, religious stories accounted for 10% of the editorial content. Between 1987 and 1991, religious stories were not detected. In the March 11, 1994 edition, an opinion piece discussing religious issues was featured on page 18 titled “Anti-Semitism and homophobia: the obvious connection.” The article discussed rhetorical parallels among those who spread hate speech about LGBT people and Jews (See Appendix I1). Beginning in 2001, religious stories never accounted for more than 2.94% of stories. In the March 2, 2001 edition, *Voice* ran a front-page religious article with the headline “Gay minister resigns after vote.” The article reported on local pastor James Simmons who resigned his position at a predominately gay church because church members had doubts about the pastor’s past personal life (See Appendix I2). I found no religious stories between 2009 and 2012 (See Appendix J).

Target Audience. Since *Voice*’s first publication to the last newspaper analyzed for this research, the editorial content has overwhelmingly targeted people of all genders

(87.63%). On average, readers would find 24 stories in each publication targeted to people of all genders. Females were the next most frequently targeted audience. About two articles in each newspaper were targeted to females. Males could find one articles targeted to them. Transgender people would find the least number of stories, targeted to them, with less than one articles in each newspaper targeted to them (See Appendix K).

Story Placement. My content analysis shows the editors of *Voice*, on average and consistently, place the majority of their political, health, and stories labeled as other in the first third of the newspaper. On average, 76.75% of all political stories, 70.39% of all health stories, 51.81% of stories labeled as other were found in the first third of the newspaper. On average, 38.72% of all religious stories were found in the first third of the newspaper as well. The editors placed the majority of their entertainment stories in the middle and last third of the newspaper, 57.48% and 20.36% respectively. Political and religious stories were almost never found in the last third of *Voice*, 3.23% and 0% respectively.

Story Length. Across all story categories, my research shows that *Voice* provided its readers with very few in-depth stories. On average, 7.58% of political stories, 6.67% of health stories, 5.88% of religious stories and 11.05% of other stories were classified as in-depth. On average, the most stories were classified as brief (Political= 46.77%, Health=57.83%, Religion=33.82%, Other= 52.79%). Political stories had the most stories categorized as average, followed by other, health and religion (Political = 46.65%, Other = 36.16, Health = 25.98%, Religion = 13.24%).

Advertisements

Number of Advertisements. The first edition of *Voice* featured 12 advertisements, a quantity unseen since then. By 1985, the publication more than doubled its advertisements to 35. *Voice* saw slow and steady growth, as seen in Figure 4, until March 1993, when the number of advertisements jumped to 65. The following year in 1994, the total number of advertisements dramatically increased again to 98. This research documented the highest number of advertisements in March 2002, when *Voice* had 112 advertisements. From 2002, the newspaper saw a steady decline, which culminated in a steep drop beginning in March 2008. By March 2010, *Voice*'s advertisement content dropped to levels unseen since March 1992.

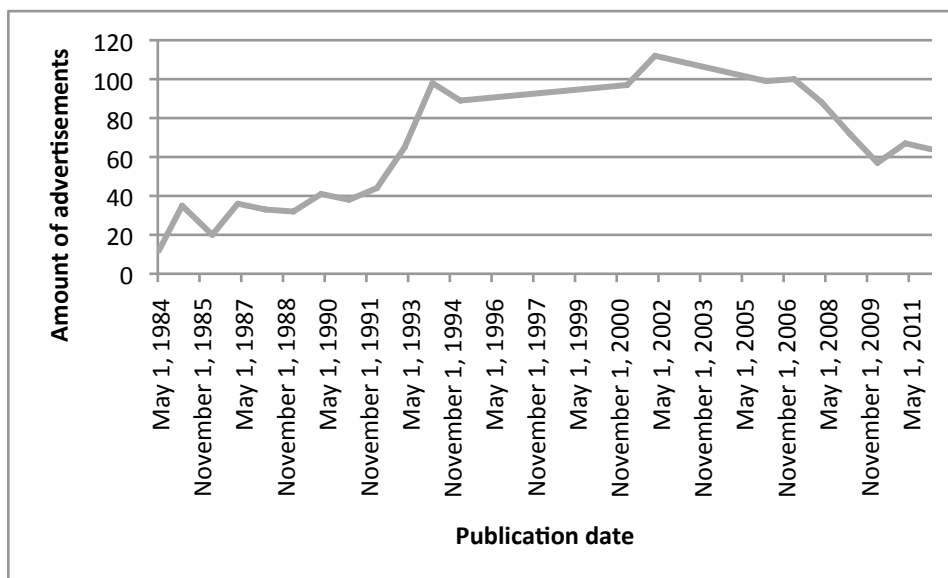


Figure 4. Total number of advertisements in the *Dallas Voice*.

Advertisement Categories. Since its inception, *Voice* always had a steady base of professional services advertisements (PS) (See Appendix L1). In its first edition, I

categorized 63.63% of the advertisements as PS. One example was a real-estate company that purchased an advertisement for their numerous apartment complexes across town (See Appendix L2). In March 1985, I found the lowest percentage of PS advertisements at 25.71%, but the following year witnessed a jump of PS advertisements to 50%. Since March 1994, PS never fell below 63%. Frequently, *Voice* had numerous PS advertisements on one page. In the March 3, 1995 issue on page 15, I found a jeweler, funeral home, attorney and real-estate companies' advertisements grouped together (See Appendix M). I found the highest percentage of PS (79.69%) in February 2012. The PS advertisements in that edition ranged from vehicles to furniture stores (See Appendix N1).

Alcohol/bar/nightclub (ABN) advertisements played a significant role in *Voice* during the publication's early years (See Appendix N2). By 1985, ABN advertisements accounted for 40% of advertising content, the highest percentage recorded. In the March 1, 1985 edition on page seven, one ABN advertised "Hot Sexy Male STRIPPERS" to accommodate cheap happy hour prices for alcoholic beverages (See Appendix O). With the exception of 1987, ABN accounted for more than 19% of the content until March 1994, when ABN decreased dramatically to 13.27%. From 1995 onward, ABN continued a slow and steady decline. I found two examples of ABN in the March 1, 2002 edition on pages 46-47. "After Dark" and "Round-up Saloon" were two nightclubs that had advertisements featured on opposing pages (See Appendix P1). By February 2012, ABN accounted for the least percentage of advertising content in the magazine's history at 3.13%.

Sex/dating (SD) advertisements also played a significant role in *Voice*'s early

years (See Appendix P2). The first edition only had 9.09% SD. By March 1987, SD accounted for exactly a third (33.33%) of all advertisements. Telephone dating services comprised many of the early SD advertisements. Some featured imagery of men wearing very little clothing and holding a phone (See Appendix Q). From March 1987 forward, SD continued to account for more than 24.24% of all advertising content until March 1991 when the content fell from 34.21%, the highest recorded, to 13.64% in March 1992. Throughout the years, bathhouse advertisements could be found among the other SD advertisements (See Appendix R). In the March 8, 1992 edition, I found of Beginning in 1994, SD started a slow and steady decline. In March 2002, I found the lowest percentage of SD advertisements (1.79%). By February 2012, SD accounted for 3.13%.

Voice consistently had a steady supply of advertising labeled as other. In May 1984, April 1986, March 1987 and March 1991, advertising labeled as other stayed in single percentage points. Besides those years, advertising labeled as other remained in double digit percentage points, but never comprising more than a third of advertising content. The highest percentage of advertising labeled as other (26.86%) was recorded on March 2011. The lowest was recorded on March 1991 (2.63%) (See Appendix S).

Advertisement Placement. The placement of sex/dating (SD) advertisements is one of the most dramatic changes in *Voice*'s advertising content. In its first edition, editors placed 100% of SD advertisements in the first third of the newspaper. Quickly, that practice was changed. By 1986, Figure 5 shows that editors began moving the SD content to the middle and last third of the newspaper.

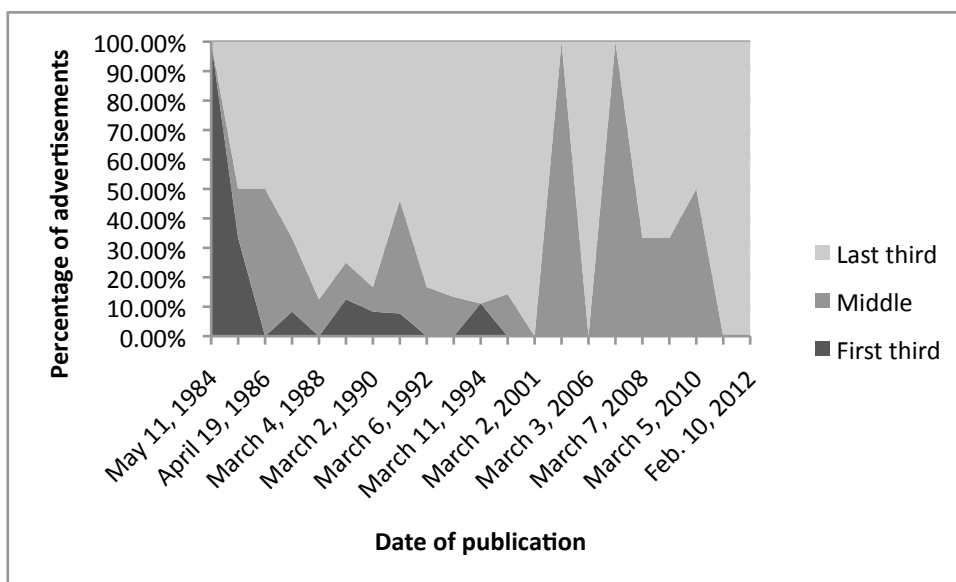


Figure 5. Placement of sex/dating advertisements in the *Dallas Voice*.

In 1986, 100% of the SD advertising content was evenly split between the middle and last third of the newspaper.. Before 1992, SD advertisements could occasionally be found in the first third of the newspaper, but after 1992, SD advertisements disappeared from the front section of *Voice*. Beginning in 2011, *Voice* placed all SD in the back of the newspaper.

Alcohol/bar/nightclub (ABN) followed a similar placement path as SD, but ABN advertisements were never exclusively placed at the front of the newspaper like SD. In its first edition, *Voice* placed all the ABN advertisements between the middle (50%) and last third (50%) of the newspaper. Figure 6 shows how between 1985 (28.57%) and 1987 (40%), ABNs began a significant appearance in the first third of the newspaper. I recorded the highest percentage of ABN advertisements in 1995 in the first third of the newspaper (41.67%). After 1995, ABN began migrating away from the first third of the

newspaper to the middle and last sections of the newspaper. Figure 5 shows between 2001 and 2012, ABN advertisements were nonexistent in the first section of the newspaper, with the exception of 2010.

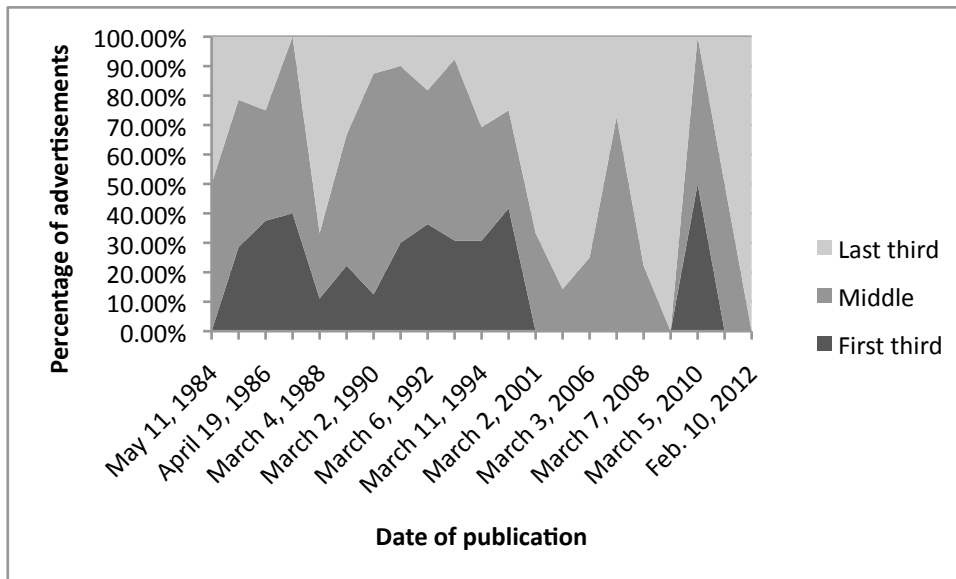


Figure 6. Placement of alcohol/bar/nightclub advertisements in the *Dallas Voice*.

Professional services advertisements (PS) took a different path altogether. Except for the years 1984 and 1986, Figure 7 shows more than 30% of PS advertisements consistently remained in the first third of the newspaper. Beginning in 1994, a major growth trend started where PS advertising content in the first third of the newspaper reach record highs. The years 2002, 2006, 2007 witnessed PS content above 60%. In March 2010, 75% of PS content was placed in the first third of the newspaper. In 1990 and 1993, 0% of PS advertising was placed in the last third of the newspaper. Between 2001 and 2011, more than 90% of PS advertising was placed in the first two-thirds of the newspaper. The years 2002, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011 saw more than 97% of PS advertisements in the first two-thirds of the newspaper.

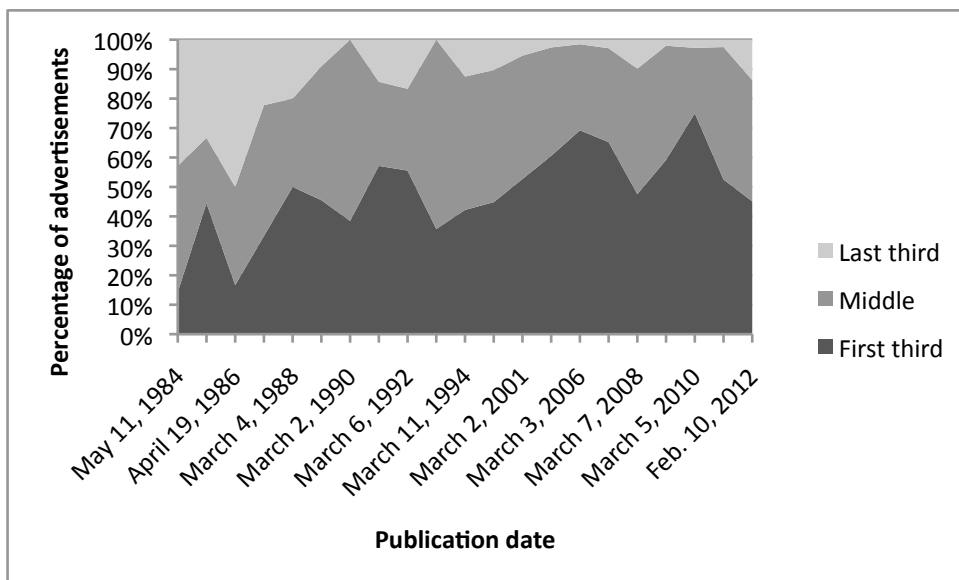


Figure 7. Placement of professional services advertisements in the *Dallas Voice*.

Advertisement labeled as other (O) were scattered heavily in the first two-thirds of the newspapers analyzed. Figure 8 shows very few noticeable trends in O placement, except O was highly concentrated in the first two-thirds of the newspapers. In the 1984 edition, I found 100% of O advertising in the last third of the newspaper. After 1984, O's placement in the last third of the newspaper ranged between 0% (1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1993, 2007, 2009, and 2012) and 33.33% (1993).

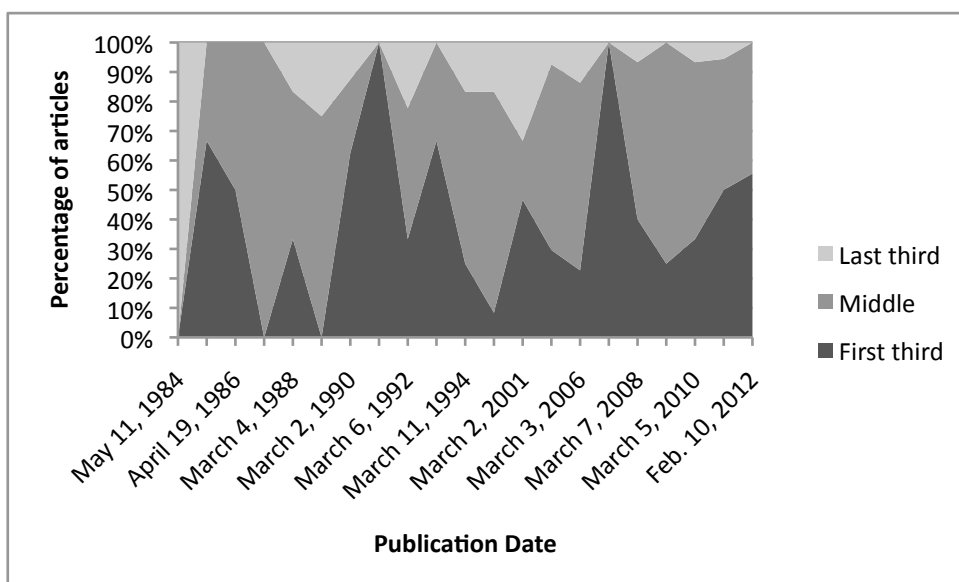


Figure 8. Placement of advertisements categorized as other in the *Dallas Voice*.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION

The last remaining LGBT magazine in Texas was founded by “accident.” Robert Moore, *Voice* publisher, never dreamed of owning his own newspaper. It happened with the taking of a short-term job in advertising at a now-defunct LGBT newspaper, a string of lucky decisions, and the untimely death of his business partner. The name *Dallas Voice* was intended to reflect the newspaper’s efforts to represent their readers to society as well as a means for their readers to communication with each other.

Issue one of *Voice* rolled off the presses in May 1984. Since then, *Voice* witnessed tremendous changes precipitated by a variety of economic factors. The publisher himself is perplexed by the fact that in a state the size of Texas, there is only one weekly LGBT news magazine still publishing. His experience and my review of the existing literature on the topic confirms that LGBT people are a lucrative market. Local and major national brands want to reach this audience, but so far the other LGBT Texas newspapers have failed.

21st Century: From Newspaper to News Magazine

Voice is adapting to the 21st century pressures of operating a niche publication

targeted to LGBT people by operating less like a newspaper and more like a news magazine. A simple visual comparison of the first *Voice*, as seen in Figure 8, and the last edition analyzed for this thesis, as seen in Figure 10, shows a startling evolution. Figure 9 shows *Voice* appearing like a traditional newspaper, featuring news and major headlines from the previous week on the front page. The 21st century *Voice*, as seen in Figure 10, looks more like a magazine, and has no articles on the front page, just a picture enticing readers to a cover story within. Moore said, as a weekly publication, his newspaper can no longer “come out with big headlines any more that say ‘This Happened on Tuesday’” (Moore, personal communication, July 2011). Moore publishes those major headlines throughout the week on his website, and he saves timeless cover stories for the physical publication that is printed on Thursdays. Moore said in order to survive, his publication must feature forward-looking news and not dwell on news that happened the previous week.



Figure 9. First edition of *Dallas Voice* May 11, 1984.



Figure 10. February 10, 2012 edition of *Dallas Voice*

In the 21st century, *Voice* continues to struggle with finding a strategy to increase revenues from their digital products. Moore said his physical publication generates more revenue than his website. In fact, the physical product subsidizes the production and maintenance of his website every step of the way. Despite predictions of the disappearance of physical newspapers, Moore does not see that happening any time soon until publishers like himself can find the magic formula to make their websites generate more money.

The financial health of *Voice* has changed since 2008, when *Voice* suffered severe declines in revenue. Moore reports that *Voice* is now financially healthy, which mirrors trends among the publishing industry. A report from the Pew Research Center's Project of Excellence in Journalism [PRCPEJ] titled "The State of the News Media 2011" reports the worst of the economic devastation in the media business appears to be over, and the state of the American news media seems to be improving.

Fluctuating Editorial Content

There was an incredible boom in editorial content beginning after 1992 and a noticeable downward trend starting in 2006. The increase in the number of pages and stories is tied to an explosion of advertisers in the early 90s. The decline in *Voice*'s size and content nearly mirrors the decline suffered throughout the newspaper industry. During the Great Recession, more than a million subscribers to LGBT publications were lost between 2006 and 2009 ("2009 Gay Press Report," 2010). For *Voice*, after 2006, they saw a significant drop in over all page count and stories. Both variables began slowly increasing after 2009, the year economists consider the Great Recession to have ended (Lee, 2010).

Despite the current downward trend in the size of the newspaper and number of stories, *Voice* continues to deliver a significant number of news to its readers. Throughout *Voice*'s history, especially the last decade, *Voice* offered more entertainment news than political news. Even with those fluctuations, editors seemed to stick with the idea that political, health and religious stories should be placed toward the front of the newspaper, and softer news offerings like entertainment stories should be placed towards the middle and end of the newspaper.

Moving to the Mainstream?

This research did not document subtle changes in the editorial content, such as whether the story represented mainstream or counter-culture viewpoints? The

publication's editor Tammy Nash believes the content is becoming more mainstream compared to LGBT media's early years, which poses a potential problem. Nash said the topics, not only in *Voice* but also in all early LGBT newspapers, were more risqué. The risqué nature of the stories, according to Nash, comes from LGBT media mirroring their readers in the midst of a "sexual revolution." Nash said that since society is becoming more accepting of LGBT people and LGBT people continue gaining more rights across this country, the "sexual revolution" has been won. Now journalists at *Voice* are no longer covering "revolutionary" topics (criminalization of sexual behavior, widespread antagonism from police forces, and rampant discrimination); instead, they are moving toward covering topics of LGBT people obtaining equal rights and equal opportunities to participate in mainstream culture like enrolling in military service, adopting children, inheritance rights, and being allowed to marry. But the publisher does not want his paper and journalists moving too far into the mainstream. Moore fears that if his newspapers' coverage loses its LGBT focus and mirrors coverage that can be found in the mainstream press, he will lose his audience and the advertisers who want to tap into the LGBT market.

Change in Advertisements

The gravitation to the mainstream is not coincidence or left up to chance; it took deliberate action on the part of *Voice*'s publisher and other LGBT media publishers as well. My research shows a boom in the number of pages, editorial content and advertising content after 1992. Moore attributes the boon to advertising market research conducted in

the 1990s by LGBT publishers. This market research allowed all LGBT publications, including *Voice*, to approach and to solicit national and Fortune 500 brands to advertise in LGBT media. As my research shows, the market research paid off and led to dramatic increases in overall size of the newspaper. *Voice*'s advertising content changed from purely local to a mix of local plus national brands.

The burst of content did yield interesting trends with the placement of advertisements. Previous research noted how LGBT press now function less as a "minority medium," as in the 60s, 70s and early 80s, and more of a "niche medium" because the newspapers organize their content to "to attract and expand that audience" with the goal of developing "a demographic profile attractive to other advertisers" (Fejes and Lennon 2000, p. 37). This push to make the LGBT audience attractive to advertisers can be seen across LGBT publications in the late 80s and 90s. In the late 80s, publications revamped their layout and content "[f]or example, *The Advocate*, a national lesbian/gay biweekly magazine, put all sexually explicit material into another publication which it sold separately, and focused on news, cultural and feature stories that would not be problematic to advertisers" (Fejes & Lennon, 2000, p. 38). This shift can also be seen in the *Voice*.

In the early days, my research shows *Voice* placed some of its most sexual advertisements and advertisements focused on alcohol/bars/nightclubs at the front of the newspaper, mixed among companies offering professional services. But after 1991, *Voice* began pushing the sex/dating advertisements to the back of the publication, and after 1995, alcohol/bar/nightclubs advertisements were also moved away from the front pages. The effort coincided with an explosion in the number of professional services

advertisements. From the newspapers' first edition, *Voice* had a significant percentage of professional services advertisements, but increasing the sheer number of professional services advertisements coincided with a decline in sexual/dating and alcohol/bar/nightclub advertisements. Moore said gaining professional advertisements and moving sexual and alcohol advertisements to the back of the paper was a deliberate effort to maximize revenue because, ultimately, companies focused on professional services generate more advertising dollars, and those companies did not want their advertisements next to sexually explicit content.

Limitations

This research is limited to my interpretation since I have no mechanism to ensure intercoder reliability. Due to the sample being located in Dallas, I could not transport other coders to the Dallas Public Library to verify my coding; therefore, the coded target audience, story category and advertising category were subject to my interpretation. Since my research did not contain a random sample of newspapers, I cannot generalize my results beyond the editions analyzed. My results are limited to the newspapers analyzed and can not be used to draw conclusions about other editions.

During my research, I came to understand the diversity in editorial and advertising content within the *Voice*. The categories I chose for the stories and advertisements were too narrow; therefore, I grouped advertisements and stories together that had vast differences.

Since my research focused on the number of stories and advertisements in the defined categories, my research did not examine how the content within the stories and the advertisements changed over *Voice*'s lifetime.

I excluded many other advertising portions such as the classified ads and special inserts. These sections, no doubt, provided a substantial amount of revenue to *Voice*. My findings should not be used to draw conclusions about all *Voice* advertising.

Future Research

Any publication that reports on a population can be seen as a time capsule of sorts. Going through boxes and boxes of *Voice* publications, I had the chance to peer back in time and read news articles covering contentious issues in LGBT history. Future researchers may consider analyzing *Voice*'s coverage of specific significant historical topics like the U.S. military's ban on LGBT people serving openly, a policy known as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." The HIV/AIDS epidemic was extensively covered in *Voice*. Previous researchers noted how LGBT media provided some of the earliest, accurate reporting of the epidemic, while mainstream media outlets largely ignored the problem. An analysis could be conducted to see how the *Voice* specifically covered the epidemic.

As previously noted, I excluded other advertising portions of the *Voice*, such as the classified section. That section of the newspaper had a variety of advertisements, many of which seemed overtly sexual, but at the same time many other advertisements were for LGBT people seeking relationships. Future researchers could analyze *Voice*'s

classified section to see how early LGBT people used the medium to find companions, for plutonic, sexual and/or romantic purposes.

Voice also had a long-standing tradition of publishing comics with LGBT themes. Some of these comics addressed topics like LGBT history and political satire. Future researchers may consider analyzing these comics to see how artists handled, contemporary social and political topics.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Percentage of story categories in each publication in the *Voice*

Date	Editorial	Political	Health	Religion	Entertainment	Other
May 11, 1984	10	30.00%	10.00%	10.00%	40.00%	10.00%
March 1, 1985	22	36.34%	13.64%	0.00%	36.36%	13.64%
April 19, 1986	21	14.29%	42.86%	9.52%	23.81%	9.52%
March 13, 1987	22	36.36%	13.64%	0.00%	31.82%	18.18%
March 4, 1988	18	11.11%	22.22%	0.00%	38.89%	27.78%
March 3, 1989	23	30.44%	21.74%	0.00%	21.74%	26.09%
March 2, 1990	16	25.00%	6.25%	0.00%	43.75%	25.00%
March 1, 1991	19	31.58%	10.53%	0.00%	42.11%	15.79%
March 6, 1992	20	45.00%	5.00%	5.00%	35.00%	10.00%
March 5, 1993	19	36.84%	15.79%	0.00%	21.05%	26.32%
March 11, 1994	33	36.36%	27.27%	3.03%	24.24%	9.09%
March 3, 1995	33	39.39%	9.09%	12.12%	24.24%	15.15%
March 2, 2001	34	38.24%	2.94%	2.94%	41.18%	14.71%
March 1, 2002	45	40.00%	0.00%	0.00%	48.89%	11.11%
March 3, 2006	57	35.09%	3.51%	1.75%	35.09%	24.56%
March 2, 2007	47	42.55%	4.26%	2.13%	29.79%	21.28%
March 7, 2008	44	27.27%	2.27%	2.27%	36.36%	31.82%
March 6, 2009	25	20.00%	12.00%	0.00%	48.00%	20.00%
March 5, 2010	26	34.62%	11.54%	0.00%	34.62%	19.23%
March 4, 2011	26	15.39%	11.54%	0.00%	50.00%	23.08%
Feb 10, 2012	22	27.27%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	22.73%
Average		31.10%	11.72%	2.32%	36.04%	18.81%

Appendix B

Figure B1

Figure B1. Example of entertainment story in *Voice* March 1, 1985

Figure B2

Figure B2. Example of entertainment story in *Voice* March 3, 1985

Appendix C

Figure C1

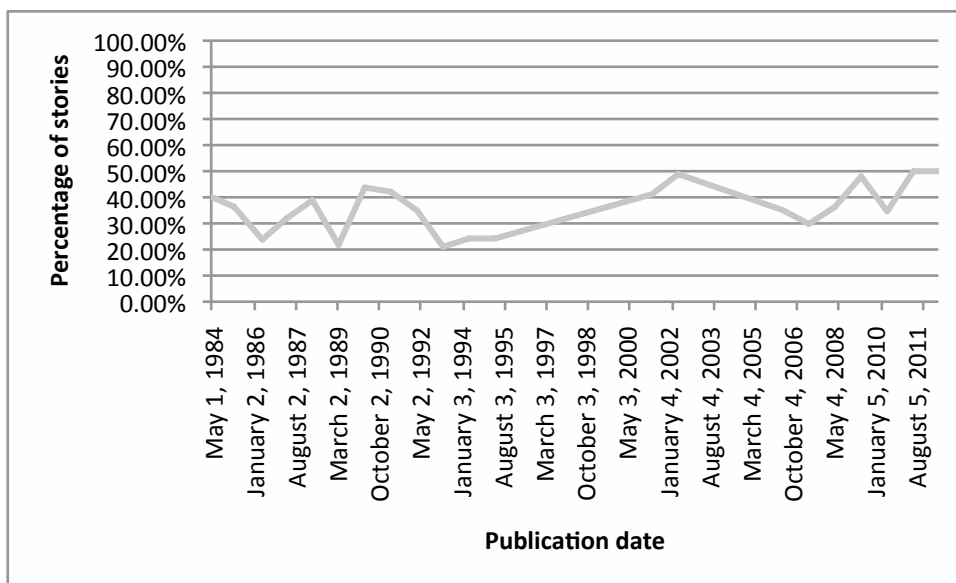
Figure C1. Percentage of entertainment stories within each publication in the *Voice*

Figure C2

Figure C2. Example of an entertainment story in *Voice* February 10, 2012

Appendix D

Example of a political story in *Voice* May 11, 1984

DALLAS VOICE
Voice of the Gay Community

Volume 1 No. 1 Friday May 11, 1984

Dallas Gay Community Pulls Together for Election

The effectiveness of block voting became obvious when precinct voting totals were released after last Saturday's primary election. The clout of the Dallas gay community's vote had been questioned after last year's city council race. However, analysis of the results of this year's election clearly show that when the gay community unites behind one candidate, it can flex its muscle.

The Dallas Gay Political Caucus (DGPC), the political action committee of the Dallas Gay Alliance (DGA), and endorsed many candidates for the primary election.

According to Mike Richards, DGA board of directors member to the DGPC, the offices of the U.S. Senate, the Dallas County Sheriff, and the Dallas County Commissioner, District No. 3 were the most important.

The DGPC had selected twelve precincts in which to concentrate its efforts. Selection of the precincts was based on the number of gay-identified voters in a particular precinct.

In the three races the gay community pulled together, giving an impressive showing in each of the precincts which had been targeted by the DGPC.

The DGPC had endorsed John Vance in the Sheriff's race and Lloyd Doggett in the Senate race. Both candidates pulled enough votes to place in the June 2 run-off election.

Fred Blair, endorsed by the DGPC for District #3 County Commissioner did not win enough votes to place in the run-off. Nonetheless, his showing in the DGPC precincts was significantly higher than any of the other candidates.

Lloyd Doggett, formerly a Texas state senator from Austin, received 42% of the vote from Dallas County as a whole. However, in the twelve precincts targeted by the DGPC, Doggett received 81% of the vote, while his two chief opponents, Bob Krueger and Kent Hance, received 26% and 10%, respectively. Krueger received 38% in Dallas County, while Hance received 16%.

Doggett, who is the most liberal of the Senatorial candidates, will face Hance in the run-off. The final tally on votes across the state showed Hance with just over 1,000 votes more than Doggett. Doggett led Krueger by just over 1100 votes statewide.

Hance had launched a vigorous media campaign three weeks before the election, publicizing his disagreement with both Doggett's and Krueger's support of the gay rights bill currently in both the U.S. Senate and House. Hance also publicized his disapproval of amnesty for illegal aliens who had lived in the U.S. for a certain number of years. While Hance's media campaign may have gained strength for him in the rural parts of Texas, it probably polarized him in the more liberal urban areas of Texas, such as Dallas and Houston.

Doris Taylor, chair of Lesbian/Gay Democrats of Texas, an organization which had also endorsed Doggett, said that she hoped 100% of Krueger's supporters would

be no real choice in the November general election since Hance, and the Republican candidate, Phil Gramm, share very similar philosophies.

DGPC's Richards expressed a similar sentiment and stated that he wanted to carry out an "anti-Hance" campaign.

In the Sheriff's race, the DGPC endorsed John Vance. Although Vance's showing in the DGPC targeted precincts was not as strong as Doggett's, Vance still received a significant proportion of the votes.

Vance pulled 52% of the vote in the twelve precincts, while Bill Wiseman, whom Vance will face in the run-off, received only 18%. Wiseman was Vance's closest opponent in the targeted precincts.

In the District #3 County Commissioner's race, only six of the 12 targeted precincts were in the district, and hence, were able to vote.

Although Fred Blair, DGPC's endorsed candidate, did not make the runoff, his vote totals in the DGPC targeted precincts were much higher than in the district as a whole.

In the six DGPC precincts, Blair pulled 44% of the vote, while the voting tally of the entire district only gave him 24%. Blair's closest contenders in the DGPC precincts were John Wiley Price, with 17% of the vote and Elsie Faye Heggins with 16%. Heggins and Price will face each other in the run-off.

Mike Richards said that the DGPC would probably not make an endorsement of either Heggins or Price. Richards explained that both had been supportive of the gay community in the past.

The DGPC strongly encouraged voters to attend their precinct caucus meetings and attempt to be elected as delegates to the district conventions.

The DGPC had also recommended that members seek passage of resolutions requesting fuller funding for AIDS research and patient support and an end to discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Richards said that he believed that there were approximately 100 gay delegates elected to the Democratic Senatorial District Conventions. Richards also noted that approximately seven precincts passed the AIDS funding resolution and five precincts passed the anti-discrimination resolution. Richards explained that these figures were uncertain and that more information would filter into the DGA office during the week.

A strategy meeting has been scheduled by the DGPC for delegates to the Senate District Conventions. The meeting will be held in the Gay Community Center at 3920 Cedar Springs on May 17 at 7:30. All delegates and alternates are encouraged to attend.

—Don Ritz

OFFICIAL 1984 LOGO



PRIDE III DALLAS, TEXAS 1984

The Pride III '84 Steering Committee, a community-wide organization coordinating Dallas gay pride activities, has released the official 1984 logo for Pride III events. The flag is based upon the Texas flag, with the familiar white star on a blue ground on the left side. The right side varies with two red stripes separated by a white stripe. The logo and an actual

flag to be made for street decorations will be used to identify all Pride III activities during 1984.

Pride III is comprised of three large events to be celebrated in Dallas this year. Pride I events will be our celebration of National Gay Pride Week, June 23 through June 30. This year celebrates the 15th anniversary of the Stonewall riots in

New York City. Dallas, as well as most other cities in the United States has adopted the national theme "Unity and More in '84."

Pride II will be held August 17 through August 19 to celebrate the 2nd anniversary of Judge Buchmeyer's decision to overthrow Texas Penal Code 21.06. Pride III will be the Texas Freedom Festival to

Continued on page 10

Appendix E

Example of a political story in *Voice* March 6, 1992

tue

Dallas VOICE

The Community Newspaper for Gay and Lesbian Dallas

FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1992 VOLUME VIII, NUMBER 48

Texas primary vote set Tuesday

TGRA makes donations —



Representatives of the Dallas chapter of the Texas Gay Rodeo Association handed out donations to community groups at last Sunday's Mardi Gras Ball. With this year's cycle of donations, TGRA has contributed more than a million dollars to groups in Texas since the inception of the Texas Gay Rodeo, held each November. Pictured: AIDS Resource Center representative Reed Hunsdorfer receives a \$6,283 donation for the food pantry from TGRA representatives. The same amount was donated to Oak Lawn Community Services and to AIDS Services of Dallas.

Leaders urge gays, lesbians to turn out at polls, precinct conventions

By Dennis Vercher

The presidential campaigns turned south this week in anticipation of Tuesday's "Super Tuesday" primaries, but with races which so far are among the most low-key seen in the state in recent years.

One reason, political analysts suggest, is that changes in the timing of other primaries have diluted the impact of the Texas contest. Primarily, though, prominent analysts associated with both major parties

ELECTIONS

insist that the winner in both parties is virtually assured. President George Bush has a huge lead in the polls over right-wing challengers Patrick Buchanan and David Duke, and supporters hope to pick up all 121 Republican delegates at stake in Texas. On the Democratic side, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton has a commanding lead in the polls in the race for Texas' 214 Democratic delegates, with former Senator Paul Tsongas running a distant second.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

Inside —

NEWS: Texas primaries loom; importance of precinct conventions noted; SBC criticizes Menbachet... **3**

FILM: Reviews of *This is My Life*, *Slidator* and *Blame It on the Rain*, with film critic Alonso Durán... **12**

MUSIC: A review of the album *Chloe Liked Olivia*, the latest release from the group Two Nice Girls... **14**

CALENDAR: Events scheduled over the next ten days; Notices; Broadcast and entertainment listings... **20**

Wild life in Glen Rose

It's not your typical party town, but Glen Rose plays host to African animals at Fossil Rim Wildlife Park

By David Taffet
TRAVEL FEATURES WRITER OF DALLAS VOICE

Safari. The Masai Mara. Mount Kilimanjaro. The Serengeti Plain.

TRAVEL

Olduvai Gorge. Giraffe. Gorillas. Herds of antelope roaming across the savannah.

I have always dreamed of going on safari — not a big game hunt, but a photo safari. Before conservation became popular, I imagined being the photographer who captured the rhino on film for the cover of *National Geographic*.

This would be my year for safari. I began to prepare by reading Hemingway, Michael Crichton, Isak Dinesen. I rented movies and, naturally,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16



Ostriches may not be very smart, but they know that cars mean food!

Appendix F

Figure F1

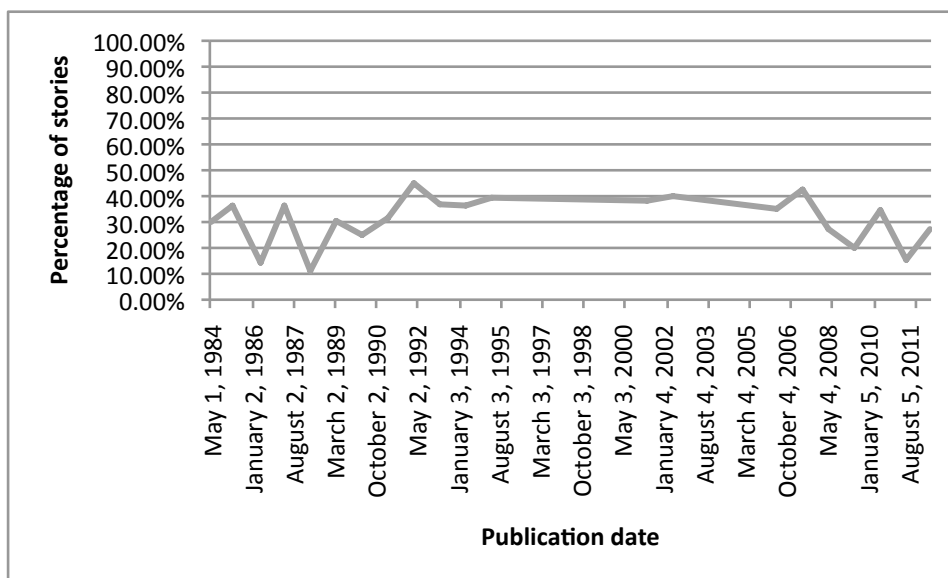


Figure F1. Percentage of political stories within each publication in the *Voice*

Figure F2



Figure F2. Example of a political story in *Voice* March 4, 2011

Appendix G

Figure G1

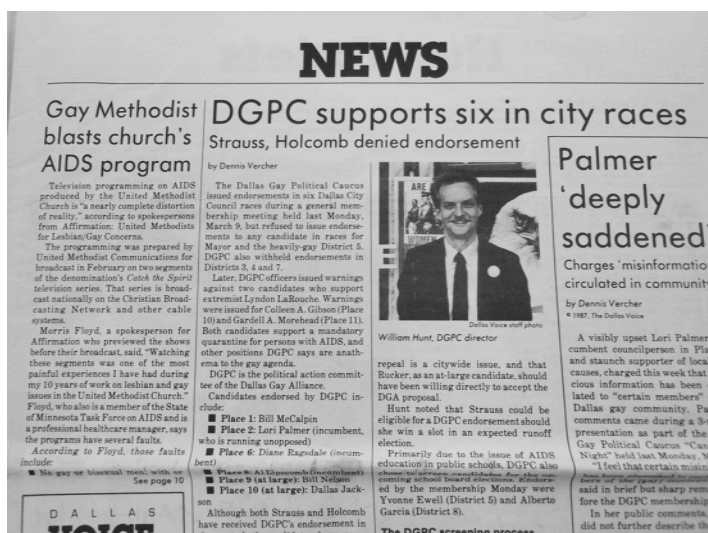
Figure G1. Example of a health story in *Voice* March 3, 1987

Figure G2

Figure G2. Example of a health story in *Voice* March 5, 1993

Appendix H

Figure H1

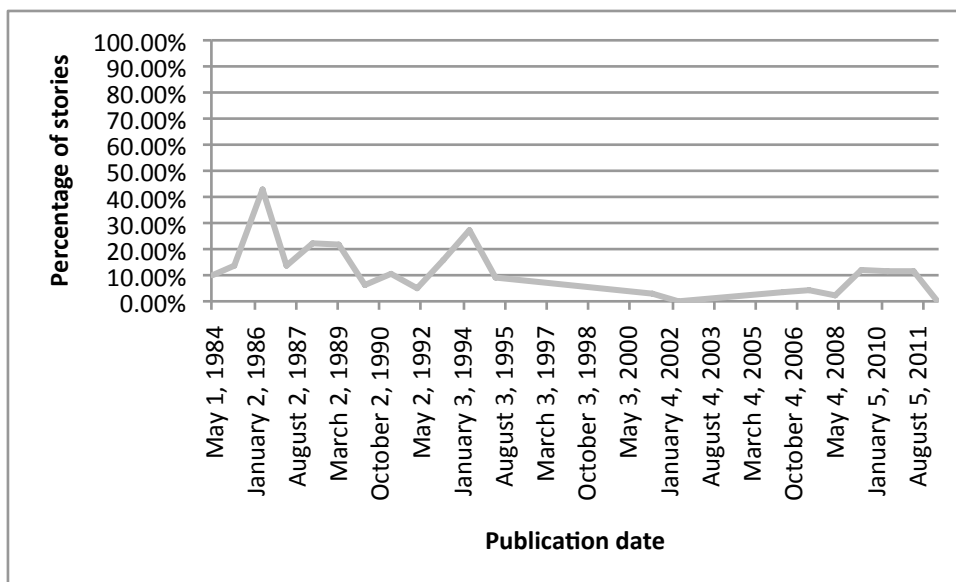
Figure H1. Percentage of health stories within each publication in the *Voice*

Figure H2

Figure H2. Example of a health story in *Voice* March 6, 2009

Appendix I

Figure I1

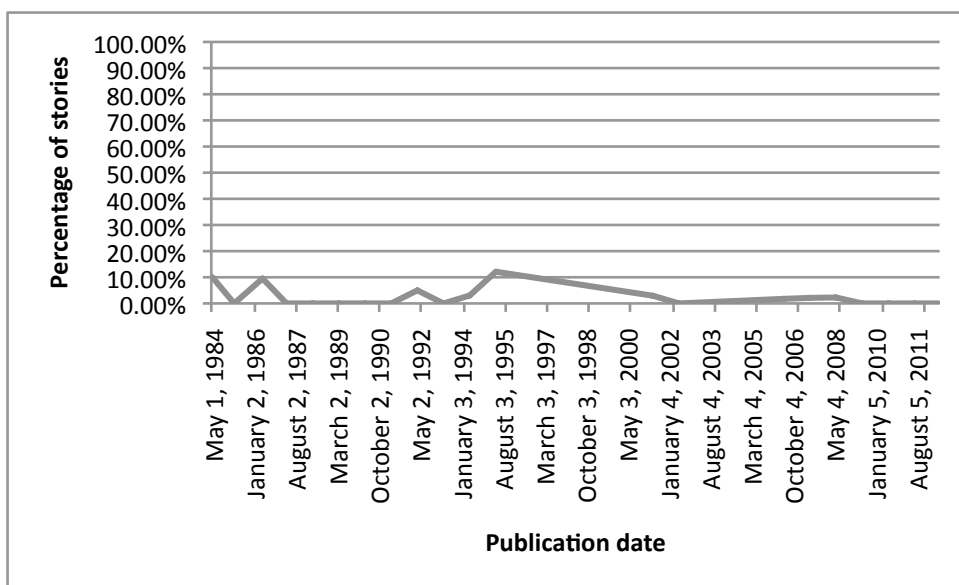
Figure I1. Example of religious story in *Voice* March 11, 1994

Figure I2

Figure I2. Example of religious story in *Voice* March 2, 2001

Appendix J

Percentage of religious stories within each publication in the *Voice*



Appendix K

Average of stories' target audience

Date	Pages	Editorial	Target Male	Target Female	Target All	Target Trans
May 11, 1984	12	10	1	0	9	0
March 1, 1985	24	22	5	0	17	0
April 19, 1986	20	21	1	1	19	0
March 13, 1987	28	22	3	0	19	0
March 4, 1988	32	18	1	0	17	0
March 3, 1989	32	23	0	0	23	0
March 2, 1990	28	16	6	1	9	0
March 1, 1991	32	19	0	1	17	1
March 6, 1992	32	20	0	3	17	0
March 5, 1993	36	19	0	1	16	2
March 11, 1994	54	33	1	0	32	0
March 3, 1995	44	33	1	1	31	0
March 2, 2001	60	34	3	2	28	1
March 1, 2002	64	45	3	3	39	0
March 3, 2006	60	57	0	3	49	5
March 2, 2007	56	47	0	4	41	2
March 7, 2008	56	44	0	6	37	1
March 6, 2009	36	25	0	1	23	1
March 5, 2010	36	26	0	1	25	0
March 4, 2011	48	26	2	3	20	1
Feb. 10, 2012	44	22	0	0	22	0
Sum		582	27	31	510	14
Average			1.29	1.48	24.29	0.67

Publication date	Percentage of advertisements
May 1, 1984	65.00%
January 2, 1986	28.00%
August 2, 1987	52.00%
March 2, 1989	32.00%
October 2, 1990	35.00%
May 2, 1992	42.00%
January 3, 1994	68.00%
August 3, 1995	65.00%
March 3, 1997	70.00%
October 3, 1998	72.00%
May 3, 2000	78.00%
January 4, 2002	70.00%
August 4, 2003	68.00%
March 4, 2005	68.00%
October 4, 2006	70.00%
May 4, 2008	72.00%
January 5, 2010	65.00%
August 5, 2011	80.00%

Figure L2



Figure L2. Example of professional service advertisement in *Voice* May 11, 1984

Appendix M

Example of professional service advertisement in *Voice* March 3, 1995

White

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

...jail. "Staying in jail is a matter of conscience for me. If I pay the fine I can get out of here, but I admit guilt. And I am not guilty because Pat doesn't own the CBN property, God does, and all the people who send money to keep that place going. If I get out on bail it is only on the condition I never step foot on the CBN campus again. And that I cannot promise."

White, who holds a Doctor of Divinity, has been a pastor, seminary professor, Christian filmmaker and a ghostwriter for Robertson, Jerry Falwell and Billy Graham. He co-wrote Robertson's 1988 pre-campaign manifesto, *America's Divine Destiny*. But in 1991, after decades of struggles with his sexual orientation and many years of trying to pay his homosexuality away, White came out.

One of his first acts as an openly gay man was to tell all of his former employers. He wrote to Robertson, Falwell and Graham and asked each to meet with him. White wanted to tell them that their rhetoric, often used in fund-raising campaigns for their ministries, was leading to increased violence against gay people. None of the ministers responded, even to decline the invitation — until three weeks ago. On Feb. 7, Robertson faxed a letter to White saying that homosexuality "is the last stage in the decline of a population," and that he did "not wish to meet to debate the merits of homosexuality."

White decided then, he said, to go ahead with an act of civil disobedience that he had not intended to do for another six months or so. "This was not planned for this visit but the time felt right," White said. "The flood of anti-gay rhetoric coming from Pat and Falwell, James Dobson and all the others has polluted the nation's moral environment and leads to suffering and death for gay people. It's time for it to stop."

On February 14 White and a group of 12 local religious leaders went to the CBN complex and, again, White asked for a meeting with Robertson. He was refused by CBN spokesperson Gene

Kapp but White remained on the grounds until he was thrown out by security guards late in the afternoon. He was told that if he returned he would be arrested for trespassing. White did return on February 15 and was handcuffed and led off the grounds by Lt. Wray Boswell of the Virginia Beach police. Ironically, Boswell is the brother of gay historian John Boswell, who died last December. Boswell said that he is in complete sympathy with White and had requested to be allowed to make the arrest.

"I'm not a Christian myself," Boswell said, "but I know a lot of them do not agree with everything Robertson says. It's important to keep this in the public eye. People need to know there are gay Christians, too. I have a lot of admiration for Mel. What he is doing is very important."

There is disagreement over the significance of White's actions — among Christians, of course, but also among gay people. White's history, his close ties with the Religious Right before he came out, make him very suspicious to some. He has been accused of being a self-appointed leader who hasn't paid his dues, and of being an egomaniac only out for publicity. White knows this, is painfully aware of it, he says. Last year, after publication of his book, *Stranger at the Gate: To be Gay and Christian in*

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- Lower Diamonds • Cleaners
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2. LEWISVILLE
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3. N. DALLAS
(214) 241-6640

SUMEER HOMES
BUILDING HOMES LOCALLY SINCE 1978

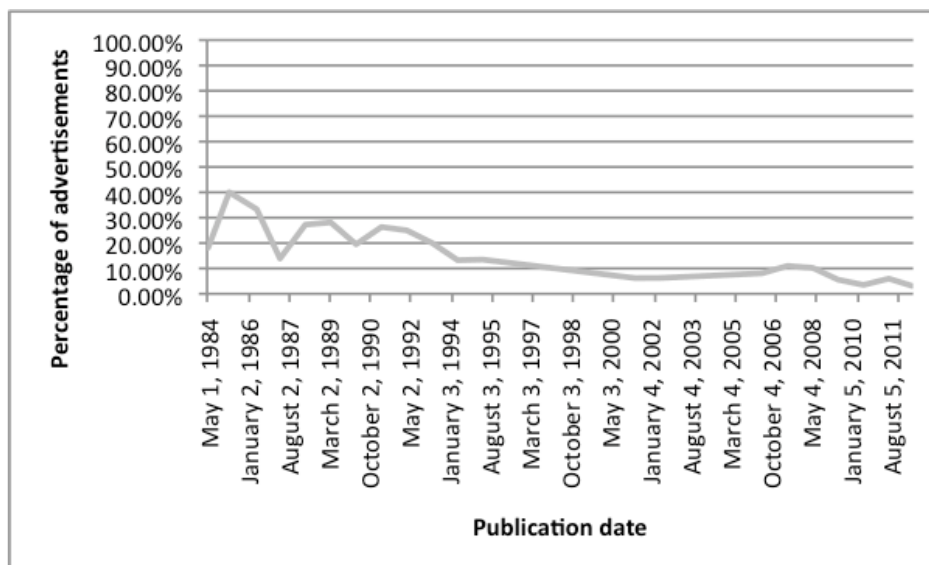
Checklist: One Villa Estates (214) 351-8070, 351-8070-8000
5. Carrollton: Rosemeade Heights (972) 341-9179, 341-344-8023
6. Carrollton: Wellington Estates (972) 341-8100, 341-619-7871
7. Fort Worth: Maple Hill (817) 425-8628, 425-8628-8177
8. A. Dallas: Riverstone Court (214) 713-8028, 713-8028

Appendix N

Figure N1

N1. Example of professional service advertisement in *Voice* February 10, 2012

Figure N2

Figure N2. Percentage of alcohol/bar/nightclub advertisements in the *Voice*

Appendix O

Example of alcohol/bar/nightclub advertisement in *Voice* March 1, 1985

The Dallas Voice, March 1, 1985 Page 7



DALLAS
1724 W. MOCKINGBIRD
NEXT TO THE DENMARK BOOKSTORE
631-6036

PRESENTS...



HOT SEXY MALE

STRIPPERS

EVERY WEDNESDAY AT 10 PM
WITH 50¢ DRAFT BEER ALL NIGHT

<p>MAD MONDAYS</p> <p>TWISTED TUESDAYS</p> <p>WILD WEDNESDAYS</p> <p>Some Kind Of THURSDAYS</p> <p>WICKED WEEKENDS</p> <p>SUNDAY SURVIVAL KIT</p>	<p>WELL BOURBON DRINKS</p> <p>\$1 ALL NITE</p>	<p>NO COVER!</p>
	<p>50¢ SCHNAPPS ALL NITE</p> <p>WELL VODKA DRINKS</p> <p>\$1 ALL NITE</p>	
	<p>SEXY STRIPPERS</p> <p><small>(See Above)</small></p>	
	<p>\$1 MARGARITAS <small>ALL NITE</small></p>	
	<p>FRIDAYS 75¢ SCHNAPPS <small>ALL NITE</small></p> <p>SATURDAYS</p>	
	<p>HAPPY HOUR 1 PM-8 PM</p> <p>\$1 BLOODY <small>ALL DAY ALL NITE</small></p> <p>\$2 BEER BUST 8 PM-2 AM</p>	

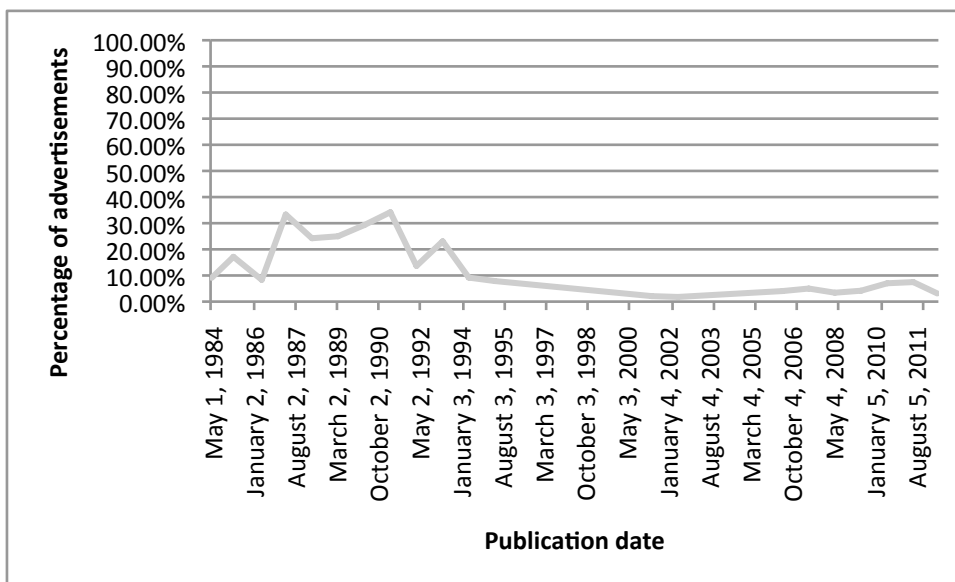
COME DANCE
TO THE COUNTRY/WESTERN MUSIC OF
DJ STEVE "JUNIOR" DODD

Appendix P

Figure P1

Figure P1. Example of alcohol/bar/nightclub advertisement in *Voice* March 1, 2002

Figure P2

Figure P2. Percentage of sex/dating advertisements in the *Voice*

Appendix Q

Example of sex/dating advertisement in *Voice* March 13, 1987

DALLAS, IT'S HERE!
**CALL AND TALK TO OTHER
HOT GAY MEN - LIVE!**

**(214)
976-4242**

A telephone service that offers
you an opportunity to meet other
interesting men just like yourself.
Explore your most outrageous
fantasies or just listen in. Our conference
calls are hot, live, and totally uninhibited.
Call (214) 976-4242 and hook up
with as many as 8 hunky
Texas guys now!



You must be 18 years of age to call.
A service charge of \$2 + tolls, if any, billed discreetly to your phone bill.

Friday, March 13, 1987

Page 23

Appendix R

Example of sex/dating advertisement in *Voice* March 8, 1992

Be a part of it.

**Nautilus
Free Weights
Paramount Units
Stop Reebok
Tanning Beds
Lifecycles
Lifestap
Treadmill
Rowing Machine
Jacuzzi
Redwood Dry Sauna
Heated Pool
Private Dressing Areas
Private Shower**

**Open 24 Hours a Day
7 Days a Week**

CLUB DALLAS
2614 DOWNEY AVENUE • DALLAS • (214) 821-1999

Election Results
from a gay and lesbian point of view.
Next Friday in
THE VOICE

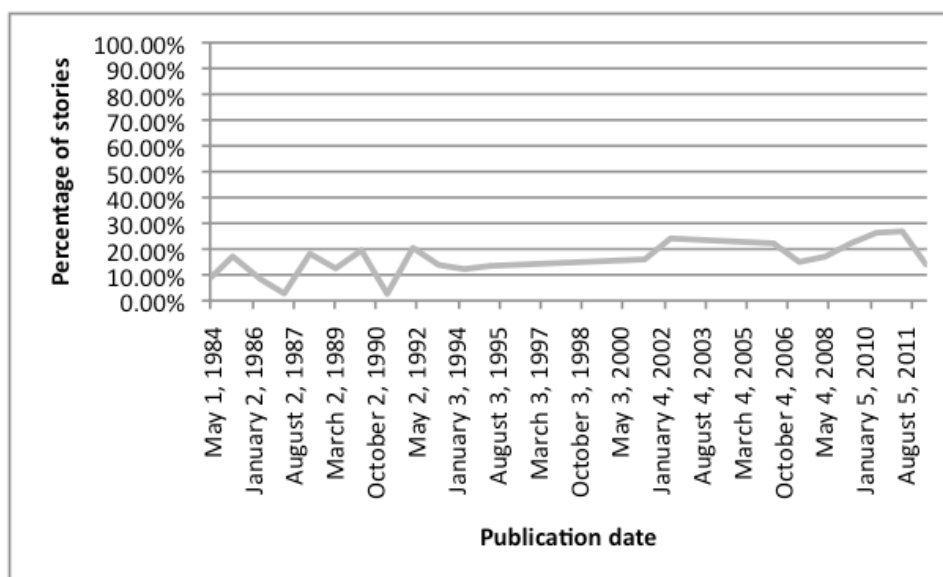
Only 12 addax are known to exist in the wild. From our car, we saw nine at Fossil Rim, which is actively involved in a breeding program and a re-introduction to Africa program with this extremely endangered species.

David Taffer's travel features are published the first Friday of each month.

DALLAS VOICE MARCH 8, 1992 17

Appendix S

Percentage of advertisements labeled as other in the *Voice*



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This thesis was typed by Jose Andres Araiza.