LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL & TRANSGENDER CONTENT IN GREEK-CYPRIOT NEWSPAPERS

A descriptive analysis between 2011 and 2015

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For more information about the research program visit Re.Cri.Re. website at www.recrire.eu. If you are interested about the specific study and its findings you can contact the scientific coordinator Dr. Irini Kadianaki at kadianaki.irini@ucy.ac.cy and at tel: +35722892063. Recommended citation: Kadianaki I., Panagiotou E., Avraamidou, M., Pagkratidou, M. & Ioannou, M. (2018). Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender content in Greek-Cypriot newspapers: A descriptive analysis between 2011 and 2015. Nicosia: University of Cyprus. Available at: http://www.recrire.eu/documents/

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RE.CRI.RE

BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CRISIS AND THE CRISIS OF REPRESENTATION



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1. Introduction

Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people have been largely absent from dominant social debates in Cyprus. In a socially conservative country, with prevailing heteronormative and patriarchic norms, discussion around issues of sexuality in general and sexual orientation in particular, has been taboo. This has resulted in a lack of visibility and meaningful social and media debate around LGBT people and issues that concern them (Tryfonidou, 2017).

From 2010 onwards issues of discrimination and harassment towards LGBT started becoming increasingly discussed in the public arena. Relevant legal developments, accelerated by the 2004 Republic of Cyprus's (RoC) accession into the European Union (henceforth EU) and by the pioneering of the LGBT NGO called ACCEPT, led to more visibility of LGBT issues in the public sphere (Phellas, Kapsou, Epameinonda, 2014), reflected also in increasing media attention (Kapsou, Christophi & Epaminonda, 2011). Events such as the Pride Festivals from 2014 onwards, contributed significantly in promoting public attention around LGBT issues.

Despite these important developments, the social debate remains limited and polarized and is frequently driven by statements of important public figures, and predominantly by Church representatives. These figures often promote a representation of same-sex relationships as highly deviant, abnormal and problematic and thus contribute to an ongoing marginalization and discrimination of LGBT people. The social climate around LGBT issues also reflects that there is room for improving social acceptance and respect of LGBT rights (European Commission, 2015) while there are still pressing legal issues to be addressed (Tryfonidou, 2017).

Although academic attention around these issues has increased significantly during the last few years (i.e. Kamenou, 2012; Onoufriou, 2009; Phellas, 2005), there is still need for scientific, empirically grounded research. Our aim in this report is to provide an empirically-grounded examination of the ways that media represent LGBT related issues, by focusing on newspaper content. This report, although descriptive of the media content on LGBT issues, still aims to contribute to a more critical debate around the role of mainstream media on

how LGBT communities are perceived.

The report developed as part of a wider research activity undertaken by Assistant Professor Irini Kadianaki, at the Department of Psychology, University of Cyprus (UCY) under a Horizon 2020 project entitled Representations of the Crisis, Crisis of the Representations (Re.Cri.Re). Under the same project, the UCY team has also published a report on the migration/media nexus (Avraamidou et al, 2017¹) and academic articles in international journals (e.g. Kadianaki et al., in press).

The report begins with an introduction consisted of two sections, the first gives information on the research project Re.Cri.Re. and the second provides basic background information on the study's context (legal developments, attitudes, the Church on LGBT issues, experiences, media in relation to LGBT people). The methodology chapter that follows describes the steps undertaken for the completion of the research reported. The chapters of the results provide the reader with descriptive information first on general patterns of reporting of LGBT issues and second in particular on the newspapers coverage of the 2015 Civil Union Law (henceforth CU law). The report ends with some basic conclusions and shares ideas for future wok in the field.

1.1. A note on the Re.Cri.Re project

Re.Cri.Re is a HORIZON 2020 funded research project that aims to understand social identity change within European societies, considering that social identity influences the impact of policies, particularly at times of crisis. This entails analysing cultures of European societies and the impact of the socioeconomic crisis on them, to frame better policies at local, national and European level. To this end, civil society, policy-makers and academics within the field of social sciences come together and contribute to the various Re.Cri.Re. actions. Overall, the project envisions providing suggestions for improving the efficiency of policies for a positive post-crisis scenario. To this end, sixteen Universities and Research Centers, covering 13 European countries, are set to work together between May 2015 and May 2018. For more information see project website: http://www.recrire.eu/. Research

¹ The said report is available online here at http://www.recrire.eu/documents



Kick off meeting of Re.Cri.Re. team at Mesagne, Italy in June 2015

presented here derived from the work package three (3) of the program: Multilevel Analysis of the Symbolic Universes, which in Cyprus focused on the study of media representations of migration/migrants and the LGBT community. Research partners across Europe chose to focus on one or more of the 9 topics of the project (e.g., solidarity, democracy, Europe, Islam).

1.2. A note on the context

The rights and representations of LGBT people in Cyprus is an arena where major changes have occurred during the last 20 years. Cyprus moved from the decriminalization of male-to-male consensual sex in 1998 to adopting the CU law in 2015², which, while gender-neutral it also granted the right to same sex couples to legalize their partnership. Nevertheless, transgender people remain today still outside the legal regime since, apart from the Hate Speech law and the Refugee law (Tryfonidou, 2017), no other legal provisions are made for them. The public opinion on LGBT issues also shows some signs of a shift towards more acceptance in some areas, over the years, such as approval of same-sex marriage or feeling comfortable with public display of affection among gay and lesbian people (European Commission, 2006; 2008;

² http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/crmd/crmd.nsf/All/ D6580C099656A06EC2257F53003CA640?OpenDocument

2012; 2015). Nevertheless, Cyprus still holds one of the last places (i.e. 30th out of 49) in the International Lesbian and Gay Association's (ILGA) ranking of European countries implementation of laws and policies that have a direct impact on LGBTI rights (ILGA-Europe, 2017) and discrimination against LGBT people remains widespread (FRA, 2013) particularly against transgender persons. Relevant actors recognize a number of pressing legal issues that need to be addressed and note that certain sectors, such as education, health and employment, would greatly benefit from targeted interventions of promoting awareness over issues of sexual orientation to combat discrimination. Media have also played a dominant role over the years in framing LGBT issues (Kapsou, Christophi & Epaminonda, 2011) through their reporting or lack of it.

Legal claims and developments. The decriminalization of (male) same sex relationships in the 1980s and the 2015 CU law are the two major legal developments that took place during the last 20 years, altering the ways that LGBT issues are discussed in society but also the everyday life of the LGBT community in Cyprus. Decriminalisation was achieved following the appeal of a prominent rights activist, Alecos Modinos against the Republic of Cyprus to the European Commission of Human Rights (Modinos v. Cyprus 15070/89). Although the case opened in 1989, it took 4 years for Modinos to win his appeal and another 5 years for the decision of the court to be implemented amid severe opposition by the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.

In general, LGBT activism has played a central role in legal developments. From the 1980s up until 2000, LGBT activism took place primarily through the Cyprus Gay Liberation Movement, led by Modinos, which gave its way to ACCEPT LGBT Cyprus, founded in 2010. The claims changed over the years, from decriminalization being the main issue back in the 1980s and 1990s, to combating homophobia on the basis of sexual orientation, raising awareness towards LGBT rights and promoting legal rights being prominent issues in 2000s and particularly since 2010. ACCEPT has facilitated increasing visibility of LGBT issues since 2010 with the organization of the first Pride festival being one of the most prominent events in that respect. It took place in 2014 in Nicosia, supported by the Municipality, the European Commission and the European Parliament, and reportedly gathered around 5.000 individuals.

The CU law was voted at the end of 2015 (39 MPs voted in favor, 12 against, and three abstained), and in the first months of 2016 several same-sex couples registered (ILGA-Europe, 2017). The same year another important

legislation followed, which introduced legal penalties for homophobic and transphobic rhetoric. Yet, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2016) notes that there is still room for more legal developments, such as the alignment of the penalties for homo/transphobic speech with penalties for racially motivated speech and the amendment of the legislation for gender changes of transgender people so that surgery is not a requirement of gender change.

Attitudes towards LGBT. Special Eurobarometer findings (European Commission, 2006;2008; 2012; 2015) suggest that the percentage of people in Cyprus that believe that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is widespread has remained high and stable between the years 2006-2012 (around 74%). In 2015 a 67% agreed that gays and lesbians should have the same rights as heterosexual people, but this percentage dropped when they were specifically asked about same-sex marriage being legalized across Europe, for which only 37% agreed. Nevertheless acceptance of same-sex marriage has increased significantly from 2006 (14%). Having a gay politician at the highest elected position has also found more support over the years (15% being comfortable with this scenario in 2008 and 33% in 2015). Yet, when asked about having a son or a daughter in a same-sex relationship, only a 13% stated being at ease in 2015. It is indicative that in the same year, a 40% of people thought that there is nothing wrong with same sex relationships and a 26% felt comfortable with homosexual public displays of affection (i.e. kissing, holding hands) versus a 57% feeling comfortable with such displays by heterosexual people.

Smaller research projects confirm these findings, showing for example that the majority of people do not feel comfortable with their children being taken care of by a homosexual babysitter or having a gay or lesbian teacher (Research Center of Cyprus College, 2006). The same research shows lack of close relationships with homosexual people (69% had only an acquaintance who is homosexual) and lack of willingness for their children to have homosexual friends.

Overall, studies show that there is some recognition that LGBT people are frequent targets of discrimination and that they deserve to be treated equally. Also, they show some increase of acceptance of LGBT people being public figures (i.e. holding high political positions). Nevertheless, attitudes remain unfavorable when they concern issues that are closer at home (i.e. having a gay or lesbian child). The Orthodox Church and the LGBT community. A predominant perception in Cypriot society is that LGBT people are a threat to heteronormative family life, which is largely influenced by Christian orthodox values (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2008). Notably, the Church exerts significant influence on issues of sexuality and family life in Cyprus (Peristianis, 2004) diffusing ideas that homosexuality is immoral and a sin through its preaching and through the control it exercises in education matters. The Church of Cyprus has voiced its unfavorable stance with a strong public opposition to decriminalization back in the late 1980s to the disapproval of the CU law in 2015 and continues to voice its opposition to homosexuality frequently in various social debates often using discriminatory language against gay and lesbian people³.

The influence of the Church's stance on people's views has not been studied systematically. One example is Kouta's and Raftopoulos' (2010) research that showed how adolescents' attitudes about sexuality and sexual health were influenced primarily by norms of the Church. Specifically, contraception was perceived as a sin and Church was regarded as having an important role in sexual education. Self-perceptions of LGBT people are also influenced by the Church's stance. For examples, difficulties in self-acceptance, feelings of social disapproval and guilt are common experiences linked to the influence of the Church (Kapsou, Christophi & Epaminonda, 2011).

Experiences of discrimination of LGBT people. There is lack of evidencebased research regarding the experiences of LGBT people in Cyprus (ECRI, 2016) but limited existing research reflects the social climate described above.

Specifically, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, LGBT survey (FRA, 2013) shows that a high percentage of LGBT people in Cyprus (57%), felt they have been discriminated or harassed on the basis of their sexual orientation and this percentage is the highest in Europe concerning such experiences in the employment sector (30%). Further research from the employer's perspective confirms existing bias towards LGBT in employment (Drydakis, 2014). Experience of discrimination towards LGBT people at school is again the highest in Europe, reaching as high as 97% (FRA, 2013). Men are more frequent targets of physical attacks than women (Kapsou, Christophi &

³ In several occasions the Head of the Greek Orthodox Church was accused for using hate speech prompting ACCEPT-LOAT to file official complaints against him. See: http://dialogos. com.cy/blog/episimi-epistoli-accept-lgbt-cyprus-ston-g-isangelea-gia-ton-archiepiskopo/

Epaminonda, 2011). Several factors lead people not to report these incidents of discrimination and harassment to the authorities, such as fear, shame and lack of trust to these authorities (Kapsou, Christophi & Epaminonda, 2011)

Thus, evidence of concealment of sexual orientation come as no surprise (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2008; Kapsou, Christophi & Epaminonda, 2011). Notably, the 2013 FRA LGBT survey showed that 76% of LGBT people in Cyprus, have concealed, completely or most of the times, their sexual orientation before the age of 18 (FRA, 2013). Concealment is high in the workplace, especially for those who work with children or teenagers (Kapsou, Christophi & Epaminonda, 2011)

LGBT issues in the Cypriot media. Research regarding the Cypriot media and LGBT issues is very limited and consists of one study that examined content regarding LGBT issues (Kapsou, Christophi & Epaminonda, 2011) in three newspapers for a three-year period (i.e. 2008-2010). It noted an increase of articles referring to LGBT issues over the years, most obvious in 2010. It also noted that throughout the years articles focused increasingly on the local context and less on the international. Both these findings show a trend towards more engagement with the issue at a more immediate, local level. At the same time, they noted an increase in the number of opinionexpressing articles, which shows media engagement with the issue also through argumentation, personal views rather than simply stating facts. It concluded that overall newspapers covered in a neutral or positive stance on LGBT issues and that with the years passing, negative articles decreased. Finally, a general absence of political opinions and positions throughout the period studied was noted, evidence of the lack of political debate over the issue between 2008-2010.

Regarding the presentation of same-sex marriage, Kapsou and colleagues (Kapsou, Christophi & Epaminonda, 2011) found that articles positioned against it framed the issue as being against nature and moral standards and as leading to serious but unknown consequences. Some articles refrained from expressing a clear, personal stance towards the issue with the claim that the Cypriot society was not yet ready for such a development. Finally, favorable articles framed the issue as a legal and human rights issue.

2. Methodology

This report first presents a descriptive analysis of how the Greek-Cypriot Press addressed issues of the LGBT community in general between 2011 and 2015 and second it focuses specifically on how it addressed the 2015 CU law. The methodological approach is both quantitative, presenting a descriptive statistical analysis and qualitative, analysing the meanings that appeared in the newspapers regarding the issues at hand.

The focus is on newspaper articles published between the second half of July 2011 to the end of December 2015⁴ in four daily Greek- Cypriot newspapers of the time: Haravgi, Politis, Fileleftheros, Simerini. The newspapers represent different standpoints of the political spectrum and are part of larger media organizations. Haravgi is a left-wing newspaper affiliated with the political party AKEL and part of the Dialogos media group, Politis is characterized by liberal views particularly on economy, Fileleftheros is the oldest Greek-Cypriot newspaper part of Fileleftheros Media Group with the largest circulation not aligned to a specific party but found to be pro-government with exceptions, Simerini is a right-wing newspaper and part of DIAS media group. Cypriot media hold strong ties with political parties and/or the government and take clear positions towards major issues, framing them accordingly. To identify data on the topic of concern in the selected newspapers the following keywords were used: homosex-, gay (in Greek and in English), lesb- and LGBT-⁵. The Cypriot company Matrix Media collected all the articles that contained these keywords in the aforementioned newspapers.

⁴ The period of focus was defined based on the availability of the searchable electronic media archives in Cyprus and on criteria set by the Re.Cri.Re project. Throughout the report, data referring to 2011 refer only to the second semester of 2011 and not the whole year. This is also marked with an asterisk (*) following "2011". Matrix Media company, a media monitoring company, collected electronically all data under the guidance of the research team.

⁵ Keywords in Greek: Ομοφυλ-, γκέι, gay, λ εσβ-, ΛΟΑΤ-.

The following methodological terms are used in this report: **Data corpus** refers to all articles, containing at least one of the keywords, collected throughout the reporting period from all the newspapers studied. **Quantitative data set** refers to all the articles analysed for the purposes of the quantitative descriptive analysis.

Qualitative data set refers to all the articles analysed for the purpose of the qualitative analysis.

Extract refers to a part of an article.

The analysis was conducted in three steps: 1) collection of relevant articles (data corpus), 2) quantitative descriptive analysis and 3) qualitative analysis on CU law content (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Main research steps



2.1. Step 1 Formation of data corpus

All articles collected by the company were thoroughly read by the research team and the non-relevant⁶ ones were excluded. This resulted to a data corpus consisted of a total of 603 articles: 49 articles for 2011*; 110 articles in 2012; 103 articles in 2013; 116 articles in 2014; and 225 articles in 2015 (see Table 1).

Year	Articles	Percentage
2011*	49	8.1
2012	110	18.2
2013	103	17.1
2014	116	19.2
2015	225	37.3
Total	603	100

Table 1. Number of articles per year on LGBT issues.

⁶ Non-relevant articles were articles that although were included in the sample, they did not contain any of the keywords but were included in the sample by mistake.

2.2. Step 2 Quantitative descriptive analysis

Quantitative descriptive analysis aimed at illustrating the visibility of LGBT topics in general and of the CU law coverage in particular in each newspaper, identifying journalistic patterns of coverage and the topics of coverage. Specifically, for the visibility of the LGBT issues, it posed the following questions

- What was the numerical distribution of articles across time and newspaper?
- What was the focus (i.e. local/global) of the articles and how did it change across years?
- What genres of articles (i.e. news or opinion) were written and how did they change across years?
- How prevalent were LGBT matters (i.e. primary/secondary) in the data and how did this change across years?
- What motivated authors to write about LGBT matters across the years?

To undertake the analysis, we coded each article into a set of variables. Specifically, the article was coded according to the following (see Annex I for detailed description):

- **Focus:** whether it concerned national/local matters of the LGBT community in Cyprus (including those referencing the occupied north) or global/international issues. Mixed articles covered both international and national issues.
- Journalistic genre: type of the article, whether it is a news article, covering or informing about facts (hard and/or soft news articles) or an opinion article/commentary conveying the author's views or the newspaper's stance (editorials) on a topic.
- **Prevalence of issue:** whether an LGBT matter was the primary topic of the article, a secondary or if only a mere reference to one of the keywords was made.
- Motivation for writing: reason prompting the article. The motivations of the articles were coded into broad categories e.g. cultural events, political developments (see Annexes I and III):
- **Civil Union law:** articles with a reference to the CU and related matters (i.e. marriage).

The quantitative analysis consisted of descriptive statistical analysis of frequencies of the variables and further cross-tabulations and was conducted with the aid of SPSS.20 software. Frequencies aimed at providing an overall

idea of the distribution of articles within each variable and were based on the data corpus (N=603 articles). Cross-tabulations looked for the relation of the variables with the year of publication thus enabling to identify significant changes of patterns across time. Cross-tabulations were performed a) for each of the above variables and their relationship with the year of publication using parametric chi-square tests and b) for variable "year" of publication and "newspaper" in which the articles were published separately using nonparametric chi square test (detailed chi-square tests and cross-tabulations are available upon request). Chi-square tests were deemed appropriate to answer the research questions, given the categorical nature of the variables (Field, 2013). Chi-square cross-tabulations were based on the quantitative data set for the years 2012 to 2015, a total of 554 articles⁷.

For the visibility of the CU law and related issues we also conducted a quantitative descriptive analysis. To form the data set of the CU law we identified the articles that contained references to the CU law by using relevant keywords (Civil Union and law, marriage, adoption⁸) to search through the data corpus. This search resulted in 235 articles across the years.

In this analysis we were interested in answering the following questions:

- What was the numerical distribution of articles regarding the CU law and related issues across time and newspaper?
- What was the focus (i.e. local/global) of the articles and how did it change across years?
- What genres of articles (i.e. news or opinion) were written and how did they change across years?
- How prevalent were issues around the CU law (i.e. primary/secondary) in the data and how did this change across years?
- What was the stance of the articles (positive/negative/unclear) and what was the numerical distribution of the articles per stance, year and newspaper?

^{7 2011*} data covered only the second half of the year thus were considered incomplete and could not be used for the statistical tests as this would lead into misleading results.

⁸ Keywords in Greek: σύμφωνο, συμβίωσης, νόμος, γάμος, υϊοθεσία

2.3. Step 3 Qualitative analysis the of Civil Union law

The qualitative analysis focused on the CU law because it was a major legal development for the LGBT community that took place during the time of the research and it was also a dominant issue of concern for the newspapers (see chapter 4). This analysis focused on 1. the ways that the newspapers referred to the CU law and issues related to same-sex partnership and 2. the arguments articles used to support or oppose to it.

In order to form the qualitative data set, out of the 235 articles that focused on the CU law, we excluded the 142 news articles and focused on the 93 opinion articles. This is because opinion articles contained more information regarding the stance of the author and usually more argumentation over the issues of concern. Of the 93 articles, we excluded 6 articles that were categorized as reference and proceeded with the analysis of 87 primary and secondary articles, which had more detailed content for analysis. Of the 87 articles, 5 articles were either replicates of articles that appeared more than once in different newspapers and were excluded from the analysis (see Step 2 above). Thus, the qualitative data set consisted of 82 primary and secondary articles that were further analyzed.

The qualitative data set of 82 articles was coded using ATLAS.ti software based on a qualitative coding guide developed from the data (see Annex II). Specifically, each article was read and three different researchers identified arguments in support of and against the CU. These arguments were then assigned a code. A code is a descriptive label attached to a discrete idea that appears in the data (Willig, 2013). Subsequently, codes were collated in order to facilitate a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) that is, in identifying the important themes of ideas that appeared in the data.

3. General visibility, topics and trends of LGBT issues in the press

Numbers across years: Numbers of articles between 2011* and 2014 did not change considerably but they doubled in 2015. Specifically, 49 articles were published across the four newspapers during the second half of 2011*, 110 articles were published in 2012, 103 in 2013 and 116 articles in 2014. In 2015, the four newspapers together published 225 articles, which represents a 94% increase compared to articles published in 2014 (Figure 2)

A non-parametric chi-square test further confirmed this observation, indicating a statistically significant difference in the number of articles published per year, x2 (3, N=554) = 72.64, p<.001), pointing to 2015 as being different from the rest of the years. The increased media attention in 2015 can be attributed to the parliamentary discussions around the CU law and its final voting, in November 2015 and the heated discussions between MPs and archbishops' statements around the topic during the same year.





Numbers across newspapers: For the reporting period, *Haravgi* published 25.9% of the articles of the data corpus; *Fileleftheros* and *Politis* 29.5% each and *Simerini* 15.1% of the articles (see Figure 3). The differences across newspapers were found to be statistically significant, x2 (3, N=554) = 29.78, p<.001, pointing out at the difference between *Simerini* and the rest of the newspapers. *Simerini* published less articles compared to the other three. The differences in numbers between *Simerini* and the rest of the newspapers studied could be partly attributed to its slightly smaller size. Nevertheless, *Haravgi*, also of smaller size,

did not exhibit these differences, which possibly points to a more significant difference in the agenda of *Simerini* comparing to the other newspapers.



Figure 3. Number of articles per newspaper between 2012 & 2015

Articles in newspapers across the years: There was a statistically significant relation between the year of publication of the articles and the newspapers in which they were published, x2 (9, N= 554)= 32.512, p<.001. (see Figure 4).

- *Haravgi* demonstrated a stable increase of published articles across years signifying that topics on the LGBT community were consistently high in their agenda. Specifically, in 2014, it outnumbered the rest of the newspapers while during 2015 its number of publications was similar to that of *Fileleftheros* and *Politis*.
- Fileleftheros demonstrated the biggest increase of articles from 2014 to 2015.
- *Simerini* remained relatively stable across the years with a slight increase from 2013 to 2014 and 2015.
- Politis' articles decreased significantly in 2014, but 2015 showed again an increase.
- The increase of interest on LGBT issues in all newspapers can be attributed to two significant events that took place during 2014 and 2015, namely the 1st and the 2nd Pride festivals in Cyprus and the voting of the CU law. They were evidently both considered newsworthy.



Figure 4. Number of articles per year and newspaper between 2012 & 2015

Journalistic genre: Across the period studied and across the four newspapers, 366 news articles and 237 opinion articles were published. Further cross-tabulation from articles published between 2012 and 2015, indicated a statistically significant relation between journalistic genre and year, x2 (3, N=554) = 10.227, p<.05. This finding suggests that opinion articles increased throughout the years, suggesting that authors engaged with the issue in a more argumentative way, expressing their opinion rather than merely reporting events. Specifically, in 2012, news articles composed 73.6% (N=81) and opinion articles 26.4% (N=29) of the year's sample. In 2015 however, news articles composed 55.6% (N=125) and opinion articles 44.4% (N=100) (see Figure 5). Further, along with regular journalists, other key actors (e.g. politicians) and people from the general public engaged with the issues by sending to newspapers opinion articles and commentaries, aiming perhaps at influencing forthcoming developments regarding the Pride festivals or the CU law.



Figure 5. Number of articles per journalistic genre between 2012 to 2015

Focus of articles: The vast majority of articles focused on local issues rather than taking global angles to the topics of concern. Specifically, only 22.4% percent of the data corpus engaged exclusively with international matters of the LGBT community (global articles) while 62.5% focused exclusively on national matters of the LGBT community (local articles). A percentage of 15.1% focused on both national and international matters (mixed articles) (see Table 2). Local articles composed almost 2/3s of the data corpus and outnumbered global articles by 242 articles suggesting that newspapers engaged more with national LGBT matters rather than international.

Focus	Number of articles	Percentage
Global	135	22.4
Local	377	62.5
Mixed	91	15.1
Total	603	100

Table 2. Number of articles per focus between 2011 and 2015

Further cross-tabulation of the focus of the article and year of publication, based on the quantitative dataset indicated a significant relation between the two variables, x2 (6, N=554) = 68.677, p>001. Specifically, the number of local articles increased significantly in years 2014 and 2015 when significant national developments took place. In 2014, local articles consisted 75% of the data set (N=87) and in 2015, 76.4% (N=172). Additionally, the numbers of global articles in 2014 and 2015 fell from 40 articles in 2012 and 41 in 2013 to 23 in 2014 and 24 in 2015 (see Figure 6).



Prevalence of LGBT matters in each article: 384 articles (57.7%) were primarily concerned with LGBT relevant topics, 96 of them (15.6%) had LGBT relevant topics as a secondary topic of the article and 161 articles (26.7%) contained only references to the keywords without discussing LGBT relevant matters. Thus, of the articles containing LBGT related keywords the majority were concerned primarily with LGBT issues.

Article motivation and topics overview. Overall, authors were prompted to write on the basis of public discussions around different policies (25.87%), statements by political figures (10.28%), statements by Church representatives or religion relevant events (11.28%) and LGBT actions (10.12%). Rarely an author would focus on a topic based on his/her own intuition.

With regards to policies, articles covered the CU law discussions (51.3%, that is 80 out of 156 articles) and legislations criminalizing homophobia. Articles covered debates among politicians on the CU law, which featured both homophobic messages and pro-LGBT statements, exemplifying the controversy of the issue. They also referred to disputes that attracted public attention, such as the dispute between the MPs Themistokleous and Charalampidou⁹.

Statements by Church representatives also featured frequently, such as the Church's position on the Pride festival or the CU Law or provocative statements by the Archbishop of Cyprus. The dispute between former MEP and theologist. Andreas Pitsillides and the Church¹⁰ also featured widely in the newspapers. Finally, articles motivated by LGBT activities and actions mainly referred to events or actions organized by ACCEPT- LGBT Cyprus and secondarily by other, grass-roots, informal groups.

Global news covered mostly same sex marriage and anti-homophobic or homophobic policies abroad. Additionally, they covered positive statements by the Pope on homosexuality.

The following Figure (7) demonstrates the distribution of the different types of motivations identified across the data corpus across the reporting period (see also Annex III).



Figure 7. Distribution of Motivation categories across the data corpus (%)

9 They concerned an incident initiated by a sexist public statement of MP Themistokleous A. in social media targeting MP Charalampidou E. (see Fileleftheros, 2015 available here).

10 Pitsillides had publicly expressed positive opinions about homosexuality and support to abortion and was finally excommunicated by the Church

Articles' motivation and topics per year. In 2011*, a significant portion of the articles were prompted by events involving politicians and their sexual orientation (38.8%). Specifically, articles referred to the involvement of an ex-Minister in a so-called sexual scandal in the occupied north, involving a minor. Another significant portion of articles was motivated by cultural events (24.5%), for example news pieces on movies portraying same-sex couples. In 2012 articles covered politicians' statements (17.3%) and policy issues (19.1%) with regards to the regulation of Cyprus media in order to eliminate discriminatory expressions towards LGBT population. Articles on legal partnership rights in 2012 had an international focus and only limited references to Cyprus. Regarding Cyprus. in 2012 newspapers covered or commented provoking statements of Greek-Cypriot MPs arguing against homosexuality and hosted opinions of public figures and/or organizations regarding homosexuality. Internationally, attention was given to the US presidential elections period, focusing on candidates' statements and actions regarding gender issues in general. In 2013 articles were primarily motivated by policy issues (27.2%) and secondarily by statements of Church representatives or religious related events (18.3%). In the same year, articles concerning policies began orienting towards the CU law in Cyprus, while international references to legal partnerships continued. Articles motivated by statements of Church representatives or religious relevant events were articles written because of Archbishop's or Pope's statements on homosexuality and/or CU law therefore they had a local and an international focus.

In 2014 beyond policy oriented articles that consisted 29.3% of that years' publications, a big portion of articles concerned LGBT actions (25.9%) and specifically the organization of the first Pride festival by Accept-Cyprus. Finally, for the year 2015, 31.6% of the articles published were motivated by policies (i.e. primarily regarding the CU law) and 13.8% by political figures' statements, referring to provocative statements of MP Themistokleous and the aforementioned dispute of Themistokleous and Charalampidou.

4. The coverage of Civil Union law

As noted in the Introduction, the CU law represents a major legal development regarding LGBT rights. It was put into effect on the 9 of December of 2015, with discussions in the press dating back in 2012 and covering earlier drafts and consultations. This study analyzed articles on the specific legislation and related issues, such as marriage or adoption by LGBT couples.

In order to understand the debate around these issues, descriptive quantitative analysis was conducted followed by qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis demonstrated the patterns in the distribution of articles per year and newspaper and per types of articles that appeared during the period studied (i.e. local/global/mixed, opinion/news, primary/secondary/ reference) therefore giving the bigger picture on newspaper reporting on the issue. The qualitative analysis concerns a thematic analysis of the content of opinion articles exemplifying the arguments that these articles used both in favor and against the CU of same-sex partners.

4.1. General trends in the coverage of Civil Union law

Number of articles. During the period studied 235 articles were published in total in the four newspapers that concerned issues around the CU law, marriage and generally same sex partnership. Out of the 235 articles, 142 were categorized as news reports and 93 as opinion articles.

It is notable that half of the articles (N=117) were written in 2015, which demonstrates a sharp increase comparing to the previous years and particularly 2011*, when only 3 articles appeared in total concerning the CU. Most articles throughout the period studied were primarily concerned with the CU law (see Figure 8).



Figure 8. Number of articles having the CU law as a primary topic, a secondary or simply referencing it.

Further, throughout the years articles tended to deal with the issues around the CU law increasingly in the local context (see Figure 9), with a visible difference between the years. Specifically, in years 2012 and 2013, the issues discussed were more or less equally global and local but in 2014 and 2015, they were predominantly local.



Figure 9. Number of articles with CU references in terms of focus per year

Numbers per newspaper. With the exception of *Simerini*, all other newspapers (*Politis, Fileleftheros and Haravgi*) published almost exactly the same amount of articles concerning issues around the CU law (see Table 3). This difference between newspapers reflects the differences regarding the reporting LGBT issues in general that was also noted earlier (see Figure 3).

Newspaper	Number of Articles	Percentage
Haravgi	63	26.8
Politis	66	28.1
Filelftheros	67	28.5
Simerini	39	16.6
Total	235	100

Table 3. Number of articles with CU references per newspaper

Opinion and news articles. 93 opinion articles were written in total around the CU law throughout the years. Figure 10 illustrates how opinion articles increased throughout these years. Although there were no opinion articles in 2011* and very few in 2012, in 2013 19 were published, 18 in 2014 and 54 in 2015. This increase followed the onset of discussions around the prospect of the legislation in 2013 and 2014 and the voting of the legislation in 2015. This change in numbers, indicates that newspapers began to engage with the issue argumentatively rather than simply stating facts through news articles.



Figure 10. Number of articles with CU references per journalistic genre and year

Number of pro and against articles. Opinion articles that were either categorized as primary or secondary (N= 87 articles) were further examined as to identify their stance towards the CU law and related issues. Specifically, articles were categorized into positive, negative and unclear. Unclear articles did not contain any straightforward positive or negative stance towards the issue.



Figure 11. Articles with a negative, positive or unclear stance per year

Of the total 87 primary and secondary articles, 5 were repeated articles that appeared in different newspapers. Thus the remaining 82 articles were

distributed as follows: 14 had a negative stance, 63 had a positive and 5 were unclear. This finding demonstrates a clear support towards the issue during the period studied. Figure 11 demonstrates how these categories were distributed per year. It becomes evident that although in 2014 positive and negative articles were equally distributed, in 2015, positive articles (N=41) clearly outnumber the negative ones (N=4).

Figure 12 shows the same distribution per newspaper. *Haravgi* and *Politis* published approximately the same amount of articles but *Haravgi* was the only newspaper that published only positive articles with regards to the CU law. *Simerini* published a very small number of articles on the mater, compared to the rest. Although the negative articles are marginally outnumbering the positive, the total number of articles is so small that it does not permit safe conclusions regarding the difference between the two categories. *Fileleftheros* published fewer articles on the issue comparing to *Haravgi* and *Politis* and *Fileleftheros* had more positive than negative articles. However *Politis* with the largest total number of articles on CU law, had at least six times more positive than negative articles compared to *Fileleftheros* in which the positive articles are only twice the number of negative ones.



Figure 12. Articles with a negative, positive or unclear stance per newspaper

4.2. Qualitative analysis: Arguments in favour and against civil union

This section presents the main arguments that authors formulated in favor or against the CU law and/or related issues of LGBT partnership, marriage and adoption. Figure 13 presents a summary of pro and anti partnership themes of arguments, along with the three more abstract themes that both categories of arguments fell into.





4.2.1 Arguments in favor of the Civil Union law and related matters

Four themes of arguments that supported the CU law or related issues of same-sex partnership were identified (see Table 4). These were: 1. Equality of all against the law 2. Modernization of the state and social progress 3. Respect and protection towards the freedom of personal choices of others 4. Resolution of practical issues and needs of LGBT community.

0	
Theme	Main argument
1. Equality of all against the law	Required legal amendment ensuring more equality
2. Modernization of the state and social progress	Significant step towards modernization, Europeanization and social progress
3. Respect and protection towards the freedom of personal choices of others	Protects and respects human dignity and diversity
 Resolution of practical issues and needs of LGBT community 	Provides a significant tool to LGBT people to improve certain everyday life issues

Table 4. Pro-CU law arguments

Equality of all against the law

This theme presented the CU law as reparation of the existing violation of human rights. The right to enter into CU under this law was presented as a guaranteed human right, as a fundamental principle of a state of justice, a sign of democracy and an integral part of the international bill of human rights.

Modernization of the state and social progress

Under this theme, the law was presented as an indication of a successful adaptation to new societal challenges and to a changing social reality. A society that embraces such legislation was considered as a progressive society that keeps pace with the principles of a civilized European society. In this regard, the Cypriot state and the overall society, was criticized for being backward in relation with other European states, for being culturally backwards and conservative because of not having already legalized civil partnership or for being skeptical towards the legislation. In this theme, articles raised a fierce criticism towards the Church and Andreas Themistocleous, a former DISY member of the parliament who opposed the law, focusing on their conservative and discriminative stance towards the LGBT community.

Respect and protection towards the freedom of personal choices

The right of entering a civil partnership or marriage was presented as a private matter, a personal choice of people that the state and the society should protect and respect. In this regard, articles also argued that adopting the law was about respecting diversity. In both cases, articles recurrently included calls for respect, tolerance, acceptance or love towards fellow people who happened to have different sexual orientation than the majority.

Resolution of practical issues and needs of the LGBT community

This theme presented arguments that drew attention to practical issues and challenges faced by same-sex couples and which could be resolved with a CU law. These were both legal matters, such as issues of housing, inheritance, pension and insurance but also everyday life issues, such as living openly, without having to hide their sexual orientation and generally leading a normal life. Interestingly, all these references appeared exclusively in 2015 and not earlier. This is probably because it was during 2015 that discussions about the actual content on the provisions of the CU intensified.

4.2.2. Arguments against the Civil Union law and related matters

The articles that took a position against issues related to the CU used arguments from within the following five themes: 1. Violating the rights of other social groups, such as heterosexuals or children 2. Unnecessary legislation: LGBT rights are protected by existing legislations that concern all citizens 3. Immoral on the basis of violating Christian and national values 4. Supporting an unnatural, abnormal human condition and 5. Threatening the existence of the nation and the society (See Table 5)

In some articles the discussion over the CU and the rights of same-sex couples was dismissed a priori because of not being among priority societal issues (i.e. there were more important issues to discuss) or because the Cypriot society was not ready to discuss issues like these.

Theme	Main argument
1. Violation of rights of other social groups	Discriminatory and unfair for heterosexuals and children
2. Unnecessary legislation	Rights already provided as every citizens' rights
3. Preserves immorality on the basis of religion or national values	Encourages values that go against Christian or national ideals
 Supports an unnatural, abnormal condition of the human kind 	Encourages deviant behavior contrary to human nature
5. Threatens the existence of the nation and society	Leads to the collapse of the family institution and to birth deficit

Table 5. Anti-CU law arguments

Violation of rights of other social groups

This line of argument proposed that by granting LGBT people certain rights, such as civil partnership, heterosexual people's rights are violated. The LGBT community was presented as asking for an excess of rights, over the rights of the heterosexual majority and thus the CU law violated equality and democracy.

Unnecessary legislation: LGBT rights are protected by existing legislations that concern all citizens

In this theme, legislation was presented as a useless addition to existing legislations. Securing LGBT rights was presented as an undue legislative act, as rights of LGBT people are already covered as universal human rights. These arguments diminished the need for such legislation by negating the existence of inequality towards the LGBT community.

Preserves immorality on the basis of religion or national values

Constructing homosexuality as immoral was a common theme in the arguments against the CU legislation. This immorality was sustained either on the basis of Christian Orthodox religion or on the basis of national values and ideals. Regarding the former, authors rejected homosexuality for being a miasma, according to Christian Orthodox religion. Regarding the latter, the ideals and morals of Cypriot people shaped by their proud ancestors, were presented as being threatened and the ancestors as feeling ashamed for their descendants. Under this theme homosexuality was also constructed as a trend, an immoral act of exhibitionism.

Supports an unnatural, abnormal condition of the human kind

This theme, explicitly presented homosexuality as an unnatural or abnormal condition of the human race. In this regard, LGBT people were constructed as provocative, leading an abnormal life that diverges from the natural condition of human beings.

Threatens the existence of the nation and the society

This last line of argument cautioned against granting the right to CU to LGBT people, as this would threaten the existence of the nation. The possibility of a same-sex union was linked to the birth deficit in the country and the collapse of the institution of the family. Although the CU did not provide adoption rights to same sex couples, authors in this theme argued that couple's right to adoption would jeopardize the rights and well-being of adopted children and cause to the children psychological distress. Families of same-sex partners were therefore constructed as absurd.

5. Discussion and ways forward

This report provided an overview of media content on LGBT issues in four newspapers between 2011 and 2015. It exemplified a **significant increase of newspaper articles** featuring LGBT issues **across the years** and particularly in years 2014 and 2015, when the first Pride festival took place and when the CU law was adopted, respectively. The sharp increase of articles observed in 2015 indicated an intense interest of newspaper around LGBT issues among which, the CU law featured most prominently. Specifically, the CU law was the main topic of concern in half of all articles written during 2015. As we note subsequently, the law received wide support across newspapers.

We argue that overall during the reporting period and particularly during 2015, there was an over-focus on political and legal issues. In this respect, the tendency was for LGBT people to appear in the newspapers predominantly as subjects who are expecting the state to canonize their lives through legislation. Other topics that received wide attention, such as the Pride festivals, tended to remain at the collective level of LGBT community and there was no reporting that included first person experiences of LGBT people or investigative reporting of life stories.

With regards to **differences between newspapers**, there was a clear difference between *Simerini* and the other three newspapers (*Haravgi, Politis, Fileleftheros*). *Simerini* showed the least interest in LGBT issues, evidenced by the small amount of articles published around LGBT issues in general and regarding the CU law specifically. All other three newspapers had a similar pattern in the amount of reporting. Newspapers also exhibited some differences in the stance of the articles they published regarding the CU law. Out of the four newspapers, only *Haravgi* publishing solely positive opinion articles regarding the issue. This difference could be attributed to the ideological and political positioning of the newspapers. However, more in depth analysis of the content of articles is needed to support such an argument, which could be part of future work on the issue.

Regarding **journalistic genre**, the report demonstrated that opinion articles followed an increasing trajectory over the years. Specifically, while prior to

2015 there was a visible difference between news and opinion articles, with the former outnumbering the latter, in 2015, this difference decreased significantly. This pattern shows a growing argumentative engagement with the issue over the years, which is much needed in a society where LGBT issues are not discussed in a meaningful and productive way.

Regarding **motivations for writing the articles**, policies, statements of politicians and Church representatives and LGBT actions were identified as the primary motivations. As with regards to policies and actions, authors were primarily motivated to cover the Pride festivals and CU law issues. The fact that statements of state and Church representatives prompted authoring articles in such a big percentage (21.56%) is not surprising, given their influential role in shaping the debate around these issues in Cypriot society. This finding exemplifies the lack of voices of the LGBT community versus the over-representation of more institutional perspectives over LGBT issues in the newspapers.

The analysis of the **coverage of the CU law** showed a dominant positive consensus. 76% of the opinion articles expressed a clear positive attitude towards the CU law and related issues versus 17% that expressed a negative one. This is a welcoming finding, probably reflecting the wider change of attitudes towards acceptance of same-sex marriage in Cypriot society that has been captured by Eurobarometeres (European Commission, 2006, 2015).

The discussion around CU law revolved around three main ideas: rights, morals and progress. Both sides of the debate used a human **rights**-based argument. Supporters of the law constructed CU as a basic human right that should be protected. Those who opposed to the act framed it as a violation of human rights of the heterosexual majority or an unnecessary provision for rights that were already protected. Thus, what for some authors was necessary reparation of the violated rights of the LGBT community, for others this violation or even the inequality of LGBT people in society was unacknowledged. On the contrary, LGBT rights were constructed as antagonistic to the rights of the heterosexual majority, putting the two groups in direct opposition to each other.

The discussion over the **morality** of homosexual orientation was also polarized, framed in terms of absolute support or opposition. Those supporting the CU law framed homosexuality as a normal variation of human sexuality by constructing same-sex partners as "normal" people. On the other end, those who opposed to the act framed homosexuality as abnormal or unnatural, using the moral standards of Christian religion or of 'our' nation. Cypriot society was thus constructed as being homogenously Christian orthodox and heterosexual.

Finally, the discussion also revolved around the state of **progress** of the society. Supporters of the CU law intensely criticized Cypriot society for being conservative and uncivilized and falling far behind the other EU States (i.e. not being European enough) in not having already legalized partnership. As showed, the adoption of the law signaled social process. Opponents however framed the act as a threat to the society and the existence of the nation. Thus society was constructed as either being in need of more progress or under threat because of evil and degenerating modernization. These two constructions reflect an antithetical and polarized understanding of the desired future of society from the part of the authors.

Overall, the debate around the CU law brought forward oppositional ideas: demand for-violation of rights, natural-unnatural, progress-degradation. This polarization has been identified in further ongoing analysis conducted with other data of the same project (Christodoulou & Kadianaki, in preparation) but was also evident in the parallel analysis conducted for the topic of migration (Kadianaki et al., 2018; Avraamidou et al, 2017).

As a next step from this report, **future work** could examine whether visibility of LGBT issues in the years after 2015 followed similar or different patterns. This question could help identify whether the increase of articles in 2015 could be solely attributed to the specific developments of the time period studied (i.e. first Pride festival, CU law) or could be reflecting a broader shift of more interest and engagement with LGBT issues in the press.

Similarly, the study could extent to the CU law coverage and examine whether any reference is made to cases of implementation of the law. Of particular interest would be to examine the arguments that appear around those references in the post 2015 period and compare them with the arguments presented in this report to identify possible changes.

Questions around visibility are important to pose given that lack of visibility and indifference in the public sphere normalizes common sense views e.g. that non-heterosexual behavior is extremely unusual, or deviant (Fisher et al., 2007). Questions around the content of arguments involved in the coverage of CU law are important in understanding which ideas are disseminated regarding these issues, possibly influencing public understanding and attitudes.

Other media sources should also be investigated, such as television and radio and more importantly social media to delineate a more complete picture of media content on LGBT issues. It would be interesting to examine whether first person perspectives of the LGBT community appear in these mediums more than the press.

More in-depth analysis of media content is also necessary to examine critically the content of the discourse around LGBT issues, including, but not limited to a critical discourse analysis of the ideological positioning of the media and its impact on the content of the articles.

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7. Annexes

Annex I: Full Quantitative Coding Guide

Variable Name	Description	Values
Newspaper	Newspaper in which the article is published	Haravgi; Fileleftheros; Politis; Simerini
Date	Full Date of Publication	Form: DD/MM/YYYY
Year	Year of publication	2011/2012/2013/2014/2015
Journalistic Genre	News: News articles' main purpose is to communicate information to the audience without including critics or commentaries on behalf of the author. Interviews and reportages are also coded as news articles. Opinion: Opinion articles' main purpose is to give an opinion/comment/critisise about something. They may include references to events, in order to give their opinion on them or to analyse them/critisise them. Articles that are written by public figures/lay people, articles with pseudonyms/initials/ editorials are categorised as opinion articles. Articles written by journalists can be both.	News; Opinion
Focus	Indicates if the focus of the article is towards global, local issues or both. For an article to be identified as a global, it needs to primarily refer to situations out of Cyprus (other countries, EU etc). For an article to be identified as local its should primarily refer to Cyprus. For an article to be identified as mixed it needs to have references both to global and local issues of at least 2-3 sentences long. Articles referring to movies/theater/arts taking place in Cyprus but not of Cyprus production are coded as mixed articles. Articles referring to science are coded as global if they do not include specific references to Cyprus.	Global; Local; Mixed

Variable Name	Description	Values
Prevalence of issue	Identification of the level of importance the LGBT references hold across the article. Primary refers to articles that were written for LGBT matters (usually these articles contain one of the keywords in their title/subtitle). Secondary articles are those who refer to LGBT matters extensively but not as their main and only content (those articles usually have at least 1-2 paragraphs devoted to the topic). Reference articles simply contain one of the keywords without engaging with LGBT matters.	Primary; Secondary; Reference
Motivation for writing	Identifies the motivation behind writing the article.	Cultural events; Migration matters; Statements by Church representatives or religious relevant events ; Discrimination incidents or facts; Politicians' sexual orientation; Sensational/ celebrity news; HIV-AIDS relevant; LGBT organised actions ; Policies; Statements by political figures; Prisons; Incidents relevant to prostitution or porn industry; Incidents relevant to schools and/or homophobic events at schools; Science and surveys; Social media and internet relevant incidents; Other
Civil Union Law reference	Identifies whether there is a reference in the article to any type of legal partnerships, recognizing homosexual relations. List of words: σύμφωνο συμβίωσης, το σύμφωνο, πολιτική ένωση, πολιτικό σύμφωνο, πολιτική συμβίωση, νομικά αναγνωρισμένη σχέση, γάμος, ρυθμισμένη ελεύθερη συμβίωση, αναγνώριση συμβιωτικών σχέσεων (και οι κλίσεις τους) κ.α.	YES; NO

Annex II: Qualitative date set coding guide

Code name	Description
Legal issues	All references to issues related to the legal system, including references as to whether the Civil union represented a basic legal right or was an exemplification of the violation of the legal system
Practical issues	All references to practical issues related to the lives of the LGBT community that the Civil Union referred to
Societal progress	Any reference that presented the Civil Union as a sign of progress of the state and the society
Societal threat	Any reference that presented the Civil Union as a sign of threat to the society and the nation
Immorality	Any reference to the moral standing of LGBT people and of the homosexual orientation
Abnormality	Any reference to the abnormanity of LGBT people and of the homosexual orientation

Annex III: Description of Motivation for writing categories

- Cultural events: Articles written in order to promote a book, a performance, an arts festival, to narrate the story of an artist or to cover an art relevant happening.
- Migration matters: Articles written for cases of asylum seekers asking or not for asylum based on their sexual orientation.
- Statements by Church representatives or religious relevant events: Articles written to cover statements by Church representatives or religious perspectives. They include statements by Orthodox representatives but also Catholics and of any other religion.
- Discrimination incidents or facts: Articles written to focus on homophobia or any form of discrimination, either motivated by a real-life incident or not.
- Politicians' sexual orientation: Articles written because of incidents revealing a politician's sexual orientation, or articles covering relevant rumors.
- Sensational/Celebrity news: Articles prompted by showbiz incidents (i.e. gay couple kissing on TV, a singer comes out).
- HIV-AIDS relevant: Articles written as a result of scientific discovery regarding HIV/AIDS, in
 order to publish the results of a relevant survey or to cover the lives of people living with
 HIV/AIDS.
- LGBT organized actions: Articles written because of actions/events organized by or for LGBT populations (meetings, Pride, festivals etc), interviews taken from people who are active in organizing events for LGBT rights (i.e. ACCEPT members).

- Policies: A broad category that includes articles written to focus on policies of a state
 or a company (i.e. articles motivated by the CU, decriminalization of homosexuality,
 anti-homophobic legislations, media regulations, adoption policies etc.). The categories:
 Asylum seekers matters, incidents relevant to prisons, incidents relevant to schools and/
 or homophobic events at schools are also relevant to this category but are categorized
 separately.
- Statements by political figures: Articles written to cover statements by political figures.
- Incidents relevant to prisons: Articles written because of incidents or policies that have to do with prisons' regulations.
- Incidents relevant to prostitution and/or porn industry: The article's motivation is to comment/refer on incidents that have to do with prostitution or porn films.
- Incidents relevant to schools and/or homophobic events at schools: Articles motivated by issues that have to do with school incidents (i.e. bullying) or education program (i.e. sexual education) etc.
- Science and Surveys: Articles written as a result of recent scientific discoveries, surveys studying attitudes towards LGBT communities etc. or polls.
- Social media and internet relevant incidents: Articles written because of social media updates and modifications relevant to LGBT rights, or of general use of internet.
- Other: Articles that do not fall into any of the above categories or that were not motivated by specific incidents/facts.