

Reading Between the Headlines

Framing Analysis of Ideological Influences in Pride Coverage by Two American News Outlets

Sofia Noukka

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Department of English

School of Languages and Translation Studies

Faculty of Humanities

University of Turku

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Author: Sofia Noukka

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Abstract

This thesis examines how the headlines of Fox News and ABC News frame the Pride movement. Since these news outlets have distinct political ideologies, conservatism for Fox News and liberalism for ABC News, this thesis also aims to explore how the framing choices reflect each platform's leanings. As a framework, this study applies Framing Theory popularised by Erving Goffman. The primary material consists of 149 headlines from Fox News and 57 headlines from ABC News that have the keyword "Pride" in relation to the LGBTQ+ movement. These headlines are classified into one of the seven identified framing categories, which are Controversy, Opposition, Policy, Commerce, Culture, Safety, and Support. The categorisation results show that Fox News has a strong emphasis on the Controversy frame, while ABC News provides a more balanced coverage between the categories. Moreover, this study suggests that the influence of the current ideologies of each platform are visible in their headline framing of Pride. This slant is apparent not only in the categorisation results but also in the closer examination of the headline contents. Therefore, this thesis concludes that headline framing can reflect the news outlet's political ideology and possibly also influence readers' perceptions of social issues like Pride.

Key words: framing theory, news headlines, pride movement, LGBTQ+ representation, political ideology.

Table of contents

1	Introduction	4
2	Background	6
2.1	The Pride Movement	6
2.2	News Platforms and Headlines	7
2.3	Framing Theory	8
3	Material and Methods	10
3.1	Material	10
3.2	Methods	11
4	Results	13
4.1	Controversy	13
4.2	Opposition	15
4.3	Policy	15
4.4	Commerce	16
4.5	Culture	17
4.6	Safety	18
4.7	Support	18
5	Discussion	20
5.1	Conservatism on Fox News	20
5.2	Liberalism on ABC News	22
6	Conclusion	24
	References	25
	Appendices	28
	Appendix 1 Fox News Headlines	28
	Appendix 2 ABC News Headlines	35

1 Introduction

The ubiquity of mobile electronic devices has made news more accessible than ever before. It is relatively effortless to find large amounts of information from just a single news channel, whereas in the past people had a rather limited access to news. They had to rely on physical newspapers, the radio and, more recently, the television, which greatly limited the amount of information that they could access. An important feature of news is the headline, as its job is to summarise the essence of the full article. It is often the first, and sometimes the only, part of an online news article readers engage with (Lee 2022; Munger et al. 2020). Thus, people may construct their perceptions solely based on the headlines without reading the full article.

People's views on socially significant issues can be considerably influenced with news framing (Entman 1993, 56). One such issue is Pride, a movement that celebrates and supports the rights and identities of LGBTQ+, that is lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and such, people. Thus, the portrayal of Pride in news can immensely impact public opinion on LGBTQ+ rights by emphasising particular aspects of the movement, similar to how media exposure has been shown to shape attitudes towards homosexuality (Calzo and Ward 2009, 282–283). It is possible that news outlets with distinct ideological orientations emphasise different elements of Pride coverage, since people's beliefs often guide the way they perceive and describe certain matters. Given the increasing polarisation of media (McLaughlin 2018), it is important to examine how ideologies are embedded in news to increase the awareness of framing influences in media.

In this paper, I aim to answer two research questions:

- (1) How ABC News and Fox News frame the Pride movement in their headlines?
- (2) How these framing choices reflect the political ideologies of each platform?

As the framework for this research, I use Framing Theory (Entman 1993) to analyse the ways in which headlines from these two outlets highlight certain themes related to Pride. My goal is to uncover patterns in how Pride is presented and what aspects are prioritised in news coverage with the categorisation of headlines into different framing categories. I also aim to contribute to ongoing discussions on how ideological orientations may shape the framing of LGBTQ+ issues by analysing the categorisation results with dictionary definitions of *social conservatism* and *social liberalism*.

While framing has been widely studied in media research, there are relatively few studies on how LGBTQ+ topics are framed (but see, for example, Cabosky 2014; Engel 2013; Paterson and Coffey-Glover 2018; Zheng and Chan 2020), especially in news headlines. This gap emphasises the need for this kind of research, as LGBTQ+ topics continue to be highly relevant in public discourse. Given the influence of headlines on readers' perceptions, it is crucial to examine how they are used to frame Pride to get a deeper understanding of their role as framing devices.

I continue my thesis with the presentation of the background, where I provide a brief historical context and current status of Pride, a discussion on the role of headlines as framing devices, and an overview of Framing Theory. Then, I outline the materials and methods used in this study with the description of the identified frames. Subsequently, I proceed to present the results of the framing categorisation, after which I analyse them to understand how they reflect the current ideologies of Fox News and ABC News. Finally, I conclude my paper with the main points of this study and suggestions for further research.

2 Background

In the following subsections, I present the relevant background information to offer a better understanding of my thesis. I begin with a brief overview of the Pride movement, after which I continue to discuss news platforms and the role of their headlines as framing devices. Finally, I introduce Framing Theory and its relevance to my research.

2.1 The Pride Movement

It is essential to discuss the history and current status of the Pride movement to grasp the societal and cultural context of my study. Understanding the context helps to clarify the significance of securing LGBTQ+ rights.

According to Peterson, Wahlström, and Wennerhag (2018, 18–21), the Stonewall Riots are considered to mark the beginning of visible and organised LGBTQ+ activism. This two-day uprising took place in New York City in June 1969, when police raided a gay bar called Stonewall Inn. This incident had a lasting impact, as it inspired the tradition of annual Pride celebrations. In fact, the first Pride marches were held on the first anniversary of the riots in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, which made LGBTQ+ issues more visible to the public. Furthermore, their success encouraged activists in other cities, such as Boston and Dallas, to organise their own throughout the 1970s.

Today, Pride parades are no longer limited to such major cities. Instead, they have spread worldwide even to rather small towns like Pine City, which has a population of fewer than 4,000 people (InterPride 2016). The focus of these celebrations has varied since the initial stages: some events concentrate on political activism, while others highlight the celebratory aspects of the movement (Peterson, Wahlström, and Wennerhag 2018, 20, 170). Despite the diversity, they remain an important platform for supporting LGBTQ+ rights by bringing visibility to the community, raising awareness of challenges faced by LGBTQ+ people, and offering a safe space for self-expression (Tinlin-Dixon et al. 2024, 5–9).

While Pride has reached a wider audience, it is important to note that LGBTQ+ rights are still heavily restricted in some countries (InterPride n.d.). For instance, in Bangladesh, the discrimination of queer people is not legally prohibited, and homosexuality can lead to life imprisonment (InterPride n.d, 10–11). However, Pride can also face criticism in countries with a more positive outlook of it in general. Opinions on the movement can vary based on

political ideology: conservatives are generally more likely to have negative views on LGBTQ+ issues, while liberals tend to have more positive or neutral perspectives of them (Brewer 2003, 1210). This ideological divide is central to my analysis of what aspects of Pride is represented in news outlets with differing political leanings.

2.2 News Platforms and Headlines

Since the primary data for my thesis consists of news headlines, it is essential to discuss their role as framing devices. News often serves as the primary source for information, which may be the reason why they have an immense influence on how the readers perceive the issues at hand (Sotirovic 2000, 269). Headlines can play a crucial role in this process, as they are the introductory elements that summarise the articles into more concise forms (Lee 2022, 894). However, online headlines can cause challenges, as they are often displayed without any further information on the front page of the news outlet or other websites (Munger et al. 2020). This style of presentation may lead to people only skimming through the headlines without engaging with the actual content of the articles, which might result in misinterpretations.

Moreover, the political ideologies of news platforms might affect the framing of headlines. This suggests that outlets may consciously or unconsciously present information in ways that reflect their political leanings. For example, the two outlets central to my research, ABC News and Fox News, are known for their distinct ideologies. While ABC News is rated to be a more liberal-leaning news platform (AllSides 2024), Fox News is characterised as a more conservative outlet (Ray 2025).

The definitions of the conservative and liberal ideologies in relation to social issues are essential for my research, as they are used as the foundation for analysing whether the framing choices of the news platforms reflect their ideologies. Although there are many ways to define political ideologies, *social conservatism* typically emphasises tradition, stability, and criticism towards progressive social change, such as LGBTQ+ rights (Merriam-Webster, s.v. “social conservatism”, n.). In contrast, *social liberalism* is often classified as an ideology that promotes social equality and progressive change while also emphasising inclusivity and support for marginalised groups (Merriam-Webster, s.v. “social liberalism”, n.).

In addition, the objective of American news platforms is not only to spread information, but also to attract readers in order to make profit (Hamilton 2007, 7–8). This aspect may lead to

the generation of attention-grabbing and emotionally charged headlines to maximise clicks and shares that are used as metrics in assessing advertising revenue. Thus, news might prioritise sensationalism rather than maintaining the informativity of the headline. This phenomenon contributes to the rise of *clickbait journalism*, where headlines are designed specifically to attract more readers and revenue (Zhang et al. 2024, 30157). Research has shown that online headlines that emphasise the negative aspects are prone to reach more readers, and these readers are more likely to share the content forward (Zhang et al. 2024, 30158). Such focus on negativity over informativity can distort public perception of events and overall spread misleading narratives. The discussion on clickbait journalism is important for my thesis, as it offers another viewpoint on how news platforms frame an issue in addition to the ideologies of the outlets.

2.3 Framing Theory

The theoretical approach for my thesis is Framing Theory, which was introduced by Bateson (1972) and popularised by Goffman (1986). This theory has been further advanced by Robert Entman, whose definition of *framing* is used in this paper. He defines framing as a way to highlight or downplay certain aspects of reality in a text (1993, 52). Emphasis on certain aspects increases their salience, which “enhances the probability that receivers will perceive the information, discern meaning and thus process it, and store it in memory” (Entman 1993, 53). In addition, Entman’s statement that “the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power” (1993, 55) highlights how news platforms can shape public opinion by selectively framing particular details in their headlines. In my research, Framing Theory enables an analysis of how different news platforms emphasise certain aspects of Pride to possibly align with their ideological perspectives.

Numerous studies have explored media framing although only a few of them have focused on the framing of LGBTQ+ issues. Exceptions to this are, for instance, the studies by Cabosky (2014) and Engel (2013), which both examine how media framing shapes public perception of LGBTQ+ topics. Moreover, the topic of same-sex marriage seems to be a common research topic among LGBTQ+ issues. Studies by Pan, Meng, and Zhou (2010) and Zheng and Chan (2020) examine how American newspapers with distinct political ideologies frame this topic. In addition, Paterson and Coffey-Glover (2018) have studied which keywords British newspaper texts used to describe same-sex marriage. My study builds upon these studies by extending the analysis of media framing to specifically news headlines and how they reflect

ideological leanings in Pride-related news coverage. However, these studies offer valuable information to compare their results with the findings of this thesis.

3 Material and Methods

In this section, I first present the primary material for my research, which consists of the headlines from the two news outlets. Then, I describe the process of categorising these headlines into the identified framing categories and reflect on possible limitations of my study. There are no ethical concerns associated with this thesis, as it only uses publicly available data.

3.1 Material

The primary material for this thesis comprises news article headlines about Pride, which were collected from Fox News and ABC News. These outlets were selected due to their contrasting political ideologies, since it is particularly fascinating to explore whether this division influences their framing of social issues like Pride. This study focuses specifically on the textual content of the headlines, so the other aspects of the article were disregarded. Such approach enables an analysis of the initial impression that the headlines create about the topic.

The headlines were collected with Google's advanced search engine, as Fox News' own search engine lacked filtering options. However, Google allows keyword searches within headlines from different web pages over a defined timeframe, which made it a suitable tool for data collection. The headlines were collected from the official homepages of the news outlets (<https://www.foxnews.com/> and <https://abcnews.go.com/>). Each one included the keyword "Pride" in reference to the LGBTQ+ movement and was published between January 1, 2021, and July 31, 2024.

To ensure the data was relevant, I excluded opinion pieces, as they typically only reflect individual views rather than the overall stance of the news platform. Furthermore, headlines associated with video content were omitted, since video headlines may follow a different style of reporting. These exclusions were handled manually by examining each headline for any content that had features of these formats. This process was straightforward, as opinion pieces were clearly labelled, and video content typically lacked accompanying written text.

Overall, I collected 149 headlines from Fox News and 57 from ABC News. The complete list of headlines is included in the Appendices for added transparency.

3.2 Methods

To analyse the collected headlines, I employ Framing Theory. Through this approach, I identified seven different framing categories, into which each headline was classified. I manually formed the categories, as I found no applicable existing ones from previous studies. Entman suggests that frames can appear through “the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (Entman 1993, 52). Thus, the initial categories were identified through a close examination of these aspects. I continued to refine them based on their frequency and relevance to my discussion. The final seven framing categories are presented in Table 1, and I proceed to describe each frame’s characteristics individually below.

Table 1. Framing categories

1.	Controversy
2.	Opposition
3.	Policy
4.	Commerce
5.	Culture
6.	Safety
7.	Support

The Controversy frame includes headlines that focus on public disputes or conflicts related to Pride. More often than not, these headlines report instances where public figures, institutions, or corporations are involved. In addition, headlines that are framed to evoke negative emotions and thus spark controversy are included in this frame.

While the Controversy frame describes the controversies surrounding a specific issue related to Pride, the Opposition frame features stories about active resistance against Pride, LGBTQ+ rights, or LGBTQ+ culture. Headlines in this category contain descriptions of protests, boycotts, or public opposition of Pride-related activities or symbols.

The Policy frame covers legal matters or policy changes related to the Pride movement. Headlines that contain information about changes in laws, policies, court rulings, or political actions that impact LGBTQ+ rights are emphasised.

The fourth frame, Commerce, covers the intersection of Pride and commerce. More specifically, the frame focuses on the financial, economic, and marketing aspects of Pride. It includes discussions on corporate involvement in Pride, the impact of Pride marketing on businesses and consumer behaviour, as well as promotional content related to Pride.

The Culture frame emphasises Pride's role in arts, entertainment, and social culture. It includes topics like LGBTQ+ representation in literature and fashion, as well as announcements about pride events. In this context, *culture* refers to the traditions, artistic expressions, and social activities that relate to LGBTQ+ identities and experiences.

The Safety frame highlights issues related to safety, violence, and threats related to Pride events or LGBTQ+ individuals. Headlines in this category report on criminal activities, accidents and violent actions.

Finally, the Support frame includes expressions of solidarity, celebration, and advocacy for Pride events and the LGBTQ+ community. For instance, headlines in this category feature praise from public figures and resistance to anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric.

After the classification of the headlines, I conducted a relative frequency analysis to determine the proportion of each framing category within the total number of headlines from each news source. This approach effortlessly visualises how the headlines frame news. Furthermore, I continue to use the categorisation results presented in section 4 to analyse how they align with the current political ideologies of the respective news platforms.

Although the research methodology was carefully planned, certain limitations should be addressed. First, since the number of headlines from each news outlet is not in balance, it may reduce the comparability of the results. However, I attempt to mitigate this issue with the use of relative frequency analysis. Second, the manually created framing categories add subjectivity to the research, as the categorisation process is inevitably influenced by the researcher's interpretation (D'Angelo and Kuypers 2009, 90). Third, some headlines may not fit neatly into a single frame, and their categorisation can depend on subtle differences in wording. In cases of ambiguity, I examined each headline in greater depth and categorised it based on what appeared to be its most dominant theme.

4 Results

This section addresses the first of my research questions: how headlines from ABC News and Fox News frame the Pride movement? I present the findings of my framing analysis, and I discuss the specific results and give illustrative examples for each framing category. A total of 149 headlines from Fox News and 57 headlines from ABC News were collected, and the complete list of the headlines is available in Appendices 1 and 2. The overall categorisation percentages for each framing category are summarised in Figure 1.

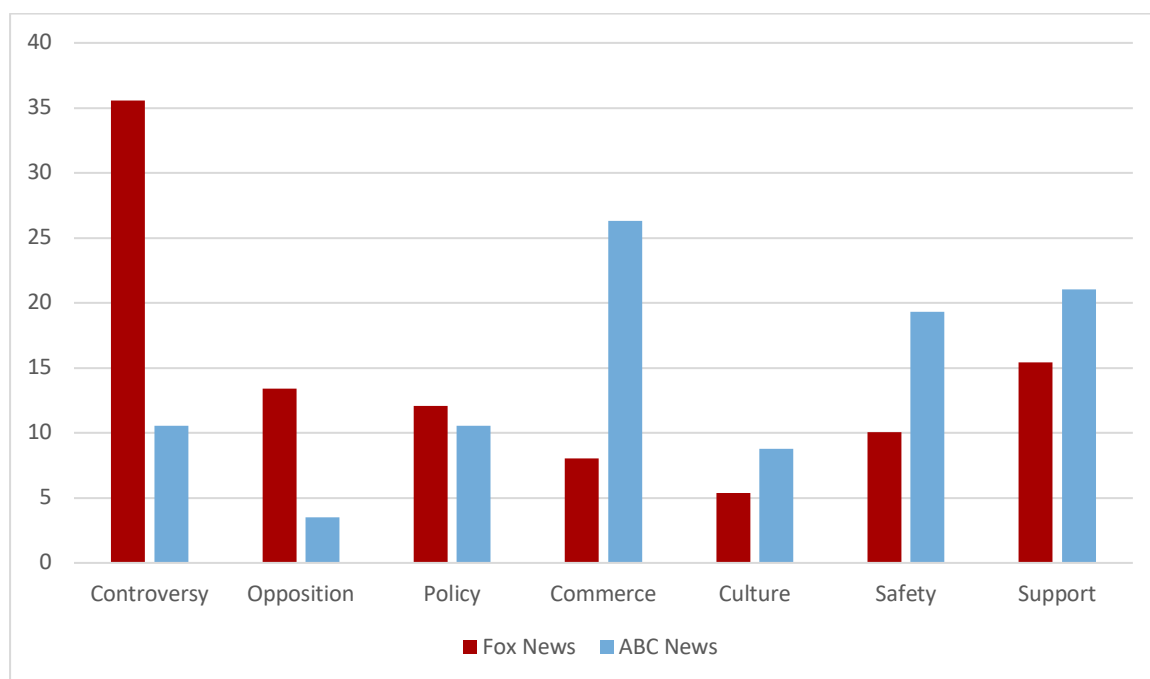


Figure 1. Illustration of how headlines frame the news articles and the differences between the two media outlets.

In summary, while there are some similarities between the two, Fox News headlines tend to be framed through Controversy, whereas ABC News headlines are more frequently framed through Commerce, Support, and Safety. The following subsections provide a closer look of each frame.

4.1 Controversy

The most prevalent framing category for Fox News is Controversy, with 35.57% of its headlines in this category. In comparison, only 10.53% of ABC News' headlines are categorised as Controversy. This substantial difference suggests that Fox News emphasises conflicts more in its Pride coverage than ABC News.

Many Fox News headlines within this category employ provocative language and juxtapose elements of Pride with negative imagery to potentially convey a sense of controversy and create shock value, such as

- (1) Target customers shocked after company features pride items by Satanist partner: Devil is ‘hope’ and ‘love’
- (2) ‘Family-friendly’ Pride parade in West Hollywood had men depicting graphic BDSM sexual act
- (3) Dallas Pride festival for ‘all ages’ sells sex toys, edible penises, graphic Disney art

More specifically, some of these headlines, like (2) and (3), associate Pride with adult content and children, which is an association that is commonly perceived as inappropriate. Such framing may evoke negative emotions towards Pride, as readers might perceive the event as controversial or harmful. This framing strategy may therefore ultimately undermine the positive intentions of Pride celebrations.

However, not all Fox News headlines in this category are sensationalist. Many headlines also focus on reporting general descriptions of controversies surrounding companies and institutions, such as (4), as well as the reactions following such controversies, like (5), without resorting to dramatic language.

- (4) LA Dodgers condemned for re-inviting anti-Catholic LGBTQ group to Pride Night: ‘Vulgar, grotesque’
- (5) Tulsi Gabbard hammers LA Dodgers for reinviting anti-Catholic group to Pride Night

It is interesting to note that ABC News does not employ the framing strategy focused on sensationalism. Rather, it similarly adopts the more neutral strategy of simply reporting controversial events and reactions to them in its coverage, for instance

- (6) New York library reverses removal of Pride displays from children’s sections following outrage
- (7) Target faces criticism from artists involved with Pride month products over response to boycott: ‘Quick to fold’

4.2 Opposition

Fox News headlines frame Pride in terms of Opposition more frequently than ABC News, with 13.42% of its headlines in this category compared to only 3.51% for ABC News, which makes this the least frequent frame for the latter.

For instance, Fox News headlines within this frame cover sports-related opposition, which focus mainly on athletes' refusal to wear Pride-themed jerseys, such as

- (8) Minnesota Wild players opt out of wearing Pride-themed jerseys during warmups

In addition, religious opposition is a recurring theme for Fox News. These headlines use religious beliefs to reinforce a specific viewpoint where religious communities commonly oppose LGBTQ+ issues, for instance

- (9) Muslims, Christians join forces to protest LGBTQ+ Pride in Canada: 'Let kids be kids'

In contrast, neither of the two ABC News headlines in this category covers sports-related or religious opposition. Rather, both of them focus on symbolic vandalism of Pride, and more specifically on the public opposition of the display of the Pride flag, as shown in (10) and (11). These headlines reflect the active resistance to publicly recognise and support LGBTQ+ community.

- (10) Pride flag taken down from Pennsylvania Capitol balcony hours after it's raised

- (11) Dozens of Pride flags vandalized at Stonewall monument in NYC, 3rd time this month: Police

4.3 Policy

The categorisation percentages for Policy are the most balanced across the two outlets. While Fox News features 12.08% of its headlines in this category, ABC News' portion is 10.53%.

Although both platforms have similar proportions for Policy, the content of the coverage differs depending on whether the policies are framed as supporting or restricting LGBTQ+ rights. Fox News' headlines in this category predominantly focus on policies that restrict LGBTQ+ rights or visibility. Such policies include, for instance, Pride flag bans and decisions of sports teams to not wear Pride jerseys, for example

- (12) Boston suburb high school bans ‘political’ items, including BLM, pride flags
- (13) NHL players will not wear Pride jerseys during warm-ups anymore: ‘Keeping the focus on the game’

Conversely, ABC News’ headlines offer a more balanced portrayal with headlines about supportive policies, like (14), and restrictive policies, like (15). ABC News also has an added focus on descriptions of policy changes made within the LGBTQ+ community regarding law enforcement participation in Pride events, as seen in (16).

- (14) NHL reverses new ban on Pride tape in warmups
- (15) Florida governor signs bill targeting transgender athletes on 1st day of Pride Month
- (16) Police banned from participating in NYC Pride events and march through 2025

It is relevant to point out that Fox News barely covers these internal LGBTQ+ community decisions, but instead prioritises policy changes external to the community, as seen in (12) and (13).

4.4 Commerce

The framing of Pride in economic terms vary notably between the two outlets. Fox News dedicates only 8.05% of its headlines to this frame, while ABC News allocates 26.32%. In fact, this is the most frequent frame for ABC News.

Fox News’ headlines in this category primarily focus on commercial controversies with descriptions of negative financial impact on businesses, as seen in (17), and controversial corporate sponsorships, as seen in (18). This framing emphasises the perceived economic and social risks companies take when they support LGBTQ+ causes.

- (17) Former Target exec says Pride ‘misstep’ partly responsible for recent sales dip: ‘Certainly impacted them’
- (18) Bud Light sponsors Toronto Pride parade attended by naked men, children

Meanwhile, the majority of ABC News’ headlines in this category feature promotional content. These headlines highlight various brands that support the LGBTQ+ community, either through the introduction of new products, as seen in (19) and (20), or by showcasing a

range of companies that align with LGBTQ+ values within a single article, as seen in (21). Such advertisements may act as a way to demonstrate support for LGBTQ+ rights.

- (19) Lego announces first LGBTQIA+ set will debut on first day of Pride Month
- (20) Disney unveils Pride 2021 collection featuring apparel, accessories and more
- (21) 27 brands supporting LGBTQ pride in style

4.5 Culture

The difference in the frequency of Culture is not pronounced, as a total of 5.37% of Fox News' headlines and 8.77% of ABC News' headlines fall into this category. This makes Culture the category with the fewest headlines for Fox News.

Once again, the content of the headlines varies slightly between the platforms. Most of Fox News headlines in this category report on upcoming Pride events, for instance

- (22) Six flags amusement parks hosting Pride Month drag shows for 'all ages', assures guests they're 'PG'
- (23) Washington Football Team to host inaugural 'Pride Night' during matchup vs. Giants

Some of these headlines, like (22), could also be classified under the Controversy frame due to their focus on the presence of children at drag shows, which is an issue particularly controversial among conservative audiences. However, these headlines are categorised under Culture because the emphasis on controversy is less significant compared to the headlines of the Controversy frame. Instead, they can be seen as primarily focusing on reporting cultural events associated with Pride.

On the other hand, ABC News headlines in this category have a divergent approach to the cultural aspects. Rather than simply reporting cultural events, the headlines offer insight to cultural and historical retrospectives of Pride, as seen in (24), and offer cultural recommendations, such as books, as seen in (25).

- (24) LGBT Pride Month 2021: What to know about its history, events, parades
- (25) 'The Deep' author Rivers Solomon shares 5 book picks for Pride Month

This emphasis on historical context and cultural appreciation reflects ABC News' tendency to frame Pride as a dynamic social and cultural movement rather than merely a series of events. In addition, ABC News highlights the importance of LGBTQ+ identity and representation in media and arts with the recommendations of Pride-related content.

4.6 Safety

The Safety frame appears in a rather small portion of Fox News' headlines at 10.07%, while 19.30% of ABC News' headlines are categorised as such.

The content of the headlines within this frame is quite similar with only some differences on the emphasis on different aspects. For instance, Fox News highlights incidents of physical violence that occurred during Pride events, such as

- (26) Woman attacked in shocking pride parade beating caught on video
- (27) Chicago Pride parade chaos: police attacked and 53 arrested

Although ABC News also covers issues with physical violence, as seen in (28), it also offers additional emphasis on external threats that specifically target the LGBTQ+ community, such as hate crimes, threats, and security warnings, as seen in (28), (29), and (30).

- (28) Suspect identified in shooting death of store owner over Pride flag: police
- (29) Foreign terrorist organizations could target Pride month events: FBI, DHS
- (30) Community mourns trans teen murdered, dismembered during Pride month

These headlines clearly specify that the threats target the LGBTQ+ community. By centring safety concerns around external aggression rather than internal conflict, ABC News presents Pride events as vulnerable to violence.

4.7 Support

Support is the second most frequent framing category for both outlets, as Fox News' portion is 15.44% and ABC News' is 21.05%. This result proposes that both news platforms give considerable attention to positive portrayals of Pride and the LGBTQ+ community.

The content of the headlines in this category is similar across both platforms. For instance, both Fox News and ABC News feature stories about resistance to anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric, an

example from Fox News seen in (31), and from ABC News in (32). These headlines entail notable public figures and companies speaking out against policies and actions that they view as discriminatory against LGBTQ+ community.

(31) Oilers' Connor McDavid calls NHL's move away from Pride-themed warmup jerseys 'disappointing'

(32) Rep. Marie Newman displays transgender pride flag after Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene insults daughter with transphobic comments

Moreover, both outlets also reported political and institutional endorsement, as seen in (33) from Fox News, and (34) from ABC News.

(33) US Embassy to Holy See flies Pride flag in Rome

(34) Biden admin. grants 'blanket' authorization to fly Pride flag at embassies

These headlines highlight the active support for LGBTQ+ rights from government officials, organisations, and institutions. The coverage of such endorsements may reflect a recognition of Pride as not only a cultural but also a political movement, which seeks to push for broader societal change.

In addition, the personal narratives of LGBTQ+ people were covered by both outlets, as seen in (35) from Fox News, and (36) from ABC News.

(35) Openly gay NHL prospect shares 'disappointment' over lack of Pride Night support

(36) Elliot Page says he feels 'fully alive for the 1st time' in trailer for ABC Pride special

These headlines emphasise the personal experiences of LGBTQ+ people, which offer a humanising portrayal of the community. The demonstration of these narratives reinforces Pride's message of inclusion and empowerment.

5 Discussion

In this section, I focus on the second research question with the discussion on whether the categorisation results from section 4 reflect the current ideological orientations associated with each news platform. The findings revealed distinct framing strategies: Fox News exhibits a significant peak in Controversy, while ABC News provides a more balanced and varied representation of Pride. In addition, the content of the headlines in many categories differed in emphasis on different aspects.

To analyse these differences, I begin this section with a discussion on the conservative framing tendencies in Fox News' headlines, after which I continue to consider how liberal ideologies are reflected in ABC News' coverage. This analysis draws upon Merriam-Webster's definitions of social conservatism and social liberalism and also sheds light on how news outlets construct narratives that shape readers' perceptions on Pride.

5.1 Conservatism on Fox News

According to Merriam-Webster (s.v. "social conservatism", n.), the social conservative ideology generally opposes progressive social changes, such as LGBTQ+ rights and the movements that advocate for them. This perspective appears to be reflected in the categorisation results to some extent, particularly in the salience of the Controversy and Opposition frames, which collectively cover almost 50% of Fox News' headlines. Thus, Fox News' framing tends to highlight critical perspectives and instances of resistance towards LGBTQ+ visibility. Given that some readers might skim headlines rather than engage with full articles, this framing ensures that they primarily encounter negative narratives about Pride.

Although Fox News devotes relatively less attention to the Policy, Commerce, and Culture frames, the tone within these categories also frequently conveys negative connotations. This negativity is often achieved through an emphasis on unfavourable aspects of Pride or the use of emotionally charged language to evoke strong reactions, as seen in (14), (18), and (23). Such an approach aligns with previous research indicating that conservative media outlets are more likely to employ provocative rhetoric (Berry and Sobieraj 2014, 42). Thus, it is not unexpected that even the frames that could be presented more neutrally, such as Culture or Policy, tend to use a negative tone and emphasise controversy. In addition, Fox News' low coverage of Commerce and Culture frames may be explained with conservative reluctance to

give a platform to businesses that support Pride or to direct attention to cultural aspects of Pride.

While the framing of more negative aspects in Fox News' coverage may reflect the outlet's conservative ideology, it is also possible that clickbait journalism contributes to this focus. Since negative news tends to attract higher levels of reader engagement (Zhang et al. 2024, 30158), it is reasonable to argue that Fox News' focus on negative narratives may also be influenced by commercial interests to maximise audience interaction. This could further explain the outlet's large coverage of Pride compared to ABC News and its tendency to publish multiple headlines on the same topic from different angles, like in (4) and (5), as LGBTQ+ issues are viewed more negatively by Fox News' conservative audience (Brewer 2003, 1210). Therefore, Fox News may use Pride as a topic to generate interest in readers.

However, Fox News' approach to Pride is not exclusively critical. The prominence of the Support frame, which emerged as the second most frequent category in its coverage, highlights that the platform also acknowledges positive narratives. However, the predominance of negative framing suggests that this positivity is more of a strategic effort to present a more balanced approach to Pride coverage, which may appeal to a broader audience with a more positive attitude towards LGBTQ+ issues. On the other hand, this result might also reflect a broader societal shift, where conservative views on LGBTQ+ rights and visibility have gradually become more tolerant. This would align with polling data showing that Republican support for same-sex marriage has increased over time (PRRI 2024), which indicates a shift towards greater acceptance of LGBTQ+ rights within conservative political groups.

Ultimately, Fox News' framing choices mainly reinforce conservative ideological tendencies with the strong emphasis of Controversy and Opposition frames, and also the large focus on the more negative aspects of Pride in the Policy, Commerce, and Culture frames. Although Fox News may attempt to balance this by offering a contrasting view through the Support frame, the overall narrative leans towards a more critical portrayal. According to Entman (1993, 52), media outlets emphasise specific elements of a story with framing to shape audience perception. For Fox News, the salience of negative aspects may not only reinforce pre-existing negative perceptions of Pride, but also the readers with a neutral or even positive stance on Pride may begin to re-evaluate their perspectives.

5.2 Liberalism on ABC News

In contrast, Merriam-Webster defines that social liberalism advocates for social equality and support for marginalised groups (s.v. “social liberalism”, n.). This view aligns closely with the framing results for ABC News. While the outlet’s coverage on Pride is more balanced compared to Fox News, its salience lies in positive and supportive narratives. Specifically, ABC News covers the themes of the Support frame more frequently than it addresses Controversy and Opposition combined. This positive portrayal of Pride reflects a liberal commitment to promote inclusivity and acceptance of LGBTQ+ issues.

A closer analysis of the headline contents within specific frames, particularly Safety and Commerce, further demonstrates ABC News’ accordance with liberalism. In the Safety frame, the focus on external threats to LGBTQ+ individuals, as seen in (24), (25), and (26), shows that ABC News addresses the vulnerabilities faced by the LGBTQ+ community. Since social liberalism also entails the aspect of “protecting [...] marginalized people” (ibid.), it is possible that the platform attempts to direct the audience’s attention towards these challenges. This could ultimately generate awareness and spark discussions about the need for increased protection, for example, at Pride events.

Similarly, ABC News’ extensive use of the Commerce frame showcases its support for businesses contributing to the LGBTQ+ community, as most of the headlines within this frame focus on advertisements of different brands releasing Pride-related products, like in (16). Such support is once again in accordance with social liberalism. In addition, this category offers valuable insights for businesses, as they can assess the potential profitability of Pride marketing. Headlines that highlight successful campaigns or provide positive advertisement around Pride-related content, as ABC News predominantly does, may encourage companies to invest in Pride marketing, as it might enhance their brand image. With such positive focus on commercial aspects, ABC News’ aim might be to spread LGBTQ+ visibility in the commercial world.

Interestingly, ABC News appears to employ less clickbait journalism than Fox News, since its coverage deviates from those critical viewpoints that are typically viewed to attract higher engagement. This shift reflects ABC News’ alignment with liberal ideologies, which emphasise inclusivity and acceptance. However, it is possible that the outlet still employs clickbait journalism through a different approach, which raises the question of whether liberal audiences are just more likely to engage with supportive content, or if ABC News is simply

less driven by commercial interests and more focused on providing an informative and balanced perspective to maintain a reputation of a credible source.

Overall, ABC News offers a liberal-leaning narrative by prioritising the Support frame while minimising the Controversy and Opposition frames. In addition, ABC News enhances this narrative with the coverage on businesses that actively support Pride, and the threats faced by the LGBTQ+ community. By giving visibility to these important issues, the platform conveys a genuine concern for the LGBTQ+ rights. The focus on supportive narratives might influence the readers' perceptions positively, as it promotes a more favourable view of the Pride movement. The constructive stories and advocations for inclusivity not only reinforce ABC News' liberal stance but also encourage its readers to engage with LGBTQ+ issues more empathetically.

Considering the limitations for this thesis, it is important to compare if the observations of this thesis are consistent with broader trends of media framing, or if the findings depend on the context of the study. Previous research on the framing of LGBTQ+ issues in news articles have shown that conservative news platforms tend to frame these topics more negatively than liberal outlets (Pan, Meng, and Zhou 2010; Zheng and Chan 2020). For instance, Zheng and Chan's research found that liberal platforms emphasised public support for same-sex marriage more than conservative ones. However, while Zheng and Chan's study suggests only a minimal difference between liberal and conservative outlets in their LGBTQ+ coverage, my findings reveal a more pronounced contrast. This divergence may stem from the difference in data types: whereas Zheng and Chan's research analysed full news articles, my study focuses on headlines, which may be formulated in a way that amplifies these ideologies. On the other hand, Pan, Meng, and Zhou's study showed greater differences in the framing of same-sex marriage between liberal and conservative platforms, which aligns more closely with my findings. Although the results point to the same direction, the variations in significance may result from factors such as primary data sources, time periods, and the inevitable subjectivity of framing analysis. This thesis offers significant added information to these previous studies with the demonstration of how specifically headline framing is influenced by political ideologies, and further highlights its role in shaping the readers' perceptions toward marginalised communities.

6 Conclusion

The aim of my thesis was to examine how the headlines from Fox News and ABC News frame the Pride movement, and further analyse how their framing choices align with their respective ideological orientations, that is conservatism for Fox News and liberalism for ABC News. I used Framing Theory to conduct this study, and I identified seven framing categories: Controversy, Opposition, Policy, Commerce, Culture, Safety, and Support. Each headline was individually analysed and categorised within these frames based on its content and framing techniques.

The results of the framing categorisation show that Fox News largely emphasises the Controversy frame in its coverage on Pride, though the distribution of the other frames is more balanced. Meanwhile, ABC News presents a more evenly distributed framing overall, as no single category is overwhelmingly dominant. The categorisation findings paired with a close examination of the headline content revealed that Fox News' coverage is mostly in accordance with the conservative ideology. This conclusion is supported by the high presence of the Controversy and Opposition frames, as well as the negative tone often employed in other frames. Meanwhile, ABC News headlines reflect a liberal perspective with the greater focus on the Support frame and the minimal coverage of Controversy and Opposition. In addition, the content of the ABC News headlines in the other frames tend to provide more constructive descriptions of Pride. Overall, these findings suggest that the headline framing of Pride in both news outlets aligns with their ideological orientations, though other factors, like commercial interests, may also influence coverage.

These results contribute to the ongoing discussion about the influence of political ideologies on news reporting. They also align with previous research, although my study conveys a more significant ideological impact on the framing of the headlines. Such difference may result from variations in primary data sources or selection criteria used. This offers great possibility for further research on this topic, as more primary data and different methodological approaches would offer a broader understanding of how news coverage is shaped. For instance, it would be interesting to compare whether headline framing reinforces ideologies more strongly than the framing in full articles. Even with the limitations, this study not only highlights the significant role of ideological framing in headline coverage of the Pride movement, but also underscores the need for continued research on media framing.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Fox News Headlines

Frame	Headline	Date	Author(s)
Controversy	'Family-friendly' Pride parade in West Hollywood had men depicting graphic BDSM sexual act (2)	05/06/2023	Kristine Parks
	Pennsylvania gay pride event features shirtless instructor teaching children to pole dance	04/08/2022	Andrew Mark Miller
	North Carolina gay pride event slammed over video of young child on stripper pole: 'Child abuse'	25/08/2022	Andrew Mark Miller
	Washington Dems silent on nude Pride cyclists exposing genitalia to crowd including kids, families	26/06/2023	Houston Keene
	NYC drag marchers chant 'We're coming for your children' during Pride event	25/06/2023	Anders Hagstrom
	Target customers shocked after company features pride items by Satanist partner: Devil is 'hope' and 'love' (1)	24/05/2023	Kristine Parks
	White House condemns trans activist for going topless at Pride Month event: 'inappropriate and disrespectful'	13/06/2023	Anders Hagstrom
	Trans activists flaunt bare breasts at White House Pride Month event	13/06/2023	Anders Hagstrom
	Dallas Pride festival for 'all ages' sells sex toys, edible penises, graphic Disney art (3)	06/06/2023	Kristine Parks
	Official US Navy Special Forces page draws backlash for ringing in Pride month: 'Navy SEALs have gone woke'	02/06/2024	Anders Hagstrom
	Trinity College removed American flags from students' window but allowed pride flags to remain for days later	02/11/2022	Joe Silverstein
	VA blasted for replacing American flag with pride flag at veteran cemetery, state GOP demands its removal	06/06/2023	Aubrie Spady
	Father sues school district for refusing to display straight pride flag alongside Progress Pride flag	04/12/2023	Hannah Ray Lambert
	Calif teacher who removed US flag, suggested students pledge allegiance to pride flag removed from classroom	01/09/2021	Michael Ruiz
	Education Dept. blasted for promoting Pride Month while test scores plummet: 'Indoctrination camps'	01/06/2023	Andrew Mark Miller
	LA Dodgers condemned for re-inviting anti-Catholic LGBTQ group to Pride Night: 'Vulgar, grotesque' (4)	23/05/2023	Jon Michael Raasch
	Tulsi Gabbard hammers LA Dodgers for reinviting anti-Catholic group to Pride Night (5)	23/05/2023	Fox News Staff
	NHL blasted for woke push after player skips Pride event: 'Nobody asked for this'	19/01/2023	Amy Nelson
New York town's veterans divided after POW/MIA flag taken down, Pride flag hoisted at town hall	14/06/2023	Jeffrey Clark	

MLB pitcher rips Dodgers for reinviting controversial anti-Catholic group to Pride Night	30/05/2023	Ryan Morik
Miami 'Pride' police cruiser mocked after going viral on Twitter: 'Society is unsalvageable'	04/01/2023	Gabriel Hays
Dodgers' latest reversal on anti-Catholic group's invite to Pride Night draws backlash: 'Disgraceful'	23/05/2023	Ryan Gaydos
NHL player scolded for skipping Pride event launches debate over forced activism: 'I think it's ridiculous'	21/01/2023	Brian Flood
San Francisco Pride group drops rocker Dee Snider after he speaks out against transitioning kids	04/05/2023	Gabriel Hays
Preacher claims Cash App shut down account for protesting Pride, drag queen story hours	06/06/2023	Kristine Parks
Pete Buttigieg attacks Justice Alito's wife for 'Pride flag' comments, warns SCOTUS has 'no supervision'	12/06/2024	Jeffrey Clark
Connecticut father 'infuriated' with school officials over Pride video: 'Straw that broke the camel's back'	08/06/2023	Bailee Hill
LGBT groups, progressives frustrated with Target over moving Pride merchandise: 'Beyond disappointing'	25/05/2023	David Rutz
NBA's first openly gay player on NHL Pride Night controversy: 'Religion should not be a cause for division'	08/05/2024	Paulina Dedaj
Texas Rangers face criticism for lack of Pride Night: 'Just ridiculous'	20/06/2023	Ryan Gaydos
Twitter users mock CIA's pride post celebrating 'rich history' of 'LGBTQ+ officers': 'Wildly dystopian'	08/06/2023	Aubrie Spady
GOP candidates condemn Biden for illicit mishap during White House Pride event: 'Very revealing'	16/06/2023	Brandon Gillespie
Sports pundit slams Flyers player for skipping team's Pride festivities, calls on NHL to fine Philly	18/01/2023	Ryan Gaydos
Kamala Harris' Secret Service agent 'clearly not happy' about VP's Pride walk: Twitter users react	13/06/2021	Dom Calicchio
PetSmart faces boycott calls for 'Pride Dog Bikini,' donations to group pushing gender ideology on students	01/06/2023	Aubrie Spady
ESPN's Sarah Spain calls Rays players 'bigots' for not wearing gay pride patch	07/06/2022	Bobby Burack
Postmates slammed over 'Bottom-Friendly' Pride month menu	09/06/2022	Louis Casiano
Michigan city commissioners removed after flying Pride flag in violation of ordinance: Defied 'rule of law'	13/07/2023	Joshua Q. Nelson
OUTTA HERE: LA Dodgers cave, eject anti-Catholic group from LGBTQ Pride event after backlash	17/05/2023	Aubrie Spady
California high school teacher allegedly threatens punishment after students protest Pride video in math class	13/06/2023	-
Belk scrubs website of kids' LGBTQ apparel after selling trans pride shirts for 2-year-olds	01/06/2023	Jessica Chasmar
Dodgers re-invite anti-Catholic group to Pride Night amid uproar	22/05/2023	Ryan Gaydos

	Target honchos 'haven't learned their lesson' despite widespread backlash to Pride merchandise	30/11/2023	Brian Flood
	Target CEO accused of telling 'flat-out lies' about Pride merchandise backlash by Consumers' Research leader	06/11/2023	Brian Flood
	White House accused of US Flag Code violation over Pride Month display	11/06/2023	Anders Hagstrom
	Pentagon mistakenly touts Pride Month in PTSD awareness post	01/06/2024	Andrea Vacchiano, Lucas Y. Tomlinson
	National Park Service reverses ban on employees wearing uniforms at Pride events following LGBTQ backlash	29/05/2024	Kendall Tietz
	Target is either a victim of 'economic terrorism' or 'cowards' on Pride display decision, MSNBC guest says	26/05/2023	Jeffrey Clark
	Seattle Pride parade booth encourages kids to throw bricks at pictures of Republicans	27/06/2023	Nikolas Lanum
	Navy takes down LGBTQ+ Pride post on Instagram and Twitter, removes rainbow banner	02/06/2023	Chris Pandolfo
	Whoopi Goldberg erupts on Target controversy after store moves Pride merchandise: 'Really tired of this'	24/05/2023	David Rutz, Hanna Panreck
	Elon Musk comments on Flyers' Provorov Pride Night backlash: 'Pendulum has swung a bit too far'	21/01/2023	Joe Morgan
	Adams booed at NYC Pride parade, LGBTQ groups boycott mayor's reception over recent appointees	12/06/2022	Danielle Wallace
Opposition	Minnesota Wild players opt out of wearing Pride-themed jerseys during warmups (8)	08/03/2023	Paulina Dedaj
	Sharks' James Reimer talks refusal to wear Pride-themed warmup, believes 'everyone has value and worth'	28/03/2023	Ryan Gaydos
	10 NFL teams so far decline to bow to pride month messaging	04/06/2024	Armando Salguero
	NWSL player Jaelene Daniels sits out over refusal to wear pride jersey	30/07/2022	Paulina Dedaj
	Rays' Nick Anderson explains 'differing beliefs' after several teammates forgo 'Pride Night' logo	07/06/2022	Joe Morgan
	NHL brothers refuse to wear Pride-themed warmup jerseys, say 'it goes against our Christian beliefs'	24/03/2023	Ryan Gaydos
	Christian leader declares June 'Fidelity Month' instead of 'Pride Month'	04/06/2023	Emily Robertson
	Muslims, Christians join forces to protest LGBTQ+ Pride in Canada: 'Let kids be kids' (9)	31/07/2023	Taylor Penley
	Catholic group launches 'Hide the Pride,' encouraging parents to reclaim libraries from 'radical rainbow cult'	04/06/2023	Kristine Parks
	Dr. Jordan Peterson airs Pride Month grievances, says 'celebration of sexuality' is named after cardinal sin	04/06/2024	Brian Flood, Gabriel Hays

	Rep Gaetz gets Pride Month 'family friendly' drag show at Nevada Air Force base canceled	01/06/2023	Lawrence Richard
	Students at Massachusetts Pride event destroyed decorations, chanted 'USA are my pronouns,' district says	13/06/2023	Louis Casiano
	Christian politician takes legal action after anti-LGBT Pride tweet sees his 'life torn apart'	26/06/2023	Jon Brown
	Christian politician vindicated after having life 'torn apart' for anti-pride post	05/03/2024	Kristine Parks
	Punches thrown at California school protest over LGBTQ+ curriculum and Pride month	07/06/2023	Chris Pandolfo
	Just Stop Oil climate change protesters halt London Pride parade	02/07/2023	Lindsay Kornick
	Tammy Bruce: Federal request to fly gay pride flags at courthouses 'reinforces tribalism'	09/06/2021	Charles Creitz
	Conservative parents call to boycott 'Ms. Rachel' over latest Pride Month video: 'Kids look up to' her	02/06/2024	Yael Halon
	LGBTQ influencer condemns nudity, 'Neanderthal behavior' at Pride events: 'Even I'm like what the f—k?'	01/07/2023	Hannah Grossman
	Chip Roy slams Air Force LGBTQ+ Pride Month celebration, says GOP should take drastic action against military	18/05/2023	Chris Pandolfo
Policy	NHL's Gary Bettman suggests league will reevaluate Pride-themed jersey nights amid spate of opt-outs	29/03/2023	Ryan Gaydos
	NHL players will not wear Pride jerseys during warm-ups anymore: 'Keeping the focus on the game' (13)	22/06/2023	Ryan Morik
	Rangers bail on wearing LGBTQ-themed warmup jerseys on Pride Night	28/01/2023	Ryan Morik
	LA Pride backs out of Dodgers' Pride Night after team pulls trans drag group from event	19/05/2023	Ryan Morik
	Blackhawks will not wear pride jerseys due to safety concerns for Russian players: report	22/03/2023	Ryan Morik
	Texas Rangers remain only MLB team without Pride Night: 'Our commitment is to make everyone feel welcome'	18/06/2023	Scott Thompson
	Michigan city votes against allowing Pride flags on public property after contentious council meeting	14/06/2023	Timothy H.J. Nerozzi
	Malaysian authorities raid Swatch stores, seize Pride Collection watches, according to the Swiss watchmaker	23/05/2023	Associated Press
	Boston suburb high school bans 'political' items, including BLM, pride flags (12)	21/09/2022	Emma Colton
	Yeshiva University, Pride Alliance agree to stay of court order requiring recognition of LGBTQ group	22/09/2022	Ronn Blitzer
	LGBTQ community felt 'betrayal' at Muslim council voting to remove Pride flags from city buildings	18/09/2023	Lindsay Kornick
	Texas Rep Wesley Hunt challenges 'woke' corporations with 'American Pride Month' legislation	30/06/2023	Chris Pandolfo
	Pride Month targeted by House GOP in must-pass defense bill	10/06/2024	Elizabeth Elkind

	Tennessee House passes bill that would largely ban LGBTQ flags in public school classrooms	27/02/2024	Landon Mion
	NHL reverses course on Pride Tape ban after Coyotes' Travis Dermott defies policy	24/10/2023	Paulina Dedaj
	Wisconsin school board votes to ban pride, BLM flags from classrooms	21/08/2022	Emma Colton
	California beach town will no longer fly LGBT pride flag outside city hall; 'We are one' city says councilman	09/02/2023	Andrew Mark Miller
	LA County grants partial religious exemption to Christian lifeguard after Pride Flag dispute, plaintiff says	09/06/2024	Kristine Parks
Commerce	Former Target exec says Pride 'misstep' partly responsible for recent sales dip: 'Certainly impacted them' (17)	17/08/2023	Hannah Grossman
	Target confirms 'adjustments' to Pride plans after LGBTQ merchandise caused 'threats' to employees	23/05/2023	Brian Flood
	Target hit with shareholder lawsuit after Pride backlash damaged stock price	09/08/2023	Brian Flood
	Bud Light sponsors Toronto Pride parade attended by naked men, children (18)	26/06/2023	Nikolas Lanum
	Coors Light stands firm as title sponsor of Denver Pride Parade despite Bud Light controversy	22/06/2023	Kendall Tietz
	NBC marks Pride Month with documentary on 'queer' animals	17/05/2024	Kristine Parks
	Kirk Cameron, during Pride Month, reveals pro-family 'See You at the Library 2024' event this summer	10/06/2024	Maureen Mackey, Brittany Kasko
	Target learns tough lesson after sales slump due to backlash from Pride merchandise fiasco	17/08/2023	Brian Flood
	Kevin O'Leary: Target's pride merch decision was a 'huge mistake' after losing billions in market value	28/05/2023	Joshua Comins
	Kids' networks roll out Pride Month content: 'With imagination, I can be anything I want'	08/06/2021	Sam Dorman
	Nike set to unveil new 'gender-inclusive' kids' apparel line for Pride month	07/06/2023	Gabriel Hays, Alexa Moutevelis
	Target 'Pride' designer says company pulled products due to 'threats from domestic terrorists'	31/05/2023	Kristine Parks
Culture	Six Flags amusement parks hosting Pride Month drag shows for 'all ages', assures guests they're 'PG' (22)	03/06/2023	Gabriel Hays
	Children's museum in Virginia hosts 'Pride night with Legendary Santa,' drag queen plays the Snow Queen	15/12/2022	Kendall Tietz
	Base at center of military drag show controversy hosts 'Pride' reading event for kids	23/06/2023	Michael Lee
	Church-sponsored LGBTQ pride event promotes 'kid's activities,' 'drag shows'	04/10/2022	Jessica Chasmar
	Pride month: Local governments host Drag Queen Story Hour events across country	02/06/2023	Jessica Chasmar

	Dodgers prepare to honor Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence during Pride Night amid backlash	16/06/2023	Paulina Dedaj
	Cynthia Nixon, NYX Pride March attendees react to Supreme Court's abortion ruling	27/06/2022	Teny Sahakian
	Washington Football Team to host inaugural 'Pride Night' during matchup vs. Giants (23)	15/09/2021	Daniel Canova
Safety	NYC banker allegedly seen punching woman at Pride event surrenders to police	01/07/2024	Louis Casiano, Michael Ruiz
	Woman attacked in shocking Pride parade beating caught on video (26)	01/07/2024	Michael Ruiz
	Jewish banker seen punching person at 'Pride' event mobbed by antisemitic 'Queers for Palestine' group: source	10/06/2024	Michael Ruiz
	Chicago Pride parade chaos: police attacked and 53 arrested (27)	02/07/2024	Michael Dorgan
	Fights erupt as California parents protest Pride event at elementary school: 'They're too young'	05/06/2023	Bailee Hill
	'Heightened threat' of terrorism during Pride Month 2024, FBI and DHS warn	16/05/2024	Timothy H.J. Nerozzi
	Sabres' Ilya Lyubushkin to skip out on Pride Night warmups citing safety concerns in Russia	27/03/2023	Paulina Dedaj
	Massachusetts church vandalized after LGBTQ Pride flags removed: 'Stay Gay'	22/06/2023	Jon Brown
	Anti-Israel demonstrators seen on video bringing Philadelphia Pride Parade to a halt	03/06/2024	Danielle Wallace
	Target CEO calls Pride Month display backlash 'first time' team felt 'not safe' at work	03/11/2023	Lindsay Kornick
	LGBTQ pride leader arrested in Canada for child sex crimes	10/01/2024	Greg Wehner
	Man arrested while citing Bible verse in protest of Pride event, then video evidence sinks case	11/06/2023	Emily Robertson
	Anti-Israel agitators destroy floats at New York Pride parade, block parade route	30/06/2024	Stepheny Price
	Cops respond to JoJo Siwa's home during Pride celebration for possible drug overdose of partygoer: report	04/06/2021	Melissa Roberto
	Turkish police break up LGBT pride parade in Istanbul, detain dozens	26/06/2022	Anders Hagstrom
Support	Adele goes off on fan who shouted 'Pride sucks' during Vegas performance: 'Are you f—ing stupid?'	02/06/2024	Yael Halon
	Dennis Rodman appears at Pride parade, claps back at criticism: 'Do your research guys'	26/06/2023	Ryan Gaydos
	Oilers' Connor McDavid calls NHL's move away from Pride-themed warmup jerseys 'disappointing' (31)	28/06/2023	Joe Morgan
	Space Force general decries 'anti-LGBTQ+' laws at Pentagon Pride event, claims they affect hiring decisions	15/06/2023	Brandon Gillespie

Coyotes defenseman Travis Dermott uses Pride Tape in home opener, becomes first player to defy NHL ban	23/10/2023	Paulina Dedaj
Openly gay NHL prospect shares 'disappointment' over lack of Pride Night support (35)	21/03/2023	Paulina Dedaj
NYC pride organisation says Rangers' last-minute decision to ditch LGBTQ+ jerseys a 'major disappointment'	28/01/2023	Ryan Morik
NHL star Connor McDavid criticizes NHL banning Pride-themed stick tape, Bruins captain sees 'both sides'	11/10/2023	Ryan Morik
Devils find loophole for players to wear Pride-themed jerseys	21/12/2023	Ryan Morik
Austin, Texas school district encourages children, families to wear 'Pride costumes' and attend LGBTQ parade	11/08/2023	Alexander Hall
US Embassy to Holy See flies Pride flag in Rome (33)	01/06/2023	Timothy H.J. Nerozzi
Biden speaks at White House Pride event: 'Bravest and most inspiring people I've ever known'	10/06/2023	Timothy H.J. Nerozzi
Kamala Harris becomes first sitting VP to join Pride march, calls for passage of GOP-opposed Equality Act	13/06/2021	Brie Stimson
US raises Pride flag at embassy to the Holy See	01/06/2023	Timothy Nerozzi
RNC announces 'Pride Coalition,' partnership with Log Cabin Republicans ahead of midterms	08/11/2021	Brooke Singman
Dodgers manager Dave Roberts expresses support for team's Pride Night: 'We welcome everyone'	17/06/2023	Chantz Martin
Kamala Harris dances with Bravo's Andy Cohen for Pride Month: 'I bet you're fun at a gay bar'	27/06/2023	Lindsay Kornick
Target CEO defends Pride display adjustments while vowing LGBTQ support: 'This has been a very hard day'	25/05/2023	Joseph A. Wulfsohn
Sesame Street prompts strong reaction with Pride Month Twitter posts: 'Happy Pride! Elmo loves you!'	03/06/2023	Gabriel Hays
'Game of Thrones' star Sophie Turner honors Pride Month: 'Time isn't straight and neither am I'	04/06/2021	Stephanie Nolasco
Progressive Oregon school board members push plan to fly BLM and pride flags alongside Old Glory	26/05/2021	Michael Ruiz
Wisconsin mothers defend, criticize school board's ban on pride, BLM flags	05/09/2022	Megan Myers, Teny Sahakian
Rachel Levine declares this the 'Summer of Pride,' calls transgender treatment 'suicide prevention care'	26/06/2023	Yael Halon

Appendix 2 ABC News Headlines

Frame	Headline	Date	Author(s)
Controversy	Bishop says school no longer Catholic after flying Black Lives Matter, Pride flags	17/06/2022	Will McDuffie
	Target faces criticism from artists involved with Pride month products over response to boycott: 'Quick to fold' (7)	07/06/2023	Max Zahn
	Colorado GOP rebuked by Republicans, Democrats after calling for burning Pride flags	05/06/2024	Kiara Alfonseca
	New York library reverses removal of Pride displays from children's sections following outrage (6)	24/06/2022	Kiara Alfonseca
	Protesters clash for 2nd time at California school board meeting over Pride month	21/06/2023	Kiara Alfonseca
	White House denounces handful of attendees at Pride event who posed topless: 'Simply unacceptable'	16/06/2023	Alexandra Hutzler
Opposition	Pride flag taken down from Pennsylvania Capitol balcony hours after it's raised (10)	02/06/2021	Kiara Alfonseca
	Dozens of Pride flags vandalized at Stonewall monument in NYC, 3rd time this month: Police (11)	20/06/2023	Teddy Grant
Policy	NHL reverses new ban on Pride tape in warmups (14)	24/10/2023	Greg Wyshynski
	Florida governor signs bill targeting transgender athletes on 1st day of Pride Month (15)	02/06/2021	Meredith Deliso
	Threats and violence: LGBTQ community faces renewed political battles during Pride Month	21/06/2022	Kiara Alfonseca
	San Francisco Pride parade bans police uniforms, LGBTQ officers refuse to march	25/05/2022	Kiara Alfonseca, Brad Mielke
	Police banned from participating in NYC Pride events and march through 2025 (16)	15/05/2021	Meredith Deliso
	Why the LGBTQ community sidelined police for Pride	29/05/2021	Kiara Alfonseca
Commerce	Target will only sell Pride Month collection in some stores after backlash in 2023	10/05/2024	Jon Haworth
	Mariah Carey drops exclusive Pride Month merch	11/05/2021	Andrea Tuccillo
	Christina Aguilera unveils new rainbow merchandise ahead of Pride Month	18/05/2021	Megan Stone
	Spice Girls reunite for special Pride Month video	10/06/2021	George Costantino
	Lego announces first LGBTQIA+ set will debut on first day of Pride Month (19)	20/05/2021	Jon Haworth
	Disney unveils Pride 2021 collection featuring apparel, accessories and more (20)	03/05/2021	Jacqueline Laurean Yates

	27 brands supporting LGBTQ pride in style (21)	01/06/2021	Jacqueline Laurean Yates
	Pride Month 2022: 15 brands giving back to the LGBTQ+ community	08/06/2022	Jacqueline Laurean Yates
	Corporations face challenge aligning policies with Pride marketing, some experts say	25/06/2024	Max Zahn
	Target pulls some Pride collection products following threats to store employees	24/05/2023	Yi-Jin Yu
	Experts warn against canceling Pride campaigns after extremists threaten Target	30/05/2023	Kiara Alfonseca, Heather Guzman
	Nike unveils customizable Pride collection celebrating many LGBTIA+ orientations	08/06/2021	Jacqueline Laurean Yates
	LZ Granderson kicks off Pride Month with new podcast 'Life out Loud'	26/05/2021	ABC News
	Celebrate Pride Month in style with Kohl's new ph by the Phluid Project collection	21/05/2022	Jacqueline Laurean Yates
	'GMA' Deals & Steals celebrating Pride	07/06/2023	GMA Team
Culture	Pride style through the years: Festive fashion, beauty and more	27/06/2022	Jacqueline Laurean Yates
	LGBT Pride Month 2021: What to know about its history, events, parades (24)	01/06/2021	Morgan Winsor
	'Detransition, Baby' author Torrey Peters shares her top 5 books for Pride Month	02/06/2022	Alex Goodson
	'The Deep' author Rivers Solomon shares 5 book picks for Pride Month (25)	21/06/2022	GMA Team
	Casey McQuiston picks 8 books to read in celebration of Pride Month	13/06/2024	Casey McQuiston
Safety	School board's Pride month vote leads to fights, protests, arrests in Glendale, Calif.	07/06/2023	Kiara Alfonseca
	Suspect identified in shooting death of store owner over Pride flag: Police (28)	22/08/2023	Bill Hutchinson
	Pride march, other related events could be targets for violence, NYPD says	29/06/2024	Nadine El-Bawab, Josh Margolin
	Series of bomb threats targeting LGBTQ+ Pride events in Montana deemed to be hoaxes	07/05/2024	Jon Haworth
	Foreign terrorist organizations could target Pride month events: FBI, DHS (29)	13/05/2024	Luke Barr
	Baltimore police investigate potential arson after 4 homes, Pride flag burn in same area	16/06/2022	Oren Oppenheim

	Woman who allegedly set fire to gay pride flag outside NYC restaurant found mentally unfit for trial	03/05/2023	Aaron Katersky, Emily Shapiro
	31 arrested with shields, riot gear near Pride parade in Idaho	13/06/2022	Luke Barr
	Community mourns trans teen murdered, dismembered during Pride month (30)	08/07/2024	Davi Merchan, Kiara Alfonseca
	Several injured after 'chemical agent,' fireworks caused mass exodus at Baltimore Pride event	16/06/2024	Davone Morales
	Pride organizers promise safety at festivities amid anti-LGBTQ rhetoric	03/06/2023	Kiara Alfonseca
Support	Rep. Marie Newman displays transgender pride flag after Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene insults daughter with transphobic comments (32)	25/02/2021	Marlene Lenthang, Benjamin Siegel
	Starbucks reiterates support of LGBTQIA2+ community amid Pride strikes	27/06/2023	Kelly McCarthy
	Biden marks Pride Month with executive order combatting conversion therapy, supporting LGBTQ kids	16/06/2022	Gabe Ferris
	Elliot Page says he feels 'fully alive for the 1st time' in trailer for ABC Pride special (36)	01/06/2023	Carson Blackwelder
	College grad opens up after displaying gay pride flag at BYU graduation	27/04/2022	Yi-Jin Yu
	Biden admin. grants 'blanket authorization' to fly Pride flag at embassies (34)	23/04/2021	Conor Finnegan
	White House marks Pride Month amid wave of anti-LGBTQ legislation	02/06/2022	Kiara Alfonseca
	Niecy Nash dons colorful feather dress for 1st Pride parade: 'Thank you for the LOVE'	06/06/2023	Jaylene Lopez
	LZ Granderson, host of 'Life Out Loud': Why we need Pride more than ever	01/06/2021	LZ Granderson
	Paris Hilton on how motherhood changed her life, celebrating Pride Month and more	17/06/2024	Angeline Jane Bernabe, Will Linendoll, Rebecca Anderson
	'The View' honors trailblazers from LGBTQIA+ community during Pride Month	25/06/2021	Joanne Rosa
	Dad's video in support of his son for Pride goes viral	16/06/2021	Aryana Azari