CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1990's there has been a resurgence of interest in the social psychological aspects of social movements. From participants' self-concepts, to the role of identity in the success and endurance of a movement, to the influence of participants' emotions, theorists have recently begun to address influential factors (see, for example Benford & Snow 2000; Polletta & Jasper 2001; Schrock, Holden & Reid 2004; Stryker, Owens, & White 2000) often ignored or downplayed in research on social movements that focuses heavily on structural dynamics. There is great potential in social movement research to develop social psychological theories of self and identity while building on classic social movement processes such as framing, recruitment and mobilization.

Bringing identity back into the fold is a crucial step in developing more comprehensive theories of social movement participation and strategy. To date, however, researchers have not closely examined the role of individual and organizational responses to conflicts between personal and collective identities among movement participants and the capacity of these responses to sustain movement participation. In general, social movement scholars have yet to incorporate the relationship between personal and collective identities in any significant way into existing scholarship (Polletta & Jasper 2001; Snow & McAdam 2000).

This dissertation attempts to address these lacunae by bridging the discussions of social movement organizational framing and identity. Specifically, this research is

concerned with the framing efforts of social movement organizations and how the resultant frames are utilized by movement participants in order to ameliorate identity conflict and thus sustain movement participation.

There is broad support for the premise of this study in the available literature. Hunt, Benford & Snow (1994) state that "not only do framing processes link individuals and groups ideologically, but they proffer, buttress, and embellish identities that range from collaborative to conflictual" (p.185). Similarly, Snow & McAdam (2000) emphasize that "framing processes that occur within the context of social movements constitute perhaps the most important mechanism facilitating identity construction processes, largely because identity constructions are an inherent feature of framing activities" (p.53). The proposed research will specifically address the impact of organizational framing efforts on identity conflict among social movement participants.

To do this, I examine the Log Cabin Republicans (LCR), an organization primarily comprised of gay conservatives. The LCR is a group of conservative gays and lesbians working within the Republican Party for gay rights. I chose this group due to the seemingly contradictory nature of its social and political affiliations. Over the last 10 years, the LCR has grown exponentially as more and more conservative gay Americans have made their political preferences known. Due to the traditionally socially conservative platform of the Republican Party, gays have typically aligned themselves with the Democratic Party. The LCR, not surprisingly, has been criticized by many homosexuals for its unusual alliance with the Republicans. Further, the Republican Party has not fully accepted this organization either, largely due to the Party's historical position on the meaning of "family" and the parameters of what constitutes marriage. As

part of the Republican platform, "family" is defined in traditional terms – parents and children with strong spiritual foundations committed to preserving the Republican ideals of hard work, honesty and personal responsibility.[1] While this conceptualization does not necessarily contradict with a gay lifestyle, the Party's definition of marriage clearly identifies the boundaries of what it considers legitimate families. The Republican Party has consistently defined marriage as the legal union of one man and one woman. Further, the attention given to upholding this definition of marriage and family has increased consistently within the Republican Party over the past 15 years.[2]

Log Cabin Republicans

The LCR can be viewed as a social movement organization. This group should not be viewed as a special interest group. Interest groups are self-interested organizations established to pursue more narrow policy changes. Social movements, on the other hand, speak to a wider audience on a multitude of issues. While a social movement may be interested in policy change, it typically seeks reforms in numerous areas of concern, including changes to cultural understandings of the social movement actors and legal reforms (Candler 1999). The LCR is thus best understood as a social movement organization. According to Tarrow (1994), a social movement involves "collective challenges…by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents, and authorities." Whittier (1997) conceptualizes social movements as "clusters of organizations, overlapping networks, and individuals that share goals and are bound together by a collective identity and cultural events." The

[1] See Republican Party Platform of 1992 (http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/platforms.php)
[2] See Republican Party Platforms of 1992, 2000, 2004 (http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/platforms.php)

LCR is one of many social movement organizations campaigning for equal rights for gay and lesbian Americans as part of the larger gay rights movement.

LCR membership is largely comprised of educated, middle to upper-middle class, urban, white males in their 30's and 40's (Rogers and Lott 1997; Kahn from publiceye.org). The LCR embraces Republican ideals of low taxes, limited government, strong defense, free markets, personal responsibility, and individual liberty. Log Cabin members see themselves as representative of typical American citizens - taxpaying, hard working people who proudly believe in this nation's greatness. They believe all Americans have the right to liberty, freedom, and equality. The general stance of the LCR is to fight against those who preach hatred and intolerance against gays and lesbians (taken from the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/).

While first seen as a fringe movement by the larger gay community, the LCR has been gaining membership, especially in the last few years. Christopher Barron, Political Director of the LCR, reports that the organization doubled in size to 12,000 members between February 2004 and September 2004, ever since President Bush embraced the proposed Federal Marriage Amendment (*New York Times*: September 8, 2004). The LCR has not only seen a dramatic increase in membership recently, but it has also witnessed an increase in organizing, evident in the growth of local chapters all across the nation.

In addition to their national office, the Log Cabin Republicans have chapters and/or organizing teams in all 50 states and Puerto Rico. In total, the LCR is comprised

of the National Chapter in Washington, D.C., 53 state and local chapters[3], and 38 organizing teams[4], the last of which works throughout the nation to create new LCR local chapters. These teams are designed to recruit members for new local chapters.

The Log Cabin Republicans offers a rich environment for studying the processes involved in resolving conflicts between personal and collective identities. Examination of this movement group allowed me to better understand the relationships between organizational framing, individual-level identity management processes and movement participation. In the following chapters I show that LCR framing plays a critical role in managing its constituents' identity conflicts. In the end, I argue that successful identity framing allows the LCR to maintain its constituency. Below I briefly describe how the chapters in this dissertation are organized.

Organization of Dissertation Chapters

Chapter 2 provides a discussion of the theoretical perspectives utilized in this dissertation, including identity theory, frame theory, the intersectionality perspective and identity control theory. I argue that organizational framing efforts undertaken by the LCR are designed to reduce members' identity conflicts and thus sustain member participation. More specifically, organizational frames, via identity modification processes that change the meanings associated with identities, produce individual-level identity effects (i.e., identity amplification, consolidation, and extension) that ultimately reduce identity conflict for LCR members. I also specify these processes, suggesting that

[3] States without established LCR state or local chapters include Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming.
[4] All states and Puerto Rico have at least one LCR organizing team.

organizational frames operate differently for men compared with women and for LCR members with more salient Republican identities compared with LCR members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts.

In Chapter 3 I discuss my data sources, study design, data collection methods, operationalizations, and methods of data analysis. In the first section I discuss the two sources from which my data come: (1) organizational texts and (2) in-depth interviews with LCR leaders and regular members. This is followed by a detailed discussion of each type of data. I explain how the organizational texts were selected and analyzed, and the connection these data have to the second source of data for this project – interview data. In explaining my data collection methods, I also provide a detailed account of how individuals were recruited to the study and the design and purpose of the interview schedule. Finally, I introduce Qualitative Comparative Analysis, the data analysis technique I use to examine the data gathered from these interviews.

In Chapter 4 I provide and discuss results from my analysis of various organizational texts from the Log Cabin Republicans' national website www.logcabin.org. After delineating the frames being used by the LCR on its website, I will discuss the potential of these frames to aid constituents in overcoming identity conflicts that may arise during the course of their memberships. More specifically, I demonstrate that the Log Cabin Republicans' organizational texts provide evidence that the LCR indeed uses frame alignment, identity modification, and identity construction processes in order to reduce identity conflicts among members and thus sustain its membership. I argue that these organizational frames are then available for use by individual members to overcome conflicts that arise between the collective identity of the

LCR as put forth by the organization and the personal identities of LCR members and to overcome identity conflicts that arise between LCR members' personal gay and Republican identities.

Chapter 5 examines the differences in the types of frames used by men and women in combination with other factors to reduce identity conflict. I begin by discussing the factors included in the QCA equations for men and for women. I then describe the combinations of factors leading to identity conflict resolution for men as well as theoretical explanations for these results. This is followed by a discussion of the QCA results for women, including theoretical explanations for these findings as well. As my results will show there are specific types of frames that amplify, bridge, and extend and that, in general, organizational frames are less effective in reducing identity conflicts for female LCR members compared to male LCR members. I also demonstrate that while degrees of organizational commitment influence the abilities of both LCR men and women to utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflict, women members require specific forms of organizational commitment depending on the presence or absence of other factors in the equations.

Chapter 6 examines differential frame usage by LCR members whose Republican identities are more salient compared with LCR members whose gay identities are more salient. I show that each of the subgroups uses specific types of organizational frames to reduce identity conflict. I also demonstrate that in the context of social movements, organizational frames serve as the tools or vehicles via which LCR members with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities are able to realign

an individual identity that has become activated in a social situation to the identity standard associated with that identity.

Chapter 7 provides an overview of the major findings presented in this dissertation. I also discuss in this chapter the theoretical and empirical contributions of my work. Lastly, I discuss some of the limitations of my research, and I present suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

There is a general consensus in the social movements literature that movement participants at times must attempt to overcome personal and collective identity conflicts (Kiecolt 2000, Snow & McAdam 2000, Valocchi 2001, White & Fraser 2000). However, little has been done to investigate the nature of these identity conflicts, how individuals cope with these conflicts, or what movement organizations do to ameliorate identity tensions among their constituents. This points to the need for social movement scholars to examine issues of identity and social movement participation. An investigation into the interplay between organizational efforts to reduce identity conflicts among members and individual members' reactions to these efforts will provide a nuanced understanding of how identities operate in the context of social movements. In this dissertation I provide such a nuanced discussion by suggesting and providing evidence that, via the use of framing processes and the organizational frames that result from these processes, the Log Cabin Republicans aid their constituents in reducing identity conflicts that arise during the course of their memberships.

Research on issues of identity in social movements is crucial to the proposed study. A sizeable portion of recent work on social movements has been devoted to understanding the interdependence of framing activities and identity construction and maintenance to movement formation (Friedman & McAdam 1992; Hunt, Benford & Snow 1994; Whittier 1997; Polletta & Jasper 2001; Armstrong 2002). Others have

explored the relationship of framing and identity work to recruitment and mobilization (Snow, et al.1986; Ellingson 1995; Polletta & Jasper 2001; Ferree 2003; McCammon, Hewitt & Smith 2004; Schrock, Holden & Reed 2004). A third area of scholarship has examined how framing activities and identity work are influenced by movement strategy (Coy & Woehrle 1996; Kubal 1998; Haydu 1999; Rupp & Taylor 1999; Benford & Hunt 2003). Lastly, scholars have also found that how successfully an organization frames its collective identity affects its ability to ally itself with other organizations (Polletta & Jasper 2001).

The current research addresses a largely ignored avenue of scholarship on social movements: the relationship between framing and identity conflict, focusing specifically on the interplay between framing processes and collective action frames, on the one hand, and conflict between collective identities and personal identities, on the other. Scholars suggest that there can be multiple and overlapping identities for the individual and that some of these identities can be conflicting. Though not yet fully explored in the movements literature, social psychologists have alluded to these potential conflicts between competing identities (see for example Bernd & Klandermans 2001; Tajfel & Turner 1986; Turner, et al. 1994; Turner & Oaks 1989). Thus, this research informs both the social psychological and social movements literatures by examining how conflicting identities are managed within the context of a social movement organization.

In this chapter, I discuss the major theoretical perspectives that inform the present research, including identity theory and frame theory, and I suggest how these perspectives apply to my examination of identity conflict resolution within the LCR. I propose that organizational framing processes, occurring at the organizational level,

result in individual-level identity effects, occurring at the individual level via identity modification processes. I also discuss how these identity modification processes may operate differently for subgroups of individuals within the LCR. Lastly, I suggest that members' lengths of membership in the LCR and their activity levels within the organization will influence members' abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

Identity

Current research conceptualizes personal identity as the "internalized set of meanings attached to a role played in a network of social relationships" (Stryker, Owens & White 2000: 6) that result in "identifications of the self as a certain kind of person, claimed and enacted for the self alone" (Thoits & Virshup 1995). In this sense, a personal identity is one that remains intact (though perhaps with varying degrees of salience) in most, if not all, social situations[5]. Personal identities are those identities that are most basic to the individual - such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual identity, etc. They remain with the individual apart from group membership or collective action. In other words, personal identities don't necessarily need action to exist. For members of the Log Cabin Republicans, participants in the social movement organization I examine in detail in this work, personal identities are those identities held by the individual member that are not necessarily tied to categorical membership or collective action.

A collective identity can be defined in terms of an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution

[5] Personal identities can be transformed (see, for example, Snow, et al.'s (1986) discussion on frame alignment processes and micromobilization within the Hare Krishna Movement), but this is atypical.

(Polletta & Jasper 2001), as well as a delineation of group boundaries and the politicization of everyday life (Taylor & Whittier 1992; Whittier 1997). A collective identity is held by the individual, but it is expressed in connection with others who share this identity. Collective identities are those identities typically associated with group membership - such as student or civil rights activist.

Collective identity is often described as a statement about categorical membership. It is an identity that is shared with a group of others who have or are believed to have common attributes. These shared characteristics may be ascribed, such as ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation, or achieved, such as occupation or political party (Deaux 1996; Simon & Klandermans 2001; Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe 2004). Scholars who discuss collective identity often include some sense of political consciousness and collective action in their definitions of the term. For example, Bernstein (1997) includes a belief in the feasibility of political action in her definition of collective identity - more specifically in her definition of identity for empowerment. Simon & Klandermans (2001) use the term "politicized collective identity" to denote a special form of collective identification.

In this dissertation I speculate that LCR constituents have both individual gay and Republican identities and collective gay and Republican identities. I propose that LCR framing efforts are aimed at defining collective identities in ways that allow individual members to embrace these identities and translate the characteristics associated with these collective identities into their individual identities. In other words, the LCR will present its constituents with organizational frames that define the collective gay identity and the collective Republican identity of the organization. Individual members who

embrace these collective identities as defined by LCR organizational frames will demonstrate personal gay and Republican identities that closely mirror the characteristics or definitions of the LCR collective gay and Republican identities. Recent research into the linkage of individual and collective identities supports this assertion, suggesting that personal identities must be amplified, consolidated, extended, or transformed to correspond to the collective identity of the movement or movement group (Snow & McAdam 2000). In other words, LCR members' personal gay and Republican identities must be reflective of the collective gay and Republican identities of the LCR.

It is important to mention here that I do not suggest that the process of linking personal and collective identities is unidirectional, that is, that LCR members' individual identities must always change to match LCR collective identities. Rather, LCR members' individual identities may also inform and shape LCR collective identities. As researchers have noted, the collective identity of the organization also "develops from shared aspects of the personal identities of movement activists" (White & Fraser 2000:326). Because the goal of this dissertation is to deepen our understanding of how organizational framing processes and frames aid LCR members in reducing identity conflict, I focus on the *organization* as the influencing agent in defining the LCR's gay and Republican collective identities.

In order to address the issue of conflicting identities within the social movement participant, I turn to the literature on framing. I propose that the framing activities of an organization directly influence how its constituents understand and manage their personal and collective identities. In this case, framing efforts undertaken by the LCR leadership are designed to reduce members' identity conflicts and thus sustain member participation.

Framing

Frame theory can help us understand the LCR's organizational efforts to reduce identity conflicts. The framing perspective focuses attention on the signifying work or meaning construction connected to a particular movement's goals and strategies that takes place among a variety of movement actors. The framing perspective assumes that objects, events and experiences are not inherently meaningful. Rather, they are given meaning via "interactively based interpretive processes" (Snow 2004: 384).

Social movement scholars use the verb 'framing' to conceptualize the signifying work undertaken by activists as they assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists (Snow & Benford 1988). Snow and McAdam (2000) posit that framing processes occurring within the context of a social movement "constitute perhaps the most important mechanism facilitating identity construction processes, largely because identity constructions are an inherent feature of framing activities" (Snow and McAdam 2000:53). Framing processes not only link individuals and groups ideologically, but they also "support and embellish identities that range from collaborative to conflictual" (Hunt, Benford & Snow 1994:185).

The products of a movement's signifying work are collective action frames. Snow and Benford define frames as "interpretive schemata that enable participants to locate, perceive, and label occurrences" (Snow et al. 1986), "selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment" (Snow & Benford 1992). The types of collective action frames a movement produces enable participants to validate their continued participation

in the movement organization as well as their participation in various forms of activism. Ultimately, the collective action frames become markers of the collective identity of the group. Like other cognitive factors that influence human behavior, collective action frames are both individual and social. Such "frames" are held by an individual, but they are important to collective action insofar as they are shared by enough individuals to channel their actions in patterned ways (Johnston 2002). In this sense, frames can be thought of as one of the initial determinants of collective action or movement participation and, importantly, given the focus of this project, as a means of managing identity conflicts among movement constituents.

I will examine how LCR leaders frame the collective identity of the group, its mission and its strategies. The collective action frames that result, then, are key to understanding how individual members of the LCR reduce identity conflicts. Members who successfully reduce such conflicts, I argue, are more likely to remain members of the organization. Below I argue that the relationships between organizational framing, identity conflict, and movement participation operate on two different levels, both the organizational- and individual-levels. Thus the process I describe begins at the organizational level and moves to the personal or individual level. At the organizational level, organizational leaders frame a collective identity. At the individual level, individual social movement members then process these frames using them to construct or reconstruct personal identities in order to resolve identity conflicts. In the first stage of the process, at the organizational level, the framing activities of the organization take center stage. At the second stage of the process, the individual level, the focus will be on personal identity construction. I now describe each of these stages in detail.

Stage 1: Organizational Framing Activities

Despite increased attention in the literature to the roles of personal and collective identities in social movements, researchers have yet to conduct empirical investigations that examine conflicting identities in social movement settings and how organizations and individuals respond to such conflicts. Valocchi (2001), however, begins to move us in that direction. He suggests that when individual and collective identities are at odds, the organization must expand or alter its collective identity in order to prevent individual participants from withdrawing.

A key element in Valocchi's argument is the dialectical nature of social movement formation and maintenance. The collective identity of a movement changes as individuals come together around common interests, grievances, or social ties and engage in dialogue and debate. Different understandings of issues will develop as well as different approaches to problem solving and collective action. The challenge for any social movement is to manage these tensions and even conflicts while maintaining its strength and momentum.

To illustrate the importance of forming a collective identity and translating this identity to individual constituents, Valocchi discusses two homosexual movement organizations in the US and their relationships to other movements or movement groups: (a) the Mattachine Society and its relationship to the Communist Party (CP) as well as to the political Left of the 1940s and 1950s and (b) the Gay Liberation group and its relationship to the New Left of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Mattachine Society had strong ties to the CP and political Left. The political Left had a highly centralized organizational structure and as a result was able to communicate a strong (and static)

collective identity. Influence from individual members was not allowed. The Gay Liberation group, on the other hand, was influenced by an ideologically vital but organizationally diffuse New Left. The Gay Liberation movement also lacked formal organization. As a result, individual influences were welcome and recruitment was high, but the movement was unable to establish mechanisms (i.e., organizational structures) to communicate a collective identity to its members. Both gay movements groups ultimately lost momentum, the Mattachine Society due to its inflexibility and exclusion of changing ideologies and desires, and the Gay Liberation group due to its lack of formal organizational structure and inability to construct a single collective identity.

Valocchi's research illustrates the importance of examining the ways in which movement organizations frame collective identities, translate these identities to movement participants, and alter these identities in the face of conflicting understandings of those identities among members. His attention to the relationship between organizational framing and identity construction begins to address the lacuna in the social movements literature regarding the role of identity conflict in the context of social movement organizations. The current research explicitly addresses this gap in the literature by seeking to uncover the organizational processes involved in managing identity conflicts and how these processes affect constituents in terms of their personal and collective identities. I argue that the LCR will engage in framing activities that attempt to reconcile conflicting identities for its members. I then argue that members will draw on these frames as they attempt to reduce identity conflicts.

Social movement scholars have demonstrated that organizations use framing processes to recruit participants, maintain support, and mobilize their constituencies (for

examples see Snow, et al.1986; Ellingson 1995; Ferree 2003; McCammon et al. 2004; Schrock, Holden & Reed 2004). This is often accomplished through what Snow et al. (1986) refer to as "frame alignment processes." They argue that frame alignment is a necessary condition for all forms of movement participation. Frame alignment is an interactional achievement that involves one or more of the following four framing processes: (1) frame bridging, (2) frame amplification, (3) frame extension, and (4) frame transformation. Briefly, frame bridging refers to the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames involving a specific issue. Frame amplification refers to the emphasis of an interpretive frame involving a particular issue or set of issues. Frame extension involves an SMO extending the boundaries of its primary framework in order to encompass interests or points of view that are highly salient to potential recruits but incidental to the organization's larger goals. Lastly, frame transformation involves the cultivation of new values, beliefs, or meanings among individuals in order to gain support for the movement and encourage participation in the organization (Snow et al. 1986).

It should be noted that Snow et al. (1986) use framing language to describe processes of recruitment and micromobilization. While their interests are focused on individuals' initial decisions to become movement participants, I argue that the processes of frame alignment that they develop can be adapted to apply to the *ongoing* participation of organization members. More specifically, I propose that frame alignment processes are not only used to garner initial support and participation, but that these processes are also employed by organizations in order *to resolve identity conflicts* among their memberships and thus to maintain participation in the organization.

How successful each framing process is at reducing identity conflicts, however, has yet to be determined. My dissertation research will investigate the role each of the framing processes plays in the reduction of identity conflict. Interviews with LCR regular members will explore whether the framing processes are invoked by LCR constituents and whether they are successful in reducing identity conflicts for these constituents. There is good reason to believe that the frame alignment processes will reduce identity conflicts for LCR members. As mentioned above, social movement scholars have demonstrated that organizations successfully use framing processes to recruit participants, maintain support, and mobilize their constituencies by providing messages or frames that express their goals, beliefs, and collective identities. I propose that framing processes will also be successful in maintaining a constituency by providing similar messages or frames that individual members may draw upon to reduce identity conflicts that arise during the course of their movement participation.

Hypothesis 1: LCR members will utilize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflicts.

Stage 2: Individual-Level Identity Processes

In order to illustrate in detail the link between frame alignment processes at the organizational level and individual-level identity effects, I turn to a new body of scholarship. Snow and McAdam (2000) are among a handful of social movement researchers who give needed attention to the more individual-level processes involved in identity negotiation and movement participation. They develop the concept of *identity correspondence* – the alignment or linkage of individual and collective identities and

action. I propose that the processes of identity correspondence mirror the processes of frame alignment outlined above. I will describe the individual-level processes briefly before moving on to a full discussion of the processes through which frames influence personal identities.

Identity theory presumes that identities vary in salience and are organized in a kind of *salience hierarchy* (Stryker & Serpe 1994; Turner, et al. 1994). Following Thoits (1991), the term "salience" here refers to the subjective importance of an identity in terms of how LCR members think of or define themselves. This definition resembles Rosenberg's (1979) notion of "psychological centrality" and extends the concept of identity salience beyond its definition in identity theory as the probability of an identity being expressed in a given social situation (Stryker 1980, Stryker & Serpe 1994). The literature on identity salience suggests that identities can vary in their salience and thus centrality among participants in the same social movement (Brewer 1991; Snow & McAdam 2000; White & Fraser 2000). In addition, Snow and McAdam (2000) argue that identities can also vary in terms of their *pervasiveness* – meaning, their situational reach or relevance. In other words, identities that are relevant in multiple social contexts are more pervasive than those identities relevant to a single or few social settings.

Both the salience and pervasiveness of identities influence a form of identity work that Snow and McAdam (2000) refer to as *identity construction* - "the process through which personal and collective identities are aligned, such that individuals regard engagement in movement activity as being consistent with their self-conception and interests" (p.49). Because the current research is interested in the negotiation of identity conflict, I will focus on the processes of identity construction.

Identity construction processes mirror the frame alignment processes Snow et al. (1986) describe above. Identity construction processes include: (1) identity consolidation (or bridging) – that is, blending a current salient identity with another identity, (2) identity amplification or increasing the salience of already held identity (which would results in a change in the salience hierarchy), and (3) identity extension – that is, increasing the pervasiveness of an identity.[6]

Though Snow & McAdam (2000) refer to identity construction processes and the importance of framing to such processes, they fail to specify *how* framing activities at the organizational level result in identity amplification, identity consolidation, or identity extension at the individual level. For example, they propose that "identity amplification involves the embellishment and strengthening of an existing identity that is congruent with a movement's collective identity but not sufficiently salient to ensure participation and activism" (Snow and McAdam 2000: 59), but they do not explain framing's role in bringing this result about. They suggest that the individual's identity salience hierarchy can be affected by organizational framing such that previously low-level identities are moved to the top of the hierarchy, but they do not tell us *which frames accomplish this and how they do so*. Though Snow and McAdam (2000) propose a connection between organizational framing activities and changes in personal identities, the authors do not define the processes through which this alteration of salience hierarchies occurs.

Rather than referring to the amplification, consolidation, and extension of personal identities as identity construction *processes,* I argue that we should view them as identity *effects*. As I demonstrate below, identity amplification, consolidation, and

[6] Snow et al. (1986) identify a fourth type of identity construction process (identity transformation) that results from frame transformation; however, I found no evidence of identity transformation in my investigation and thus do not discuss it here.

extension are products of processes that link the collective identities of the organization and the personal identities of individual members.

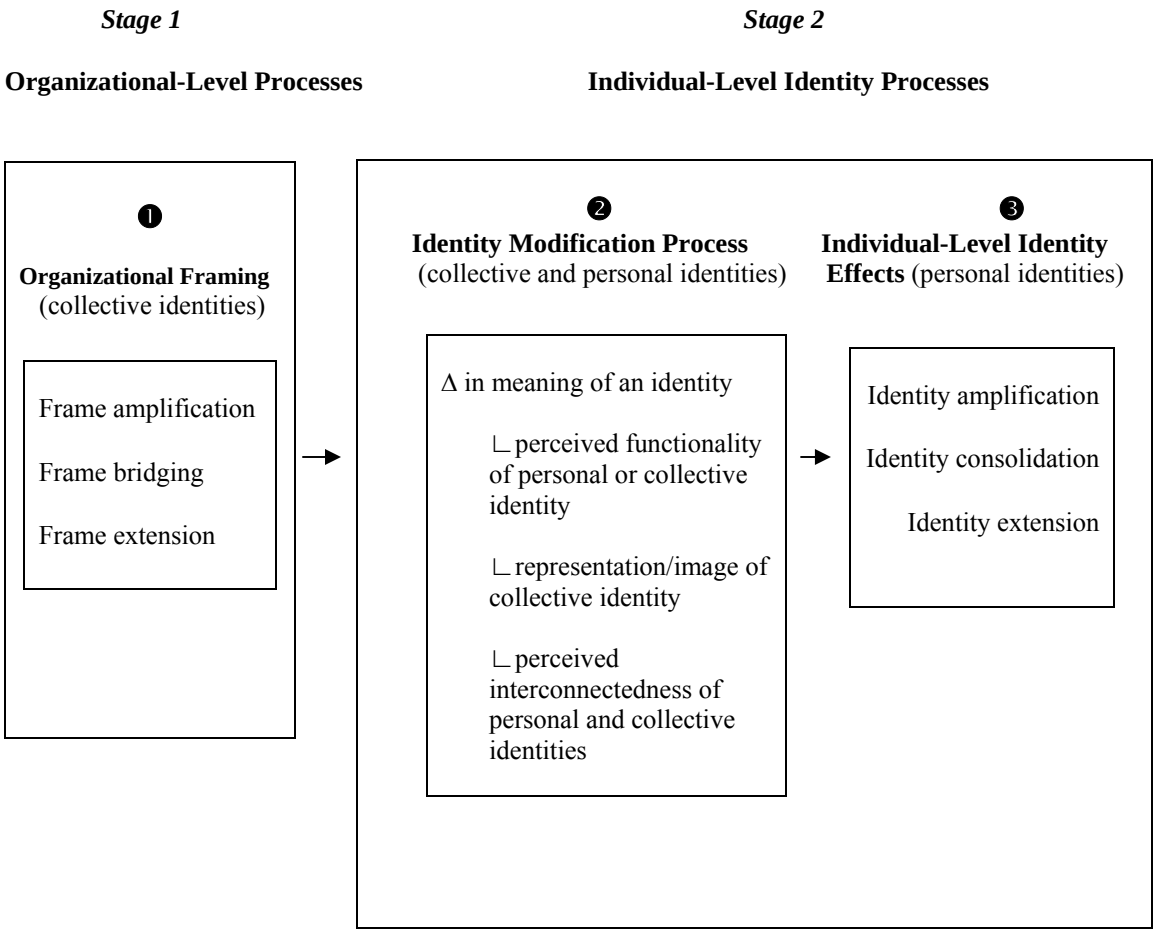
Again, Snow and McAdam (2000) suggest that framing activities at the organizational level *result in* identity amplification, identity consolidation, or identity extension at the individual level, but fail to specify the processes or mechanisms that bring about these individual-level results. Below I theorize the process that links organizational framing activities and individual-level identity effects. I call this the *identity modification process*. This process involves changing the meanings associated with particular individual identities such that the individual's salience hierarchy is altered.

Identity Modification Process

Having outlined the three frame alignment processes (i.e., frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension, which occur at the organizational-level) and the three corresponding identity effects (i.e., identity amplification, identity consolidation, and identity extension, which occur at the individual-level), I will now provide a discussion of how these two phenomena are linked. I begin by asserting that framing affects identity construction by altering the *meanings* of those identities (Simon 1997; Kiecolt 2000). Again, I refer to this intermediate process that links organizational framing activities and individual-level identity effects as an *identity modification process*

(see Diagram 1). This process will be described in detail below by utilizing frames I have identified through an examination of LCR organizational texts.[7]

Diagram 1: Identity Modification Processes



[7] I use content analysis to distill these frames from LCR sources and discuss my methods for doing this in Chapter 3. The LCR frames themselves are discussed in detail in Chapter 4 and Appendix A. Here I simply provide a few examples to develop my theory.

After discussing the identity modification process – that is, changing in the meanings of identities – I discuss how specific characteristics of LCR respondents, that is, the sex of the respondent and the salient identity of the respondent (i.e., the respondent's gay identity or Republican identity), influence the effect of organizational framing on the identity modification process and individual-level identity effects. Lastly, I discuss how two other factors, that is, LCR members' lengths of membership and activity levels within the organization, influence the ability of LCR members to utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

Meanings of Identities

To produce the individual-level identity effects of identity amplification, identity consolidation, and identity extension[8] organizational framing changes the meanings of identities over the course of movement participation. Changes in the meanings of identities occur at the level of the individual and are shaped by framing efforts at the organizational level. In other words, changing the meanings of identities is an identity modification process. Meaning in this sense refers to the content of the identity and what competent performance of that identity entails. More specifically, *meaning* refers to the characteristics attributed to the identity as well as the behaviors and attitudes that holders of the identity must display in order to adequately portray this identity.

[8] A fourth frame alignment process, not pursued in this research, because it is not apparent in the data, is frame transformation. Frame transformation involves the cultivation of *new* values, beliefs, or meanings among individuals (Snow et al. 1986). It is likely then that organizational-level efforts at frame transformation involve identity modification processes that dramatically alter the salience hierarchy of particular identities in order to produce the individual-level identity effect of identity transformation. I, however, did not find any evidence of frame transformation in my LCR data. As such, there is no discussion of identity transformation, the individual-level identity effect associated with frame transformation.

Simon (1997) identifies three features of identities that can be altered through movement participation: the functionality of the identity, the representation of the identity, and the perceived interconnectedness of identities. While Simon speaks largely in terms of changes to personal identities, I extend her argument to apply not only to changes in the meanings of personal identities, but changes in the meanings of collective identities as well. Therefore, I elaborate on Simon's initial classification of identity features that can be changed through movement participation. I propose that organizational framing can alter (1) the perceived functionality of individual *and* collective identities, (2) the representations/meanings of individual *and* collective identities, and (3) the perceived interconnectedness of individual *and* collective identities. I propose that each of the three frame alignment processes – frame bridging, frame amplification, and frame extension – can alter the meanings of identities. The resultant individual-level identity effects – identity consolidation, identity amplification, and identity extension - are the same as those that result from changes to the salience hierarchy of identities. This identity modification process is discussed in more detail below.

The first feature regarding changes to the meanings of identities involves beliefs about the *functionality* of the identity. The functionality of the identity concerns what the individual believes he or she can accomplish by adopting this identity. Movement organizations can alter the meanings of personal and collective identities by increasing the perceived functionality of these identities via the organization's framing. The second feature is *representation* or the image projected by the identity to constituents, the opposition, and the general public. This image or identity representation may change

from positive to negative due to evaluations by the opposition or identity conflicts within the individual. The identity representation may also change from negative to positive. For example, this may result when organizations effectively buffer the negative effects of outside influences. They often do this by defining a positive in-group identity for itself and a negative out-group identity for the opposition (Kiecolt 2000, McCaffrey & Keys 2000). Lastly, the *perceived interconnectedness* of identities may change. Personal identities are compatible when they share numerous attributes (Simon 1997). By framing the collective identity of the group as necessarily built upon multiple personal identities such as a gay identity and a Republican identity, the LCR increases the perceived interconnectedness of those identities.

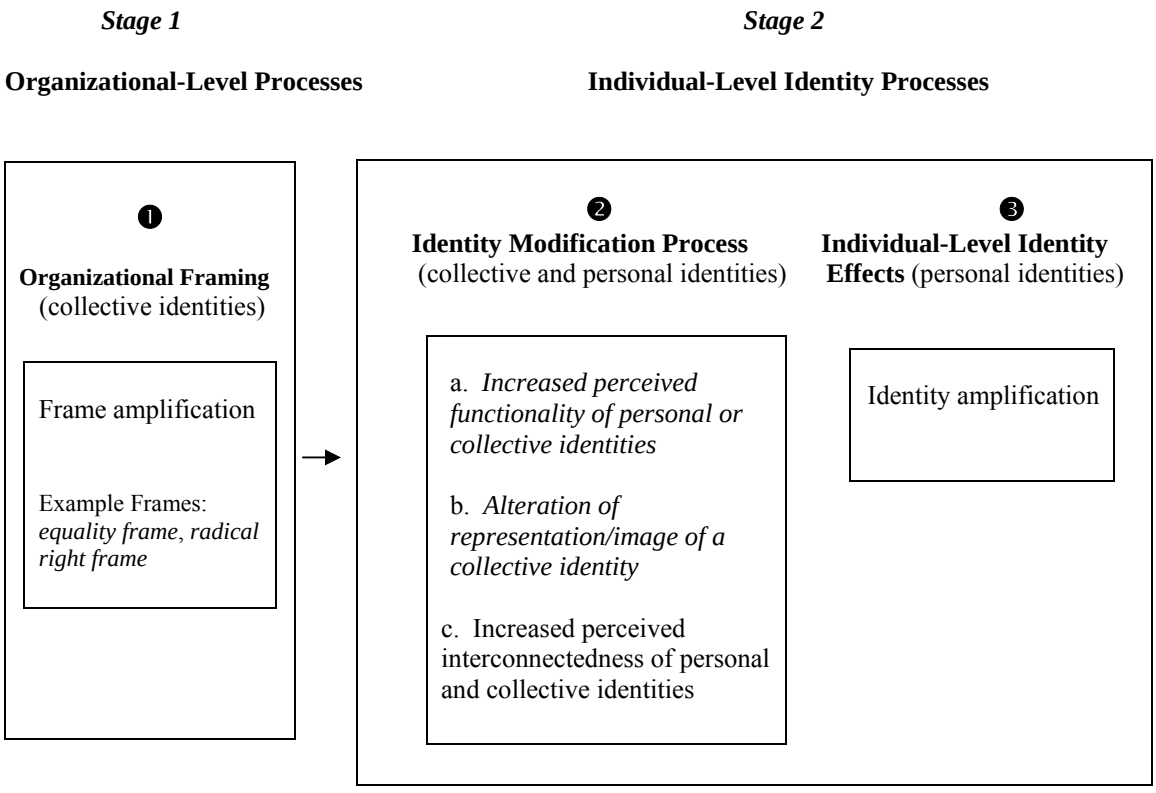
Each of the frame alignment processes has the potential to alter the meanings of identities. I speculate, however, that the three frame alignment processes (frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension) will differ in their likelihood of affecting change in the functionality, representation and perceived interconnectedness of identities. Below I provide framing examples from my content analysis of the LCR organizational texts to develop my hypotheses.[9]

I propose that frame amplification will increase the perceived functionality of personal or collective identities (Diagram 5, Stage 2a). For example, the *equality frame* changes the meanings associated with the gay identity by altering the perceived functionality of this identity. "Log Cabin Republicans work to make the Republican Party more inclusive, particularly on gay and lesbian issues. Equality will be impossible

[9] Again, I discuss the methods I use in my content analysis of the organizational texts in Chapter 3 and provide the full results of my analysis in Chapter 4.

to achieve without Republican votes."[10] By magnifying values and beliefs about equal rights for all and by emphasizing the importance of activism, this example of the *equality frame* attempts to increase the individual's belief in the efficacy of his/her gay identity in achieving gay rights within the Republican Party. Because the *equality frame* increases the perceived functionality of the gay identity within the Republican Party, this identity is amplified at the individual level (Diagram 5, Stage 3).

Diagram 2: Change to the Meanings of Identities (Frame Amplification)



[10] From "Mission Statement" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [July 2007]

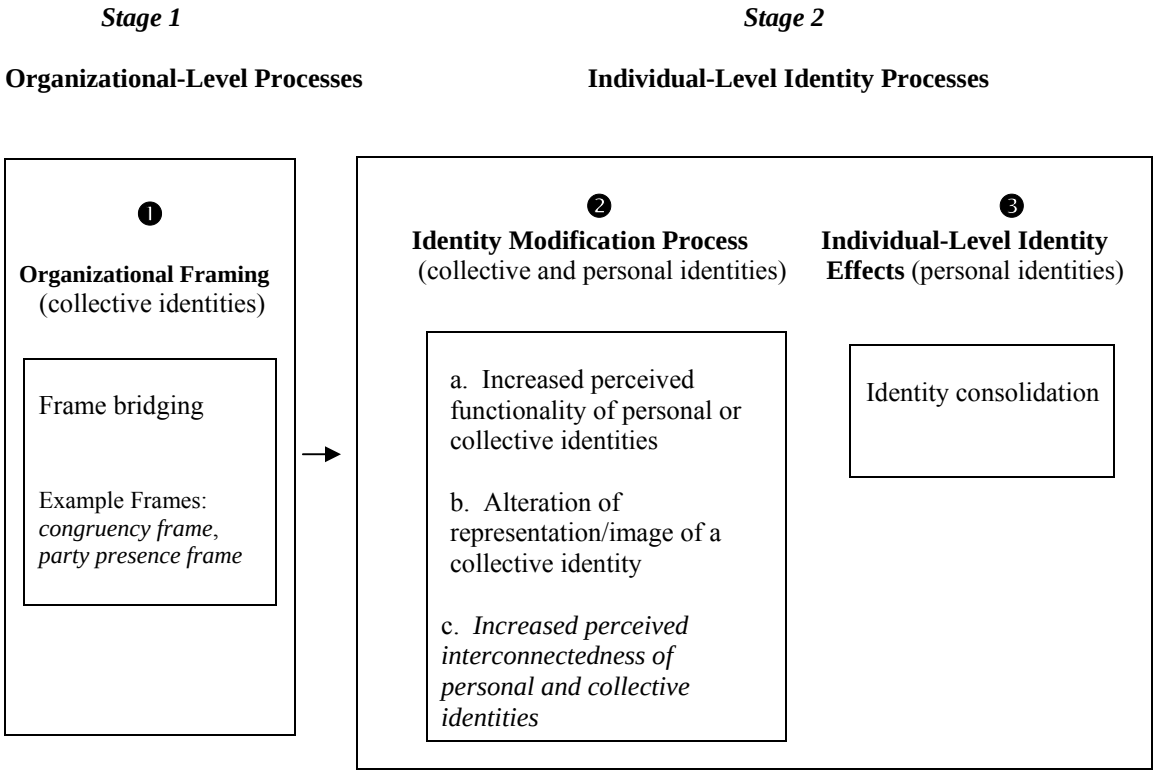
Frame amplification may also alter the representation/image of the collective identity of the group (Diagram 5, Stage 2b). For the LCR, the use of the *radical right* frame alters the image or representation of the collective Republican identity of the LCR and of the Republican Party as a whole. By declaring the radical right as the source of Party divisiveness, the LCR can then emphasize its more inclusive and moderate platforms. The LCR will defend the traditional ideals of the Republican Party against the negative influence and power of the radical right. An example of this frame is as follows: "Their [radical right] dogged campaign to block gay and lesbian civil rights goes against the party's core principles of smaller government and personal freedom."[11] Thus, the LCR's *radical right* frame changes the image of the LCR, presenting the group in a more positive light by highlighting negative aspects of the opposition. As with the other amplifying frame (the *equality frame*), the individual-level identity effect for the *radical right frame* is identity amplification (Diagram 5, Stage 3).

Frame bridging will most often alter the meanings associated with the gay and Republican identities by increasing the perceived interconnectedness of these identities (Diagram 6, Stage 2c). The *congruency* frame illustrates this by drawing out the aspects of Republicanism that are congruent with a gay identity: "To some people, being a gay Republican seems like an oxymoron. We disagree. The Republican Party's founding principles and core beliefs represent a powerful tool that should be used to defend liberty…"[12] In this example of the *congruency frame,* the focus on the Party's founding principles such as personal freedom, individual responsibility, and governmental non-interference allows the individual member to reconcile his or her homosexuality with

[11] From "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [July 2007]
[12] From "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [July 2007]

traditional Party ideals. The *congruency* frame promotes the idea that the freedom to be gay and to be responsible for one's own private life without government intervention is compatible with the tenets of classic Republicanism. By portraying the gay and Republican identities as compatible, the *congruency frame* thus changes the meanings of these identities, as historically, these two identities have been at odds. Because the *congruency* frame increases the perceived interconnectedness of the gay and Republican identities, these identities are consolidated at the individual level (Diagram 6, Stage 3).

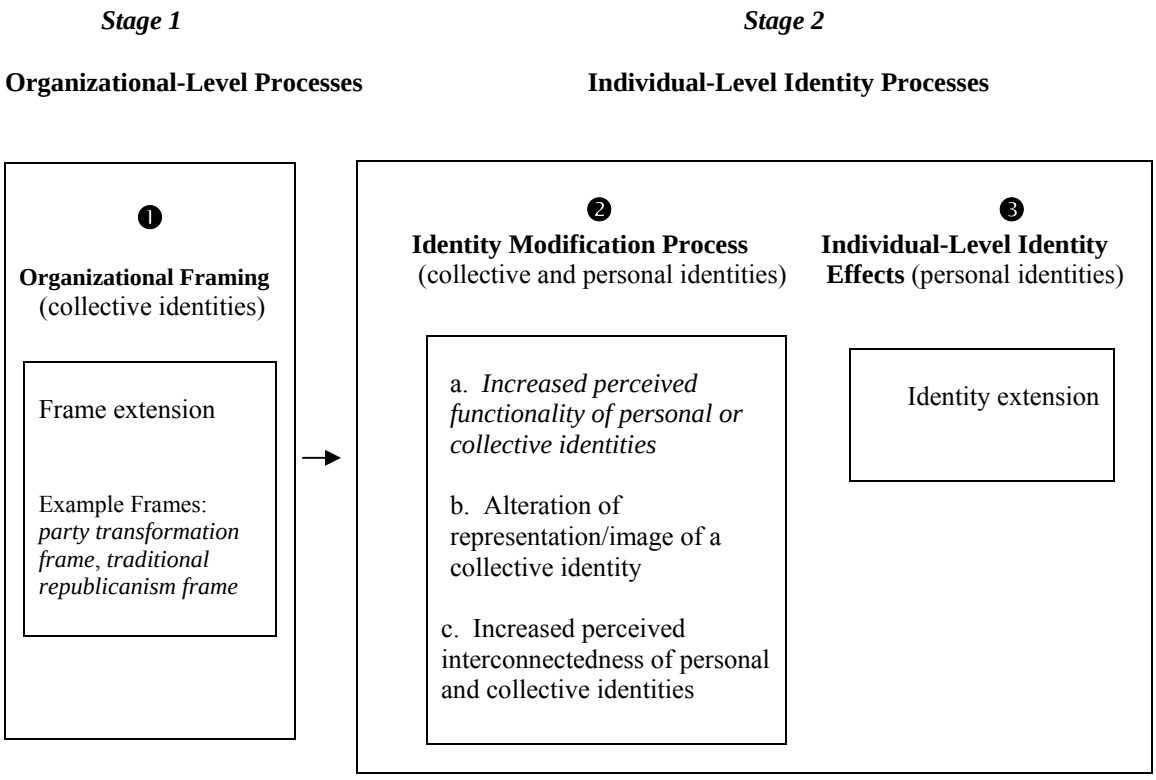
Diagram 3: Change to the Meanings of Identities (Frame Bridging)



Frame extension, which involves attempts to recruit a larger constituency by extending an SMO's frames, will likely alter the meanings associated with identities by

increasing the perceived functionality of personal or collective identities (Diagram 7, Stage 2a). For example, the *party transformation frame* emphasizes Republican values such as limited government, individual liberty and personal responsibility and promotes changing the Republican Party into a more inclusive party that does not discriminate based on sexual identity. By portraying the Republican identity as necessary to the advancement of equality for gays and lesbians, the *party transformation frame* increases the perceived functionality of the Republican identity. The individual-level identity effect is identity extension (Diagram 7, Stage 3).[13]

Diagram 4: Change to the Meanings of Identities (Frame Extension)



[13] Although not a focus of this research, frame transformation will most often change the representation or image of the group. However, as stated previously, my analysis of LCR organizational texts does not provide evidence of frame transformation use by LCR leaders.

Hypothesis 1 can now be further refined again:

Hypothesis 1a: Frame alignment processes will reduce identity conflict among constituents by increasing the perceived functionality of those identities.

Hypothesis 1b: Frame alignment processes will reduce identity conflict among constituents by making more positive the image or representation of the collective identity of the group.

Hypothesis 1c: Frame alignment processes will reduce identity conflict among constituents by increasing the perceived interconnectedness of members' personal identities and the collective identity of the group.

Processual Differences for LCR Subgroups

Having outlined the various organizational-level and individual-level processes above, it is important to state at this point that I do not expect these processes to operate in the same ways for all LCR members. In the sections below I describe how subgroups within the LCR may utilize organizational frames differently. First, I examine the role of the respondent's sex[14] in using organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts. I argue that men and women may use different organizational frames and/or use the same frames in different ways to reduce identity conflicts that arise during the course of movement participation. Second, I discuss the impact of the respondent's salient identity (whether that be the gay identity or the Republican identity) on organizational frame usage and propose that those with more salient Republican identities will use different

[14] In the present study, the terms "sex" and "gender" are used interchangeably. Only one LCR member interviewed indicated a gender identity (female) that did not correspond to her sex (i.e., she is biologically male). This individual was ultimately excluded from later analyses due to her lack of identity conflict experiences. As such, no distinction is made here between biological sex and gender identity. I refer to the sex of the respondent in my variable operationalizations and QCA analyses. I refer to the gender of the respondent (rather than his/her biological sex) in order to illustrate my point (made in subsequent discussions) that the subordinate nature of the female gender identity impacts female LCR members' abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflict.

organizational frames and/or use the same frames differently than members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts.

Men and Women: The Intersectionality of Identities

In the case of the LCR, the nature of members' identities plays a key role in how they handle identity conflicts during the course of their involvement with the organization. While most research on intersecting identities has focused on the dynamics of multiple subordinate identities involving race, gender, class and sexuality (see, for examples, Cohen 1999; Collins 1998, 2000; Pastrana 2006; West & Fenstermaker 1995), the present research adds to this body of scholarship by examining the role of gender and sexual identity[15] in reducing or resolving identity conflict in a primarily male organization.[16]

I propose that organizational frames, via the identity modification process described above, will produce the same individual-level identity effects for men and women. However, there may be a difference in which frames are used by men and women to reduce identity conflicts, and/or how these organizational frames are used. To understand these differences in the ability of men and women to draw on organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts, I suggest that we need to pay attention not only to the presence or absence of multiple identities among movement participants, but also to the

[15] Drawing on Rosario et al. (2006), "sexual identity" here refers to the individual's self-identification with the "gay" or "lesbian" label (no "straight" individuals were included in the study) based on the individual's awareness of his/her sexual orientation, the individual's sexual behavior, and the individual's participation in the gay community.

[16] Because the LCR is made up of members who are predominately white, well-educated, and financially stable, (and because my sample reflects these tendencies) racial and class identities are less likely to be salient compared to gender identities. While the large majority of LCR members are male (approximately 71%), there is enough of a female presence to look at the experiences of women separately from the experiences of male LCR members.

nature of those identities. Research on the intersectionality of identities addresses this concern.

The intersectionality perspective, developed extensively by Patricia Hill Collins (1993, 1998a, 1998b, 2000), examines relationships between power and multiple social categorizations and allows researchers to focus on the interaction of multiple dimensions of subordination and/or privilege (Crenshaw 1991, Norris, et al. 2007). According to this perspective, social categories such as gender, race, class, and sexuality exist in a hierarchy according to the amount of power or privilege associated with that category. For example, with gender the privileged status is "male". Regarding race, the privileged status is "white". For sexual identity, it is heterosexuals who are privileged. Of course, individuals do not occupy only one of these social categories; they occupy all. Further, most individuals will find themselves at different status levels within each category. For example, a white male occupies the most privileged status of both gender and race. A white female occupies a privileged racial status, but a subordinate gender status. A black female occupies subordinate statuses for both race and gender. It follows then that the more privileged identities one has, the more privilege one will have in the larger social world. Conversely, the more subordinate identities one has, the less privilege he/she will experience.

Though my discussion of female LCR members' "multiple subordinate identities" may appear to come from an additive conceptualization of identities, this is not the case. As King (1990) and Takagi (1996) argue, oppressed or subordinate identities are not "equal" in the degrees of inequality experiences they produce. I do not suggest here that a gay white male and a straight black male are "equally oppressed" because they each

have one subordinate identity. However, because my sample is predominately white, and predominately of similar social class backgrounds (middle- and upper-middle-class), and because my sample is made up of only homosexuals, I discuss only one other subordinate identity in addition to the sexual identity of LCR members – the female identity. In this way, I am distinguishing between gay, white, middle- to upper-middle-class males and gay, white, middle- to upper-middle-class females. Thus, the LCR women in my sample have one additional subordinate identity when compared to male LCR members.

The existence of multiple subordinate identities has significant implications in all aspects of social life including social movement participation (see, for example, Belinda Robnett's (1996) work on black women in civil rights movement), and, I argue, the way in which identity conflicts arising from that participation are resolved. In the case of the present study, I propose that men and women will use different organizational frames or use the same organizational frames in different ways to reduce identity conflicts based, at least in part, on the status of their multiple identities. More specifically, I argue that LCR women, having a more subordinate gender identity than LCR men, will have a more difficult time employing organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts. This is because LCR women must reconcile multiple conflicting identities. Unlike men, who may experience conflict as gay Republicans, women may experience conflict as gay Republicans *and* female Republicans. Neither of these identity combinations for women is typical in that neither homosexuals nor women have historically aligned themselves with the Republican Party (Chaney, Alvarez & Nagler 1998, Piven 1985; Schaffner & Senic 2006). As a result, LCR women may experience added identity conflicts and/or added pressures to overcome these conflicts in order to

remain loyal to the LCR. This will directly impact women's abilities to employ organizational frames to reduce identity conflict. I explain this further in Chapter 5.

I propose, then, that LCR women's subordinate intersecting identities will lessen their abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts. This will not be the case for LCR men whose one subordinate identity will not impact their abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflict.

Hypothesis 2: Female LCR members will utilize organizational frames differently than male LCR members to reduce identity conflicts.

Hypothesis 2a: Female LCR members' multiple subordinate identities will decrease their abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

Hypothesis 2b: The nature of male LCR members' identities will not impact their abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflict.

Republican and Gay Identities: Identity Theory and Identity Control Theory

In addition to the differences in men's and women's uses of organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts, I also suggest that differences exist in LCR members' abilities to use these frames depending on whether their Republican identity or gay identity is more salient.[17] In other words, LCR members with more salient Republican identities will use different organizational frames than LCR members with more salient gay identities and/or these two subgroups within the LCR will use the same organizational frames in different ways in order to reduce identity conflicts. To explain why I expect this, I turn to identity theory and identity control theory as pioneered by

[17] Again, following Thoits (1991), the term "salience" here refers to the subjective importance of an identity in terms of how LCR members think of or define themselves. This definition resembles Rosenberg's (1979) notion of "psychological centrality" and extends the concept of identity salience beyond its definition in identity theory as the probability of an identity being expressed in a given social situation (Stryker 1980).

Burke and colleagues (Burke 1980, 1991, 2003, 2006; Burke & Reitzes 1981; Stryker & Burke 2000).

Identity theory holds several assumptions about how identities operate in the social world. First, identities are self-meanings that develop in the context of social interaction (Burke 1980, 2006). Second, we are all embedded in social networks. These networks have a variety of social positions with associated roles. Identity is the internalization of meanings and expectations associated with a particular role (Stryker & Burke 2000). Third, we interact with each other not as individuals, but based on the social roles that we occupy. In other words, people will react to an individual based on the behaviors and characteristics believed to be associated with the particular identity that the individual expresses (Burke & Reitzes 1981, Burke 2006). In this sense, there is a social feedback loop where people expect, we act, and people react. For example, people typically associate "Republicans" with prejudicial attitudes toward gays, conservative social beliefs, and a high degree of religiosity. If one identifies him/herself as "Republican", others will expect that individual to have role-appropriate behavior. In other words, the self-identified Republican should act in a manner that is consistent with the socially agreed upon characteristics of the Republican identity. The socially agreed upon vision of a particular identity is referred to in the literature as an "identity standard" (Burke 1991, Stryker & Burke 2000).

At times, there may be an inconsistency with the identity standard of an identity and the role behavior of the individual supposedly representing that identity. This occurs when the identity being expressed by an individual in a social situation does not match the identity standard associated with that identity. This can cause distress in the

individual as those observing this inconsistency often react with bewilderment or even negativity. As social beings who seek identity verification (i.e., we seek confirmation that we are behaving in ways consistent with socially-agreed-upon definitions or standard of the identity we are expressing), individuals work to overcome this distress. Identity control theory offers an explanation as to how this discrepancy is typically handled by individuals (Burke 2006).

There are two ways by which individuals can reduce the discrepancy between the meanings in the identity standard and the meanings in the situation. First, individuals may behave in ways that change the perceptions of meanings in the situation. That is, he/she will act in a manner more consistent with the identity standard for the particular identity being expressed or enacted.

There is also a second way in which discrepancies are resolved. When behaviors do not sufficiently reduce conflicts between the situational identity and the identity standard, the standards themselves will change. This change to the identity standard happens at a much slower rate as people slowly adjust to the shifts in meaning for a particular identity (Burke 2006). Thus, individuals challenge normative identity standards by not attempting to reconcile their behaviors to normative identity standards or by actively refusing to do so.

The kind of identity work that ensues – whether one attempts to change the situation or the standard - varies and is dependent, in part, on the salience of an identity to the individual and, in the case of multiple identities, the degree to which each of the identities is connected to the other identities that the individual holds (Burke 2006). Identity control theory holds that if multiple identities are activated at the same time, they

share at least some basic meanings for the individual (Burke 2003, 2006). This complicates the identity work involved in reconciling more than one identity to their identity standards. As the individual behaves in such a way as to move his/her activated identity (i.e., an identity that becomes relevant in a social situation) closer to its standard, the person also risks increasing the discrepancy between his/her other identities and their standards. This is where the salience of an individual's identities comes into play (Burke 2006). Simply put, the more important the identity is to us, the harder we work to reconcile identity conflicts. In the case of multiple identities, individuals work hardest to reconcile conflicts surrounding their most salient identity (Burke 1991, 2006).

The work of identity theory and identity control theory points to the necessity of social movement scholars in general, and the present study specifically, to give appropriate attention to how identities operate in the context of social movements. Based on the discussion above, I suggest that the salience of LCR members' Republican and gay identities will directly impact how members use organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts. Members with more salient Republican identities will use frames that aid them in reconciling conflicts such that their Republican identities are preserved. Conversely, members with more salient gay identities will employ frames that enable them to reduce identity conflicts while supporting their gay identities. This relationship between identity salience and organizational frame usage is explored fully in Chapter 6.

Hypothesis 3: LCR members with more salient Republican identities will utilize organizational frames differently than LCR members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts.

Hypothesis 3a: LCR members with more salient Republican identities will utilize organizational frames that aid them in reconciling conflicts such that their Republican identity is preserved.

Hypothesis 3b: LCR members with more salient gay identities will utilize organizational frames that aid them in reconciling conflicts such that their gay identity is preserved.

The LCR provides an excellent opportunity to address the issue of conflicting individual and collective identities for social movement participants. I propose that by combining the scholarship on identities with research and theory on social movement framing, we can better understand how conflicting personal and collective identities are negotiated by members of a social movement organization. I argue that organizational framing efforts undertaken by the LCR are designed to reduce members' identity conflicts and thus sustain member participation. More specifically, organizational frames, via the identity modification process that changes the meanings associated with individual's identities, produce individual-level identity effects (i.e. identity amplification, consolidation, and extension) that ultimately reduce identity conflict for LCR members. I also argue that different subgroups within the LCR will process their conflicts different. Specifically, I argue that LCR women, having more subordinate identities than LCR men, will have a more difficult time employing organizational frames than LCR men in their attempts reduce identity conflicts. I also argue that LCR members with more salient Republican identities will use frames that aid them in reconciling conflicts such that their Republican identities are preserved, while LCR members with more salient gay identities will employ frames that enable them to reduce identity conflicts while supporting their gay identities.

Additional Factors Influencing Frame Usage and Identity Conflict Resolution

Here I suggest two additional factors that may influence LCR members' abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflict: the respondent's length of membership in the LCR and the respondent's activity level within the LCR. Research has shown long-term membership to increase member commitment to social movement organizations (Melucci 1996, Klandermans 1997, Nepstad 2004). This can occur via positive interactions with others through the course of movement participation that can heighten a member's connection to other members (Klandermans 1997, Lichterman 1999) and through the socialization processes occurring in a movement organization over time that increase both the member's ideological connection to the organization (Nepstad 2004) and his/her commitment to the goals of the organization (Melucci 1996, Neptstad 2004).

Social movement scholars suggest that long-term membership also increases a member's organizational commitment by affecting his affinity for other constituents (Klandermans 1997, Lichterman 1999). This connection to others in the organization does not occur in a vacuum, but rather, it results from contact among members. Extensive contact is more likely among members who have been involved in the LCR for longer periods of time. This contact can foster solidarity among members, and thus increase a constituent's commitment to the organization itself (Lichterman 1999).

Here, I suggest that long-term membership may increase LCR members' commitment to the LCR in similar ways, that is, by heightening members' ideological connections to the organization and/or by providing increased opportunities for contact with other LCR members that can foster solidarity among members. I also extend this

argument and suggest that an LCR member's increased commitment to the organization may aid in his/her ability to use organizational frames to overcome identity conflicts. I argue that LCR members who are more committed to the LCR are likely to try harder to reduce identity conflicts so that they may remain members. While organizational frames may be sufficient, in and of themselves, to reduce identity conflict for members, I suggest that when they are not, a member's increased organizational commitment bolsters the effectiveness of these frames. For example, when a long-term member attempts to use a frame, and this frame is not entirely successful in reducing identity conflict for the member, that individual's ideological connection to the LCR and/or the individual's connections to other LCR members (i.e., the connections fostered by the individual's long-term membership) will provide extra support for the individual, thus allowing him/her reduce identity conflicts by using the organizational frame. It is important to note that this is purely speculative, as research has yet to be done in the movements literature to investigate the relationship between organizational commitment, frame usage, and identity conflict resolution.

Hypothesis 4: LCR members who are long-term members will be more successful in using organizational frames to reduce identity conflict than short-term members.

Research suggests that members who are active in an organization demonstrate a greater commitment to ideology and goals of the organization as well as to other members (Nepstad 2004). The more involved an individual is in the goings on of the organization – its day-to-day necessities, member events, public activism – the more likely his ideological leanings are to match that of the organization.

Highly active LCR members also experience increased contact with other LCR members (compared to those who are not active in the organization). I mentioned above that long-term membership has been shown to increase the likelihood that movement members will come into contact with other members. Social movement researchers have also found evidence of increased contact among more active movement members, as high levels of activity within the organization provide members with opportunities to meet and get to know other members (Nepstad 2004). As is the case with long-term membership, increased contact resulting from high levels of organizational activity can foster solidarity among members and increase the member's commitment to the organization (Lichterman 1999).

Based on the above research, I argue that high levels of organizational activity (similar to long-term membership) may increase LCR members' commitment to the LCR by heightening members' ideological connections to the organization and/or by providing increased opportunities for contact with other LCR members that can foster solidarity among members. I also extend this argument and suggest that an LCR member's increased commitment to the organization may aid in his/her ability to use organizational frames to overcome identity conflicts. As I stated in the discussion of long-term membership above, I argue that LCR members who are more committed to the LCR are likely to try harder to reduce identity conflicts so that they may remain members. Again, while organizational frames may be sufficient, in and of themselves, to reduce identity conflict for members, I suggest that when they are not, a member's increased organizational commitment bolsters the effectiveness of these frames. For example, when a highly active member attempts to use a frame, and this frame is not entirely

successful in reducing identity conflict for the member, that individual's ideological connection to the LCR and/or the individual's connections to other LCR members (i.e., the connections fostered by the individual's high levels of organizational activity) will provide extra support for the individual, thus allowing him/her reduce identity conflicts by using the organizational frame. Again, this is purely speculative, as scholars have yet to confirm this type of relationship between organizational commitment, frame usage, and identity conflict resolution.

Hypothesis 5: LCR members who are highly active members will be more successful in using organizational frames to reduce identity conflict than members who report low levels of organizational activity.

CHAPTER III

DATA SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

This project uses two data sources and a multi-method approach to examine the impact of organizational framing on identity conflict among social movement participants. I begin this chapter by presenting my two data sources: (1) LCR organizational texts and (2) in-depth interviews with LCR members. I then explain how the organizational texts were selected and content analyzed. Next, I explain my data collection methods for the second source of data for this project - the interview data. I also provide a detailed account of how individuals were recruited to the study and the design and purpose of the interview schedule. Finally, I turn to my methods of analysis for the interview data. I describe how I content analyzed the interview data and how I selected and operationalized concepts for inclusion in my Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). Lastly, I explain why QCA is an appropriate analytic technique for my interview data.

Data Sources

I collected the data for this project from two sources. First, I examined various organizational texts (described below) in order to identify the frames being offered by the national LCR organization. I then conducted in-depth interviews with LCR members from across the country. My analysis of the organizational texts allowed me to establish

which frames the LCR presents to its members (and the public as well). The in-depth interviews allow me to determine which frames found in organizational texts (if any) are also mentioned by LCR members in their discussions of resolution of conflicting identities. Interviews with LCR organizational members provide first-hand accounts of whether and how individuals invoke the organizational frames identified in organizational texts to reduce identity conflicts.

Organizational Texts

Organizational texts come from the Log Cabin Republicans' national website. Portions analyzed include the written descriptions of LCR history, its mission statements, press releases and a segment of the website called "Talking Points" – the focus of which is why it is okay to be gay and Republican.[18] At this point it is important to note the structure of the national and chapter organizations and their websites in order to describe the access that members have to the national organizational frames. Most LCR members are directly affiliated with a chapter organization[19], and the chapter organization is in turn affiliated with the national LCR organization. Thus, the overall organization has a federated structure. In addition, each chapter website provides a link to the LCR national website. Because all LCR chapter members can easily access the national website

[18] I gathered the textual information from the LCR national website during June 2007 (prior to any interviews with LCR members) and again in April 2008 (toward the end of my interviews). This information did not change in the time period between those two data collection efforts, thus LCR members who accessed the LCR national website during that time were likely to have seen the same information. Further, I am not aware of any substantial changes made by the LCR to its national website in the year or so before I began my data collection.

[19] Two LCR members I interviewed did not have local LCR chapters, and were, instead, only affiliated with the national LCR organization. That is, they received emails and mailings directly from the national office, and sent any communications (whether that be inquiries, concerns, donations, etc.) to that office.

through their local chapter website, I argue that members across the U.S. are potentially exposed to a standard set of organizational frames.

Content Analysis of Organizational Texts

I analyzed the textual information contained in the portions of the LCR national website I described above using content analysis. Content analysis is a method of examining products of communication. This typically involves a researcher systematically identifying and recording specific types of messages or frames found in communications such as in newspaper articles, television programs, diaries, pamphlets, etc. (Berg 2004, Hodson 1999). I began the process of content analyzing the LCR website information by open coding all instances of specific LCR messages. Open coding is the type of coding done during the first stages of content analysis. The process involves carefully reading the particular type of text being examined in order to identify preliminary concepts or, in the case of the present research, to identify frames that encourage those reading the frame to support the LCR (Strauss 1987). Intense scrutiny of the data allows the researcher to develop conceptual boundaries for categories or frames by identifying similarities and differences contained in the verbal communications being analyzed (Strauss & Corbin 1998).

For my purposes, I open coded organizational texts to identify organizational frames. Recall that frames are "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (Benford & Snow 2000: 614), and frames play an important role in both the mobilization processes

of social movement organizations and in the formations of their collective identities. Social movement scholars have demonstrated that organizations use framing processes to recruit participants, maintain support, and mobilize their constituencies (see e.g., Snow, et al.1986; Ellingson 1995; Ferree 2003; McCammon et al. 2004; Schrock, Holden & Reed 2004). Movement scholars have also provided evidence of the importance of organizational framing to collective identity formation (see for examples Hunt, Benford & Snow 1992, 1994).

For the purposes of this study, LCR frames include all attempts by the organization or its leadership to present an argument, idea, belief or event in such a way as to encourage others to support the organization. More specifically, I looked for instances where the LCR (1) describes the collective identity of the group, (2) the goals, values and core beliefs of the organization, (3) its strategies, and (4) any references to the nature of the opposition. This is not to say that framing efforts will necessarily fall into one of these four types of frames (collective identity, goals, strategy, or opposition). Some frames will speak to multiple issues.

After the preliminary coding sessions, it became apparent that distinct frames began to emerge with regularity from the texts, including the *equality frame, party transformation frame, party presence frame, traditional republicanism frame, radical right frame* and the *congruency frame.* (See Appendix A for a full description of these and other frames that emerged from these coding sessions.) I then counted the frequency of use of each of these distinct types of organizational frames appearing in the LCR website documents. Each use or presentation of an argument or idea (i.e., the advancement of a frame) counted once in constructing my count of the frame. As such,

parts of sentences, complete sentences and even entire paragraphs could be recorded as an instance of an LCR frame. In addition, sentences with more than one frame being advanced were coded for each of the frame types contained in the sentence.

In the end, I coded a total N of 657 frames in the texts of the LCR national website with 14 distinct types of frames appearing in the organizational text. The end product of my coding entailed two records of the organizational framing data: (1) the total count of organizational frames as well as a count of each distinctive type of frame and (2) a listing of all of the specific frames themselves as they were worded in the organizational texts. I recorded this latter list in an Excel file. I provide below (Table 1) a list of the organizational frames uncovered in my content analysis of the organizational texts as well as their frequencies and the total number of times each frame is found in the texts. A detailed discussion of the specific frames and the frequency of their appearances in the organizational texts is provided in Chapter 4.

As stated above, and as evident in Table 1 (below), several frame types appear with greater frequency than others in the organizational texts, including the *equality frame,* the *traditional republicanism frame,* the *party transformation frame*, the *radical right frame,* and the *radical right frame.* In addition to these five frames, I also include the *congruency frame* in subsequent discussions of organizational frames and frame alignment processes.

Table 1: LCR Organizational Texts Frequencies of Frame Usage

Frame Category	**Frequency of Usage**
Equality	30.9% (n=203)
Traditional Republicanism	19.0% (n=125)
Party Transformation	18.3% (n=120)
Radical Right	10.2% (n=61)
Party Presence	5.6% (n=37)
Education	4.1% (n=27)
Congruency	2.3% (n=15)
Loyalty	2.3% (n=15)
Organizational Strength	2.0% (n=13)
Grassroots	1.7% (n=11)
Party Expansion	1.7% (n=11)
Coming Out	1.2% (n=8)
Progress	1.0% (n=6)
Integrity	0.8% (n=5)

*** N = 657**

Though the *congruency frame* appears less frequently than the *education frame* in the organizational texts, the *congruency frame*, as I will explain in detail in later chapters, appears more frequently than the *education frame* in my interviews with LCR members. Because the goal of this project is to uncover how individuals utilize organizational frames and framing processes (i.e., I am not interested in how or why specific frames are

chosen by the LCR for inclusion in its organizational texts), I include the *congruency frame* rather than the *education frame* in subsequent discussions of LCR organizational frames and frame alignment processes.

Having identified LCR organizational frames, I then began to identity the frame alignment processes evident in the frames, returning to Snow et al.'s (1986) definition of the various frame alignment processes to do so. I first categorized each of the six organizational frames described above as characteristic of frame amplification, frame bridging, or frame extension. Both the *equality frame* and the *radical right frame* are illustrative of frame amplification; both the *congruency frame* and the *party presence frame* are illustrative of frame bridging; and both the *party transformation frame* and the *traditional republicanism frame* are illustrative of frame extension. In doing this, I was able to construct a record of organizational frame alignment process data. A detailed discussion of the specific frame alignment processes and the frequency of their appearances in the organizational texts is provided in Chapter 4.

In-Depth Interviews

The analysis of the LCR national website provides evidence of organizational framing efforts. Establishing the presence of these frames is critical if we are to move to the specific focus of this dissertation - how organizational frames are utilized by individual members to reduce identity conflicts that may occur during the course of movement participation. Thus, this dissertation also draws from 49 in-depth interviews with LCR members.

Interviews with LCR chapter members allow me to examine members' experiences of identity conflicts and the degree to which LCR members are exposed to organizational frames. Moreover, by interviewing individual Log Cabin members about their experiences with identity conflicts, I am able to assess which frames reduced identity conflicts for the members, how they did so, and to what degree they did so.

I utilized both face-to-face and telephone interviews in my study. Face-to-face interviews were conducted at multiple LCR chapter locations including Chicago, IL; Nashville, TN; New Orleans, LA; and St. Louis, MO. These locations were chosen for several reasons. Due to funding constraints, travel to more cities was not possible. In addition, some participants indicated a preference to speak over the phone due to either (1) scheduling constraints or (2) a desire for anonymity. Beyond funding issues and preferences expressed by individual participants, the LCR chapters chosen for face-to-face interviews were selected because leaders in each local chapter expressed a high interest in participating. I conducted a total of 21 face-to-face interviews in Chicago, IL; Nashville, TN; New Orleans, LA; and St. Louis, MO. I audio-taped all of these interviews.

Telephone interviews were also used in order to reach as many participants as possible and maximize my sample of interviewees given limited project funding. Participants that took part in telephone interviews came from 14 cities across the Unites States. These cities are: Tuscaloosa, AL; Charleston, SC, Wilmington, NC; Colorado Springs, CO; Oklahoma City, OK; Houston, TX; San Francisco, CA; Sacramento, CA; San Jose, CA; Los Angeles, CA; East of Los Angeles, CA (including the Big Bear City, Palm Springs, and San Bernardino areas of CA); San Diego, CA; New York City, NY;

and Philadelphia, PA. I conducted a total of 28 telephone interviews with LCR members in these locations. I also made tape recordings of these interviews.

To minimize the possibility that these different methods of collecting my interview data induced differences in the information I collected, I used the same interview schedule in both face-to-face and telephone interviews. (I describe the interview schedule in detail below). Further, I conducted all in-person interviews and telephone interviews myself, thus eliminating any effects that might result from multiple interviewers. Additionally, because I conducted all of the interviews, I handled all questions and concerns that arose during the course of the interviews including queries about clarifying interview questions, concerns over anonymity, and general interest questions regarding the purpose of the research. Lastly, I examined correlation coefficients between (1) a dichotomous measure indicating whether the respondent's interview was face-to-face or by telephone and (2) all of the other variables used in my analysis (which indicate various characteristics of my interview respondents and which I discuss further below) to discern whether systematic differences exist between the respondents I interviewed face-to-face and those I interviewed via the telephone. None of the bivariate correlation coefficients is greater than 0.35(or less than -0.35)[20]. I present the results of this correlational analysis in Table 2 (below).

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[20] Numerous authors have offered guidelines for the interpretation of correlation coefficients. As Cohen (1988) observed, however, all such criteria are in some ways arbitrary and should not be observed too strictly. This is because the interpretation of a correlation coefficient depends on the context and purposes. Here, a correlation coefficient of less than 0.35 (or greater than -0.35) is defined as a small correlation between variables as this is well below the .65 level, which is often used as a demarcation as to when a correlation between independent variables can produce collinearity in a regression analysis.

Table 2: Bivariate Correlations between Interview Method (Face-to-Face vs. Telephone) and Other Variables Included in the Qualitative Comparative Analyses

Variable	Correlation Coefficient
Frame Amplification	.048
Frame Bridging	-.349
Frame Extension	.205
Party Transformation	.344
Traditional Republicanism Frame	.131
Party Presence Frame	.067
Equality Frame	.130
Congruency Frame	-.078
Radical Right Frame	-.156
Sex of Respondent	-.009
Length of LCR Membership	-.343
Activity Level within LCR	.303
Identity Conflict Resolution	.045

** For the interview type measure, face-to-face = 1*

Recruitment to the Study

Access to LCR members is not readily available to outsiders. Member lists are kept in confidence by all of the LCR chapters involved in this study (and most likely by all LCR chapters nationwide). Due to the potential negative outcomes for some LCR members if their sexual identities were to be made public, confidentiality is key to the protection of chapter members' identities. Due to this limited access, I employed several different strategies in recruiting potential participants including convenience sampling and snowball sampling. Convenience sampling involves sampling those who are willing

and available for interviewing, and snowball sampling involves inviting initial participants to recommend additional individuals for inclusion in the sample (Berg 2004).

It is important to note that non-probability sampling methods, such as convenience and snowball sampling, are not ideal for generalizing results to the larger population. Because individuals can self-select into the study, and because potential participants can be very similar to those who referred them, studies that employ non-probability sampling methods run the risk of over-representing a particular segment of the organization (Erickson 1979, Heckathorn 2002). However, social research often involves important research questions that cannot be answered via probability sampling techniques such as random sampling (Berg 2004, Heckathorn 2002).

In fact, qualitative research that seeks a deeper understanding of social phenomena or a more in-depth look at a specific population often necessitates the use of methods like those employed in this dissertation. This is particularly true when researching behaviors or topics often viewed as private[21] or when trying to examine hidden populations[22] as individuals belonging to these populations may be hard to identify and/or may not wish to be identified. In other words, there is no publically available list or sampling frame for certain populations from which researchers can draw random samples (Heckathorn 2002). Log Cabin Republicans are a somewhat hidden population in that, while some members are publically active, other LCR members do not want to be "outed" as gay and/or as Republican. As such, there is no publically available

[21] See, for example Carpenter's (2001) research on the ambiguity surrounding how young people in the United States define and interpret virginity loss.
[22] See, for example Davis et al.'s (2004) research on hidden statuses among crack, powder cocaine, and heroin users and sellers in central Harlem in which he contrasts these types of drug dealers to more accessible users/sellers.

membership list. Both of these factors make it difficult to identify and randomly sample from the population of all LCR members.

My goal for this dissertation was to interview as many LCR members as were willing to participate. After receiving IRB approval for the research, I attempted to make contact with LCR chapters across the United States.[23] I contacted LCR leaders (i.e., presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, treasurers, or other board members) in states with active LCR chapters. The contact information for LCR leaders is available to the public on the LCR chapter websites.

I began contacting leaders by sending a recruitment email to LCR leaders with listed email addresses. I sent recruitment letters through the mail to individuals who did not respond to the initial email and to those without email addresses listed on chapter websites. In my recruitment email and letter I explained the general nature of my research interests and invited the leader and other members he/she was willing to refer to me to participate in an interview with me.[24] I began a dialogue with chapter leaders who responded favorably to the initial recruitment efforts. These conversations included a discussion of the nature of the research, issues of anonymity and confidentiality, and the interview process. I then invited the leaders to be interviewed as LCR members.

I conducted interviews with all LCR leaders who indicated a willingness to be interviewed. This type of convenience sampling – or sampling those who are willing and available – is sometimes necessary when attempting to reach hidden populations (Berg 2004). At the end of each of these interviews I asked the respondent, if comfortable, to refer other members who may be interested in participating. In many cases, the LCR

[23] For a full list of chapters for possible inclusion see Appendix B
[24] See Appendix C for an example of a recruitment letter and email.

leader being interviewed made such a suggestion him/herself. This referral of other interested persons by LCR leaders who had been interviewed is an example of another non-probability sampling method – snowball sampling. This type of sampling involves the researcher identifying initial respondents and asking those individuals to suggest others who share similar attributes (Berg 2004). In this case, LCR leaders were asked (or themselves offered) to help recruit other LCR members.

While I interviewed both LCR leaders and members, tests for differences in the types of responses I received from leaders and members revealed no differences between the two. Table 3 (below) shows the correlation coefficients between the dichotomous measure indicating whether the respondent was a leader or regular member and all of the other variables used in my analysis. Results of the correlational analysis indicate that only one correlation coefficient is above 0.35 (or below -0.35) – the coefficient between respondent type and activity level. This finding is not unusual, however, as we would expect leaders to be more active in the organization on average than regular members. Thus, I do not distinguish between leaders and members in my analysis chapters.

Table 3: Bivariate Correlations between Respondent Type (Leader vs. Regular Member) and Other Variables Included in the Qualitative Comparative Analyses

Variable	Correlation Coefficient
Frame Amplification	.348
Frame Bridging	-.287
Frame Extension	-.137
Party Transformation	-.018
Traditional Republicanism Frame	-.192
Party Presence Frame	.123
Equality Frame	.271
Congruency Frame	-.188
Radical Right Frame	-.108
Sex of Respondent	.071
Length of LCR Membership	.048
Activity Level within LCR	.477
Identity Conflict Resolution	.192

** For the respondent type measure, leader = 1.*

I also asked leaders for access to LCR membership lists, but none were willing or able to grant this request for reasons of anonymity. However, nearly all of the chapter leaders who were willing to be interviewed also recruited other LCR members from their chapters to participate in my study. After establishing a relationship with these additional members recommended by the leaders via email or telephone, I conducted face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews with all who agreed to be interviewed.

In addition to word-of-mouth advertisement of this dissertation research, a leader in a California chapter offered to publish a short description of the project in the *Inclusion West* newsletter, a monthly news magazine that the LCR sends out to its

various California chapter members. The advertisement resulted in 12 interviews with individuals from across that state. This same chapter leader also offered to display the project description at the annual holiday parties in Los Angeles and Orange County. This resulted in 2 additional interviews. Recruiting participants through the LCR *Inclusion West* newsletter and through flyers at LCR holiday parties are both examples of convenience sampling. Both methods of recruiting are dependent on the willingness of LCR members who receive the newsletter and who attend the holiday parties to contact me for an interview.

Lastly, I used a third method for recruiting individuals to the study. In October of 2007 a nationwide email list-serve was established by LCR National. Called the "Log Cabin's Women's Caucus", the list-serve is designed "to give a stronger voice to the women members and supporters of Log Cabin Republicans." The purpose of the women's caucus is to provide a forum for women members of LCR to share experiences, concerns and questions and simply to be connected with other like-minded women. Though there are over 4,000 women in the LCR national database, a very small percentage of these women actually participate in their local chapters. The idea behind the women's caucus was that "creating a sense of community and belonging will foster involvement and dedication to Log Cabin and the Party. Sharing stories and experiences will also allow us to highlight issues that may impact women in different ways than men in order to make sure our message is inclusive of those issues as well" (Women's Caucus Email 10/13/2007).

Because I joined the National LCR list-serve in the spring of 2006, I was automatically included in the Women's Caucus list-serve. This provided me with access

to a segment of the member population – women - that was at that point underrepresented in my data. After getting permission from the LCR leader who established the Women's Caucus, I sent out my first recruitment email on October 25, 2007. This effort, another example of convenience sampling, resulted in 4 interviews. My second recruitment email went out one month after the first – in late November 2007. I gained an additional 4 interviews from this recruitment attempt.

Interview Schedule Design

The interview scheduled was composed of questions addressing both characteristics of respondents and respondents' experiences as Log Cabin members. Unknown to the interviewees, questions were separated into several sections, with each question designed to elicit specific information. The sections included: Self-Biography, Political Party Identity, Sexual Identity, LCR Background Information, Personal and Collective Identity Correspondence, and Opposition to the LCR.[25]

As stated, both face-to-face and telephone interviews utilized the same interview schedule. Some questions had an answer set attached to them (that is, a list of possible answers), and some did not and thus were open-ended. While questions with predetermined answer categories can limit respondents' choices, open-ended questions concerning the same topic were then asked with the intent to gain a richer understanding of the particular subject matter. For example, in order to determine the salience of LCR members' Republican identities, I asked two specific questions during the interviews. The first was open-ended, allowing the respondent to talk freely about his/her Republican

[25] See Appendix D for a complete copy of the interview schedule. I also provide the questions in my discussion below.

identity: "How central is your Republican identity to your everyday life? In other words, how does it affect the decisions you make on a daily basis?" The second question was more structured which enabled me to standardize responses for the purpose of comparing LCR members. This question was, "How often would you say that you are aware of your Republican identity on an average day?" Respondents could choose among five answer categories: all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, little of the time, none of the time.

At the beginning of the interview, LCR members were asked to give brief biographical descriptions of themselves, to talk about their political party identities and their sexual identities, and to discuss how they heard of and became involved in the Log Cabin Republicans. Those questions are as follows:

1. If someone was writing a brief paragraph about who you are, what would you want them to say about you?
2. What is your current political party affiliation?
3. What does being "Republican" (Independent, Democrat) mean to you? In other words, how would you describe the characteristics, goals, ideologies of the party? Of yourself, as a member of that party?
4. How long have you been a Republican/Independent/Democrat? Have you ever considered changing party affiliation?
5. How central is your Party identification to your everyday life? How does it affect the decisions you make on a daily basis?
6. What term would you use to describe your sexual orientation or identity?
7. How central is your sexual identity to your everyday life? How does it affect the decisions you make on a daily basis?

The LCR members were then asked to describe how they learned about the LCR, how much they have identified with the LCR over the course of their involvement in the organization and the nature of their participation in the LCR over the last year:

1. How did you learn about the Log Cabin Republicans?
2. How long have you been a member?

3. How much did you identify with the group when you first heard about them? After the first year of membership? Now? (asked as three separate questions)
   Perfect match
   Agreed with a lot
   Agreed with most
   Agreed/Disagreed with some
   Disagreed with most
   Disagreed with a lot
   Completely opposite

4. How active a member are you? Over the last year, which category describes you best?
   Mailings/emails are the extent of my involvement.
   Attended a few meetings or events.
   Attended meetings/events fairly regularly.
   Attended almost all meetings/events.

To examine the degree of influence of organizational framing on the reduction of identity conflict, I first asked LCR members to describe if and when they experienced identity conflicts and the nature of those conflicts. The following questions were designed to illicit discussions of identity conflicts among members:

1. During your membership, have you ever disagreed with a position taken by the LCR…for example, a political position, statements about who you are as an LCR member, etc.?
2. Did this disagreement create any tension between your values, beliefs and identity and that of the organization? In other words, did you feel torn between "who you are" and "who you are supposed to be"?
3. When did you begin to experience this tension?

I then ascertained the respondents' exposures to organizational framing and which frames members used to reduce identity conflicts through a series of questions involving how members dealt with the conflict. Members were asked:

1. Do you still have this tension?
2. How did/do you manage this tension? Can you describe specific steps you took/take?
3. Did the organization provide statements or other resources from which you could draw support?

Transforming the Data

As the interviews were completed, I and four undergraduates, whom I hired with research funding from my Vanderbilt Center for Nashville Studies Social Science Dissertation Fellowship, transcribed the tapes. Special care was taken to assure the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents. Each hired student worker was required to read the Vanderbilt University informed-consent form as approved by the Vanderbilt Institutional Review Board for distribution to participants. The students then signed a statement promising to uphold the protections set forth in the informed-consent form.

Transcriptions of the interviews were compiled as Word documents. In the event that statements made during the interview were unclear or difficult to hear, the students made a note to that effect in the Word document. I then went back and clarified all instances in which this uncertainty occurred. In most of these cases I was able to determine what the interviewee was saying due in large part to my deeper familiarity with the matters being discussed in these interviews. For example, the student workers often had trouble making sense of acronyms, names of organizations, past and current Log Cabin leaders, and particular pieces of legislation.

When the particular section of the tape noted by the student worker as problematic was difficult to hear, I listened to the same section on a back-up copy of the interview if available. Back-up copies of interviews were made for face-to-face interviews at the times of the interviews via a second microcassette recorder. I was unable to make back-up copies of telephone interviews due to the limits of devices designed to record telephone conversations. In the event that portions of a telephone

interview were difficult to hear, I compared those sections to my field notes for that interview. When this did not clarify the problematic section of the tape, that section was not included in the final interview transcriptions. This occurred only a handful of times.

Content Analysis of Interview Data

I content analyzed my interview data in order to extract various measures of the respondents that I later use in my Qualitative Comparative Analysis. These measures include indicators of frame alignment processes, specific types of organizational frames, respondents' salient identities (i.e., whether respondents' gay identities or Republican identities are more salient), the sex of respondents, respondents' lengths of membership in the LCR, and respondents' levels of organizational activity. Here I discuss the operationalization of each of these in turn. A summary of the QCA variables is provided in Table 4 (below).

Table 4: Construction of Independent Variables

Measure	QCA Variable Name	Operationalization for Each Equation
identity conflict resolution	IDCRESOLVE	measure of identity conflict resolution where "0" indicates little or no identity conflict resolution and "1" indicates some to complete identity conflict resolution
emphasis on the *equality frame*	EQUALITY	measure of the respondent's emphasis on the *equality frame* such that "0" indicates no emphasis on the frame type and "1" indicates an emphasis on the frame type
emphasis on the *party transformation frame*	PARTYTRANS	measure of the respondent's emphasis on the *party transformation frame* such that "0" indicates no emphasis on the frame type and "1" indicates an emphasis on the frame type
emphasis on the *party presence frame*	PARTYPRES	measure of the respondent's emphasis on the *party presence frame* such that "0" indicates no emphasis on the frame type and "1" indicates an emphasis on the frame type

Table 4: Construction of Independent Variables (Cont'd)

Measure	QCA Variable Name	Operationalization for Each Equation
emphasis on the *traditional republicanism frame*	TRADREPUB	measure of the respondent's emphasis on the *traditional republicanism frame* such that "0" indicates no emphasis on the frame type and "1" indicates an emphasis on the frame type
emphasis on the *radical right frame*	RADRIGHT	measure of the respondent's emphasis on the *radical right frame* such that "0" indicates no emphasis on the frame type and "1" indicates an emphasis on the frame type
emphasis on the *congruency frame*	CONGRUENCY	measure of the respondent's emphasis on the *congruency frame* such that "0" indicates no emphasis on the frame type and "1" indicates an emphasis on the frame type
emphasis on *frame amplification*	AMPLIFICATION	measure of the respondent's emphasis on frame amplification such that "0" indicates no emphasis on amplifying frames and "1" indicates an emphasis on amplifying frames
emphasis on *frame bridging*	BRIDGING	measure of the respondent's emphasis on frame bridging such that "0" indicates no emphasis on bridging frames and "1" indicates an emphasis on bridging frames
emphasis on *frame extension*	EXTENSION	measure of the respondent's emphasis on frame extension such that "0" indicates no emphasis on extending frames and "1" indicates an emphasis on extending frames
sex of respondent	FEMALE	measure of the respondent's sex where "0" equals male and "1" equals female
respondent's salient identity	REPUBID	measure of the respondent's identity salience where "1" indicates a more salient Republican identity and "0" indicates a more salient gay identity
respondent's length of membership	LONGTERM	measure of the length of the respondent's organizational membership where "0" indicates short-term membership and "1" indicates long-term membership
respondent's activity level	ACTIVE	measure of the respondent's organizational activity of the last year where "0" indicates low levels of activity and "1" indicates high levels of activity

Operationalization of the Outcome Variable

Identity Conflict Resolution

The dependent variable for my analyses is a measure of identity conflict resolution. Before I discuss how I operationalized identity conflict resolution, I briefly describe how I determined whether identity conflict was actually present for each respondent.

As I interviewed respondents, I asked them if, during their memberships, they had ever disagreed with a position taken by the LCR (i.e., if they had disagreed with a political position put forth by the LCR or with statements issued by the LCR regarding the definition of the group and its members). I then asked if this disagreement created any tension between their values, beliefs and identity and those of the organization. Those respondents who answered affirmatively to both questions were coded as having experience(s) with identity conflict.

In order, then, to determine if members had reduced this conflict, I asked respondents the following question: "Do you still have this tension?" Respondents could choose among five answer categories that indicated how much of the identity conflict had been resolved: "all," "most," "some," "little," or "none." I then created a binary measure for inclusion in the QCA equal to "0" if the respondent resolved "little" or "none" of his/her identity conflict and "1" if the respondent resolved "some," "most," or "all" of his/her identity conflict. Because my research interests involve *whether* organizational framing efforts aid members in reducing identity conflicts and not the *degree to which*

organizational framing efforts do so, a dichotomous measure of identity conflict resolution is sufficient.[26]

Selecting Causal Variables

Selecting causal conditions for Qualitative Comparative Analysis is a complex task based on a number of considerations. Amenta and Poulsen (1994) describe four main ways that researchers have typically chosen variables for QCA, and then offer a fifth, newer way for selecting causal conditions. First, researchers may employ a "comprehensive approach" – thoroughly examining all theories and hypotheses relevant to their particular outcome variable(s). A second alternative is the "perspectives approach" whereby the main theoretical perspectives in a particular literature influence the selection of variables. Third, researchers may take a "significance approach", including variables in QCA that were significant on standard inferential statistical tests. Fourth, statistically insignificant measures may be included in a QCA in order to discern any complex effects these variables may have that were overlooked by standard inferential statistical tests. A fifth "conjunctural theory" approach offered by Amenta and Poulsen (1994) involves examining theories that predict causal interactions that produce an outcome *and/or* multiple causal combinations or paths leading to that outcome. While each of these five methods for selecting causal factors for a qualitative comparative analysis has merit, it is up to the researcher to determine which method best fits the project at hand.

[26] Because this and all other variables included in the QCA are dichotomous, I use "crisp" rather than "fuzzy" set analysis (Ragin 2000).

In this dissertation, I employ the "perspectives" approach as well as the "conjunctural" approach in my selection of causal conditions. As stated above, the "perspectives approach" allows the main theoretical perspectives in a particular literature to influence the selection of variables. In the case of the present research, frame theory played a significant role in the selection of the key independent variables, including six frame type variables (the *equality, party transformation, party presence, traditional republicanism, radical right and congruency frames)* and three frame alignment process variables (frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame transformation). Social movement scholars have demonstrated that organizations use frames and framing processes to recruit participants, maintain support, and mobilize their constituencies (for examples see Snow, et al.1986; Ellingson 1995; Ferree 2003; McCammon et al. 2004; Schrock, Holden & Reed 2004). While their interests are focused on individuals' initial decisions to become movement participants and movements' abilities to mobilize constituents to collective action, the main argument I present in this dissertation is that frames and frame alignment processes can also be employed by organizations in order to resolve identity conflicts among their memberships and thus to maintain participation in the organization. As this relationship between frames and framing, on the one hand, and the reduction of identity conflict, on the other, is the primary focus of the present research, a majority of the independent variables included in the analysis are framing variables.

As stated above, I also employ Amenta and Poulsen's (1994) "conjunctural theory" approach which, again, involves examining theories that predict causal interactions that produce an outcome *and/or* multiple causal combinations or paths

leading to that outcome. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, intersectionality theory leads me to argue that organizational frames will not be sufficient, in and of themselves, to reduce identity conflict for women. Rather, the theory suggests that a combination of factors is necessary for women to employ successfully organizational frames to resolve identity conflicts. Thus, intersectionality theory is an example of conjunctural theory.[27]

Operationalization of Key Causal Conditions

Respondent Frame Type Measures

The specific types of organizational frames that I argue are used to reduce identity conflict I first identified through the content analysis of the LCR organizational texts. These frames are: the *equality, party transformation, party presence, traditional republicanism, radical right and congruency frames.* I then constructed two sets of frame type measures for my interview respondents. The first set indicates whether a respondent articulated a frame and the second set indicates to what degree a respondent articulated each of the frames. Each of the sets of frame measures is a *set* of measures because within each set a different measure is constructed for *each frame type* (i.e., for *the equality frame, the party transformation frame,* etc.).

I constructed two sets of frame type measures in order to assess which, if either, of these frame type measures best helps us understand how LCR members reduce identity

[27] I also employed a variation of the "significance approach" in selecting additional independent variables. I performed cross-tabulations to determine which variables were significantly related to identity conflict resolution. Though only one variable significantly affected identity conflict resolution in the inferential statistical tests (respondent's activity level within the organization), the other variables listed below showed evidence of categorical patterns of identity conflict resolution among LCR members (i.e., respondents falling into one category of the variable were more likely to indicate identity conflict resolution than members residing in other categories of the variable). For example, while there was no significant effect of the respondent's sex on identity conflict resolution, cross-tabs did indicate a general pattern – that men are more likely to reduce identity conflict than are women. Because many variables show evidence of such patterns, this also factored into my decision to use these measures in QCA.

conflicts. As discussed in Chapter 2, I expect men and women to use different organizational frames or the same organizational frames in different ways to reduce identity conflict. I also expect LCR members with more salient Republican identities and members with more salient gay identities to use different organizational frames or the same organizational frames in different ways to reduce identity conflict. By constructing two sets of frame type measures, I am able to examine the following relationships between frame type and identity conflict resolution for LCR men and women and for LCR members with more salient Republican or gay identities: (1) whether the use of a particular frame type is influential in reducing identity conflict for LCR members and (2) whether emphasizing a particular frame type over other frame types affects identity conflict reduction among LCR members.

The first of these sets of respondent frame measures is a simple indicator of whether the respondent did or did not articulate the frame in the interview. For each frame type, then, I constructed a measure equal to "0" if the respondent did not use the frame in the interview and "1" if the respondent did use the frame. Second, I constructed a set of respondent frame measures which indicate whether the respondent emphasized a particular frame more than other frame types. Based on a total count of usage of each frame types by each respondent, he or she was coded as emphasizing the frame used the greatest number of times. These measures (labeled EQUALITY for the *equality frame*, PARTY TRANSFORMATION for the *party transformation frame*, PARTY PRESENCE for the *party presence frame*, TRADITIONAL REPUBLICAN for the *traditional republicanism frame*, RADICAL RIGHT for the *radical right frame*, and CONGRUENCY for the *congruency frame* in the QCA) are coded "1" for whichever

frame type the respondent relied on the most. The measure for all other frame types for the respondent then equals "0". In Chapter 6 I explain that this second frame type measure (i.e., the frame type measure that indicates a respondent's emphasis on a particular frame) is particularly important for LCR members with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities in their efforts to reduce identity conflict. Thus, I only include the QCA variable names of this frame type measure here.

Respondent Frame Alignment Process Measures

The types of organizational framing processes - frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension – first identified in the content analysis of the LCR organizational texts are also measured at the respondent level. That is, I also constructed measures indicating whether my interviewees engaged in frame amplification, frame bridging, and/or frame extension. As outlined in Chapter 2, each frame type (that is, the *equality frame,* the *radical right frame,* the *congruency frame,* the *party presence frame* the *party transformation frame, and traditional republicanism frame*) is illustrative of a particular framing process. Thus, if a respondent articulates the *equality frame* during the interview, the respondent is also engaging in frame amplification. Here I review each frame alignment process and the specific frame types that represent each frame alignment process: (1) The use of the *equality frame* and/or the *radical right frame* indicates frame amplification. (2) The use of the *congruency frame* and/or the *party presence frame* indicates the use of frame bridging. (3) The use of the *party transformation frame* and/or the *traditional republicanism frame* indicates frame extension.

I again constructed two sets of variables indicating whether the respondent engaged in the various types of frame alignment (i.e., amplification, bridging, or extension). And again, each of the two sets of frame measures is a *set* of measures because within each set a different measure is constructed for *each frame alignment process* (i.e., for frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension). Also, I use these two measures to assess which, if any, of these frame alignment processes helps us to better understand how LCR members reduce identity conflicts. As for the frame type measures, I expect men and women to utilize different frame alignment processes or the same frame alignment processes in different ways to reduce identity conflict. I also expect LCR members with more salient Republican identities and members with more salient gay identities to use different frame alignment processes or the same frame alignment processes in different ways to reduce identity conflict.

By constructing two sets of respondent frame alignment process measures, I am able to examine the following relationships between frame alignment process and identity conflict resolution for LCR men and women and for LCR members with more salient Republican or gay identities: (1) whether the use of a particular frame alignment process is influential in reducing identity conflict for LCR members and (2) whether emphasizing a particular frame alignment process over other frame alignment processes affects identity conflict reduction among LCR members.

The first of these sets of respondent frame alignment process measures is a simple indicator of whether the respondent did or did not utilize the frame alignment process in the interview. For each frame alignment process, then, I constructed a measure equal to "0" if the respondent did not use the process and "1" if the respondent did use the

process. Second, I constructed a set of respondent frame alignment process measures that indicate whether the respondent emphasized a particular frame alignment process more than others. Based on a total count of frame usage by each respondent, he or she was coded as emphasizing the frame alignment process used the greatest number of times. Based on this numerical count, then, I created a final set of variables (labeled AMPLIFICATION, BRIDGING, EXTENSION in the QCA) that measured whether each framing process was emphasized by the respondent. Each of these variables is coded such that "0" indicates that the respondent did not emphasize this frame (i.e., the respondent did not utilize this frame more frequently than other frames) and "1" indicates that the respondent did emphasize this frame (i.e., the respondent utilized this frame more frequently than other frames). For example, if the respondent utilized the *congruency frame* three times, the *party presence frame* once, and the *equality frame* three times, I coded a "1" for frame bridging and a "0" for frame amplification and frame extension. In this example, the respondent did not utilize extending frames at all, and though he did use amplifying frames (the *equality frame*), he utilized bridging frames more frequently (the *congruency frame* and the *party presence frame*). Thus, the respondent is coded as emphasizing frame bridging. In Chapter 5 I explain that this frame alignment process measure (i.e., the frame alignment process measure that indicates a respondent's emphasis of a specific framing process) is particularly important for male and female LCR members in reducing identity conflict. Thus, I only include the QCA variable names of this frame alignment process measure here.

Operationalization of Other Causal Conditions

In addition to the frame type and frame alignment process variables described above, I include several other independent variables in the Qualitative Comparative Analyses. As stated previously, I employ the "conjunctural approach" in my selection of sex as an independent variable and the "perspectives" approach in my selection of the remaining causal conditions (salient identity, length of membership, and levels of organizational activity).

Sex

Recall, from Chapter 2, my argument that men and women will use different organizational frames or use the same organizational frames in different ways to reduce identity conflicts based, at least in part, on the status of their multiple identities. I argue that LCR women, having more subordinate identities than LCR men, will have a more difficult time employing organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts, because LCR women must reconcile *multiple* conflicting identities. Unlike men, who may experience conflict as gay Republicans, women may experience conflict as gay Republicans *and* female Republicans. I suggest that LCR women's intersecting, subordinate identities will lessen their abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts. This will not be the case for LCR men whose one subordinate identity will not impact their abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflict. Because I hypothesize a relationship between the respondent's sex and his/her ability to utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflict, the sex of the respondent is included as a causal condition in the QCA.

At the conclusion of each interview the respondent answered a series of demographic questions designed to illicit information about his/her sex, race, class identification, highest level of education and other information. Respondents were asked to identify their sex by answering "male," "female," or "other." None of the respondents interviewed indicated that they were "other." Only one respondent indicated a disjunction between her sex (biologically male) and her gender identity (female). Ultimately, this respondent was not included in the QCA analyses as she did not indicate experiencing identity conflict during her membership with the LCR. Thus, the measure indicating the sex of the respondent is dichotomous variable equal to "0" if the respondent is male and "1" if the respondent is female. In the QCA the variable name is FEMALE.

Salient Identity

I also suggest in Chapter 2 that differences exist in LCR members' abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflict depending on whether their Republican identity or gay identity is more salient. Identity control theory posits that individuals work hardest to reconcile conflicts surrounding their most salient identity (Burke 1991, 2006). Thus, I propose that members with more salient Republican identities will use frames that aid them in reconciling conflicts such that their Republican identities are preserved. Conversely, members with more salient gay identities will employ frames that enable them to reduce identity conflicts while supporting their gay identities. Because I hypothesize a relationship between the respondent's salient identity and his/her ability to

utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflict, identity salience is included as a causal factor in the QCA.

In order to determine the salience[28] of LCR members' Republican identities, I asked two specific questions during the interviews. The first was open-ended, allowing the respondent to talk freely about his/her Republican identity: "How central is your Republican identity to your everyday life? In other words, how does it affect the decisions you make on a daily basis?" The second question was more structured which enabled me to standardize responses for the purpose of comparing LCR members. This question was, "How often would you say that you are aware of your Republican identity on an average day?" Respondents could choose among five answer categories: "all of the time," "most of the time," "some of the time," "little of the time," and "none of the time." The same two questions were asked regarding members' gay identities.[29] If the LCR member answered higher for the Republican identity questions than for the gay identity questions, he/she was coded as having a more salient Republican identity. For example, an LCR member who reported that he was aware of his Republican identity "most of the time" and aware of his gay identity "some of the time" was coded as having a more salient Republican identity. Conversely, LCR members who answered higher for the gay identity questions were coded as having a more salient gay identity. An example of this

[28] Recall from Chapter 2 that the term "salience" here refers to the subjective importance of an identity in terms of how LCR members think of or define themselves (Thoits 1991). This definition resembles Rosenberg's (1979) notion of "psychological centrality" and extends the concept of identity salience beyond its definition in identity theory as the probability of an identity being expressed in a given social situation (Stryker 1980).

[29] I did not encounter any instances where the respondent indicated low identity salience for the open-ended questions but high identity salience for the structured questions. For example, no respondent said that his/her gay identity was something he/she never really thought about (open-ended question) only to say that he/she was aware of his/her gay identity "most of the time" (structured, closed-ended question). Also, I did not encounter any instances where the LCR member stated that both his/her Republican identity and gay identity were equally central or salient.

is when an LCR member indicated that she was aware of her Republican identity "little of the time" and aware of her gay identity "some of the time." For the QCA, I constructed a dichotomous variable (REPUBID) equal to "1" if the respondent's answers indicated s/he had a more salient Republican identity and equal to "0" if the answers indicated a more salient gay identity.

Long-Term Membership

In Chapter 2 I also proposed that long-term membership and high levels of organizational activity will aid LCR members in using organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts by increasing their commitment to the LCR. Research has shown long-term membership to increase member commitment to social movement organizations (Melucci 1996, Klandermans 1997, Nepstad 2004). This can occur via positive interactions with others through the course of movement participation that can heighten a member's connection to other members (Klandermans 1997, Lichterman 1999) and through the socialization processes occurring in a movement organization over time that increase both the member's ideological connection to the organization (Nepstad 2004) and his/her commitment to the goals of the organization (Melucci 1996, Neptstad 2004). Here, I argue that long-term membership increases members' commitment to the LCR in similar ways. In turn, this higher level of organizational commitment bolsters the effectiveness of organizational frames in reducing identity conflict for the individual member. Based on the theoretical importance of long-term membership to identity conflict resolution, I include a measure of respondent membership length in the QCA.

To ascertain members' lengths of LCR membership, respondents were asked how many years they had been members of the LCR. This was an open-ended question that allowed respondents to indicate precisely how many years they had been members of the LCR. Answers ranged from less than one year for some respondents to a high of 30 years for one respondent. 35.5% (n=11) of the respondents had been LCR members for three years or less, and the modal category for this variable was "3 years" with 22.6% (n=7) of respondents falling into that category.

Upon reviewing the interview transcripts, I discovered that an event occurred approximately 3 years prior to my interviews that dramatically affected the membership of the LCR. On September 8, 2004, the LCR issued a press release stating that by a vote of 22 to 2, the Log Cabin Board of Directors voted to withhold the LCR's endorsement of President George Bush's re-election due to his support of the Federal Marriage Amendment (FMA).[30] This action created divisions within the organization between those who believed that this action betrayed their loyalty to the Republican Party, those who applauded this action as illustrative of the LCR's duty to speak out against Republican candidates who take the Party in the wrong direction, and those who felt that the LCR's withholding the endorsement was not a strong enough action against President Bush. Some respondents discussed how this event caused them and other members to question their affiliation with the LCR, even going so far as to talk about members who left the organization as a result of this action taken by the LCR in 2004.

Because this event occurred three years prior to my interviews, and because a large percentage of respondents (35.5%) indicated having been members for three years or less, I decided to created a dichotomous length-of-membership variable for the QCA

[30] http://www.logcabin.org/logcabin/press_090804.html

(LONGTERM) such that "0" indicates short-term membership (i.e., the respondent has been a member for 3 years or less) and "1" equals long-term membership (i.e., the respondent has been a member for longer than 3 years).

Activity Levels

Research also suggests that members who are active in an organization demonstrate a greater commitment to ideology and goals of the organization as well as to other members (Nepstad 2004). Regarding a member's ideological commitment to an organization, Nepstad (2004) states that the more involved an individual is the in the goings on of the organization – its day-to-day necessities, member events, public activism – the more likely his ideological leanings are to match that of the organization. I mentioned earlier that long-term membership increases the likelihood that members with come into contact with other members. This is also true for more active LCR members. High levels of activity within the organization provide members with opportunities to meet and get to know other members (Nepstad 2004). This contact can foster solidarity among members and increase the member's commitment to the organization (Lichterman 1999). Based on the theoretical importance of high levels of organizational activity to identity conflict resolution, I include a measure of respondent activity level in the QCA.

To determine the respondent's level of organizational activity I asked LCR members to describe their involvement in the organization over the past year. They could choose from among four answer categories: "emails/mailings only," "attended some meetings/events," "attended meetings/events fairly regularly," and "attended all or almost all meetings/events." This variable (ACTIVE) was coded such that "0" indicates

low levels of activity (emails/mailings and attended some meetings/events) and "1" indicates high levels of activity (attended meetings/events fairly regularly and attended all/almost all meetings/events).

Qualitative Comparative Analyses of Interview Data

In order to explore the relationship between organizational framing and the reduction of identity conflict and, more specifically, to explore which organizational frames reduce identity conflict, I use Qualitative Comparative Analysis (Ragin 1987, 2000). QCA allows me to determine whether there is empirical evidence to support my theoretical assertions concerning the various factors I argue reduce identity conflict among Log Cabin Republicans.

Qualitative Comparative Analysis is a data analysis technique based on Boolean algebra where each variable included in the analysis is coded either 0 or 1. A "0" indicates the absence of the condition and "1"indicates the presence of the condition. By recording the presence or absence of these conditions for each case, QCA allows researchers to discern the various combinations of factors that lead to a particular outcome. Unlike standard inferential statistics, QCA does not presume that causes are additive in nature. Rather, QCA proceeds on the assumption that circumstances interact to produce an outcome. That is, QCA assumes that different causes combine to produce outcomes (Ragin 1987).

Another important assumption of QCA is that different causal combinations of conditions may produce the same outcome (Ragin 1987, Amenta & Poulsen 1994). That is, different interactions among variables may produce the same outcome. Thus, QCA

allows the researcher to detect multiple avenues or paths to an outcome. This is important for the present research because I hypothesize that the reduction of identity conflict among LCR members will occur as a result of several different combinations of factors, these combinations of factors being specific for men, women, members with more salient Republican identities, and members with more salient gay identities.

QCA is also particularly suited to small-N research. Inferential statistical methods, such as OLS and logistic regression, require a large number of cases to perform the desired analyses. Because I have a small N of 31[31], this is too few cases upon which to perform a regression analysis and have meaningful results. While I could perform tests of significance with 31 cases, the degrees of freedom in such an analysis would severely limit the number of variables I could include in my models.

At this point, it is important to note this project's shift from the typical language associated with QCA. The term "path" is frequently used in the literature on QCA to describe how a series of variables combine and interact to produce a particular outcome. Speaking in terms of paths connotes a somewhat linear progression or sequence of events leading to this outcome. For example, in their study of differential outcomes for 15

[31] The original N of 49 was reduced to an N of 31 because only 31 of the 49 individuals in my sample experienced identity conflict and thus could be included in my analysis. I did compare those who experienced identity conflict with those who did not across a number of variables. On most variables, the two groups were very similar (e.g., in terms of coming out experiences, learning about the LCR, joining the LCR, activity levels over the last year, regional location, age, sex, religious affiliation, and subjective class identification). Only a handful of variables showed evidence of differences between those who experienced identity conflict and those who did not (see Appendix E). The most striking difference between these two groups is that 58.1% of those who experienced identity conflict were LCR leaders (i.e., they held positions as president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, or board members) compared to only 28.6% of those who did not experience identity conflict. This difference is not unusual as leaders are potentially exposed to a greater number of challenges to their personal and collective identity. These challenges may take the form of greater access to potentially conflicting information due to their more intimate knowledge of the LCR and greater pressures for maintaining congruency between personal and collective identities as LCR leaders. Future research should investigate the relationship between leadership status and experiences of identity conflict among social movement participants.

homeless social movement organizations, Cress and Snow (2000) examine how numerous factors lead to the presence or absence of four types of outcomes - representation, resources, rights and relief. The causal conditions include the viability of the SMO, whether or not the SMO used disruptive tactics, the presence or absence of sympathetic allies, the presence or absence of city support, and the use of diagnostic and/or prognostic frames. The viability of the SMO precedes the development of sympathetic allies and city support. In this way, there is some time-ordering to the causal conditions in the study.

The current project has no such linear progression of events. Instead, the focus is on how different characteristics of respondents and varying characteristics of organizational frames combine and interact in ways that result in identity conflict resolution. Thus, rather than referring to different "paths" to an outcome, I will refer to "combinations of factors" that result in identity conflict resolution.

In subsequent chapters I examine how specific combinations of the independent variables described above combine to reduce identity conflict for LCR members. Based on the theoretical discussions that informed my selection of these conditions, I expect that all of the variables listed above will become important factors in the Qualitative Comparative Analyses.

CHAPTER IV

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ORGRANIZATIONAL TEXTS

The identification of frames being utilized by Log Cabin Republicans on its public website provides an indication of potential LCR organizational efforts to reduce identity conflicts among its constituents. Thus, the focus of this chapter is on extracting these frames from LCR organizational texts. Here I provide and discuss results from my analysis of various organizational texts from the Log Cabin Republicans' national website www.logcabin.org. Portions of the website analyzed include the written descriptions of LCR history, the mission statement, press releases and a segment of the website called "Talking Points" – the focus of which is why it is okay to be gay and Republican. After delineating the frames being used by the LCR on its website, I will discuss the potential of these frames to aid constituents in overcoming identity conflicts that may arise during the course of their memberships. More specifically, I suggest here that the Log Cabin Republicans' organizational texts provide evidence that the LCR indeed uses frames, frame alignment, identity modification, and identity construction processes in order to reduce identity conflicts among members and thus sustain its membership.

After discussing the specific content of the frames, I will also explain whether the frame is illustrative of frame amplification, bridging or extension. In later chapters I examine how organizational framing, via the identity modification process, produces individual-level identity effects and how this may differ for men compared to women and

for members with more salient Republican identities compared to those with more salient gay identities.

Content Analysis of LCR Organizational Texts

My content analysis of the organizational texts from the LCR National website shows that the Log Cabin Republicans uses of frames and framing processes are extensive. I uncovered a total of 657 framing instances or LCR efforts at offering messages about the collective identity of the group. These framing instances are illustrative of fourteen different specific types of organizational frames (see Table 3). Though numerous frames are present in the organizational texts, several frames take center stage in that they are more frequently used than others. These frames include the *equality frame* (n=203 or 30.9% of all frames in the organizational texts), the *traditional republicanism frame* (n=125 or 19.0%), the *party transformation* frame (n=120 or 18.3%), the *radical right frame* (n=61 or 10.2%), and the *party presence* frame (n=37 or 5.6%). These are the frames used the most frequently in LCR texts. I also present and discuss the *congruency frame* (n=15 or 2.3%). While the LCR does not use this frame with as much frequency as it does the other frames listed above, the *congruency frame* becomes important in my discussions of frame usages by individual LCR members in their efforts to reduce identity conflict.

Though different in their particular messages, each of these frames posits that it is possible for members to reconcile their Republican and gay identities. Below I describe each frame in detail.

The Equality Frame

The frame most frequently used by the LCR in the organizational texts is the *equality* frame. This frame was used 30.9% of the time (n=203). This frame references the LCR's fight against forces of intolerance and exclusion and the organization's belief in equality for all Americans, including gays and lesbians. Part of the LCR's mission statement is, "We stand for the proposition that all of us are created equal – worthy of the same rights to freedom, liberty, and equality."[32] Evidence of the *equality frame* is also found in the portion of the LCR website entitled "Talking Points." There, the LCR states, "Across America, gay Republicans are shattering stereotypes and educating rank-and-file Republicans about the importance of fairness and equality for gay and Lesbian Americans."[33]

The *equality frame* is an example of frame amplification. Frame amplification involves the added emphasis of a particular organizational message or "frame" by the organization. This process of frame amplification often involves the magnification of values or beliefs (Snow, et al. 1986). The *equality frame* magnifies beliefs about individual rights and the importance of individual activism to achieve these rights for gays and lesbians.

The Traditional Republicanism Frame

In many instances of its frames, the LCR and its leadership encourage a return to an older form of Republicanism. This is precisely the focus of the *traditional republicanism frame.* In this vision, the Republican Party still embraces traditionally

[32] From the "Mission Statement" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [June 2007]
[33] From "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [April 2008]

conservative principles such as smaller government, free markets, individual liberty, and personal responsibility. The major difference between the kind of Republicanism offered by the LCR with its *traditional republicanism frame* and the form of Republicanism espoused by another constituency in the Republican Party, the radical right, is that instead of allowing intolerance to remain the identifying aspect of Republican social conservatism, the traditional republicanism frame advocates the need for the Party to return to its traditional concerns such as limited government and states' rights. This frame was used 19.0% of the time (n=125)

By focusing on these core principles (smaller government, free markets, individual liberty, and personal responsibility), equality for gays and lesbians can be achieved within the Republican Party. The LCR argues, "The history of the Republican Party makes it a natural ally of equality. Looking toward history can help the GOP chart its future course. The Republican Party rose to power because it embraced the ideals of equality imagined by our nation's founding fathers."[34]

The *traditional republicanism frame* represents frame extension. Historically, the Republican Party has been economically conservative, but it has also embraced a more "hands-off" view regarding the role of the government in social issues, especially when government interference may be perceived as an attempt to legislate morality (i.e., issues such as gay marriage and gay adoption). The LCR is advocating a return to this type of Republicanism. This *traditional republicanism frame* is purposefully non-specific regarding the qualities that individuals must have in order to be Republican members of the LCR. LCR members should belief in the basic tenets of Republicanism such as fiscal conservatism, limited government, and personal freedom and autonomy. However, the

[34] from "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [June 2007]

traditional republicanism frame makes no references to individuals' stances on often divisive social issues such as abortion, gay marriage, and gay adoption. In this way, the *traditional republicanism frame* extends the boundaries of what it means to be Republican.

The Party Transformation Frame

Another frame frequently used by the LCR to align individual and group identities is the *party transformation frame*. This frame was used 18.3% of the time (n=120). The *party transformation frame* either explicitly discusses transforming the Republican Party or uses language implying the same. The LCR website states, "The GOP must be transformed one person at a time, across America on the grassroots level by gay Republicans and their fair-minded allies."[35] This frame also includes references to "building" a more inclusive party and "working" to change the GOP. "We will continue working to build a more inclusive Republican Party – based on the principles of freedom and fairness."[36]

Like the *traditional republicanism frame*, the *party transformation frame* represents an attempt at frame extension. Recall that frame extension involves an SMO extending the boundaries of its primary framework in order to encompass interests or points of view that are highly salient to potential recruits but incidental to the organization's larger goals (Snow et al. 1986). The *party transformation frame* extends the Republican identity into arenas not previously associated with that identity (i.e., gay rights activism) by highlighting Republican values such as limited government,

[35] from "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [June 2007]
[36] from "Bright Future" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [June 2007]

individual liberty and personal responsibility - values also conducive to the struggle for gay and lesbian equality.

The Radical Right Frame

Another frame used frequently by the LCR on its website is the *radical right frame.* This frame was used 10.2% of the time (n=61). The *radical right frame*, by providing a negative portrait of the religious right, highlights the negative influence of the religious right on traditional Republican ideals – ideals that the LCR supports. Patrick Sammon, Executive Director of LCR National illustrates this frame when he states, "The social extremists have taken our Party off track." "They should step out of the way and let mainstream Republicans bring our Party back to its core principles."[37] In this way, the *radical right frame* vilifies the opponent, creating an "us v. them" ideology. This frame presents the "radical right" as it is often called by LCR members as the real threat to the Republican Party.

The *radical right frame* suggests that the social conservatives who make up the radical right are responsible for the current perception of Republicans as discriminatory. Further, this frame offers that the radical or religious right goes against the Republican principles of individual liberty and personal responsibility – two principles that the LCR believes are essential in achieving equal rights for gays and lesbians in America. As the LCR states, "Defeating the radical right and transforming the GOP will allow gay and

[37] LCR press release November 7, 2006 from http://online.logcabin.org/news_views/newsviews_press_releases.html [June 2007]

lesbian Americans to achieve full equality much sooner. The radical right represents the last obstacle on the path to full equality."[38]

The *radical right* frame is an example of frame amplification. By highlighting Republican values involving individual liberty, personal responsibility and tolerance, the LCR creates obvious boundaries between more traditional Republicans and those who go against the Party's true principles – the radical right.

The Party Presence Frame

The fourth most frequently used frame is the *party presence frame*. This frame accounts for 5.6% (n=37) of the total number of frames used. The *party presence frame* acknowledges the criticism found in media accounts of the LCR that state that gays and lesbians should work within the Democratic Party for change, as this is the party more likely to advocate for gay rights. In response, the LCR has framed gay presence in the Republican Party as an essential step on the path to progress. The LCR states, "We applaud the gay and lesbian activists who worked so hard to change the Democratic Party – making it more inclusive and tolerant. 25 years ago, had gay and lesbian members left the party, then the Democrats would not be where they are today on issues of equality and fairness. We are now doing similar work in the GOP."[39]

The *party presence frame* is also built upon the idea that the GOP will remain operational, whether or not gays and lesbians are active in the Party. Further, without gay Republicans working to influence fair-minded allies within the Party, achieving equality for gays and lesbians would take decades longer. "Even if all gay Republicans left the

[38] from "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [June 2007]
[39] from "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [June 2007]

party, the GOP would still be there."[40] This frame thus contends that it is necessary for the gay and lesbian community to have strong allies in both parties.

The *party presence frame* illustrates organizational attempts at frame bridging. To reiterate, frame bridging refers to the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but as yet structurally unconnected identities (Snow, et. al. 1986). As an example of frame bridging, the *party presence frame* links the Republican and gay identities by emphasizing the positive efforts of Republicans and the larger gay community in their struggle for gay and lesbian rights. Historically, members of the gay community and members of the Republican Party have been at odds. Due to the traditionally socially conservative platform of the Republican Party, gays have typically aligned themselves with the Democratic Party. The LCR, not surprisingly, has been criticized by many homosexuals for its unusual alliance with the Republicans. Further, the Republican Party has not fully accepted the LCR either, largely due to the Party's historical position on the meaning of "family" and the parameters of what constitutes marriage. As part of the Republican platform, "family" is defined in traditional terms – parents and children with strong spiritual foundations committed to preserving the Republican ideals of hard work, honesty and personal responsibility.[41] The *party presence frame* challenges this separation of Republican and gay ideologies and issues. In fact, this frame argues that a gay presence within the Republican Party is essential for progress on gay and lesbian issues.

[40] from "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [June 2007]
[41] See Republican Party Platform of 1992

The Congruency Frame

The *congruency frame* is comprised of efforts to reconcile two disparate identities: being gay and being Republican. As most homosexuals indicate a preference for or loyalty to the Democratic Party due to its more liberal social agenda (Schaffner and Senic 2006), identifying oneself as a gay Republican can be problematic. In order to address this, the LCR has constructed a frame that draws on Republican ideals consistent with the pursuit of justice. The *congruency frame* builds upon the argument that the Republican principles of limited government, individual liberty, individual responsibility, free markets, and a strong national defense, as well as the moral values upon which these principles are based, are not at odds with the gay and lesbian agenda. For example, part of the LCR's mission statement reads, "We emphasize that these principles [limited government, individual liberty, personal responsibility, free markets, and a strong national defense] and the moral values on which they stand are consistent with the pursuit of equal treatment under the law for gay and lesbian Americans."[42] Elsewhere on the website the LCR states, "To some people, being a gay Republican seems like an oxymoron. We disagree. The Republican Party's founding principles and core beliefs represent a powerful tool that should be used to defend liberty – not attack it as the radical right has done."[43] Unlike the radical right, most Republicans want to defend liberty and protect the privacy of individuals. This frame was used 2.3% of the time (n=15).

As with the *party presence frame,* the *congruency frame* is illustrative of frame bridging. Using this frame, the LCR is attempting to draw out the aspects of

[42] from the "Mission Statement" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [June 2007]
[43] from "Talking Points" on the LCR website http://online.logcabin.org/about/ [July 2007]

Republicanism that are congruent with a gay identity. By focusing on the Party's founding principles such as personal freedom, individual responsibility, and governmental non-interference, the *congruency frame* thus emphasizes points of ideological similarity between the gay and Republican identities. In other words, those elements of the gay identity linked to the struggle for equal rights are paired with traditional Party ideals of the same sort, including beliefs about individual freedoms, equality under the law for all citizens, and the government refraining from legislating morality. In this way, the *congruency frame* bridges the gay and Republican identities.[44]

Conclusion

In sum, from my examination of the LCR national website, it is clear that the *equality frame*, the *party transformation frame*, the *moderate republicanism frame*, the *radical right frame,* and the *party presence frame* are the frames most often used by the LCR in its public messages. Again, the LCR does not use the *congruency frame* as frequently as it uses the other frames discussed in this chapter, but I include it here as later analysis chapters point to the importance of this frame in reducing identity conflicts for individual members. The findings presented in this chapter support my earlier argument that the LCR is, in fact, participating in organizational framing processes, and, as a result, is providing organizational frames to its constituents.

[44] It should be noted that I did not find any examples of frame transformation processes in the texts I examined. Frame transformation processes are usually employed by movements that seek to disrupt the status quo through a reconstruction of normative meanings or by movements that have "world-transforming" goals in that they seek total change of society across all institutions (Snow, et al. 1986). Log Cabin Republicans do not express any such socially transformative goal within their organizational materials. In fact, many of the frames employed by the LCR reflect a desire to work within the current social and political systems in order to affect change. As such, I did not expect to find much evidence of frame transformation processes at any level of recruitment or participation in the LCR.

Now that I have extracted the LCR frames from the LCR website documents, I turn to how the frame alignment processes and the frames themselves affect the identities of individual members. I specifically examine how successful each framing process and frame is at reducing identity conflicts for LCR members. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. Interviews with LCR members reveal which types of frames are invoked most frequently by LCR constituents and whether frame bridging, frame amplification, or frame extension and their corresponding identity modification processes is successful in producing individual-level identity effects that reduce identity conflicts for these constituents.

CHAPTER V:

QCA OF TYPES OF FRAME ALIGNMENT PROCESSES EMPHASIZED

As discussed in Chapter 3, I constructed two sets of frame type variables (i.e., measures of frame type usage and measures that indicate whether a respondent emphasized each frame type) and two sets of frame alignment process variables (i.e., measures of frame alignment process usage and measures that indicate whether a respondent's emphasized each frame alignment process) for inclusion in the QCA. These two sets of measures allowed me to discern whether patterns emerged in QCA when LCR men and women simply used a frame or frame alignment process or when they emphasized a frame or frame alignment process more than the other frames or frame alignment processes. I included each of these sets of frame type measures and frame alignment process measure in separate analyses.

In this and the following analysis chapter, I discuss only those measures that, alone, or in combination with other factors, reduce identity conflict for LCR men and women (Chapter 5) and for LCR members with more salient Republican or gay identities (Chapter 6). I provide below an example of the QCA results for measures that did not play a prominent role in reducing identity conflict for LCR members and thus are not discussed in detail in this chapter.

For LCR men, emphasized frame type measures appeared in only four out of 27 possible combinations of factors leading to identity conflict resolution. That is, the *party transformation frame,* the *traditional republicanism frame,* the *equality frame,* and the

radical right frame each appeared in one combination of factors leading to identity conflict resolution. For LCR women, the use of frame type measures also appeared in only four out of 20 possible combinations of factors leading to identity conflict resolution. The *party transformation frame,* the *traditional republicanism frame*, the *party presence frame,* and the *congruency frame* each appeared in only one combination of factors leading to identity conflict resolution. This suggests that specific frame types played only a minimal role in reducing identity conflict for LCR men and women.[45] On the other hand, when respondents emphasized a particular frame alignment process, according to the QCA results, this played a prominent role in reducing identity conflict.

I begin by discussing the factors included in the QCA equations for men and for women. I then describe the combinations of factors leading to identity conflict resolution for men as well as theoretical explanations for these results. This is followed by a discussion of the QCA results for women, including theoretical explanations for these findings as well. I show that, in general, organizational frames are less effective in reducing identity conflicts for female LCR members compared to male LCR members. I also demonstrate that while degrees of organizational commitment influence the abilities of both LCR men and women to utilize frame alignment processes and frames illustrative of these processes to reduce identity conflict, women members require specific forms of organizational commitment depending on the presence or absence of other factors.

[45] QCA results that indicate that, like emphasized frame type measures, the use of frame type measures and the use of frame alignment process measures did not play a prominent role in identity conflict resolution for LCR men or women.

Types of Frame Alignment Processes Emphasized to Reduce Identity Conflict

To determine the different combinations of factors that lead to an outcome, I must first examine which of the causal conditions is present or absent in each equation. Table 5 contains the results from my Qualitative Comparative Analysis. Table 5 summarizes the presence and absence of three causal conditions that consistently appear in the causal combinations and a fourth causal condition that varies for each of the QCA equations discussed in this chapter. The three causal conditions that I include in each QCA equation are as follows: "POLID", indicating that the LCR member has a more salient Republican identity, "LONGTERM", meaning that the LCR member is not new to the organization but rather a long-term member, and "ACTIVE", indicating that the LCR member is not merely an email/list-serve member, but rather he/she attends meetings and/or social events at least fairly regularly.[46]

A fourth causal condition also appears in each QCA equation. Because one of the primary research questions is whether types of frame alignment processes reduce identity conflict for members who use them, this fourth causal condition – frame alignment process - varies from one equation to the next. Those included in the analysis are "AMPLIFICATION" (frame amplification), "BRIDGING" (frame bridging), and "EXTENSION" (frame extension).

Table 5 is organized such that the QCA results for men appear in the top panel and those for women in the bottom panel. Further, for both men and women the results are separated by the types of frame alignment processes (i.e., the ways of framing) under consideration. Beneath each framing process header in the table I present the combinations of factors that, in conjunction with that framing process, lead to identity

[46] See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of how I operationalized each of these variables.

conflict resolution. I present the number of cases reflective of each combination of factors in parenthetical notes. As is customary in reporting QCA results, upper case words indicate the presence of a condition, while lower case words indicate the absence of that condition. For the variable representing the more salient identity, upper case "REPUBID" indicates a more salient Republican identity, and lower case "repubid" indicates a more salient gay identity. Also, "*" means "and" and "+" means "or" in these QCA equations.

Taken altogether, the QCA results in Table 5 indicate that there is a relationship between the sex of the respondents and their emphases on frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflicts. Given this difference for men and women, the focus of this chapter is on the different ways in which male and female respondents' salient identities (Republican or gay), lengths of LCR membership, levels of activity in the organization, and emphases on particular types of frame alignment processes combine to successfully reduce identity conflicts. I will discuss the results for men and women separately.

Table 5: Identity Conflict Resolution Causal Configurations with Frame Alignment Processes by Sex[47]

Panel I. MEN

a. Frame Amplification
REPUBID*AMPLIFICATION+ (3)
LONGTERM*AMPLIFICATION+ (3)
ACTIVE*AMPLIFICATION+ (4)
repubid*longterm*active*amplification

b. Frame Bridging
BRIDGING+ (3)
repubid*longterm*ACTIVE+
REPUBID*LONGTERM*ACTIVE

c. Frame Extension
EXTENSION+ (5)
REPUBID*LONGTERM*ACTIVE

Panel II. WOMEN

a. Frame Amplification
REPUBID*longterm*active*AMPLIFICATION+ (1)
repubid*LONGTERM*AMPLIFICATION+ (1)
LONGTERM*ACTIVE*AMPLIFICATION (2)

b. Frame Bridging
REPUBID*longterm*active*BRIDGING+ (1)
repubid*LONGTERM*BRIDGING+ (1)
LONGTERM*ACTIVE*BRIDGING (1)

c. Frame Extension
REPUBID*longterm*active*EXTENSION+ (1)
repubid*LONGTERM*EXTENSION+ (1)
LONGTERM*ACTIVE*EXTENSION (1)

[47] Several paths in Panel I do not have Ns listed, indicating that no male respondents exemplified these paths to identity conflict resolution. Charles Ragin (1987, 2000) refers to these as "remainders" or paths that are logically possible, even though there may be no actual data that fit them. For example, "republid*longterm*active*amplification" appears in Panel I, a. as a path to identity conflict resolution. This indicates that male LCR members who have a more salient gay identity, are newer members, are not active in the organization, and who do not emphasize frame amplification are potentially able to overcome identity conflicts. Again, no males in the present sample embody these factors, but the path is logically possible.

I. *Results for Men*

The results in Table 5 demonstrate that for men, an emphasis on specific frame alignment processes (amplification, bridging, and extension) can successfully reduce identity conflict. Table 5 also clarifies this relationship further, indicating that two frame alignment processes – bridging and extension– are sufficient in and of themselves to reduce identity conflict for some men (see the BRIDGING and EXTENSION combinations in Table 5, Panel I, sections b and c, respectively). Frame amplification (AMPLIFICATION), however, must occur in conjunction with other key factors (salient identity, long-term membership, or activity level) in order to be successfully employed (see Table 5, Panel I, section a). Frame amplification combines with either a more salient Republican identity, a long-term membership in the LCR, or a high level of activity in the LCR, which can be re-written in QCA terms as AMPLIFICATION*(REPUBID+LONGTERM+ACTIVE), to reduce identity conflict among men.

The next step is to explain why certain frame alignment processes (i.e., bridging and extension) can reduce identity conflict when used by themselves and not in conjunction with another particular condition for the individual (such as a salient Republican identity), while other frame alignment processes (i.e., amplification) require one of these other conditions to be present. In order to do so, I turn now to the concept of multiple identities. Researchers (see, for example, Friedman & McAdam 1992, McAdam 2000; Stryker 2000) argue that social movements must construct their frames and collective identities with deliberate concern about the "multiple identities" of their target audience(s). This is because individuals' numerous identities are always competing for

salience (Stryker 2000). Thus, organizational framing processes, which by definition occur at the organizational level, must be attentive to the many identities residing at the individual level of potential constituents.

It follows then that frames that are more flexible or inclusive (i.e., that have attributes that can be shared by a variety of identities) are more successful at garnering a broader support base for a social movement organization (SMO) that chooses to use such frames. Friedman and McAdam (1992) note that this is where Snow et al.'s (1986) concept of frame extension may apply. Leaders must choose how many different groups of potential supporters they want to reach with their framing efforts. When SMOs choose to offer frames that incorporate a variety of beliefs and characteristics, individuals who necessarily have "multiple identities" are not forced to negotiate their potentially conflicting identities to the same degree that they would with more narrowly focused organizational frames and collective identities (Friedman & McAdam 1992).

While the social movements literature outlined above adequately assesses the role of multiple identities at the organizational level of framing processes, research is lacking as to the role of multiple identities in individuals' uses of organizational frames during their tenures as movement participants. Beyond the importance of framing in the initial stages of garnering movement and organizational support, I propose that the frames that are offered by organizations have implications throughout the course of movement participation, *including* the frames utilized by participants to reduce identity conflicts. The successes of organizational frames at reducing identity conflicts are at least partially dependent on how well those frames speak to participants' multiple identities.

As stated above, organizations offering frames that are flexible and inclusive in terms of the beliefs and/or characteristics that they attempt to magnify are more likely to be successful in garnering support and recruiting new members. It is not difficult, then, to imagine that such frames would also be more successful in reducing identity conflict for members who invoke them. Here, I argue and provide evidence that when movement organizations offer frames that accomplish frame bridging and frame extension, organizational members can and do utilize these types of frames in order to reduce identity conflict. More specifically, organizational frames that link a member's multiple identities to each other and to the collective identity of the organization (and thus that accomplish frame bridging) and organizational frames that extend the boundaries of the collective identity of the organization in order to encompass more of a member's multiple identities (and thus accomplish frame extension) can be and are used by individual members to reduce identity conflicts. On the other hand, frames that amplify only one particular identity, and thus offer a more narrowly defined set of beliefs and characteristics (accomplishing frame amplification), do not, at least on their own, allow members to reduce identity conflict. In the following paragraphs I discuss each of these types of frame alignment processes and provide evidence on how each frame alignment process and its associated frames do or do not provide flexibility for members attempting to overcome identity conflicts.

Frame Bridging

Frame bridging, which involves linking two or more ideologically congruent but structurally independent identities, is one way in which the LCR can cast a wider net in

terms of recruiting and sustaining membership. Frame bridging also allows the individual member to embrace multiple identities when invoking frames of this type. Thus, frames that accomplish frame bridging increase the salience of individuals' multiple personal identities by directing attention to the ideologies and attributes of those identities that are similar to the ideologies and attributes of LCR collective identities. At the same time, frames that bridge provide a framework for the harmonious coexistence of the identities being addressed. Because frame bridging allows potentially conflicting identities to co-exist, the likelihood that identity conflict will be resolved is high.

In the present study, two specific organizational frames were classified as illustrative of frame bridging: (1) the *congruency frame* and (2) the *party presence frame*. The *congruency frame* attempts to reconcile being gay with being Republican. This frame often involves a discussion of why the two identities are not mutually exclusive. Individuals who emphasize this frame are often attempting to reduce the identity conflict that occurs as a result of being a gay individual involved in a Republican organization (i.e., they experience conflict between their personal gay and Republican identities). This conflict is frequently the result of questions or even attacks by non-Republican gays and/or non-gay Republicans about how LCR members can be both gay and Republican. For example, Evan[48] has experienced tension from both groups. He explained, "When someone says to me, 'Oh, you're a gay Republican,' you know a gay person saying that, I'm like, 'What? Are you retarded? You know there are two different parties.' And on the Republican side, it's annoying to be known as THE gay Republican all the time." When I asked how he handles such encounters he replied:

[48] All names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity and confidentiality.

> "It sounds kind of oxymoronic, because I have chosen that role for myself, but it's something that I hope people in the future, you know twenty years from now, won't even think about. Rather than gays and lesbians being part of one political party or another, I would hope that our society will have matured to the point where gay issues will be over, and we can just talk taxes, free trade, or whatever issues might be around." He went on to say, "If the [Republican] Party becomes something that is solely defined on social issues then I will no longer have a home there. At the same time, the Democratic Party doesn't seem to be right for me either, because of their hostility toward other forms of individual liberty like choice in retirement security and choice in healthcare and choice in a lot of other things that I think are very important."

Though Evan acknowledges that identifying as a gay Republican "sounds kind of oxymoronic," he still believes in the ability of the gay identity and the Republican identity to coexist. His use of the *congruency frame* is evidenced by his statements about a future where gay and lesbian political party affiliation is no longer a topic of discussion, thus illustrating his belief in the congruency of the gay and Republican identities. Evan's pointing out that the Democratic Party does not reflect his belief on issues of individual liberty – something he finds "very important"- is additional evidence of the *congruency frame* at work.

As an example of frame bridging, the *congruency frame* emphasizes points of ideological similarity between the gay and Republican identities (both at the collective and individual levels), such as beliefs about individual freedoms, equality under the law for all citizens, and the government refraining from legislating morality, thus linking these identities. In order for the organizational-level framing process of frame bridging to produce the individual-level identity effect of identity consolidation (blending one salient identity with another identity), it must alter the meanings associated with the individual's identities (the identity modification process).

The *congruency frame* changes the meanings associated with gay and Republican collective identities as espoused by the LCR. Rather than seeing these identities as separate and incompatible identities, the *congruency frame* offers a different understanding of what it means to be gay and to be a Republican. According to this frame, LCR members can work for gay rights by embracing a type of Republicanism conducive to this struggle. By linking Republicanism with gay rights activism, the *congruency frame* thus challenges traditional definitions of the gay identity – historically linked with the Democratic Party - and the Republican identity – historically seen as anti-gay. As I proposed in Chapter 2, individual members who embrace the gay and Republican collective identities as defined by LCR organizational frames will hold personal identities that closely mirror the characteristics or definitions of these LCR collective gay and Republican identities. Therefore, by employing the *congruency frame*, Evan enables his personal gay and Republican identities to exist together with less tension (identity consolidation).

Numerous other LCR members that I interviewed experienced tension with being gay and Republican, and turned to the *congruency frame* to reduce this conflict. Unlike Evan, who was questioned by both gays and Republicans, Nick has experienced difficulty predominantly with members of the gay community. He states: "I think it's harder to be Republican in the gay community. I have yet to hear a single Republican say to me, 'oh, but you're gay. How can you be a Republican?' But I have had many people in the gay community go, 'you're a Republican!? I don't understand. How could you be a Republican?' Like Evan, Nick turns to the *congruency frame* to reduce this tension. When I asked what keeps him involved with LCR in the face of negative reactions from

the gay community he answered: "When I first joined Log Cabin after I came out, definitely I agreed with almost everything. Still today I think it matches me. The local one does anyway. And I think the national one does as well." Nick went on to say that he believes in the LCR as an organization that can make a difference for gays and lesbians in terms of gay rights legislation.

Nick also explained that the presence and efforts of gay Republicans has begun to change people's attitudes regarding the compatibility of the gay and Republican identities. He stated:

> "In the old days, it was very difficult. But I think that a lot of the politicos now have recognized we give something that they can't do. We can deliver what they can't get. We have a respect from, I mean, a National Democrat club is going to criticize LCR because they're Democrats. They have to. But even the Stonewall Democrats – there's an underlining respect now that we didn't used to have, because we haven't sold out. We haven't been 'oh we're Republicans, you should vote for Republicans.' We haven't done that. Because we haven't done that, we can hold our head up in our community. And not only that, we can hold our head up in our Party."

In the comment above, Nick uses the *congruency frame* to explain how those outside the LCR have begun to understand gay Republicans not as paradoxical, but as individuals who embody a type of Republican identity that is compatible with a gay identity. In these ways, the *congruency frame,* by linking the collective gay and Republican identities of the LCR also links Nick's personal gay and Republican identities, thus accomplishing frame bridging.

In this example, the *congruency frame* alters the meanings associated with the LCR's collective gay and Republican identities such that they are no longer incompatible. By utilizing this frame, Nick's personal gay and Republican identities are also well-matched. The individual-level identity effect is the consolidation of Nick's personal gay

and Republican identities, ultimately allowing him to reduce identity conflicts that surround these identities.

The second organizational frame illustrative of frame bridging is the p*arty presence frame.* This frame speaks to the idea that it is both right and necessary to have gay rights activists in both political parties in order to achieve the LCR's ultimate goal of equality for all individuals. For example, Bobby describes his reaction to the criticisms he has faced from Democrats about being a gay Republican: "When the Democrats come up to me and say you cannot possibly be a gay person and be a Republican. To me, the naiveté of that is mind numbing. That's like saying that a missionary never leaves the seminary. What is that all about?" Bobby then turns to the *party presence frame* to describe what he sees as ignorance in these individuals regarding the need for gays and lesbians in both political parties. He says:

> "If you find a group out there that are benighted in your opinion, why in the world would you sit on your hands with a bunch of feel-good backslappers and yum-yummers, like the Champagne [sic] for Human Rights, who do nothing but congratulate themselves endlessly. What a good job they're doing by preaching to the choir. You know, you need to get up and do something about it. It seems obvious to me. And a lot of these ding-dongs have the temerity to criticize people who are going out there trying to do something rather than throwing up their hands and being a one party system. Did that help the blacks, the unions when their party wasn't in power? How stupid. If you want to become accepted in society, how do you propose to do so by being monochromatic? How naïve."

Bobby uses *party presence frame* to argue the necessity of organizations like the LCR, where gays and lesbians can make a difference for gay rights within the Republican Party. Bobby's use of the *party presence frame* is evident in several of his comments, including his accusation that the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) is "preaching to the choir." Here Bobby is referring to the fact that the HRC aligns itself with the Democratic

Party and thus distributes its message to a Party already supportive of gay rights. Another example of the *party presence frame* at work is found in Bobby's discussion of the necessity of gay Republicans working for change within the Republican Party. "Being monochromatic", as would be the case if all gays worked for gay and lesbian equality within a single party, will not advance gay rights to the same degree as will happen with gays fighting for equality in both parties.

By highlighting the importance of gay rights activism within the Republican Party, the *party presence frame* links the LCR's collective gay and Republican identities and Bobby's personal gay and Republican identities through his use of this frame (frame bridging). Again, the individual-level identity effect of frame bridging is identity consolidation. This occurs via the identity modification process that involves changing the meanings associated with those identities. The *party presence frame* alters the meanings of the gay and Republican collective identities as embraced by the LCR, increasing both the perceived interconnectedness and the perceived functionality of these identities. The *party presence* frame increases the perceived interconnectedness of the gay and Republican identities by positioning gay rights activism within the Republican Party as necessary in the struggle for gay rights. The *party presence* increases the perceived functionality of the gay and Republican identities by emphasizing the need for gay rights activists within both parties. In other words, working only within the Democratic Party would result in more delayed achievements in equality for gays and lesbians. By utilizing this frame, Bobby thus increased the perceived interconnectedness and functionality of his own personal gay and Republican identities.

Frame Extension

Frame extension, which involves extending the boundaries of a movement's or organization's ideology or collective identity, is a second way that LCR members can manage their experiences of identity conflict. Frames that are illustrative of frame extension typically blur the boundaries of "who we are" or the collective identity of the group, encompassing more viewpoints and perspectives than originally intended. This enables more constituents to adhere to the organization's overarching ideologies. The two frames illustrative of frame extension in this study are: (1) the *traditional republicanism frame* and (2) the *party transformation frame*. A participant's emphases on frames that extend the boundaries of the collective identity of the LCR are likely to be successful in reducing identity conflict.

The *traditional republicanism frame* encourages a return to an older form of Republicanism that embraces traditionally conservative principles such as smaller government, free markets, individual liberty, and personal responsibility. By focusing on these core principles, the frame argues that equality for gays and lesbians can be achieved within the Republican Party. For example, Douglas described to me the tension he has felt regarding his personal Republican identity and the collective Republican identity currently exhibited by the LCR. It is important to note here that inconsistencies in the collective Republican identity expressed by the LCR challenge LCR members' understandings of their personal Republican identities, thus upsetting the harmonious coexistence of their personal gay and Republican identities. In the example that follows, because the collective Republican identity of the LCR is in question, Douglas is uneasy about his loyalty to that identity. His ability to be both gay and Republican rests on his

understandings of those identities as congruent. When the LCR behaves in such a way as to alter the definition or boundaries of the collective Republican identity to which Douglas subscribes, he must re-evaluate the compatibility of his gay and Republican identities. The nature of Douglas's personal Republican identity is evident in his vision of what the LCR could be in its ideal form:

> "How I would like you to see it [the LCR] is exactly how I define the core values of the Republican Party, which would be that we're Republicans, primarily gay and lesbian, that are fiscally conservative, believe in a strong national defense, and are social libertarians."

Douglas's vision of the LCR as someday embodying the tenets of traditional Republicanism provides some hope against his perceptions of the current collective Republican identity of the LCR which he sees as lacking in focus. "We need to set a very clearly defined message: this is who we are, this is what we stand for, and this is what we're going to work toward. Right now we're just picking little issues because we need some publicity. These small little things that we keep jabbing at, as long as they're underneath a large, compelling message, then they make sense."

Utilizing the *traditional republicanism frame*, Douglas focuses his attention on the LCR's commitment to the core Republican values that he shares, such as fiscal conservatism, strong national defense, and individual liberty. The *traditional republicanism frame* thus defines a collective Republican identity that is built upon values such as limited government, individual liberty, personal responsibility, and free markets. By defining a collective Republican identity that is ideologically similar to Doug's personal Republican identity, the *traditional republicanism frame* changes the meanings of these identities. More specifically, the *traditional republicanism* frame alters the image – or collective identity - of the LCR as gay Republicans. This frame

paints a new picture of Republicanism – one that is conducive to gay rights activism – thus allowing the collective identity of the LCR to be seen in a more positive light by both LCR members and members of the larger gay community. Again, individual members who embrace collective identities as defined by LCR organizational frames will embody personal identities that closely resemble these collective identities. The individual-level identity effect of these identity modification processes is an extension of Douglas's Republican identity.

The second example of frame extension is the *party transformation frame*. The *party transformation frame* either explicitly discusses transforming the Republican Party or uses language implying the same. This frame includes references to building a more inclusive party and working to change the Republican Party from within.

Several LCR men use the *party transformation frame* to manage conflicts between their gay and Republican identities as a result of inconsistencies in the collective Republican identity of the LCR. Again, inconsistencies in this collective Republican identity challenge LCR members' understandings of their personal Republican identities, thus upsetting the harmonious coexistence of their gay and Republican identities. For example, Oscar believes that one goal of the LCR is to speak out against the government legislating morality, thus he finds the organization's push for gay marriage contradictory. During the interview he stated:

> "I do not support gay marriage. I don't want to burn up resources on an issue that clearly is not popular in certain states." He then went on to compare people over 6'6" to the struggle for marriage rights in the gay community stating that "…they [people over 6'6"] are uncomfortable; they can't go to the Air Force academy, sit in economy seats; they can't become airline pilots. There are over 1 million people like that…a similar number to that of gays. Total Utopian equality is not possible."

Here Oscar is arguing that there are good reasons to oppose gay marriage, just as there are good reasons that very tall individuals are not allowed to fly planes.

Because the LCR has involved itself in efforts to secure marriage rights for gays and is thus failing to maintain a separation of Church and state, Oscar believes that the LCR is not reflecting in its actions the collective Republican identity it espouses – one that opposes legislating morality. He remains part of the organization, however, because he agrees with the larger goal of the LCR – to transform the Republican Party from within. "The LCR seeks to educate rank-and-file and elected officials in the Republican Party about the close links between the traditional Republican ideology of Barry Goldwater and the many issues of importance to gay and lesbian Americans that would get overlooked otherwise." His belief in the ability of the LCR to educate Republicans and thus make them more attentive to issues affecting gays and lesbians and more inclusive of gays and lesbians in the Party provides evidence of the *party transformation frame*.

By highlighting aspects of Republican ideology that are also conducive to the struggle for gay rights, the *party transformation frame* extends the LCR's collective Republican identity into arenas not previously associated with that identity (i.e., gay rights activism). Further, by portraying the Republican identity as necessary to the advancement of equality for gays and lesbians, the party transformation frame increases the perceived functionality of the Republican identity (that is, it changes the meaning of the identity). The result of this identity modification processes is identity extension. That is, Oscar's personal Republican identity has been broadened such that it is meaningful in additional ways or in additional situations. Ultimately, the *party transformation frame,* via the identity modification processes described above, reduces

Oscar's identity conflict, thus allowing him to continue his participation in the organization.

Hollis, like Oscar, has also dealt with conflict between his gay and Republican identities as a result of inconsistencies in the collective Republican identity of the LCR. However, while Oscar had difficulties with the LCR's particular focus on gay marriage equality, Hollis describes his discomfort with the LCR's lack focus in general. He states:

> "I have not contributed to the LCR national. They've tried to get me to be one of their $1200 donors. But honestly I am not sure what direction it is right now actually. It hasn't been visible. It just seems to be that way since Patrick Guerriero stepped down. I'm not quite sure what the direction is or what they are doing, if they are pushing military, trying to log Republican support on these things. But it could be because we don't have a Republican Congress anymore. Honestly, I'm just not sure where they're headed."

To explain his continued participation in Log Cabin, Hollis, like Oscar, turns to the *party transformation frame*. He describes the importance of the LCR in changing the Republican Party from within:

> "Our objective has always been to have a big tent Republican Party and really that's what Log Cabin is all about. It's primarily an organization of gay and lesbian Republicans but we've had a lot of members who aren't gay and lesbian who are just supporters of an inclusive party and want the party to be open to people of all sexual orientation. And that is really what Log Cabin is working for, for a more inclusive party." Later in the interview he adds, "We are looking for an inclusive party that won't discriminate against gays and lesbians and will remold the party. And definitely we are out there watching the candidates, what they do to see what's going on."

Hollis's multiple references to the LCR's efforts at working for an "inclusive party" and his belief in the ability of the LCR to "remold" the Republican Party are indicative of the *party transformation frame*. The *party transformation frame* extends Hollis's personal Republican identity by advocating a type of Republicanism that is accepting of multiple perspectives (i.e., it broadens the boundaries of the LCR's collective Republican

identity), or as Hollis puts it, one that reflects "a big tent Republican Party." This individual-level identity effect is the result of a change to the meanings associated with those identities.

The *party transformation frame* increases the perceived functionality of Hollis's Republican identity with its focus on the ability of gay Republicans to make a difference within their own Party. For Hollis, the overall importance of the LCR in changing the Republican Party outweighs his own struggle with the organization's lack of a clear collective Republican identity. Thus, the *party transformation frame* enables him to reduce his identity conflicts and thus sustains his membership in the LCR.

Frame Amplification

Having discussed how frame bridging and frame extension allow organizational frames to speak to multiple identities of participants, I now demonstrate that the third frame type included as a factor in the QCA analysis – frame amplification – is not able to reduce identity conflict independent of other causal conditions for this sample of male LCR members (Table 5, Panel I, section a), because it does not speak to the multiple identities of participants. Frame amplification – which involves emphasizing a particular set of beliefs about an issue – is neither as flexible nor as inclusive as frame bridging and frame extension. Frames in this category usually focus on the qualities, beliefs and behaviors surrounding a particular identity. For example, the *equality frame* is used by the LCR to magnify beliefs about personal autonomy and individual rights and to emphasize the need for individual activism in order to achieve equality for gays and lesbians.

The *equality frame* is illustrative of frame amplification because it focuses attention on a specific set of characteristics attached to the gay identity such as the power of the individual to affect change and the importance of individual activism to achieve equal rights for gays and lesbians. Because this frame is more narrowly focused (i.e., it does not address multiple identities), it is less likely to be successful as an identity conflict resolution tool for men. Though often useful as a "springboard" for mobilizing support (Snow et al. 1986: 469), frame amplification has certain weaknesses or disadvantages when it comes to resolving identity conflicts that frame bridging and frame extension do not. Because of the limited focus of this type of frame, it can easily be discredited by movement supporters if movement organizations fail to uphold the values or beliefs that the frame advocates, and thus its utility in resolving identity conflict is limited (Snow et al. 1986).

The QCA results for men in this study support the argument that frame alignment can be weaker than frame bridging and frame extension in reducing identity conflict. LCR men who invoke frames typical of frame amplification must also have more salient Republican identities, must be long-term members of the LCR, or they must have high levels of activity within the organization in order for those frames to aid them in reducing identity conflict (Table 5, under Panel 1, section a). For example, Richard - a new but active member with a more salient Republican identity - had experienced conflict between the Republican identity collectively held by members of his local LCR chapter and the collective Republican identity advanced by the national LCR. He explains, "My one issue with National is that they consider LCR to be a conservative group. But here, we consider ourselves to be moderate. It bristles me and some of us in the Northeast."

This discrepancy between the collective Republican identity of Richard's local LCR chapter and the collective Republican identity of the National LCR disrupts the harmonious coexistence of Richard's personal gay and Republican identities by unsettling his understanding of what, as an LCR member, his Republican identity should be.

When asked how he handled this disconnect between the Republican identity of his local chapter and that of LCR national, Richard turned to the *equality frame*: "I've been part of the process in getting hate crimes passed, the gay marriage amendment stopped, and so forth. I feel good about helping. It [the LCR] allows me a podium to work for change in gay rights in my area." Richard's belief in the efficacy of his local LCR chapter in securing gay rights legislation and his belief in the importance of his part in that struggle provides evidence of the *equality frame*. This frame, by calling attention to the efforts of the LCR and its members in fighting for gay and lesbian equality, changes the meanings associated with the gay identity (the identity modification process). Richard's comment about the LCR providing "a podium to work for change in gay rights" illustrates the success of this frame in increasing the perceived functionality of the collective gay identity of the LCR. Thus, this frame also increases the perceived functionality of Richard's personal gay identity as he demonstrates a belief in his own abilities to fight for gay and lesbian equality within a Republican organization. The individual-level identity effect of the *equality frame* is an amplification of Richard's gay identity.

As stated earlier, amplifying frames such as the *equality frame* are not sufficient, in and of themselves, to aid LCR men in reducing identity conflicts. Though Richard's

belief about the efficacy of the gay identity within a Republican organization has increased, the *equality frame* alone is not enough to reduce the identity conflicts that surround Richard's gay and Republican identities. For Richard, a more salient Republican identity and a high level of organizational activity work in combination with the *equality frame* to ameliorate his identity conflicts. Below I explain how these two factors increase the ability of amplifying frames to reduce identity conflicts for LCR men. I argue that a more salient Republican identity and high levels of organizational activity increase a member's commitment to the LCR. This heightened commitment balances more narrowly focused and less flexible amplifying frames such that this weaker category of frames may still be used by LCR men to reduce identity conflicts.

I first address the influence of a more salient Republican identity on LCR men's organizational commitment. Research has demonstrated that a shared ideology between a social movement participant and a movement organization increases the participant's commitment to the organization (Klandermans 1997, Valocchi 1999, Nepstad 2004). In the case of the present research, I argue that a highly salient Republican identity increases LCR men's ideological connection to the LCR. My interview with Richard provides support for this assertion. Richard describes himself as a "Lincoln Republican." He explains, "I believe in less interference in the private lives of Americans whether that be economic or social" and goes on to say that because the LCR also embraces this view of Republicanism, he feels like there is a "good match" between his values and that of the organization.

Beyond heightening the ideological congruency between an LCR member and the organization, a more salient Republican identity can also increase a member's

commitment to the collective identity of the organization. Because a collective identity is, at least in part, made up of shared ideology (Polletta & Jasper 2001), we would expect a member with a heightened Republican identity, and thus congruency with the ideology of the LCR, to also indicate a commitment to the collective identity of the LCR. Thus, a highly salient Republican identity also contributes to the member's heightened commitment to the collective identity of the organization, increasing his overall organizational commitment. For example, during the interview Richard said, regarding his local LCR chapter, that there is a "very similar ideology among members." He went on to describe the group as a whole: "The LCR is an organization that strives to elect gay and gay friendly candidates to political office throughout our country. Sometimes it's 3 steps forward and 2 steps back, but we do make progress. We are stubborn." Richard's discussion of ideological similarity among local LCR members and his use of the word "we" when describing the LCR in general indicates his commitment to the collective identity of the organization.

In addition to a more salient Republican identity, a high level of organizational activity also aids Richard in using the *equality frame* to reduce identity conflicts. Research suggests that high levels of activity within the organization provide members with opportunities to meet and get to know other members (Nepstad 2004). This contact can foster solidarity among members and increase the member's commitment to the organization (Lichterman 1999). My data support these assertions. For example, Richard initially joined the LCR to find other gay individuals with a comparable level of education. In his desire to find a life partner, he felt that the LCR would provide an environment of similar others. Richard also had an interest in politics but knew little

about the political process. Despite waning membership in his local chapter and increased hostility from the local gay community toward the LCR, Richard remains active in the organization. Richard states, "These people are my friends, and we've been here a while." Clearly his relationships with other LCR members, fostered by his continuous activity in his local chapter, have become an important aspect of Rich's continued loyalty to the LCR.

While Richard's more salient Republican identity and high levels of organizational activity enabled him to use an amplifying frame (i.e., *the equality frame*) to reduce identity conflict, other LCR men use such frames in combination with different sets of factors to reduce identity conflict. Harry - a long-term but non-active member with a more salient Republican identity – also utilized the equality frame but to reduce a different type of identity conflict. In describing the nature of his identity conflict, Harry states:

> "National should have been more forceful on two issues. 1. They actually helped the Bush administration with abstinence-focused aids prevention program. They should have pushed the issue about condoms. 2. With Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Log Cabin should have said that it was inappropriate. They could have blamed it on Clinton and forced it out, but they said they didn't want to cause problems for some Republicans in D.C. who were working under Clinton at the time."

In Harry's view, the LCR was not upholding the collective Republican identity that the organization promotes which includes the importance of speaking out when the Republican Party is headed in the wrong direction. As a result, Harry's personal Republican identity, which *does* include a willingness to speak out against members of the Republican Party if necessary, was no longer sufficiently congruent with the Republican identity being expressed by the LCR. Recall that inconsistencies in the

collective Republican identity of expressed by the LCR challenge LCR members' understandings of their personal Republican identities, thus upsetting the harmonious coexistence of their gay and Republican identities. In this example, because the collective Republican identity of the LCR is in question, Harry is uneasy about his loyalty to that identity. His ability to be both gay and Republican rests on his understandings of those identities as congruent. When the LCR behaves in such a way as to alter the definition or boundaries of the collective Republican identity to which Harry subscribes, he must re-evaluate the compatibility of his gay and Republican identities.

To reconcile these identities and thus reduce the identity conflicts that surround them, Harry turns to the *equality frame.* Despite his belief that the LCR was not doing enough in terms of fighting legislation that was discriminatory against homosexuals, Harry explains his continued involvement with the LCR:

> "Sometimes you have to forge a compromise. Have to just wait out a few years. The history of California is important for me…Democrats have been like cheating husbands...sure honey, I'll stop. Democrats here have little to do with gay rights issues. So it's the Republicans who are making strides. I'm not sure that becoming a Democrat would help us achieve equality."

Like Richard, Harry focuses on the ability of gay Republicans to advocate for gay rights. The *equality frame*, by emphasizing the importance of gay rights activism within the Republican Party, speaks to the importance of the LCR's collective gay identity. Harry's use of this frame to reduce identity conflicts demonstrates his belief that the LCR is a vehicle by which Harry can participate in the struggle for gay and lesbian equality. The *equality frame* thus increases the perceived functionality of Harry's personal gay identity. His belief in the efficacy of his gay identity is evident in his statement that "Democrats here have little to do with gay rights issues." Via this identity modification process (i.e.,

a change to the meaning of an identity), the *equality frame*, as a type of amplifying frame, thus produces the individual-level identity effect of identity amplification. In this case, it is Harry's gay identity that is amplified.

As discussed previously, amplifying frames are not sufficient, in and of themselves, to reduce identity conflicts for LCR men. Rather, frames of this category must also work in combination with a more salient Republican identity, a long-term membership, or a high level of organizational activity to be successful in ameliorating identity tensions. For Harry, a more salient Republican identity and a long-term membership enable him to emphasize the *equality frame* – an example of frame amplification – to reduce conflicts surrounding his gay and Republican identities.

Recall that a highly salient Republican identity increases LCR men's ideological connection to the LCR and contributes to member's heightened commitment to the collective identity of the organization, thus increasing his overall organizational commitment. This ideological connection to the LCR and commitment to the Republican identity it espouses is evident in Harry's description of the group. He states:

> "When I joined the group, I would say it was more moderate people and it was pretty much a 'we're going to work together' attitude. Later we had some people who were very difficult, breathing down your back. But the group's wholesome intent is to support the Republican Party. We believe in an efficient government that spends wisely, that supports national defense, and limited government as far as intrusion into personal affairs."

It is clear from Harry's comments that he embraces the ideological tenets (i.e., a belief in government efficiency, national defense and limited government interference in personal lives) of the LCR's collective Republican identity. In this way, Harry's salient Republican identity increases his sense of belonging to the LCR and thus encourages his commitment to the organization.

Research has also shown long-term membership to increase member commitment to social movement organizations (Melucci 1996, Klandermans 1997, Nepstad 2004). This can occur via positive interactions with others through the course of movement participation that can heighten a member's connection to other members (Klandermans 1997, Lichterman 1999) and through the socialization processes occurring in a movement organization over time that increase the member's commitment to the goals of the organization (Melucci 1996, Neptstad 2004). Here, I argue that long-term membership increases male members' commitment to the LCR in similar ways.

First, long-term membership affects members' connections to the goals of the LCR. Harry provides support for this claim as he describes the ultimate purpose of the LCR, which, to him, involves two important goals. He explains, "The LCR is trying to set an example for gay Republicans who are closeted, to let them know that they could help the party and themselves and that there are others like them are out here. We are also hoping to have an input on local, statewide and national policy." Regarding the first goal - to set an example for closeted gay Republicans - Harry believes that his continued participation in the LCR is helpful to Republican gays in his area. He explains, "The problem being Republican and being gay here [in his particular city] is that gays in their 20s and 30s don't know their history. They don't know about all the problems in the past and the fact that the Republicans have done more here to produce for the gay community." Regarding the second goal – to have an input on local, state and national policies – Harry reiterates the importance of local Republicans in the struggle for gay and lesbian equality stating, "Democrats here have little to do with gay rights." As a Republican organization, the LCR provides Republican gays an avenue by which to join

in this fight. Thus, as a result of Harry's 6 years of membership, his belief in and commitment to the goals of the organization has increased.

Long-term membership also increases a member's organizational commitment by affecting his affinity for other constituents (Klandermans 1997, Lichterman 1999). This connection to others in the organization does not occur in a vacuum, but rather it results from contact among members. Extensive contact is more likely among members who have been involved in the LCR for longer periods of time. This contact can foster solidarity among members, and thus increase a constituent's commitment to the organization, itself (Lichterman 1999). My data support this assertion. When asked about his reasons for being involved in the LCR, Harry expressed a desire for a "community of similar others" that shared his beliefs that "…the government should be efficient. It shouldn't overly impose moral issues and shouldn't overly regulate business and private affairs. The government is there for defense and regulation of things like trade. It's there to protect the country, to make sure laws are recognized between states. It should show financial responsibility." Harry does not want only to belong to an *organization* that shares his beliefs and concerns. Rather, Harry wants to be involved with and talk to other similar *individuals*.

It is clear from the QCA results presented in Table 5 for men that two frame types – bridging and extension– are sufficient in and of themselves to reduce identity conflict for some men (see Table 5, Panel I, sections b and c, respectively). Frame amplification, however, must occur in conjunction with either a more salient Republican identity, long-term membership in the LCR, or a high level of activity in the LCR in order for men to emphasize amplifying frames to reduce identity conflicts (Table 5, Panel I, section a).

These findings support my argument that when movement organizations offer frames linking a member's multiple identities to each other and to the collective identity of the organization (that is, frames that accomplish frame bridging) or offer frames that extend the boundaries of the collective identity of the organization in order to encompass more of a member's multiple identities (i.e., frames that accomplish frame extension), such frames can be emphasized by individual members to reduce identity conflicts. Frames that amplify only one particular identity (i.e., frames that accomplish frame amplification), and thus are not as flexible and inclusive in terms of the beliefs and/or characteristics that they attempt to magnify, do not, at least on their own, allow members to reduce identity conflict.

In addition, I show that LCR men's abilities to use amplifying frames are dependent upon additional factors such as a more salient Republican identity, long-term membership in the LCR, or a high level of activity in the LCR. These factors can increase a member's commitment to the LCR by heightening his feelings of connectedness to the ideology, goals, collective identity or people of the organization. Men who exhibit any one of the three factors are able to emphasize the more narrowly focused amplifying frames to reduce identity conflict that arises during the course of their membership.

II. *Results for Women*

The results in Table 5 show that women LCR members who rely on frame amplification must also be members with more salient Republican identities, be long-term members, or be both long-term and active members to reduce identity conflicts

(Table 5, Panel II, section a). Unlike the men, however, LCR women are unable to rely on frame bridging or frame extension to reduce identity conflict in the absence of these other key factors (Table 5, Panel II, sections b and c, respectively). In other words, women always require a combination of factors to reduce identity conflicts. Further, while LCR men could either have a more salient Republican identity OR be active members OR be long-term members and successfully reduce identity conflicts with frame amplification, women's abilities to emphasize all three types of frame alignment processes to reduce such tensions are more complex. There are three causal combinations that allow women to emphasize frame bridging, frame extension, and frame amplification to reduce identity conflicts: (1) women who are new to the organization and who are not active must have a more salient Republican identity to emphasize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict; (2) women with more salient gay identities must be long-term members to emphasize any of the three frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict; and (3) regardless of which identity is more salient (gay or Republican), women must be both long-term and active LCR members to utilize frame bridging, extension and amplification to manage identity conflicts. These findings are illustrated in Table 5 and discussed in detail below.

The following discussion is organized such that the combinations of factors that allow women to emphasize amplifying, bridging and extending frames to reduce identity conflicts are presented according to their associations with the different frame categories. I provide two examples of each combination to illustrate how a more salient Republican identity, a long-term membership, and a high level of organizational activity operate in conjunction with the different frame types to reduce identity conflict among LCR

women. I will first discuss how the presence of a more salient Republican identity works in conjunction with frame amplification and frame extension to reduce identity conflicts for women (the first QCA equations in Table 5, Panel II, sections a and c, respectively). Next, I explain why long-term membership is necessary for women with more salient gay identities to emphasize different frame types to reduce identity conflicts (the second QCA equations in Table 5, Panel II, sections b and c, respectively), using frame bridging and frame extension as examples. Finally, I discuss how long-term membership and high levels of organizational activity work in combination with frame bridging and extension to reduce identity conflicts among LCR women (the third QCA equations in Table 5, Panel II, sections b and c, respectively).

Salient Republican Identity with Categories of Frames

The first QCA equation leading to identity conflict resolution for women involves women with more salient Republican identities. These women are able to emphasize the different types of frames (i.e., they utilize frames that accomplish frame amplification, frame bridging and frame extension) to reduce identity conflicts despite shorter lengths of membership and lower activity levels within the organization. For example, LCR women with more salient Republican identities employ frames illustrative of frame amplification despite shorter, non-active memberships (see the combination REPUBID*longterm*active*AMPLIFICATION in Table 5, Panel II, section a). For example, Ima described to me the conflict she has felt between her personal gay and Republican identities:

> "My gay Democrats they tell me, you know that, they say well you need to change. I say well the day that I change I'm gonna be straight. I said you're as bad as the religious right in my party trying to get me to change. They [gay Democratic friends] say well we'd be better for you and I said they [Republicans] said I would be better straight. And I said well, ya know, I don't wanna do that, and I wanna die this way so this is it. So I'm gonna do what I can in my party."

Ima feels a tension between her personal gay and Republican identities in that she must defend the coexistence of these identities to her Democratic gay friends while at the same time realizing that some heterosexuals Republicans also question her affiliation with the Republican Party. In order to handle this tension, Ima turns to the *equality frame* – a frame illustrative of frame amplification. Talking about her recent work on the state Republican platform, she states: "Basically I'm working so hard on that platform because I'm wanting the gay Republican's that are graduating high school not to come out with the same problem that I had…of that stupid platform being so anti-gay." She believes that her participation in Log Cabin is an important tool in achieving gay rights in her state. She explains, "It's a great collecting point for us organizing, our group being equality for gays, ya know. It's about simple plain issues, ones we can gather on and ones we can work for, ya know what I'm saying."

By emphasizing the ways in which the LCR, a Republican organization, aids in the struggle for gay and lesbian equality, the *equality frame* points to the importance of such an organization in the fight for gay rights. This frame thus increases the perceived functionality of the LCR's collective gay identity and Ima's personal gay identity. In other words, Ima believes in the ability of herself and other LCR members to work for gay rights in her state. The individual-level identity effect is an amplification of Ima's

personal gay identity. Following the next example, I will discuss how amplifying frames are not sufficient in and of themselves to reduce LCR women's identity conflicts.

LCR women with more salient Republican identities also emphasize frames illustrative of frame extension to reduce identity conflicts (see the combination REPUBID*longterm*active*EXTENSION in Table 5, Panel II, section c). One female LCR member, Greer, provides an example of this. Greer has experienced a conflict between her personal Republican identity and the collective Republican identity exhibited by the LCR. She feels that the LCR is not "aggressive enough" in getting their message out and that they aren't visible enough at the grassroots level. Clearly, Greer's personal Republican identity involves a greater degree of vocality regarding gay and lesbian issues than does the collective Republican identity of the LCR. Recall that when the LCR behaves in such a way as to alter the definition or boundaries of the collective Republican identity to which a member subscribes, a member may become uneasy about her loyalty to that identity. Greer's ability to be both gay and Republican rests on her understandings of those identities as congruent. Because the collective Republican identity of the LCR is in question, Greer must re-evaluate her own understanding of that identity and determine if this collective Republican identity threatens the coexistence of her own personal Republican and gay identities.

To address this conflict, Greer employs the *party transformation frame* (a frame that accomplishes frame extension). She states:

> "Well, I think it's to keep my hand in there, to mainly, you know, kind of have that option available. Because, what I'm wanting to do is, as I start meeting candidates, is finding out what they know about the Log Cabin and if they're receptive to speaking with them and so forth. I'm trying to, I guess, keeping my contacts with it if I can merge the two, I'd like to be able to do that. And that would be mainly so that the Log Cabin Republicans are more…that they're seen more here, that they're noticed. So that maybe some of the Republicans who talk to me now, and will ask me questions and so forth, would be more open to doing that with more gays and lesbians and maybe even become a little bit more accepting."

Evidence of the *party transformation frame* is in Greer's comments about meeting candidates and trying to get these candidates to speak with other Log Cabin members. Greer hopes this interaction will make Republican candidates "a little bit more accepting" of gays and lesbians. Through her efforts to educate Republican candidates to gay and lesbian issues, Greer seeks to change the Republican Party – to make it more inclusive of gays and lesbians. This is precisely the message put forth in the *party transformation frame*.

As an example of frame extension, the *party transformation frame* extends Greer's Republican identity by advocating a type of Republicanism that is accepting of multiple perspectives, in this case, one that is inclusive of gays and lesbians. This individual-level identity effect is the result of a change to the meanings associated with Greer's Republican identity. The *party transformation frame* focuses on the ability of gays and lesbians not only to exist within the Republican Party, but also to change it. In this way, the *party transformation frame* increases the perceived functionality of the LCR's collective Republican identity by highlighting the ability of gay Republicans to make a difference within their own Party. For Greer, this frame encourages her in her efforts to change the perception of the LCR and or gays and lesbians in general among

Republican candidates in her area, thus increasing the perceived functionality of Greer's personal Republican identity.

As stated at the beginning of the results section for women, the different frame categories are never able to reduce identity conflicts for women independently. Rather, there must be a combination of factors in order for LCR women to successfully emphasize these types of frame alignment processes to ameliorate identity tensions. For women who are neither long-term nor active LCR members, the necessity of having a highly salient Republican identity in order to use frames illustrative of the frame alignment processes these women emphasize to reduce identity conflict points to the importance having an ideological commitment to the LCR. Women members who are new to the organization and who are not active in the organization have not had the time to develop strategies to deal with identity conflicts, nor have they had time to develop meaningful relationships with other LCR members. However, if these women have more salient Republican identities, they do at least have an ideological connection to the organization.

In the present examples, Ima and Greer both have more salient Republican identities. I argue here that a highly salient Republican identity increases LCR women's ideological connection to the LCR. Recall that research has demonstrated that a shared ideology between a social movement participant and a movement organization increases the participant's commitment to the organization (Klandermans 1997, Valocchi 1999, Nepstad 2004). My interview with Greer provides support for this assertion. When I asked her to describe what she finds important or meaningful about the LCR, Greer stated:

> "Well, basically them [LCR] trying to not so much bring the gays and lesbians, you know, shove them down the Republican's throat to accept them, but more of bringing the ideals of the, the original ideals, I guess, of personal responsibility, less government and so forth back to the Party. And more personal responsibility I guess is the basic thing for me. And that seems to be the Republican Party, for me right now, that tends to focus on that more than the others [Democrats, Independents]."

Greer points here to the tenets of Republicanism that both she and the LCR value such as personal responsibility and limited government. This ideological congruency is encouraged, at least in part, by her more salient Republican identity. Because of its centrality, Greer's personal Republican identity heightens the importance of political ideology, thus encouraging her affiliation with a group that shares her values – in this case, the LCR.

A more salient Republican identity can also increase a member's commitment to the collective identity of the organization. Because a collective identity is, at least in part, made up of shared ideology (Polletta & Jasper 2001), we would expect that members with a heightened Republican identity, and thus congruency with the ideology of the LCR, to also indicate a commitment to the collective identity of the LCR. Ima provides evidence of her commitment to the collective identity of the LCR when discussing her role as Secretary of her local chapter and the effort she puts forth to recruit new members.

> "Everybody knows that I'm the Republican and they'll point to me. I'm telling all the Democrats, 'If you know of a gay Republican send them to me and I collect them.' I'm a collector. And that way, then I disperse Republican information to them and most of them stay on my list. Most of them do not ask to be removed, because I don't disperse a whole lot of junk. I just want [to send information about] things that are going on in the Party, things that we would be concerned with. Um, it's a way of collecting gay Republicans."

By viewing the LCR as "a way of collecting gay Republicans" and by highlighting the importance of dispersing information that "we would be concerned with," Ima demonstrates her connection to the collective identity of the group. She sees herself as

part of a "we" – a group of individuals who are gay and Republican. The LCR is a way to gather together individuals that fit this description.

Long-Term Membership with Categories of Frames

As mentioned above, the second QCA equation or combination of factors leading to identity conflict resolution for women involves women with more salient gay identities (the second QCA equations in Table 5, Panel II, sections a, b and c, respectively). For these women being long-term members is a necessary factor in order to emphasize the different frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflicts. For example, women with more salient gay identities who are also long-term members are able to utilize frames illustrative of frame bridging (see the combination repubid*LONGTERM *BRIDGING in Table 5, Panel II, section b) to reduce identity conflicts. For example, Paula – an LCR member for the last 15 years - has difficulty resolving the tension between her personal Republican identity and the collective Republican identity of the LCR. Paula's personal Republican identity includes a willingness to speak out against those in the Republican Party who align themselves with the religious right. She believes the collective Republican identity of the LCR to be "too centrist." She states:

> "I think that they're [LCR] not as outspoken as I would like them to be. I can give you an example from today. I got an e-mail from about Huckabee winning in Iowa. And I read the e-mail, and I thought, 'The guy is obviously an extremist. He obviously aligns himself with the radical religious people who have overtaken my party.' And the group that I, well, I would hope that any group would speak out against him, but obviously that is not going to happen, but they seem to be embracing the fact that Huckabee won as opposed to Mitt Romney. It just didn't sit as I thought it should. It just didn't settle with me. It just didn't feel right. And maybe they are thinking the lesser of two evils, I don't know, but it almost seems that they were encouraged that Huckabee won. And I don't feel that encouragement."

While the LCR talks about transforming the Republican Party back to its core values and away from the values espoused by the religious right, in this quote Paula shows that she does not believe that the group is working hard enough to do so. For Paula, the LCR is not living up to the collective Republican identity that it espouses – one that includes speaking out against candidates who take the Party away from its traditional values such as "smaller government, the government being "fiscally responsible" and government non-interference in personal lives. Recall that any discrepancy between a member's personal Republican identity and the collective Republican identity of the LCR disrupts the harmonious coexistence of her personal gay and Republican identities. For Paula, this inconsistency challenges her understanding of what, as an LCR member, her Republican identity should be and whether this kind of Republicanism is supportive of her gay identity.

In her attempts to reconcile these conflicts, Paula draws on the *congruency frame* (a frame that accomplishes frame bridging):

> "I am a believer in the democratic process, in my government as well as in a group and therefore, you kind of end up with wherever the membership has taken you. And my other issue with that is where do I go? To go to the Democratic Party is just not powerful to me. I think that their core beliefs do not align with my core beliefs. And libertarians, they show some promise, but until they are truly viable, I just can't quite throw all of my support there."

Though her ideas about the kind of Republicanism the LCR should exhibit are different from the behaviors she has witnessed recently, Paula believes that the LCR is an organization that still largely represents her personal Republican identity. The *congruency frame* encourages this belief by linking her personal gay and Republican identities ways that emphasize the compatibility of these identities, including highlighting beliefs common to both gays and Republicans such as beliefs about individual freedoms,

equality under the law for all citizens, and the government refraining from legislating morality (thus accomplishing frame bridging).

The *congruency frame* also alters the meanings associated with Paula's gay and Republican identities (and thus identity modification occurs) by increasing the perceived interconnectedness of these identities. According to this frame, LCR members can work for gay rights by embracing a type of Republicanism conducive to this struggle. By linking Republicanism with gay rights activism, the *congruency frame* thus challenges traditional definitions of the gay identity – historically linked with the Democratic Party - and the Republican identity – historically seen as anti-gay – and thus portrays the gay and Republican identities as compatible. Recall that individual members who embrace the gay and Republican collective identities as defined by LCR organizational frames will hold personal identities that closely mirror the characteristics or definitions of these LCR collective gay and Republican identities. Therefore, by employing the *congruency frame*, Paula enables her personal gay and Republican identities to exist together with less tension (identity consolidation).

Though the *congruency frame* is successful in accomplishing frame bridging at the organizational level and identity consolidation at the individual level, it is not sufficient in and of itself to reduce Paula's identity conflicts. Rather, Paula's long-term membership with the LCR is a crucial factor which ultimately enables Paula to utilize the *congruency frame* to relieve her identity tensions. I explain the importance of long-term membership after I present another causal combination in which long-term membership aids women with more salient gay identities in using organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

LCR women with more salient gay identities must also be long-term members in order to emphasize frames illustrative of frame extension (see the combination repubid*LONGTERM*EXTENSION in Table 5, Panel II, section c). Take, for example, the experiences of Juliette, who, like Paula, has been a member of Log Cabin for the last 15 years. She explained to me her recent conflict with the LCR:

> I have had an issue with them [LCR] about Bush. And it might surprise you actually, it's not that they weren't supportive of him in 2004, it's actually that they were supportive of him at all. I don't know if it's a personality thing, I just never liked or trusted the man. I don't think he's a good Republican. So my struggle with the Bush years with the Log Cabin club has really been that I think I like Bush a lot less than they do. In fact, I can't stand him."

Though the LCR did not formally endorse Bush in 2004, Juliette goes on to describe her discomfort with the organization's lack of outspokenness against Bush as passive support. The LCR's support of someone who she feels is not a "good Republican" created tension between her personal Republican identity, which involves speaking out against members of her Party if necessary, and the collective Republican identity being expressed by the LCR, which through the organization's non-action in the 2004 Presidential election portrays a different type of Republicanism. As with Paula, this discrepancy ultimately creates tension between Juliette's personal gay and Republican identities.

Juliette draws on the *party transformation frame* (a frame illustrative of frame extension), in order to emphasize her belief in what the LCR is trying to accomplish:

> "I think one of the key things is that we're trying to gain power within the Republican Party by forcing dialogue with leaders in the Republican Party and being more of a party loyalist instead of trying to confront the party from outside. I know that's something that's been a philosophy of Log Cabin for a long time is that you make incremental and continuous improvement by being part of the process and not rebelling against it. So I think that philosophy is something I definitely share and I've certainly seen that reflected in the terminology and the language the national party uses. I think that there's also a conscientious effort to identify people who are moderate and to highlight that and work with those people and to support them so they don't feel alone in the Republican Party. I've certainly seen a lot of that over time and that's also a strategy and philosophy that I support."

Rather than dwelling on a specific point in time during which there was incongruency between her Republican identity and the collective Republican identity demonstrated by the LCR, Juliette chooses to focus on their shared goal - transforming the Republican Party. Using the *party transformation frame,* Juliette describes the positive contributions LCR members make in terms of making the Republican Party conducive to the struggle for gay rights. This is evident in her comments about working within the Republican Party for change and her comments regarding the LCR's efforts "to identify people who are moderate" and "to work with those people and support them." In these ways, the *party transformation frame* successfully extends the boundaries of the Republican identity (and thus accomplishes frame bridging).

Because Juliette embraces this broader vision of the LCR as an organization working for gay rights within the Republican Party, she is able to embody a Republican identity that reaches beyond the ideological differences she has with the LCR regarding their lack of outspokenness against Bush in 2004. Further, the *party transformation frame* increases the perceived functionality of the Republican identity with its focus on making the Republican Party inclusive of homosexuals and its emphasis on the need for Republicans to work within their own Party to achieve gay rights.

By increasing the perceived functionality of Juliette's Republican identity (i.e., by altering the meaning of that identity), the *party transformation frame* provides evidence of the identity modification process at work. The result of this identity modification process is the individual-level identity effect of identity extension. Juliette's personal Republican identity has been extended such that it embodies traditional Republican ideology (individual freedom, personal responsibility, government non-interference, etc.) that is also conducive to the fight for gay and lesbian equality.

Again, none of the framing categories (i.e., frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension) are sufficient in and of themselves to reduce identity conflict for LCR women. For the current examples, that is, for women with more salient gay identities, long-term membership is a necessary factor that, in combination with the framing categories, successfully reduces identity conflict for LCR women. I argue here that long-term membership aids LCR women with more salient gay identities in using frame amplification, bridging and extension by increasing their commitments to the goals of the organization and by increasing their connections to other LCR members.

Because they are less likely to share as high a level of ideological congruency with the LCR as women with more salient Republican identities, women with more salient gay identities require a different form of organizational commitment to reduce identity conflicts. Recall that LCR men with more salient gay identities are able to emphasize amplifying frames to reduce identity conflicts so long as they were either long-term *or* active members. LCR women with highly salient gay identities, however, must be long-term members in order to utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts. Being a long-term member of the LCR, or any organization for that matter, indicates a loyalty to

the organization. Typically, the longer one is involved with a group, the more committed he/she is to the overarching goals of that group (Melucci 1996, Neptstad 2004). This belief in the ultimate goals or direction of the organization is one component of organizational commitment. As Paula explains:

> "I see a lot of momentum as far as gay rights and I see real progress within the Republican Party to try to shed that influence of the religious right. I think it's all that much more important for moderate Republicans to take this opportunity to try to do a power grab and kick them out of the Republican Party. We can take it back. I smell the opportunity here for the moderates to gain power in the Republican Party. It's an opportunity so it's even more a good time for me to be active with the LCR."

Here Paula demonstrates her belief in one of the overarching goals of the LCR – to change the nature of the Republican Party from within. Though she does not agree with some of the LCR's Republican ideals, Paula's fifteen years of membership in the organization has increased her commitment to the ultimate goals of the LCR.

As I stated in my discussion of the results for men, long-term membership also increases the amount of contact among LCR members (Klandermans 1997, Lichterman 1999). This contact can foster solidarity among members, and thus increase a constituent's commitment to the organization (Lichterman 1999). Hence, an increased affinity for other members is evidence of organizational commitment. For women with more salient gay identities, a connection to other members that develops over the course of a lengthy membership provides a buffer in the face of identity conflicts, and allows them to emphasize organizational frames to reduce identity tensions. For example, Juliette relates how her relationships with others in the LCR have helped her to overcome her feeling of alienation within the Republican Party and in the gay community:

> "There is one thing that I realized. Part of the reason that I don't feel any real alienation or strong tension between myself and the Republican Party in general is because I feel aligned with groups like Log Cabin that I feel like I'm not the only one. I feel like I'm part of a subgroup that disagrees with what the majority is saying in the Republican Party. As a small subgroup, we are growing and gaining converts to our side of the more moderate Republicans, so I think that has helped with some of the tension. I also think what has also helped with some of the tension on the other side is being a gay person who is Republican, because I certainly feel the tension there too. I think it's helped by the fact that there's groups like Log Cabin that again make me feel that even within the gay community that I'm not totally alone there. So the tension on both sides has been alleviated by having people that share my core beliefs, even though it's a relatively small group, it's helped me to feel less alone in my beliefs, especially when I live in a part of the country that is very liberal."

Encouraged by feelings of alienation in both the Republican Party and the gay community, Juliette developed relationships with others in the LCR who share her "core beliefs." By increasing her commitment to others in the organization, Juliette's long-term membership has provided her a safeguard, enabling her to use organizational frames to reduce these conflicts as they arise.

Long-Term Membership and High Levels of Activity with Categories of Frames

Finally, women, if they are both long-term and active members of the LCR are able to emphasize the different frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflicts regardless of whether their Republican or gay identities are more salient (the REPUBID variable is absent from these equations). For example, some long-term, active LCR women emphasize frames illustrative of frame bridging to reduce identity conflicts (see the combination LONGTERM*ACTIVE*BRIDGING in Table 5, Panel II, section b). Christa - an LCR member for 7 years who attends almost all meetings and events sponsored by her local LCR chapter - recently questioned her allegiance to the LCR due

to the organization's push for the inclusion of sexual orientation in hate crimes legislation. Though she believes this action to be out of line with the tenets of traditional Republicanism (i.e., she does not embrace the collective identity expressed by the LCR through its recent actions), she explained to me why she remains loyal to the LCR:

> "There are so many gay Republicans who are just as scared about coming out as Republicans as they are about coming out as gay. So it's times like that kind of sustain me and help me stick with it [her affiliation with the LCR]. And then also I think about the alternative which is to be a Democrat which I can't even…and then the other alternative to that is to be Independent, and there's just not a meaty enough piece to play as an Independent in the political life of this state and country. And because I care very much about laws that are passed that are going to affect my life and my children's lives – this is the best fit for me for getting involved politically."

Despite her disagreement with some of the LCR's political ideology as reflected in its recent legislative initiatives, Christa believes the organization to be largely representative of her personal Republican identity in terms of advancing gay rights. Her references to a greater ideological congruency between herself as a gay Republican and the LCR compared to Democratic or Independent organizations and her belief in her ability to affect gay rights legislation from within the Republican Party illustrate her use of the *congruency frame*.

Recall from a previous example in this chapter that the *congruency frame* links the gay and Republican identities ways that emphasize the compatibility of these identities, including highlighting beliefs common to both gays and Republicans such as beliefs about individual freedoms, equality under the law for all citizens, and the government refraining from legislating morality (thus accomplishing frame bridging). In doing so, the *congruency frame* attempts to reduce identity conflicts that surround

members' gay and Republican identities that at times arise because of inconsistencies with one or both of those identities.

The *congruency frame* changes the meanings of the gay and Republican identities by increasing the perceived interconnectedness of those identities. According to this frame, LCR members can work for gay rights by embracing a type of Republicanism conducive to this struggle. By employing the *congruency frame*, Christa indicates her desire to accept the gay and Republican collective identities as defined by this organizational frame. The individual-level identity effect is identity consolidation - blending her personal gay and Republican identities.

Though the *congruency frame* is successful in accomplishing frame bridging at the organizational level and identity consolidation at the individual level, it is not sufficient in and of itself to reduce Christa's identity conflicts. It is because Christa is both a long-term and active LCR member that she is able to use the *congruency frame* to reduce identity conflicts. I discuss the importance of these factors after presenting a second example of a long-term, highly active LCR woman utilizing an organizational frame to reduce identity conflicts.

Being long-term and active members also aids LCR women with more salient Republican identities utilize extending frames (see the combination LONGTERM*ACTIVE*EXTENSION in Table 5, Panel II, section c) to manage identity conflicts. Carlen - an active LCR member for the last 6 years - described to me a feeling of futility regarding the LCR. Citing, as an example, the LCR's failure to be more outspoken against President Bush during the 2004 election, she stated:

> "I was glad that they didn't endorse Bush in 2004. I actually wish they had been more outspoken about it. It's just an example of how they don't make enough noise when stuff happens. I mean, here's this President trying to get discrimination written into the Constitution of the United States, and all LCR does is just not endorse him! They should have said something…done something. Isn't that one of the main tenets of Republicanism that LCR touts…the government not legislating morality? Individual freedom? Well I guess that's two, but it's the same point. Here's their candidate going against a major belief of LCR and they do nothing but look the other way. It really pissed me off."

Like many of the other women discussed in this chapter, Carlen feels like the LCR is not living up to the collective Republican identity that it espouses – one that includes speaking out against candidates who take the Party away from its traditional values such as smaller government, fiscal responsibility and government non-interference in personal lives. This discrepancy between a Carlen's personal Republican identity (which does value outspokenness against fellow Republicans when necessary) and the collective Republican identity of the LCR threatens the ability of her personal gay and Republican identities to coexist. In other words, the collective Republican identity of the LCR has become inconsistent with the type of Republican identity that Carlen values. As a result, Carlen is less confident of the ability of the LCR's vision of Republicanism to be supportive of her gay identity.

Despite this sense that the LCR was not doing enough to change the Republican Party, Carlen remains a member. When I asked how she reconciled her idea of what a Republican should be (her personal Republican identity) and the type of Republicanism she sees the LCR promoting (the collective Republican identity of the LCR), she turned to the *party transformation frame.* She stated, "Well, that's hard. Um…the idea that at least there was someone within the Republican Party that actually wanted it to become more true to its roots if you will. In other words, less in the hands of the Jerry Falwells of

the country." Carlen's focus in this comment on the efforts of the LCR to bring the Republican Party back to its roots and away from socially conservative Republicans who attempt to legislate morality, provides evidence of the *party transformation frame*.

Recall that the *party transformation frame*, as an example of frame extension, extends the boundaries of the Republican identity in order to encompass a variety of interests or points of view. The individual-level identity effect of organizational frame extension is identity extension which involves increasing the pervasiveness or situational reach of a personal identity (Snow & McAdam 2000). That is, a personal identity will become relevant in additional ways or in additional situations. The *party transformation frame* produces this individual-level identity effect via the identity modification process discussed throughout this chapter.

According to this frame, not only does Carlen's Republican identity serve her political interests (i.e., taking the Republican Party back from the religious right), but it also facilitates her interests in achieving equal rights for gays and lesbians. In this way, the *party transformation frame* extends the Republican identity into arenas not previously associated with that identity (i.e. gay rights activism). Further, by portraying the Republican identity as necessary to changing the overall image of the Republican Party, the *party transformation frame* increases the perceived functionality of the LCR's collective Republican identity and Carlen's personal Republican identities as she employs this frame to reduce identity conflicts.

Though the *party transformation frame* accomplishes frame extension at the organizational level and identity extension at the individual level, Carlen is unable to use this frame in the absence of other factors to reduce identity conflicts. As in Christa's

case, long-term membership and a high level of organizational activity are the necessary additional factors for Carlen. Below I explain how long-term membership and a high level of organizational activity work in combination with organizational framing to reduce identity conflicts among LCR women.

Recall that being a long-term member of the LCR, or any organization for that matter, indicates a loyalty to the organization. Typically, the longer one is involved with a group, the more committed she is to the overarching goals of that group (Melucci 1996, Neptstad 2004). High levels of activity also encourage a member's commitment to the goals of the organization (Neptstad 2004). Both Christa and Carlen discuss their beliefs in the importance of the LCR in the fight for gay and lesbian equality and in gay Republicans having a presence in the Republican Party. Christa states:

> "I think the main goal should be that we've kind to find some funding support and we've got to find a way to create dialogue with the [state] Republican Party. At this point, we would like them to stop using us as pawns in a political argument. We would also like to gain traction in the Republican Party so that then we can have some voice in state issues such as the bills that drawn up every year to prevent same-sex couples from adopting. So just being able to have a presence so that it's not a foregone conclusion that Republicans in [state] feel and think a certain way. That's the main goal of the dialogue.

In a similar comment, Carlen says:

> "I think that the point about working from within and having a presence in the Party is important. It does point to the usefulness of a group like LCR [in achieving gay rights]. The Democrats have their groups which is good. But a lot of these people [LCR members] don't agree with Democratic principles…mostly in terms of fiscal issues and government interference. So they don't really identify with the Democratic Party. That's why there needs to be a group like LCR in the Republican Party."

In these comments, both Christa and Carlen discuss the importance of having "a presence" in the Republican Party. Christa emphasizes the necessity of this presence in terms of advancing gay rights legislation in her state. The LCR is the vehicle by which

gay Republicans can join in the fight for gay and lesbian equality. Carlen, on the other hand, highlights the need for gay and lesbian Republicans to be involved in an organization that is ideologically congruent in order to be most effective in gay rights. The LCR is such an organization in that it advocates the presence of gay and lesbian Republicans working within the Republican Party for change.

A belief in the goals of the organization is clearly important to both Christa and Carlen. This commitment to LCR goals has been fostered by these women's long-term memberships and high levels of activity in the organization. Ultimately then, by increasing LCR women's commitments to the goals of the organization, long-term membership and high levels of organizational activity assist women in using organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

Being a highly active member can also play a role in how well LCR women are able to handle identity tensions via organizational frames. As is the case with long-term members, highly active members will have greater contact with others in the organization than non-active members. This contact increases the likelihood that these women will develop meaningful relationships with other LCR members. Ultimately, participating in organizational activities with other members provides the highly active member with a larger proportion of her social network that is supportive of her beliefs, practices, and ultimately, her multiple identities (Nepstad 2004). I found evidence of this connection to others in the data. For example, Christa described in detail to me characteristics of some of the board members of her local chapter. As a board member herself, Christa also spoke of her frequent interactions with these individuals at meetings and events, and she related her disappointment when one of the board members recently left the LCR. In

discussing one board member Christa stated, "As far as I know, **** is the only straight person in the group, God love her. She's such a great person. We'll hang on to her." Regarding the board member who recently withdrew from the organization, Christa said, "I think, we were all very disappointed because, well because we all really like each other for one, and ****had such a great perspective and great energy. I think we all understood that struggle. It's almost like after one too many punches, it's like forget it. It's not worth it anymore. So, we didn't try to talk her out of it. But we will miss her."

These expressions of affection ("we love her" and "we all really like each other") toward other members and disappointment when a member left ("we were all very disappointed") point to Christa's close connections with other LCR members. These connections are the result of, or at the very least enhanced by, Christa's long-term and highly active membership with the LCR. In this way, long-term membership and high levels of organizational activity aid Christa in her ability to utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

The QCA results presented above for women show that, like men, women emphasize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflicts that arise during the course of their memberships. Women, however, are not able to emphasize these frame alignment processes in the absence of other factors. Women's abilities to utilize bridging, extending, and amplifying frames is dependent upon the presence of a more salient Republican identity (when member is new and non-active), long-term membership in the LCR (when the member has a more salient gay identity), or long-term membership in combination with a high level of activity in the LCR (regardless of identity salience). These findings indicate a more complicated relationship between a woman member's

organizational commitment and her ability to emphasize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict. Below I explain in more detail the intricacies of this relationship.

Comparison of QCA Results for Men and Women

As with the men in the sample, for women, a more salient Republican identity, long-term activism, and a high degree of activity within the LCR are important factors in managing identity tensions. However, these factors operate differently for women and men. LCR women cannot simply have more salient Republican identities OR be long-term members OR be active members to utilize frames to reduce identity conflicts as is possible for LCR men. Rather, women with more salient gay identities must also be long-term members to emphasize frames that bridge, extend or amplify; women who are new and non-active members must also have more salient Republican identities to emphasize organizational frames that accomplish frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension to manage identity conflict; and women, regardless of whether their gay or Republican identities are more salient, must be long-term and active members to reduce identity conflicts by using bridging, extending or amplifying frames. To explain these findings, I draw from research on intersectionality and the role of multiple subordinate identities and how the LCR women's subordinate identities impact the importance of organizational commitment.

Recall that for men, frames that spoke to multiple identities (specifically frames that allowed frame bridging and frame extension) were, in and of themselves, successful in reducing identity conflict. As described above, this is not the case for women. To

understand this difference in the ability of men and women to draw on organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts, I suggest that we need to pay attention not only to the presence or absence of multiple identities among movement participants, but also to the *nature* of those identities. Research on the intersectionality of identities does just this.

Developed extensively by Patricia Hill Collins (1993, 1998a, 1998b, 2000) intersectionality refers to the study of the relationships between power and multiple social categorizations. This perspective allows researchers to focus on the simultaneous interaction of multiple dimensions of subordination and/or privilege (see also Crenshaw 1991, Norris, et al. 2007). According to this perspective, social categories such as gender, race, class, and sexuality exist in a hierarchy according to the amount of power or privilege associated with that category. For example, with gender the privileged status is "male". Regarding race, the privileged status is "white". For sexuality, it is heterosexuals who are privileged. Of course, individuals do not occupy only one of these social categories; for instance, an individual may be female, African-American, and heterosexual. Further, most individuals will find themselves at different status levels within each category. For example, a white male occupies the most privileged status of both gender and race. A white female occupies a privileged racial status, but a subordinate gender status. A black female occupies subordinate statuses for both race and gender. It follows then that the more privileged identities one has, the more privilege one will have in the larger social world. Conversely, the more subordinate identities one has, the less privilege he/she will experience. As I stated in Chapter 2, I do not mean to suggest an additive nature of subordinate identities. Rather, different combinations of subordinate identities will provide individuals embodying those identities with very

different experiences of power and privilege. It just so happens that, in the present study, the homosexual identity and the female identity are the two subordinate identities under consideration. Thus, LCR men have one subordinate identity (i.e., they are gay) and LCR women have two subordinate identities (i.e., they are female and they are gay).

Drawing from this research on the intersectionality of identities, I propose that the LCR men in my sample have only one subordinate identity – their sexual identities. First, as is obvious, they are male. Second, all of the LCR men in the sample are white. Third, these men all self-report being middle-class or higher[49] with 95.5% of them holding college or advanced degrees[50]. While occupying a subordinate status in terms of sexually identity, these men are privileged in terms of gender, race and class. Like the men, the LCR women in my sample are privileged in terms of race since all of the women are white. With the exception of one respondent, these women are also privileged in terms of class as 88.8% identify as middle class or upper-middle class[51], and 88.9% hold college or advanced degrees[52]. However, unlike the LCR men in my sample who have only one subordinate identity (their gay status), the women in my sample have multiple subordinate identities. They have subordinate gender identities (i.e., female status) and sexual identities (i.e., gay status), and, in one case, a subordinate class identity (i.e., lower-class status).

Because LCR women have multiple subordinate identities, they have a greater potential for conflict to arise between or among these identities. Though not yet fully

[49] 36.4% identify as middle class (n=8); 59.1% identify as upper-middle class (n=13); 4.5% identify as upper class (n=1)
[50] 4.5% (n=1) completed some college; 27.3% (n=6) graduated college; 68.2% (n=15) hold advanced degrees (M.A., M.B.A., Ph.D., M.D., J.D.)
[51] 11.1% (n=1) identify as lower class; 11.1% identify as lower-middle class (n=1) 44.4% identify as middle class (n=4); 33.3% identify as upper-middle class (n=3)
[52] 11.1% (n=1) completed some college; 55.6% (n=5) graduated college; 33.3% (n=3) hold advanced degrees (M.A., M.B.A., Ph.D., M.D., J.D.)

explored in the social movements literature, researchers have alluded to the potential conflicts between multiple identities (see for example Bernd & Klandermans 2001; Tajfel & Turner 1986; Turner, et al. 1994; Turner & Oaks 1989; Valocchi 2001). Still, as Francesca Polletta and James Jasper point out, there is "little evidence about how individuals sort out and combine different sources of identity" (2001:299). I argue here that the subordinate natures of more than one of the LCR women's individual identities will cause added difficulties in their attempts to ameliorate identity tensions through the use of frame alignment processes.

Recall that numerous LCR men described their difficulties in explaining to non-Republican gays how they could be "good gays" in the sense of working for gay rights *and* be Republicans. These seemed counter-intuitive to many of their friends, because gays (with their subordinate sexual status) should not be part of the Republican Party – a party that has largely been hostile to homosexuals and to the advancement of gay rights (Potter 2006). Research has shown that lesbians and gays are far more likely to support the Democratic Party and its candidates (Schaffner and Senic 2006). Thus, gay men's affiliations with the LCR creates an inconsistency in the eyes of others that often leads LCR men to experience conflicts between their gay identities and Republican identities as they attempt to explain how both identities work in tandem.

This situation is made more difficult for women. As mentioned above, the general cultural position is that homosexuals (again, with a subordinate sexual identity status) should not affiliate with the Republican Party. There is a similar set of difficulties regarding the Republican political affiliations of LCR women. Women (with their subordinate gender status) should not be Republicans either. Research has demonstrated

that, over the last 20 or more years, women have been more drawn to the Democratic Party because of its more favorable position on "women's issues" such as childcare, education and healthcare (Chaney, Alvarez & Nagler 1998, Piven 1985; Schaffner & Senic 2006).

Due to the historical affiliation of homosexuals with the Democratic Party and of women with the Democratic Party, LCR women violate two cultural norms – they are homosexuals who identify with the Republican Party *and* they are women who identify with the Republican Party. One LCR member, Nick, related to me his thoughts on the difficulties LCR women face:

> "Women see our Party [Republican] as being hostile. And in many ways, it is. So it is very difficult to get people when it is a double whammy. If there's anything we could do, we can do that I think - fighting an image. If you're a woman and you're gay, you see nothing to appeal to you in this party. So you kind of feel like, 'Okay, I don't really care what I believe economically. I believe in my rights first.' Yet they are good people. There are excellent women in the party who are allies of our community and we support them and that's wonderful but it's really hard to involve lesbians in a Republican club."

These difficulties, or as Nick describes it, the "double whammy", that women LCR members face as a result of their multiple subordinate identities heighten the importance of organizational commitment for these women as an element in reducing identity conflicts that threaten the coexistence of their gay and Republican identities.

The results of this research show that gay men, having only one subordinate identity (i.e., their homosexual status), are able to emphasize different types of framing processes (frame bridging and frame extension) without other factors to reduce identity conflict. Regarding the use of organizational frames that are illustrative of frame amplification, LCR men may exhibit any one of the three measures of organizational commitment – a more salient Republican identity, long-term membership, or active

membership – in order to use these types of frames to reduce identity conflict. Gay women, having multiple subordinate identities, however, are never able to rely solely on framing to reduce identity conflict. Rather, organizational commitment must be present to reduce identity conflict for women. The results show that indicators of organizational commitment are present in all the QCA equations in which women emphasize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflicts.

Whereas LCR men require one condition that encourages organizational commitment (a more salient Republican identity, long-term membership, *or* a high level of activity), women require specific combinations of factors in all QCA equations in which they emphasize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflicts. For example, the QCA equation for LCR men is: AMPLIFICATION (REPUBID+LONGTERM+ACTIVE). Women, who are not long-term members and who are not active within the organization, require the presence of a more salient Republican identity in order to utilize any of the frame types to reduce identity conflict (e.g., REPUBID*longterm*active*BRIDGING). The presence of a more salient gay identity necessitates long-term membership to emphasize these frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict (e.g., repubid*LONGTERM*AMPLIFICATION). Finally, if LCR women are long-term members *and* active members, the salience of their gay and Republican identities are irrelevant (e.g., LONGTERM*ACTIVE*EXTENSION).

The QCA results support the literature on intersectionality that suggests that LCR women's abilities to emphasize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict are influenced by the subordinate natures of more than one of their identities. More

specifically, being both female and homosexual (both subordinate identities) results in women's greater dependence on organizational commitment to reconcile identity conflicts via organizational frames. This is because women must work harder to explain their participation in an organization affiliated with a political party that has historically oppressed women and homosexuals. A more salient Republican identity, long-term membership, and high levels of organizational activity (all measures of organizational commitment) provide support to women using organizational frames to reduce identity conflict by encouraging identification with the ideology, goals, collective identity or people of the LCR.

Summary

This chapter has investigated differences in how men and women remedy personal and collective identity conflicts that arise during the course of their participation in the LCR. The QCA results for men support the assertion that frames that are more flexible or inclusive, such as those that allow frame bridging and frame extension, are generally more successful, precisely because they speak to individuals' multiple identities. The men in this sample were able to emphasize frames that were illustrative of both frame bridging and frame extension in order to reduce identity conflict despite variation in their lengths of membership, activity levels within the organization, and the salience of their Republican and gay identities. Conversely, frames that are more narrowly focused will be less effective. Frames illustrative of frame amplification fall into this category. For the men in this sample, such frames are unable to be utilized to reduce identity conflicts without the presence of other factors. Men's abilities to use

amplifying frames are dependent upon indicators of organizational commitment. A more salient Republican identity, long-term membership in the LCR, or a high level of activity in the LCR affect a member's commitment to the LCR by increasing his allegiance to the ideology, goals, collective identity or people of the organization.

It is also clear from the QCA results that women have a more difficult time using frames to reduce identity conflict than do men. In the case of this research, gay men are able to emphasize different types of frames (i.e., those that accomplish bridging and extension) without other factors to reduce identity conflict. Gay women, however, are never able to rely solely on framing. Rather, a combination of factors must always be present for women to emphasize frame alignment processes to successfully reduce identity conflicts. A more salient Republican identity, long-term membership, and a high level of activity among women work in specific combinations with frames to reduce identity conflict.

Thus it can be argued that organizational frames offered by the LCR work less effectively for women. Frame alignment processes – frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension – only succeed in reducing identity conflicts for women under certain circumstances. The nature of women's multiple subordinate identities plays a role in determining which combinations of factors work in conjunction with frame alignment processes to result in identity conflict resolution. Because LCR women must reconcile multiple subordinate identities (being both female and gay), they draw on their commitments to the LCR in order to emphasize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict.

As with the men, indicators of organizational commitment for women include a more salient Republican identity, long-term membership, and high levels of organizational activities. Also similar to the men, these factors affect a woman member's commitment to the LCR by increasing her allegiance to the ideology, goals, collective identity or people of the organization. Unlike the men, however, who must only exhibit any one of the three measures of organizational commitment to emphasize amplifying frames to reduce identity conflict, women require specific characteristics of organizational commitment depending on the presence or absence of other factors. For women, the absence of long-term membership and the lack of activity within the organization require the presence of a more salient Republican identity in order to utilize any of the frame types to reduce identity conflict. The presence of a more salient gay identity necessitates long-term membership to emphasize these frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict. Finally, if LCR women are long-term members *and* active members, the salience of their gay and Republican identities are irrelevant.

As outlined above, this chapter illustrates the differences between men's and women's abilities to emphasize types of organizational frame alignment processes (frame bridging, frame extension, and frame amplification) to reduce identity conflicts that arise during the course of their involvement with the LCR. In the next chapter, I discuss the abilities of LCR members to manage identity conflicts via organizational frames depending on whether they have a more salient Republican identity or a more salient gay identity.

CHAPTER VI:

QCA FOR INDIVIDUAL FRAMES TYPES EMPHASIZED

As stated previously, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) allows the researcher to examine conjunctural combinations of factors that lead to an outcome. In the previous chapter, these combinations involved men's and women's differential deployment of specific frame alignment processes in their efforts to reduce identity conflict. In this chapter, I shift our attention away from frame alignment processes and toward an examination of the *individual* frames emphasized by LCR constituents to ameliorate identity conflicts.

As discussed in Chapter 3, I constructed two sets of frame type variables (i.e., measures of frame type usage and measures that indicate whether a respondent emphasized each frame type) and two sets of frame alignment process variables (i.e., measures of frame alignment process usage and measures that indicate whether a respondent's emphasized each frame alignment process) for inclusion in the QCA. These two sets of measures allowed me to discern whether patterns emerged in QCA when LCR members with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities simply used a frame or frame alignment process or when they emphasized that frame or frame alignment process more than the other frames or frame alignment processes. I included each of these sets of frame type measures and frame alignment process measure in separate analyses. I provide below an example of the QCA results for

measures that did not play a prominent role in reducing identity conflict for LCR members and thus are not discussed in detail in this chapter.

For example, for LCR members with more salient Republican identities, emphasized frame alignment process measures appeared in only two out of 14 possible combinations of factors leading to identity conflict resolution. That is, frame bridging appeared in one combination of factors leading to identity conflict resolution, and frame amplification appeared in one combination of factors leading to identity conflict resolution, suggesting that frame alignment played only a minimal role in reducing identity conflict for LCR members with more salient Republican identities. The use of frame alignment processes also played a minimal role for LCR members with more salient gay identities. That is, frame alignment processes appeared in only three out of 12 possible combinations of factors leading to identity conflict resolution. Frame extension appeared in two combinations of factors leading to identity conflict resolution, and frame amplification appeared in one combination of factors leading to identity conflict resolution.[53]

On the other hand, when respondents emphasized a particular frame type, according to the QCA results, this played a prominent role in reducing identity conflict. Thus, this chapter examines the differences in the types of frames emphasized by LCR members with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities that, in combination with other factors, reduce identity conflict. Before

[53] QCA results that indicate that, like emphasized frame alignment process measures, the use of frame alignment process measures and the use of frame type measures did not play a prominent role in identity conflict resolution for LCR members with more salient Republican identities or those with more salient gay identities.

presenting the QCA results for these two groups of LCR participants, I will review the theoretical perspective that guides this set of analyses.

Identity Theory and Identity Control Theory

To understand why certain frames are effective in reducing identity conflict for those with more salient Republican identities and other frames work better for those with more salient gay identities, I turn to the symbolic interactionist perspective of identity theory and identity control theory as pioneered by Burke and colleagues (Burke 1980, 1991, 2006; Burke & Reitzes 1981; Stryker & Burke 2000).

Identity theory holds several assumptions about how identities operate in the social world. First, identities are self-meanings that develop in the context of social interaction (Burke 1980, 2006). Second, we are all embedded in social networks. These networks have a variety of social positions with associated roles. Identity is the internalization of meanings and expectations associated with a particular role (Stryker & Burke 2000). Third, we interact with each other not as individuals, but based on the social roles that we occupy. In other words, people will react to an individual based on the behaviors and characteristics believed to be associated with the particular identity that the individual is expressing (Burke & Reitzes 1981, Burke 2006). In this sense, there is a social feedback loop where people expect, we act, and people react. For example, people typically associate "Republicans" with prejudicial attitudes toward gays, conservative social beliefs, and a high degree of religiosity. If one identifies him/herself as "Republican", others will expect that individual to have role-appropriate behavior. In other words, the self-identified Republican should act in a manner that is consistent with

the socially agreed upon characteristics of the Republican identity. The socially agreed upon vision of a particular identity is referred to in the literature as an "identity standard" (Burke 1991, Stryker & Burke 2000).

At times, there may be an inconsistency with the identity standard of an identity and the individual's situational identity – the role behavior of the individual supposedly representing that identity that has become activated in a particular social situation. This occurs when the activated identity being expressed by an individual in a social situation does not match the identity standard associated with that identity. This can cause distress in the individual as those observing this inconsistency often react with bewilderment or even negativity. As social beings who seek identity verification (i.e., we seek confirmation that we are behaving in ways consistent with socially agreed-upon definitions or standard of the identity we are expressing), individuals work to overcome this distress. Identity control theory offers an explanation as to how this discrepancy is typically handled by individuals (Burke 2006).

There are two ways by which individuals can reduce the discrepancy between the meanings in the identity standard and the meanings in the activated identity. First, individuals may behave in ways more consistent with the identity standard for the particular identity being expressed or enacted. Here, individuals reinforce the normative identity standard (i.e., the socially agreed upon standard for an identity) associated with a particular identity by bringing their own behaviors back in line with that standard.

There is also a second way in which discrepancies are resolved. When behaviors do not sufficiently reduce conflicts between the situational identity and the identity standard, the standards themselves will change. This change to the identity standard

happens at a much slower rate as people slowly adjust to the shifts in meaning for a particular identity (Burke 2006). Thus, individuals challenge normative identity standards by not attempting to reconcile their behaviors to normative identity standards or by actively refusing to do so.

In the case of the LCR, members are not working to bring their gay and Republican identities, which are activated through their participation in a gay, Republican organization, closer to the identity standards associated with those identities. Rather, they consistently behave in ways that challenge those normative identity standards. Rather than seeing the Party as socially conservative, anti-gay, and religiously inclined, the LCR wants the Republican Party to be understood as the Party that champions individual freedoms, personal responsibility and limited government. Clearly, this is a different or alternative standard to which the LCR aspires. In this way, LCR members are involved in the second way of reducing conflicts between activated or situational identities and identity standards; they are working to change the gay and Republican identity standards themselves.

For example, there are times when LCR members experience an inconsistency between their own behaviors as representatives of a particular identity and the identity standard of that identity. As described in Chapter 5, LCR members sometimes experience conflict surrounding their personal Republican identities. This is often the result of the LCR behaving in a way that is inconsistent with the Republican ideology associated with the member's understanding of his/her Republican identity. In other words, the LCR member initially believes that he/she embodies a personal Republican identity that corresponds to the collective Republican identity espoused by the LCR.

Both of these identities include a belief in low taxes, strong national defense, personal responsibility, individual freedom, and government non-interference in personal lives. When the LCR, for example, supports legislation that increases the role of the government in personal lives (i.e., supporting laws protecting marriage rights and favoring hate crimes legislation) – actions consistent with normative expectations rather than the alternative identity standard - the individual member experiences a discrepancy between his personal Republican identity and the collective Republican identity being expressed by the LCR. This discrepancy causes identity conflict for the member.

In order to remain active in the LCR, the member must then convince himself and perhaps others that the LCR is, in fact, working to change the identity standard associated with Republicanism. Thus, despite instances in which the LCR behaves in accordance with the normative identity standard associated with the Republican Party (i.e., a standard that involves social and/or religious conservatism and thus a rejection of marriage rights for gays and other similar examples of government interference into the private lives of its citizens), as a whole the organization is working toward creating a new identity standard for Republicanism.

Identity control theory also holds that in the case of multiple identity activation (i.e., when more than one identity is salient in a given situation), the identity work involved in reconciling more than one identity to their identity standards is more complicated (Burke 2003, 2006). As the individual behaves in such a way as to move one of his/her situational identities closer to its standard, the person also risks increasing the discrepancy between his/her other identities and their standards. This is where the salience of an individual's identities comes into play (Burke 2006). Simply put, the more

important the identity is to us, the harder we work to reconcile identity conflicts. In the case of multiple identities, we work hardest to reconcile conflicts that surround the most salient identity (Burke 2006).

Again, identity control theory is referring here to reconciling situational identities to normative identity standards, and the difficulties this creates when the situation involves multiple identities. I suggest that a similar struggle occurs in reconciling multiple situational identities to alternative identity standards. As described above, LCR members are attempting to change the normative understanding of Republicanism. They are also working to change the normative identity standard for the gay identity. Gay rights activism is an important characteristic of being a "good" gay, and historically, the gay community has aligned itself with Democrats in its fight for equal rights for gays and lesbians.

LCR members challenge the normative identity standard for a gay identity by behaving in ways inconsistent with this standard – primarily by affiliating with the Republican Party. LCR members often cite examples of interactions with non-Republican gays that made them question both their Republican and gay identities. Because both identities are made salient in these encounters, LCR members must reconcile both identities to the alternative identity standards they aspire to embody.

Here again lies the importance of identity salience. When multiple identities are activated or become salient in a given situation, we work hardest to reconcile conflicts that surround the most salient identity (Burke 2006). Based on this perspective, I argue that those with more salient Republican identities will work hardest to reconcile that identity with its alternative identity standard. In other words, in situations during which

their Republican and gay identities are challenged, LCR members with more salient Republican identities will work hardest to explain how their vision of Republicanism is not incongruent with the fight for equality. Conversely, those with more salient gay identities will put more effort into reconciling that identity with its alternative identity standard. That is, in situations where members' gay and Republican identities are questioned, LCR members with more salient gay identities will attempt to explain how they can still be "good" gays and be involved in the Republican Party.

Though Burke (2006) outlines the importance of reconciling situational identities to identity standards, he does not offer explanations for how this may be accomplished. Recent research, however, has begun to examine this process. For example, Granberg (2006) examines the role of possible selves as motivators for self-transformation for individuals attempting to lose weight. These "possible selves" represent identity standards that individuals in her study associated with a number of different personal or social identities. These "hoped-for" identities included losing weight in order to be pretty, to be more effective in one's job, to improve psychological well-being, and to have better life chances (in achieving happiness, popularity, love). She finds that when individuals' expectations for self-change are not realized (i.e., their expectations embodied in the identity standard associated with slender people are not confirmed) they revise the identity standard such that it is no longer so far removed from the actual outcomes of these individuals' weight loss efforts. They often accomplish this revision of the identity standard via narrative reconstruction – the use of personal narratives to restore congruency between individuals' new identities with the initial identity standards these individuals assigned to that identity.

To date, researchers have not investigated the process of reconciling situational identities to identity standards within social movement organizations. In the sections that follow, I argue and provide evidence that, in the context of social movements, organizational frames serve as the tools or vehicles via which LCR members with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities achieve the goal identified by identity control theory which is to realign one's situational identity to the identity standard associated with that identity (albeit in the case of the LCR members to alternative identity standards), thus reducing identity conflict for the individual.

Recall that the alignment of personal and/or collective identities occurs via what Snow and McAdam (2000) refer to as *identity construction* where framing activities at the organizational level result in identity amplification, identity consolidation, identity extension, or identity transformation at the individual level. I argue that framing affects identity construction by affecting the *meanings* of those identities (Simon 1997; Kiecolt 2000)[54]. I refer to this process as an *identity modification process*.

In this chapter, I show how LCR members' uses of organizational frames result in personal identity amplification, consolidation and extension at the individual level via the identity modification process. I also demonstrate how these frames, identity modification process, and individual-level identity effects aid members in realigning their personal Republican and gay identities with the alternative identity standards associated with those identities, thus reducing identity conflict for these members.

[54] Recall that organizational frames can change the meanings of identities by changing the perceived functionality of identities, the perceived interconnectedness of identities, or by changing the image or representation of identities (Simon 1997).

Results: Specific Frame Types

Identity control theory, as discussed in detail above, highlights the importance of individual's efforts to reduce discrepancies between personal identities activated in social situations and identity standards for those identities. Identity control theory also states that individuals will work hardest to reduce discrepancies surrounding their most salient identity. This has direct implications for the LCR members in my study as some members express having a more salient Republican identity, while others indicate having a more salient gay identity. Below I examine how LCR members with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts, thus allowing these members to realign their most salient identity with the identity standard for that identity.

Because the current analysis is divided by the salience of respondents' Republican and gay identities, the causal conditions in the QCA are different than those described in the previous chapter, though several factors are common to both. For this set of analyses, there are four causal conditions. Three causal conditions I include in each QCA equation are as follows: "FEMALE", indicating the sex of the member, where "1" = female (e.g., upper case FEMALE refers to women while lower case female refers to men), "LONGTERM", meaning that the LCR member is not new to the organization, and "ACTIVE", indicating that the LCR member is not merely an email/list-serve member, but rather he/she attends meetings and/or social events at least fairly regularly.[55]

A fourth causal condition also appears in each QCA equation. This condition corresponds to the specific frame type emphasized and therefore varies from one equation to the next. The six specific organizational frames included in the analysis are as follows:

[55] See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of how I operationalized each of these variables.

"PARTY TRANSFORMATION", "TRADITIONAL REPUBLICANISM", "PARTY PRESENCE", "EQUALITY", "CONGRUENCY", and "RADICAL RIGHT". Each of these variable names is indicative of the specific frame it represents (e.g. "RADICAL RIGHT" represents the radical right frame). The outcome is again identity conflict resolution. As in the previous chapter, upper case words indicate the presence of the condition, while lower case words indicate the absence of that condition.

Table 6 is organized such that the QCA results for members with more salient Republican identities appear in Panel I and the results for members with more salient gay identities appear in Panel II. Within each panel the results are listed by the specific frames under consideration (the fourth causal condition discussed above). For each type of frame (the *party transformation, traditional republicanism, party presence, equality, congruency,* and *radical right frames*) I present the combinations of factors that lead to identity conflict resolution. I present the number of cases reflective of each combination of factors in parenthetical notes.

Table 6: Identity Conflict Resolution Causal Configurations with Specific Frames Types by Salient Identity

Panel I: LCR Members with More Salient Republican Identity

a. Equality Frame
EQUALITY*ACTIVE (5)

b. Congruency Frame
CONGRUENCY*FEMALE*longterm*active+ (2)
CONGRUENCY *female*LONGTERM*ACTIVE (1)

c. Party Presence Frame
PARTY PRESENCE*FEMALE*longterm*active (2)

Panel II: LCR Members with More Salient Gay Identity

a. Party Transformation Frame
PARTY TRANSFORMATION *LONGTERM*active+ (2)
PARTY TRANSFORMATION*FEMALE*longterm*ACTIVE+ (1)
PARTY TRANSFORMATION *female*LONGTERM (4)

b. Traditional Republicanism Frame
TRADITIONAL REPUBLICANISM*FEMALE*active+ (1)
TRADITIONAL REPUBLICANISM *LONGTERM*active (2)

c. Radical Right Frame
RADICAL RIGHT*LONGTERM*ACTIVE (2)

d. Congruency Frame
CONGRUENCY *FEMALE*longterm*active (1)

e. Party Presence Frame
PARTY PRESENCE*female*LONGTERM*ACTIVE (3)

It is clear from Table 6 that there exists substantial difference in which frames those with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities emphasize to reduce identity conflicts. As is evident in the table, none of the particular frames are, by themselves, successful in reducing identity conflict for LCR members.

There must always be another factor that, in combination with the frame, allows individuals to emphasize that frame to reduce identity conflicts. Further, there is evidence that men and women LCR members emphasize organizational frames differently, even if they share the same salient identity. For example, men who are new to the LCR and who are not active in the organization are able to emphasize the *congruency frame* to reduce identity conflicts. In QCA terms this is written as: CONGRUENCY*FEMALE*longterm*active (Table 6, Panel I, section b). Women who emphasize the *congruency frame* to reduce identity conflicts must be both long-term and active members of the LCR: CONGRUENCY *female*LONGTERM*ACTIVE (Table 6, Panel I, section c).

Thus, as was seen in Chapter 5, men and women differ in their emphases of organizational frames to reduce identity conflict. However, because the previous chapter focused on differential frame usage by men and women and explained how different combinations of factors work in conjunction with frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict differently for women and men, I will not address the influence of the member's sex, length of membership, or organizational activity levels here. Rather, the focus of this chapter is on the specific frames emphasized by LCR members with more salient Republican identities to reduce identity conflicts compared to those emphasized by LCR members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts, and how these choices of frames support identity control theory's position that individuals will work hardest to reduce tensions that surround their most salient identity. I first discuss the organizational frames emphasized only by LCR members with more salient Republican identities to reduce identity conflicts. I then discuss the organizational

frames emphasized only by LCR members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts. Lastly, I discuss organizational frames emphasized by LCR members with more salient Republican identities *and* by LCR members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts.

I. *LCR Members with a More Salient Republican Identity*

In order to determine the salience[56] of LCR members' Republican identities, I asked two specific questions during the interviews. The first was open-ended, allowing the respondent to talk freely about his/her Republican identity: "How central is your Republican identity to your everyday life? In other words, how does it affect the decisions you make on a daily basis?" The second question was more structured which enabled me to standardize responses for the purpose of comparing LCR members. This question was, "How often would you say that you are aware of your Republican identity on an average day?" Respondents could choose among five answer categories: all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, little of the time, none of the time. The same two questions were asked regarding members' gay identities as well. If the LCR member answered higher for the Republican identity questions than for the gay identity questions, he/she was coded as having a more salient Republican identity.[57] In total, 54.8% (n=17) of LCR members in the sample were coded as having a more salient Republican identity. Below I examine the organizational frames emphasized by LCR members with more

[56] Recall from Chapters 2 and 3 that I define identity salience as the subjective importance of an identity in terms of how LCR members think of or define themselves (Thoits 1991). This definition resembles Rosenberg's (1979) notion of "psychological centrality" and extends the concept of identity salience beyond its definition in identity theory as the probability of an identity being expressed in a given social situation (Stryker 1980).

[57] As stated in Chapter 3, I did not encounter any instances where the respondent indicated low identity salience for the open-ended questions but high identity salience for the structured questions, nor did any respondent indicate that his/her gay and Republican identities were equally salient.

salient Republican identities to reduce identity conflicts, and I suggest how their uses of these frames aid them in realigning their Republican identities with the alternative identity standard for Republicanism as advocated by the LCR.

Equality Frame

LCR members with more salient Republican identities use organizational frames to reduce identity conflict quite differently than LCR members with more salient gay identities. A prime example of this is that there is one particular frame that only those members with more salient Republican identities emphasize to reduce identity conflicts – the *equality frame*. In QCA terms, this equation is written as EQUALITY*ACTIVE (Table 6, Panel I, section a) which means that the LCR member emphasizes the *equality frame* and is an active member. This frame includes the LCR's fight against forces of intolerance and exclusion and the organization's belief in equality for all Americans, including gays and lesbians.

The *equality frame* is an example of frame amplification. This process of frame amplification often involves the magnification of values or beliefs (Snow, et al. 1986). The *equality frame* magnifies beliefs about equal rights for gays and lesbians and emphasizes the need for individual activism in order to achieve this equality, both of which are characteristics of the gay identity. Frame amplification at the organizational level produces the individual –level effect of identity amplification via the identity modification process that involves altering the meanings of identities. The *equality frame* changes the meanings associated with the gay identity by altering the perceived functionality of this identity (both in its collective and individual forms). By magnifying

values and beliefs about equal rights for all and by emphasizing the importance of activism, the *equality frame* increases the individual's belief in the efficacy of his/her personal gay identity in achieving gay rights. In the case of the LCR, this activism occurs within the Republican Party.

Further, because the *equality frame* highlights beliefs about equality under the law for all citizens and the ability to achieve these rights within the Republican Party, it challenges the normative identity standard associated with the gay identity. Historically, the gay identity has been linked to activism within the Democratic Party because the gay identity and the Republican identity were viewed by both heterosexuals and homosexuals as incompatible. Through the *equality frame*, however, these identities are portrayed as complimentary, thus providing LCR members with an alternative identity standard for their gay identities. Because this frame illustrates the ability of gays and lesbians to work for gay rights within the Republican Party, LCR members who utilize the *equality frame* are therefore able to preserve their Republican identities while remaining "good gays."

The *equality frame* does not explicitly discuss Republican ideology or LCR efforts to change the nature of the Party from within. Rather, this frame speaks to the activism of the LCR on gay rights issues. As such, I will refer to this frame as a "gay rights frame." This is not a new label for the *equality frame;* rather, it is a category of frames to which the *equality frame* belongs (see Table 7, Panel I). Below I provide evidence that LCR members with more salient Republican identities emphasize this frame to reduce identity conflicts, and I discuss why only Log Cabin members with more salient Republican identities can emphasize this gay rights frame to reduce identity conflicts

Table 7: Categories of Organizational Frames Emphasized by LCR Members According to Their Salient Identities

I. Categories of Frames Emphasized by LCR Members with Salient Republican Identities

Gay Rights Frames
a. *equality frame*

II. Categories of Frames Emphasized by LCR Members with Salient Gay Identities

Republican Change Frames
a. *party transformation frame*
b. *traditional republicanism frame*
c. *radical right frame*

III. Categories of Frames Emphasized by LCR Members with Salient Republican Identities and by LCR Members with Salient Gay Identities

Gay-Republican Frames
a. *congruency frame*
b. *party presence frame*

There are numerous examples of LCR members with more salient Republican identities using the *equality frame*. Take, for example, Dane - an LCR leader who is very active in his local chapter. On several occasions, Dane has had to manage tensions that arose between his personal Republican identity and his personal gay identity. Dane recalled an example of this involving his interactions with non-Republican gays at a local Pride event in his area:

> "It's unbelievable how the gay community is just like they're little lemurs and they're going to jump off the cliff just like whoever they're following. They look at one issue and one issue only and that's the gay marriage issue and, oh my God, you're a Republican and they [Republicans] disagree with that! I say to them, no, it's just the current administration that disagrees with that; it's not the entire party. Most of the party probably doesn't care."

In this and other similar interactions, non-Republican gays challenge Dane's loyalty to the gay community based on his affiliation with the Republican Party. To manage the tension that this creates between his Republican and gay identities, Dane turns to the *equality frame*. Dane says that he believes in the message the LCR is trying to send out to its constituents:

> "I think in general, both nationally and locally, we're all pushing for just the equality of everyone. Take gays in the military. Why should there be "don't ask, don't tell?" They're serving the country just like a strait person would be, so why can't they be open about themselves being gay. Just showing and portraying that everybody should be equal, and that's what our country was theoretically founded on, that everybody is equal, and that's a constitutional right that everybody is equal."

Recall that the *equality frame* includes references to the LCR's fight against forces of intolerance and exclusion and the organization's belief in equality for all Americans, including gays and lesbians. Evidence of the *equality frame* lies in Dane's statements that LCR members are "all pushing for the equality of everyone" and "showing and portraying that everybody should be equal." By using the *equality frame*, Dane defends the LCR's role in achieving equal rights for gays and lesbians, and thus supports the collective gay identity of the organization. Dane also says that equality for all is "a constitutional right." By talking about the constitutionality of equality, Dane highlights an aspect of the LCR's Republican ideology that is congruent with the struggle for gay rights and thus demonstrates his ability to be both pro-gay rights and Republican.

As stated above, organizational frames produce individual-level identity effects via the identity modification process through which the meanings associated with individuals' identities are altered. Here, the *equality frame* increases the perceived functionality of the LCR's collective gay identity and, because Dane employs this frame

to reduce identity conflicts, the *equality frame* also increases the perceived functionality of Dane's personal gay identity. Because Dane cites the push for equality for all as the most important message that the LCR sends out to its constituents, he demonstrates his belief in the functionality of gay rights activism within the LCR. As a result of this identity modification processes (increasing the perceived functionality of the gay identity), the individual-level identity effect is an amplification of Dane's gay identity.

In using the *equality frame* to highlight the LCR's efforts at gay rights activism within the Republican Party, Dane challenges normative understandings of Republicanism. In other words, Dane is able to realign his personal Republican identity with the alternative identity standard of Republicanism to which Log Cabin Republicans aspire which involves a focus on government non-interference in personal lives, individual liberty, and personal responsibility. Because Dane is able to reduce the discrepancy between his Republican identity and its alternative identity standard, he also reduces the identity conflict created by negative encounters with non-Republican gays. As a result, Dane is able to protect his more salient Republican identity because the type of Republican identity he embraces promotes gay rights while adhering to some of the fundamental principles of Republicanism. In this way Dane achieves the goal of identity control theory which is to protect one's most salient identity.

My interviews with female members (Table 6, Panel I, section a) reveal that LCR women also experience conflicts between their gay and Republican identities. As with the men, LCR women with more salient Republican identities often turn to the *equality frame* to manage this conflict. For example, when I asked Celeste if there had ever been a time that she questioned her involvement with the LCR, she stated:

"Well, I think I'm so disgusted with the Republican Party overall that I'm letting that disgust kind of flow over into what I think about LCR. I think our cause is hopeless, and the reason I say that is because over the last year and a half, a couple of our, let's see, a couple of our chapter officers, president and vice-president, and then our straight ally have met with different members of the [state] Republican Party and the response that we got was just, it wasn't overtly hostile, but you know, you think, 'oh my gosh, we're just trying to talk local politics here, and the response has been so bad,'… I have become incredibly disheartened."

Later in the interview she explains her continued involvement with the LCR, and thus how she reduces this conflict, by highlighting the important work that the LCR is doing in terms of gay rights activism. She states that the LCR "…intends to work towards equal rights for all people in the United States, rights that are guaranteed through the constitution to heterosexual couples, and even married or unmarried...and our goal is to ensure that homosexual couples have the same, you know, 1300 rights that everyone else has." Emphasizing the LCR's gay rights activism within the Republican Party to secure "equal rights for all people in the United States" provides evidence of Celeste's use of the *equality frame*.

Utilizing this frame aids Celeste in demonstrating the necessity of organizations such as the LCR in achieving equality for gays and lesbians. Here, as in the case in Dane's commentary (above), the *equality frame* focuses on the positive actions of the LCR in terms of gay rights, thus amplifying the LCR's collective gay identity. In using this frame, then, the *equality frame* increases the perceived functionality of the LCR's collective gay identity and Celeste's personal gay identity as a member of that organization. She believes that as part of the LCR, she embodies one of the main goals of the organization - "to ensure that homosexual couples have the same…rights that everyone else has." The individual-level identity effect of this identity modification process is the amplification of the gay identity.

In ways similar to Dane, Celeste uses the *equality frame* to highlight the LCR's efforts at gay rights activism within the Republican Party, thus challenging normative understandings of Republicanism. As a result, Celeste is able to realign her personal Republican identity with the LCR's alternative identity standard of Republicanism and thus reduce the identity conflicts she experiences in her encounters with others who question her ability to be both gay and Republican.

This example, along with that for Dane, illustrates the finding that LCR members with more salient Republican identities emphasize the *equality frame* to reduce identity conflicts that arise between their gay and Republican identities (Table 6, Panel I, Section a). By increasing the perceived functionality of the individual's gay identity, the *equality frame* enables members with more salient Republican identities to demonstrate the importance of Republican organizations such as the LCR in achieving equal rights for all. This challenges normative identity standards for Republicanism and reaffirms the alternative identity standard espoused by the LCR, thus allowing LCR members to reduce identity conflict surrounding their Republican identities. Ultimately, then, in using the *equality frame* to reduce identity conflicts, LCR members with more salient Republican identities achieve the goal of identity control theory; that is, they preserve their most salient identity.

II. *LCR Members with a More Salient Gay Identity*

LCR members who answered higher for the gay identity questions than for the Republican identity questions during the interview (described above), were coded as having a more salient gay identity. In total, 45.2% (n=14) of LCR members in the

sample were coded as having a more salient Republican identity. QCA results (Table 6, Panel II) show that LCR members with more salient gay identities are able to emphasize three specific frames to reduce identity conflicts – the *party transformation frame*, the *traditional republicanism frame*, and the *radical right frame*. Members with more salient Republican identities are unable to manage identity conflicts by emphasizing these three frames. Because each of these frames in some way discusses Republican ideology or LCR efforts to change the nature of the Republican Party from within, I will categorize them as "Republican change frames" (see Table 7, Panel II). I discuss each of these frames separately below.

Party Transformation Frame

The first frame classified as a "Republican change frame" is the *party transformation frame* (Table 6, Panel II, section a). The *party transformation frame* either explicitly discusses transforming the Republican Party or uses language implying the same. This frame also includes references to "building" a more inclusive party and "working" to change the GOP. The *party transformation frame* represents an attempt at frame extension. Recall that frame extension involves an SMO extending the boundaries of its primary framework in order to encompass interests or points of view that are highly salient to potential recruits but incidental to the organization's larger goals (Snow et al. 1986). The individual-level identity effect of organizational frame extension is identity extension which involves increasing the pervasiveness or situational reach of a personal identity (Snow & McAdam 2000). That is, a personal identity will become relevant in additional ways or in additional situations.

As with amplifying frames, frames illustrative of frame extension produce individual-level identity effects via the identity modification process through which the meanings of individuals' identities are changed. By portraying the Republican identity as necessary to the advancement of equality for gays and lesbians, the *party transformation frame* increases the perceived functionality of the Republican identity both at the collective and individual levels. Recall that changing the perceived functionality of an identity is one way in which frames alter the meanings of identities.

As a result of the member's increased belief in the functionality of his/her Republican identity, the *party transformation frame* supports an alternative identity standard for that identity. Thus, rather than adhering to the normative identity standard associated with the Republican identity (i.e., Republicans are anti-gay and socially conservative), LCR members embrace an alternative definition of the Republican identity that is based on values conducive to the struggle for gay rights (i.e., values such as limited government, individual liberty and personal responsibility). Ultimately, emphasizing this frame enables LCR members with more salient gay identities to realign their Republican identities with an alternative identity standard that does not threaten their gay identities.

The QCA results show that LCR members with more salient gay identities employ the *party transformation frame* to reduce identity conflict (Table 6, Panel II, Section a). For example, Sammy has recently had difficulties accepting LCR's push for the inclusion of gays and lesbians in hate crimes legislation and LCR's support of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA). Sammy, while supportive of ENDA for public appointments, believes that to force private companies to hire minorities of any

kind restricts free trade and promotes government interference. In this way, Sammy experiences conflict between his personal Republican identity and the collective Republican identity being expressed by the LCR through these legislative initiatives. When I asked why he remained with the LCR in the face of such conflict, Sammy turned to the *party transformation frame* stating, "In general, I think they [the LCR] are right in their desire to transform the Party. We [as an organization] are Republicans first. We want the Republican Party to be accessible to us. We want to help elect fair-minded Republicans."

As stated earlier, in order to be involved with the LCR, individuals must be able to reconcile their Republican and gay identities. When members experience conflict around one of those identities, this tenuous balance is upset. If one's gay identity is more salient, as is the case in the present example for Sammy, the member will work hardest to preserve that identity. For Sammy, the LCR's recent behavior deviates from the alternative Republican identity standard that the organization espouses which emphasizes limited government, individual liberty and personal responsibility. This inconsistency between the LCR's behavior and the role behavior associated with the alternative identity standard for the Republican identity threatens the ability of Sammy's gay and Republican identities to coexist. Because Sammy's gay identity is more salient, he reconciles this conflict by utilizing the *party transformation frame* – a frame that talks about changing the Republican Party – to be able to convince himself and others that he is still a "good gay."

By focusing on the larger goal of the LCR – to change the Republican Party such that it is more inclusive of gays and lesbians – the *party transformation frame* extends the

boundaries of the Republican identity. Recall that this frame does not speak to individual and often divisive issues such as ENDA, Don't Ask, Don't Tell, or the FMA. Rather, it allows individuals with varying viewpoints to embrace a more general Republican identity. Because Sammy supports these efforts to transform the Republican Party, the ideological differences he has with the LCR on particular issues are made less salient.

Further, Sammy's beliefs about working for gay rights within the Republican Party are supported. Rather than fulfilling the normative expectations of the Republican Party as the anti-gay party, the *party transformation frame*, with its focus on making the Republican Party inclusive of homosexuals, emphasizes the need for Republicans to work within their own Party, thus increasing the perceived functionality of the Republican identity at the collective and individual levels. As a result of this identity modification process, Sammy's Republican identity is extended, thus he is able to reduce the identity conflicts he has experienced, and thus preserve his gay identity.

Other LCR members have also turned to the *party transformation frame* to reduce conflicts between their own personal Republican identities and the collective Republican identity of the LCR. Chase, like Sammy, found himself at odds with the LCR's support of recent legislative initiatives. Though the LCR favors gay marriage rights, Chase explains his position:

> "Honestly, probably I do not care if FMA passed. I have no problem with marriage being between a man and a woman. The nation spoke strongly…they are adamant that's man and a woman. We had an 80% vote here in the same jest. So there's no need to discuss the marriage amendment any more. The people have spoken. Oh, and I'm more in line with equality to the point of I just think our community has to be protected."

In addition, regarding the inclusion of gays and lesbians in hate crimes legislation, Chase states:

> "I'm not sure that I fall in line…that I support hate crime legislation. It is a crime to bring bodily injury to somebody, so I mean they do prosecute people for that. If you beat people you are going to go to jail probably at some point. I don't see why were having to step it up. I do think it's gonna cause…and part of my board doesn't feel this way…and there are a lot of people who can articulate their argument very well…and I'm always open to listen to that…but I guess I'm trying to think…with that legislation, could it be taken even steps further where you're having to legislate protection on all different kinds of rights…and all different types of people."

Similar to those for Sammy, these quotations illustrate that Chase believes that the LCR's push for marriage equality and for the inclusion of sexual orientation in legal definitions of hate crimes deviates from the alternative Republican identity standard that the organization espouses which emphasizes limited government, individual liberty and personal responsibility. This in turn threatens the coexistence of Chase's gay and Republican identities. Also like Sammy, Chase's gay identity is more salient, and he must reconcile this conflict in order to convince himself and others that he is still a "good gay." To do this, he also turns to the *party transformation frame*. He explains:

> "You know our stance is to work within the Party. Of course the Party doesn't want you to work with them which makes it a little more difficult. But it's just like the Stonewall riots…setting the pace for years down the road. Um…I think there will be leaders one day in the future out of our organization that reap the benefits of the people that do it now. So we've already softened…in the 2 and a half to 3 years that we've been here…we've already softened the [Republican] community of the others so that there's not all this anger. It still occurs, but, um, it's a process that we'll just have to endure for a long time."

Chase's statement about "working within" the Republican Party and his description of how his LCR chapter has "softened" local Republicans provide evidence of the *party transformation frame.* Despite the tension between his personal Republican identity and the collective Republican identity of the LCR, Chase believes in the greater good of the organization in terms of challenging the Republican Party and, in doing so making inroads for gays and lesbians there.

Again, by focusing on the larger goal of the LCR – to change the Republican Party such that it is more inclusive of gays and lesbians – the *party transformation frame* extends the boundaries of the Republican identity. Because Chase embraces this broader vision of the LCR, the ideological differences Chase has with the LCR on particular issues are made less important. In other words, as a whole the LCR still challenges the normative expectations of the Republican Party as the anti-gay party. Further, the *party transformation frame* increases the perceived functionality of the Republican identity with its focus on making the Republican Party inclusive of homosexuals and its emphasis on the need for Republicans to work within their own Party to achieve gay rights.

As described above, by increasing the perceived functionality of Chase's Republican identity (i.e., by altering the meaning of that identity), the *party transformation frame* provides evidence of the identity modification process at work. The result of this identity modification process is the individual-level identity effect of identity extension. Chase's Republican identity has been extended such that it embodies traditional Republican ideology (with its values of individual freedom, personal responsibility, government non-interference, etc.), and this ideology is helpful in the fight for gay and lesbian equality. In this way, Chase's Republican identity is realigned such that it is closer to the alternative identity standard to which the LCR aspires – a Republican identity built on those same principles of freedom and equality for all. As a result, Chase is able to preserve his more salient identity – his gay identity – because it is no longer at odds with his Republican identity. The Republican identity that he embraces actually encourages equal rights for all individuals.

Traditional Republicanism Frame

The second frame classified as a "Republican change frame" and emphasized by LCR members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts is the *traditional republicanism frame* (Table 6, Panel II, section b). The *traditional republicanism frame* advocates the need for the Party to return to its core principles of smaller government, free markets, individual liberty, and personal responsibility, instead of allowing intolerance to remain the identifying aspect of Republican social conservatism. This is, according to the frame, the only way that equality for gays and lesbians can be achieved within the Republican Party.

The *traditional republicanism frame* represents an attempt at frame extension. As with the *party transformation frame,* the *traditional republicanism frame* makes no references to individuals' stances on often divisive social issues. This frame is also non-specific regarding the qualities that individuals must have in order to be Republican members of the LCR. It holds only that LCR members should believe in the classic tenets of Republicanism such as fiscal conservatism, limited government, and personal freedom and autonomy. In this way, the *traditional republicanism frame* extends the boundaries of what it means to be Republican.

Further, the *traditional republicanism frame*, like the party transformation frame, employs the identity modification process –altering the meanings of identities. To change the meanings of identities, the *traditional republicanism frame* alters the image – or collective identity - of the LCR as gay Republicans. As stated previously, changing the image of an identity is one way frames can alter the meanings associated with that identity. The *traditional republicanism frame* paints a new picture of Republicanism, one

that allows the collective identity of the LCR to be seen in a more positive light by both LCR members and members of the larger gay community. The LCR, regardless of the sexual orientations of its members, according to this frame, is loyal to the Republican Party and is devoted to the principles of Republicanism (e.g., principles of smaller government, free markets, individual liberty, and personal responsibility) as set forth by Abraham Lincoln. Recall that individual members who embrace a collective identity as defined by LCR organizational frames will demonstrate a personal identity that closely mirrors the characteristics or definition of the LCR collective identity. The individual-level identity effect of this identity modification process is an extension of the Republican identity.

The *traditional republicanism frame*, by advocating a return to the classic tenets of Republicanism, challenges the normative identities standard for the Republican identity. As mentioned previously, Republicanism, and thus the Republican identity, has been linked to anti-gay legislation, homophobia, and other forms of social conservatism. The alternative identity standard advanced by the *traditional republicanism frame* offers LCR members a new definition of the Republican identity. This new understanding of Republicanism emphasizes the ways in which Republicanism, in its traditional form, can be supportive of gay and lesbian equality. Employing this frame allows LCR members with more salient gay identities to embrace a form of the Republican identity that is well-matched to their gay identities, thus protecting their more salient gay identities.

As stated above, LCR members utilize the *traditional republicanism frame* to reduce identity conflicts that arise during their memberships. This is seen in the QCA results (see Table 6, Panel II, Section b). For example, over the course of his involvement with

the LCR, Nick has had to manage tensions between his own personal Republican identity and the Republican identities of other members of his local LCR chapter:

> "Within our club, there are people who are die-hard Republicans, really really conservative people who I have trouble with, because I'm not that widely conservative on a lot of things. I would say certain people are probably hesitant on societal changes to some extent. They're not like "woo-hoo, let's go for what's next." I don't know how to say that. I don't even mean it in a political sense, although I think politics probably comes into play there. But they're hesitant for big changes."

Despite the ideological incongruency between Nick and other LCR members, Nick has remained a member of the LCR for 17 years. For him, the LCR represents the kind of Republicanism once expressed by the Republican Party. He explains:

> "The party has sort of veered away from what I believe to be Republican. For me, what appealed to me originally was the whole concept of individuality. I'm an individualist. Although you wouldn't know it from our current administration, that was what the party, when I first became a Republican, believed. It believed that the individual is better than the collective, whether it be for rights, whether it be for economic issues. You turned to the individual to do best for themselves. The individual knows best for them what works best as opposed to somebody 3000 miles away in Washington. And that appealed to me. I have yet to see a collectiveness work particularly well. Even in issues of gay rights. The individual rights we've had have come and gone."

When I asked how the LCR combines Republican ideology and the struggle for gay rights, Nick replied: "What they do is they try to be a voice for gay equality within the Republican Party. To help those who share our fiscal philosophies and our ideals about what a national party should be but at the same time are supportive of equality of all gay people." In this statement, Nick uses the *traditional republicanism frame* by highlighting the importance of the LCR in connecting politically like-minded individuals.

As an example of frame extension, the *traditional republicanism frame* thus broadens the Republican identity espoused by the LCR such that individuals who differ in their opinions about specific issues still may embrace a general Republican identity

built on classic tenets of Republicanism such as limited government, individual liberty, personal responsibility, and free markets.

By emphasizing traditional Republican values such as limited government, individual liberty, personal responsibility and fiscal responsibility, the *traditional republicanism frame* changes the image of the Republican identity. It encourages a Republican identity that is based upon traditional Republican ideals, some of which are not associated with the current normative identity standard for Republicans. This new Republican identity corresponds to or is reflected in the collective Republican identity touted by the LCR. Thus, the *traditional republicanism frame* aids Nick in realigning his personal Republican identity such that it more closely resembles the collective Republican identity as embodied by the LCR. Ultimately, this reconciliation helps Nick preserve his gay identity, and thus achieve the main goal of identity control theory (i.e., the individual preserving his most salient identity), by supporting a Republican identity that is conducive to the struggle for gay rights, reducing identity conflicts caused by differences between his and other members' Republican identities.

In addition to members using the *traditional republicanism frame* to reduce identity conflicts that arise between their Republican identities and the Republican identities of other LCR members, some members utilize this frame to reduce tensions that arise between their personal Republican identities and the collective Republican identity expressed by the LCR. Juliette experienced a conflict of this nature regarding the 2004 Presidential election. She explains:

> "I have had an issue with them [LCR] about Bush. And it might surprise you actually, it's not that they weren't supportive of him in 2004. It's actually that they were supportive of him at all. I don't know if it's a personality thing, I just never liked or trusted the man. I don't think he's a good Republican. I think he thinks he is but I have struggled with him and his administration all the way through. I actually voted for Clinton at one point and almost didn't know what to do with the very first election. I think I did end up voting for Gore but kind of grimacing because I cannot stand Gore. But I disliked Bush even more. So my struggle with the Bush years with the Log Cabin club has really been that I think I like Bush a lot less than they do. In fact, I can't stand him. And that's been my biggest issue."

In describing the nature of her conflict with the LCR, Juliette points to a common sentiment among LCR members – that the LCR is too soft-spoken when it comes to challenging members of their own Party. In her example, the LCR does not do enough to oppose Bush. Later in the interview, Juliette says that in addition to withholding their endorsement of Bush in 2004, the LCR should have spoken out against his efforts to pass the Federal Marriage Amendment, as legislating morality is something that the LCR strongly opposes. Thus, by not speaking out against a member of the Republican Party who was supportive of legislation that was not congruent with the tenets of traditional Republicanism, the LCR was exhibiting a collective Republican identity that was unclear to Juliette.

To explain why she remained loyal to the LCR, Juliette employs the *traditional republicanism frame:* "I think still going back to those core beliefs – to try to work inside the Republican Party to make change and basically take the party back from the religious right and bring it back to its early ideals of individual responsibility and freedom. I'm a pretty loyal person. I'm not willing to toss it out the window." She went on to describe the importance of traditional Republican beliefs and values in her life and how the LCR has encouraged those beliefs and values:

> "I think it has become even more important to me the values that I was raised with, the Midwestern values of being responsible for yourself. I was thinking about this as I was reading a biography about Condoleezza Rice and there are some real similarities in our attitudes. What is fascinating I think is that LCR has helped me to keep that alive in an environment where it is not that supported. Essentially the Republicans believe in the American Dream and pull yourself up by your bootstraps and make things happen while I see the Democrats wanting someone else to do it for them, wanting government to take care of them instead of making it happen themselves. And that goes right back to what I was taught as a youngster and what has made me successful in my life has been hard work, perseverance, being willing to make sacrifices, giving back to the community. A lot of those values that I was raised with, Log Cabin has helped me to stay in touch with that and not lose that."

In discussing her beliefs about "being responsible for yourself" and "pulling yourself up by your bootstraps" Juliette provides evidence of a larger, more general ideological congruency between her Republican identity and the collective Republican identity of the LCR. That is, she emphasizes elements fundamental to her political ideology that are also touted by the organization as a whole. This provides evidence of her utilizing the *traditional republicanism frame*.

Because Juliette's gay identity is more salient, she must believe in the personal Republican identity she embodies. If the organization that originally helped to define that Republican identity (by outlining or defining the collective Republican identity to which LCR members should aspire) behaves contrary to the expectations associated with that identity, Juliette will question her attachment to or belief in her Republican identity. As a result, she will experience increased tension between her Republican identity and her gay identity. The *traditional republicanism frame* reduces this conflict for Juliette.

By focusing on the larger ideological position of the LCR, the *traditional republicanism frame* extends the boundaries of the Republican identity. According to this frame, Republicans should embrace the classic tenets of Republicanism, most

notably those associated with individual freedoms and rights. Because the *traditional republicanism frame* does not exclude sexual orientation or identity as an individual freedom or right, it increases the pervasiveness of Juliette's Republican identity. In other words, she may work for gay rights through her adherence to this identity. The *traditional republicanism frame* also challenges the normative expectations of the Republican Party as the anti-gay party. In this way, it changes the image of the collective Republican identity of the LCR. By changing the image of the Republican identity, the *traditional Republicanism frame* supports the LCR's attempts to change the identity standard associated with the Republican identity. Therefore, in using this frame Juliette is able to realign her Republican identity with that of the LCR. This is crucial in restoring the tenuous harmony between her gay identity and her Republican identity, thus allowing Juliette to preserve her gay identity. Recall that the preservation of the more salient identity is the ultimate goal according to identity control theory.

Radical Right Frame

The *radical right frame* is the third type of frame categorized as a "Republican change frame" and emphasized by LCR members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts. It, too, like the *party transformation frame* and the *traditional republicanism frame* argues that the Republican Party needs to change. This frame suggests that the social conservatives who make up the radical right are responsible for the current perception of Republicans as discriminatory. Further, this frame offers that the radical or religious right goes against the Republican principles of individual liberty

and personal responsibility – two principles that the LCR believes are essential in achieving equal rights for gays and lesbians in America.

The *radical right frame* is an example of frame amplification. By highlighting Republican values involving individual liberty, personal responsibility and tolerance, the LCR creates obvious boundaries between more traditional Republicans and those, that is, members of the radical right, who go against the Party's true principles. The radical right frame also alters the image or representation of the collective identity of the LCR (which is the identity modification process) by offering a vision of Republicanism different than that espoused by social conservatives of the far right. After first defining the radical right as the source of Party divisiveness, the LCR then emphasizes its own more inclusive and moderate nature. The LCR will defend the traditional ideals of the Republican Party against the negative influence and power of the radical right. LCR constituents who invoke the *radical right frame* will thus experience an amplification of this type of Republican identity.

As with the *party transformation frame* and the *traditional republicanism frame*, the *radical right frame* supports the LCR's creation of an alternative identity standard for the Republican identity. While the *party transformation frame* focuses on the efforts of LCR members to change the Republican Party from within by electing fair-minded allies and to educate Republicans about gay and lesbian issues, and the *traditional republicanism frame* emphasizes the LCR's attempts to reintroduce the classic tenets of Republicanism back into the Party, the *radical right frame* endeavors to separate the type of Republicanism (and Republican identity) espoused by the LCR from that of more socially conservative, anti-gay members of the Republican Party on the radical right. In

this way, the *radical right frame*, like the other two "Republican change frames", offers LCR members an alternative identity standard for the Republican identity to which they can aspire. By aligning their own personal Republican identities with this alternative identity standard, LCR members with more salient gay identities are able to reduce identity conflicts such that their gay identities remain intact.

LCR members with more salient gay identities emphasize the *radical right frame* successfully to reduce identity conflict (see Table 6, Panel II, Section c). To reconcile identity conflicts that surround their Republican identities, especially when these conflicts cause them to question their affiliation with the LCR, the QCA results show that members sometimes turn to this frame. For example, Christa describes the radical right as the LCR's biggest opposing force. She states:

> "Um, my opinion is the main group that's an obstacle now is the far right of the Republican Party. We are always going to have policy disagreements with the liberal gay and lesbian groups, but we're going to have a lot more policy agreement oddly enough probably with the religious right, other than a couple of social issues. So, they're loud and they're big and everybody's dancing around them right now. So they're our biggest obstacle I think."

Christa goes on to explain how this boisterousness of the radical right has affected perceptions of the Republican Party: "People focus on the extreme end of the Republican Party which is conservative not only fiscally and politically, but also socially. I think that has gotten the most attention. I think that's what most people view from Republicans, [that they are] maybe born again Christian and want everyone to follow your Christian views." Christa believes that the LCR serves as a vehicle for change – to change the Republican Party so that it is more inclusive of gays and lesbians and to promote legislation that grants equal rights to all citizens. If the LCR is able to do these two things, it will successfully "take back the Party from the religious right."

At times, however, Christa has found the LCR lacking in terms of pushing a more moderate Republican agenda. She states, "I want them to be nice and civil, but I want them to be strong at the same time. I want them to be present on Capitol Hill and lobbying things, but I also want them to be doing a stronger PR campaign. I want them to be willing to use a stronger PR push against the religious right. I don't think they do that. That's not my impression." In this way, the Republican identity espoused by the LCR – one that includes speaking out against anti-gay members of their own Party – is not exhibited by the LCR through its behaviors. In other words, the actions (or lack thereof) of the LCR do not match the expected role behaviors associated with the Republican identity it assumes. This creates identity conflict for Christa as she questions the alignment of her personal Republican identity with the collective Republican identity of the LCR.

Because Christa's gay identity is more salient, she must believe in the Republican identity she assumes. This Republican identity must be able to coexist with her gay identity. The *radical right frame* reduces the identity conflict for Christa, allowing this coexistence of gay and Republican identities. Christa's focus on the LCR as a tool through which moderate Republicans can "take back the Party from the religious right" is illustrative of the *radical right frame*. Though not strong enough yet in their opposition to the radical right, Christa sees the LCR as a necessary organization in recapturing the Party from the radical right.

As an example of frame amplification, the *radical right frame* emphasizes the more moderate aspects of this identity such as individual liberty and personal responsibility. The *radical right frame* also changes the meanings associated with the

Republican identity by altering the image of that identity. By drawing attention to the damage done to the Party by the radical right, the *radical right frame* is advocating a return to more moderate Republican principles. This supports the collective Republican identity espoused by the LCR which includes efforts to reclaim the Republican Party from the religious right. In this way, the frame also supports the alternative Republican identity standard to which the LCR aspires. This alternative identity standard, built on the classic tenets of Republicanism, is conducive to the struggle for gay and lesbian equality. Thus, by using the *radical right frame*, Christa is able to realign her personal Republican identity with the alternative identity standard associated with that identity, ultimately then restoring the harmony between her gay and Republican identities. Restoring this congruency between her gay and Republican identities allows Christa to preserve her gay identity, as it is no longer threatened by a discrepant Republican identity. The *radical right frame* thus aids Christa in achieving the main goal of identity control theory, that is, preserving her most salient identity.

III. *Frames Utilized by LCR Members with More Salient Republican Identities and by LCR Members with More Salient Gay Identities*

There are two organizational frames emphasized by both those LCR members with more salient Republican identities and by those with more salient gay identities – the *congruency frame* and the *party presence frame.* Both of these frames are illustrative of frame bridging, that is, the linking two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames. Both of these frames accomplish this in that they connect LCR members' gay and Republican identities. The *congruency frame* specifically advocates the points of ideological

similarity between gay and Republican identities, while the *party presence frame* discusses the need for gays and lesbians to remain in the Republican Party in order to achieve equal rights. Because both of these frames attempt to reconcile the gay and Republican identities, I will classify them as "gay-Republican frames" (see Table 6, Panel III). Rather than focusing on gay rights, as is the purpose of "gay rights frames", or focusing on changing the Republican Party, as is the purpose of "Republican-change frames", "gay-Republican frames" emphasize the compatibility of gay rights and Republicanism, or, in other words, the corresponding nature of individuals' gay and Republican identities.

Because frames classified as gay-Republican frames bridge LCR members' gay and Republican identities, it is not surprising, as I discuss below, that LCR members with more salient Republican identities *and* LCR members with more salient gay identities turn to the *congruency frame* and the *party presence frame* to reduce identity conflicts. I discuss each of these frames separately below and provide evidence from the interview data of their use in reducing identity conflict for LCR members.

Congruency Frame

The first frame categorized as a "gay-Republican frame" is the *congruency frame* (see Table 6, Panel III, section a). The *congruency frame* promotes the idea that the freedom to be gay and to be responsible for one's own private life without government intervention is not incompatible with the tenets of classic Republicanism. As an example of frame bridging, the *congruency frame* emphasizes points of ideological similarity

between the gay and Republican identities (both at the collective and individual levels), such as beliefs about individual freedoms, equality under the law for all citizens, and the government refraining from legislating morality, thus linking these identities.

To change the meanings associated with the gay and Republican collective identities as espoused by the LCR, the *congruency frame* advocates the interconnectedness of these identities. Rather than seeing the gay and Republican identities as separate and incompatible identities, the *congruency frame* offers a different understanding of what it means to be gay and to be a Republican. According to this frame, LCR members can work for gay rights by embracing a type of Republicanism conducive to this struggle. By linking Republicanism with gay rights activism, the *congruency frame* thus challenges traditional definitions of the gay identity – historically linked with the Democratic Party - and the Republican identity – historically seen as anti-gay. Recall, again, that individual members who embrace the gay and Republican collective identities as defined by LCR organizational frames will hold personal identities that closely mirror the characteristics or definitions of these LCR collective gay and Republican identities. Thus, individuals emphasizing the *congruency frame* to reduce identity conflicts will experience a blending of their gay and Republican identities (identity consolidation).

The *congruency frame* also changes the identity standards associated with the gay identity and the Republican identity. In altering the meanings associated with the gay and Republican identities, the *congruency frame* bolsters the LCR's efforts in creating an alternative identity standard for those identities. In the discussion that follows, I provide examples from the interview data that illustrated these various dynamics.

As stated above, LCR members are able to utilize the *congruency frame* to reduce identity conflicts regardless of whether Republican identities (Table 6, Panel I, Section b) or gay identities (Table 6, Panel II, Section d) are more salient. Use of this frame often occurs as a result of direct conflict with others who question a member's ability to be both gay and Republican. For example, in my conversation with Fred - an LCR member with a more salient Republican identity - he related his experiences in talking with gay Democrats. He stated: "They'll say, 'How can you be gay and be a Republican?' They think it's a contradiction in terms." When I asked how he dealt with these encounters, Fred described how the LCR had helped him. He explained, "I suppose the LCR has created more of a fusion of my political and sexual identities that didn't exist before. I don't believe being gay and Republican is contradictory. I explain [to gay Democrats] what it's all about and why I am the way I am and that's it."

Highlighting the role of the LCR in creating "a fusion" of his gay and Republican identities provides evidence of Fred's use of the *congruency frame.* Recall that this frame links or bridges the LCR's collective gay and Republican identities in such a way that enables them to coexist without conflict. By emphasizing the *congruency frame*, then, Fred's personal gay and Republican identities are linked in the same manner. Further, by linking or making compatible Fred's gay and Republican identities, the *congruency frame* alters the meanings associated with those identities such that the type of gay identity advocated and the type of Republican identity advocated by the LCR are not mutually exclusive. Rather, by emphasizing the characteristics compatible to both identities, such as beliefs about individual freedom, equality, and the government not legislating morality, the *congruency frame* illustrates the interconnectedness of these

identities. The individual-level identity effect is a consolidation of Fred's gay and Republican identities. Ultimately, this supports the LCR's efforts in challenging the normative identity standards associated, again, with both gay and Republican identities and in creating alternative identity standards for these identities to which its members can aspire– identity standards that encourage the harmonious coexistence of gay and Republican identities.

By invoking the *congruency frame*, Fred is thus able to re-establish the alignment of his gay and Republican identities with these alternative identity standards and ultimately reduce identity conflicts that arise between these identities during the course of movement participation. By re-establishing harmony between his personal gay and Republican identities, the *congruency frame* aids Fred in preserving his Republican identity, that is, his more salient identity, thus accomplishing the main goal of identity control theory.

Blake, an LCR member with a more salient gay identity, emphasizes the *congruency frame* to resolve identity conflict created through his encounters with non-Republican gays who accuse him of "betraying the gay community." He states, "The LCR has helped me work through my positions on social issues. I have a strong belief in moderate Republican values, and so I have no respect for Democrats." Like Fred, Blake describes the LCR's help in linking his personal gay and Republican identities. This use of the *congruency frame* thus reaffirms the ability of these two identities to exist together and provides an example of frame bridging.

By advocating a type of gay identity and a type of Republican identity that can coexist, the *congruency frame* alters the meanings associated with Blake's gay and

Republican identities. As stated above in the example for Fred, by emphasizing the characteristics compatible to both identities, such as beliefs about individual freedom, equality, and the government not legislating morality, the *congruency frame* highlights the interconnectedness of these identities. The individual-level identity effect of these identity modification processes (i.e., processes that increase the salience of Blake's gay and Republican identities, and change the meanings associated with these identities), is a consolidation of Blake's gay and Republican identities.

The *congruency frame*, by changing the meanings associated with these identities, thus supports the LCR's efforts in creating alternative identity standards for both gay and Republican identities to which its members can aspire– identity standards that encourage the harmonious coexistence of gay and Republican identities. By invoking the *congruency frame*, Blake is able to re-establish the alignment of his gay and Republican identities with these alternative identity standards and ultimately reduce identity conflicts that arise between these identities during the course of movement participation. This, in turn, aids Blake in preserving his gay identity, that is, his more salient identity, thus accomplishing the main goal of identity control theory.

Party Presence Frame

As stated above, there is a second frame classified as a "gay-Republican frame" that LCR members with more salient Republican identities (Table 6, Panel I, Section c) and members with more salient gay identities (Table 6, Panel II, Section e) emphasize to reduce identity conflicts – the *party presence frame* (see Table 6, Panel III, section b). The *party presence frame* acknowledges the criticism found in media accounts and in

encounters with non-Republican gays that gays and lesbians should work within the Democratic Party for change, as this is the party more likely to advocate for gay rights. In response, the LCR has framed gay presence in the Republican Party as an essential step on the path to progress. The *party presence frame* is built upon the idea that the GOP will remain operational, whether or not gays and lesbians are active in the Party. Further, according to this frame, without gay Republicans working to influence fair-minded allies within the Party, achieving equality for gays and lesbians would take decades longer.

By highlighting the importance of gay rights activism within the Republican Party, the *party presence frame* links the LCR's collective gay and Republican identities and members' personal gay and Republican identities through their uses of this frame (frame bridging). Again, the individual-level identity effect of frame bridging is identity consolidation. This occurs via the identity modification process – changing the meanings associated with members' personal identities. The *party presence frame* alters the meanings of the gay and Republican collective identities as embraced by the LCR, increasing both the perceived interconnectedness and the perceived functionality of these identities. The *party presence frame* increases the perceived interconnectedness of the gay and Republican identities by positioning gay rights activism within the Republican Party as necessary in the struggle for gay rights. The *party presence frame* increases the perceived functionality of the gay and Republican identities by emphasizing the need for gay rights activists within both parties. In other words, working only within the Democratic Party would result in more delayed achievements in equality for gays and

lesbians. By utilizing this frame, members thus experience an increase in the perceived interconnectedness and functionality of their personal gay and Republican identities.

The *party presence frame* also changes the identity standards associate with the gay identity and the Republican identity. By increasing the perceived interconnectedness of the gay and Republican identities, and by demonstrating the usefulness of embracing these identities (i.e. increasing the perceived functionality of these identities) the *party presence frame* aids the LCR's efforts in creating an alternative identity standard for those identities. Not only should members accept their gay and Republican identities, but they should also embrace these identities in order to bolster members' efforts in their struggle for gay rights.

As with the *congruency frame*, LCR members are able to utilize the *party presence frame* to reduce identity conflicts regardless of whether their gay or Republican identities are more salient. Also, as is the case with the *congruency frame,* members' use of the *party presence frame* often occurs as a result of direct conflict with others who question a member's ability to be both gay and Republican. Carol, an LCR member with a more salient Republican identity, describes her encounters with Republicans who question the desire of gays and lesbians to align with the Republican Party:

> "Most people will say**, '**Why would you do that to yourself?' It's like it's punishment. Why would you apply for something, a party that already doesn't like you? And the answer is just so amazing. It's that it's that the only way they [gays and lesbians] will win and that's good. You can't boil it down any better than that. But you can't stand from the outside and say, 'I don't want to be part of you because you don't want to be part of me.' It is so much better to make a difference than to fight. I think that ticks off people who don't want to be aligned with you. It's like, I'm a Republican too."

In stating that gays and lesbians working within the Republican Party is "the only way they will win" and emphasizing the uselessness of fighting anti-gay tendencies of

Republicans from outside of the Party, Carol is employing the *party presence frame.* As an example of frame bridging, the *party presence frame* works here to link gay and Republican identities in such a way that allows Carol to reconcile conflicts surrounding the coexistence of these identities.

By emphasizing aspects of the gay and Republican identities that are conducive to the ultimate success of the struggle for gay and lesbian equality, the *party presence frame* alters the meanings associated with these identities. This frame increases the perceived interconnectedness and functionality of the LCR's collective gay and Republican identities and, because she emphasizes this frame, the perceived interconnectedness and functionality of Carol's gay and Republican identities by presenting this combination of identities as crucial to achieving equality for gays and lesbians. Not only are these identities compatible in the fight for gay rights, but also, together this combination of identities will enable gays and lesbians to achieve rights faster than if all homosexuals were to work for change within a single party. The result of this identity modification process (i.e., of increasing the perceived interconnectedness and functionality of the gay and Republican identities) is the individual-level identity effect of identity consolidation – the blending of a salient identity with another identity.

By increasing the perceived interconnectedness and functionality of the gay and Republican identities, the *party presence frame* ultimately supports the alternative identity standards for these identities. Again, these alternative identity standards, created by the LCR through its ideology and actions, challenge normative understandings of the gay and Republican identities. The alternative identity standards define and portray the gay and Republican identities as compatible and, in many ways, ideologically congruent.

Carol's emphasis on the *party presence frame* thus aids her in realigning these identities with their alternative identity standards, ultimately reducing identity conflicts surrounding her gay and Republican identities. By re-establishing harmony between her gay and Republican identities, the *party presence frame* aids Carol in preserving her Republican identity, that is, his more salient identity, thus accomplishing the main goal of identity control theory.

While Carol's identity conflicts stem from her interactions with heterosexual Republicans, Celeste, an LCR member with a more salient gay identity, has repeatedly experienced conflict between her gay and Republican identities indirectly as an LCR representative on a local gay and lesbian organizations board (i.e. amongst non-Republican homosexuals) and directly in her interactions with non-Republican gays. She explains:

> "I represent Log Cabin on one or two other boards in the city and so there's one board that is a representative from every gay organization in the city and we meet once a quarter just to talk about what's going on, and they, in HRC, at the last big…what is that big event, that big dinner they have?...Well dining out for life, but no, their annual fundraiser, it's a big gala, and last year Joe Solomnese , who's the head of HRC, came and spoke, and he asked that leaders from each gay organization in Nashville meet one morning while he was here just so that everybody could know what organizations there are, because a lot of efforts are being expended without any kind of coordination, so I went to represent Log Cabin, and people were pretty welcoming at that meeting, and I've been going to them once a quarter since, and all of the organizations have been very welcoming and glad that we are there, but I always feel, at those meetings, I always feel like I have to make excuses for myself, so I'm always uncomfortable, and they're always kind of looking…so I'm projecting more some of my own discomforts on people interacting with me.

While the conflict described above is indirect in that Celeste does not necessarily receive any negative attention from other representatives on the board, Celeste also experiences direct conflict in confrontations with Democrats who question her allegiance,

as a lesbian, to the Republican Party. When I asked how she dealt with these kinds of encounters, she explained:

> "Whenever I speak to a Democrat who questions my ability to stay in the Republican Party, my perspective is the country right now is split pretty evenly 50/50 Democrat and Republican. The only way for equal rights for all people to actually ever happen, will be if both parties push for it, and so if the Republican Party is abandoned 100% by our constituency, then we will never get guaranteed equal rights through the constitution…and so I have said, 'I'm willing to stay in the party, but there are aspects of it I can't stand,' because I feel like we have to work from within instead of from without. I always give the response that you have to work from within, and really the, using the fifty/fifty split in the country, and for constitutional amendments to be passed there has to be much more than a fifty/fifty split, and so that's what I say, if we're going to actually achieve equal rights by law, it's going to have to be legislation introduced and supported and passed by both parties."

Celeste draws on the *party presence frame* to reduce identity conflict brought on by Democrats who question her ability to be both gay and Republican. Her focus on the ability of gays and lesbians to achieve equal rights only "if both parties push for it" and her argument that these rights will never be granted "if the Republican Party is abandoned" by gay Republicans provides evidence of the *party presence frame* and this frame's ability to link the gay and Republican identities.

This focus on the congruency and necessity of the gay and Republican identities both at the collective and individual levels demonstrates how the *party presence frame* increases the perceived interconnectedness and functionality of these gay and Republican identities. Again, not only are these identities compatible in the fight for gay rights, but it is precisely this unorthodox pairing of identities that will enable gays and lesbians to achieve rights faster than if all homosexuals were to work for change within a single party. Again, the individual-level identity effect is identity consolidation.

Further, because Celeste's perceptions regarding the interconnectedness and functionality of the gay and Republican identities are increased, the *party presence frame* enables Celeste to embrace the alternative identity standards for these identities as promoted by the LCR. This reduces the conflict surrounding her gay and Republican identities, providing the opportunity for these identities to not only coexist, but also to work together to achieve gay rights. This, in turn, aids Celeste in preserving her gay identity, that is, her more salient identity, thus accomplishing the main goal of identity control theory.

Conclusion

The present study provides important empirical evidence to support the assertions of frame theory and identity control theory as outlined at the beginning of this chapter that involve the role of organizational frame alignment processes (frame theory) in reducing discrepancies between meanings in an identity standard and meanings in an identity activated in a social situation such that individual's more salient identities are preserved (identity control theory). The data for this study show that LCR members with more salient Republican identities often emphasize frames that I have classified as "gay rights frames," namely the *equality frame*, to reduce identity conflicts and preserve their Republican identities. Conversely, LCR members with more salient gay identities emphasize frames that discuss changing the Republican Party, which I have categorized as "Republican change frames," including the *party transformation*, *traditional republicanism*, and *radical right* frames, to reduce identity conflict and thus protect their gay identities. Lastly, both groups emphasize the *congruency frame* and the *party*

presence frame, which are referred to here as "gay-Republican frames" to reduce identity conflict. By using these three types of frames, LCR members are able to reconcile both their gay and Republican identities to the alternative identity standards to which they aspire, thus reducing identity conflict between these identities.

The results of the QCA analyses thus support my argument that in the context of social movements, organizational frames serve as the tools or vehicles via which LCR members with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities achieve the goal of identity control (i.e., members are able to realign an individual identity that has become activated in a social situation to the identity standard associated with that identity).

The QCA results also support the argument made in this dissertation that organizational frames, by changing the meanings associated with identities (or by producing an identity modification process), produce individual-level identity effects (amplification, consolidation, extension) that, in turn, aid LCR members in re-aligning their salient identities with the alternative identity standards touted by the LCR, thus reducing the conflict between their gay and Republican identities.

CHAPTER VII:

CONCLUSION

Understanding how individuals negotiate identity conflicts that arise during the course of their social movement participation is one avenue by which we, as scholars, can bridge the gap between the social movements literatures, which tends to focus on macro or organizational processes and structures, and the social psychological literatures, which tend to focus on micro or individual processes. Bringing identity back into the fold is a crucial step in developing more comprehensive theories of social movement participation and strategy. To date, however, researchers have not closely examined the role of individual and organizational responses to conflicts between personal and collective identities among movement participants and the capacity of these responses to sustain movement participation. The evidence presented in this dissertation addresses this lacuna and offers insights into the symbiotic nature of organizational-level and individual-level processes in negotiating identity conflicts.

After providing an overview of the major findings presented in this dissertation, I discuss the theoretical and empirical contributions of my work. Lastly, I discuss some of the limitations of my research, and I present some suggestions for future research.

Empirical Evidence

In Chapter 2 I presented the main hypotheses of this dissertation research. These hypotheses, listed below, guided my investigations into the organizational

framing efforts of the LCR and the use of organizational frames by individual LCR members to reduce identity conflicts.

Hypothesis 1: LCR members will utilize frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflicts.

Hypothesis 1a: Frame alignment processes will reduce identity conflict among constituents by increasing the perceived functionality of those identities.

Hypothesis 1b: Frame alignment processes will reduce identity conflict among constituents by making more positive the image or representation of the collective identity of the group.

Hypothesis 1c: Frame alignment processes will reduce identity conflict among constituents by increasing the perceived interconnectedness of members' personal identities and the collective identity of the group.

Hypothesis 2: Female LCR members will utilize organizational frames differently than male LCR members to reduce identity conflicts.

Hypothesis 2a: Female LCR members' multiple subordinate identities will decrease their abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

Hypothesis 2b: The nature of male LCR members' identities will not impact their abilities to use organizational frames to reduce identity conflict.

Hypothesis 3: LCR members with more salient Republican identities will utilize organizational frames differently than LCR members with more salient gay identities to reduce identity conflicts.

Hypothesis 3a: LCR members with more salient Republican identities will utilize organizational frames that aid them in reconciling conflicts such that their Republican identities are preserved.

Hypothesis 3a: LCR members with more salient gay identities will utilize organizational frames that aid them in reconciling conflicts such that their gay identities are preserved.

Hypothesis 4: LCR members who are long-term members will be more successful in using organizational frames to reduce identity conflict than short-term members.

Hypothesis 5: LCR members who are highly active members will be more successful in using organizational frames to reduce identity conflict than members who report low levels of organizational activity.

The results of my Qualitative Comparative Analyses as presented and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 provide support to Hypothesis 1 (a-c) and Hypothesis 2 (a-b). Results indicate that via the identity modification process that alters the perceived meanings associated with members' identities, organizational framing processes (i.e., frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension) produce individual-level identity

effects (i.e., identity amplification, identity consolidation, and identity extension) that enable LCR members to utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

The QCA results also specify the proposed relationships between organizational framing and the reduction of identity conflict among specific groups of LCR constituents. Specifically, with regard to Hypothesis 2 (a-b), QCA results in Chapter 5 demonstrate that men and women, in fact, do utilize organizational frames differently, and the results also reveal the nature of these differences. The QCA results for men support the assertion that frames that are more flexible or inclusive, such as those that allow frame bridging and frame extension, are generally more successful, precisely because they speak to individuals' multiple identities. The men in this sample were able to emphasize frames that were illustrative of both frame bridging and frame extension in order to reduce identity conflict despite variation in their lengths of membership, activity levels within the organization, and the salience of their Republican and gay identities.

Conversely, the findings suggest that frames that are more narrowly focused will be less effective. Frames illustrative of frame amplification fall into this category. For the men in this sample, such frames are unable to be utilized to reduce identity conflicts without the presence of other factors. Men's abilities to emphasize amplifying frames are dependent upon indicators of organizational commitment. A more salient Republican identity, long-term membership in the LCR, or a high level of activity in the LCR affect a member's commitment to the LCR by increasing his allegiance to the ideology, goals, collective identity or people of the organization. Men who exhibit any one of the three factors are able to emphasize the more narrowly focused amplifying frames to reduce

identity conflict that arises during the course of their membership. These findings support Hypothesis 4 and Hypothesis 5.

QCA results also demonstrate that women have a more difficult time using frames to reduce identity conflict than do men. In the case of this research, gay men are able to emphasize different types of frames (i.e., those that accomplish bridging and extension) without other factors to reduce identity conflict. Gay women, however, are never able to rely solely on framing. Rather, a combination of factors must always be present for women to emphasize framing processes successfully to reduce identity conflicts. A more salient Republican identity, long-term membership, and a high level of activity among women work in specific combinations with frames to reduce identity conflict.

Thus it can be argued that organizational frames offered by the LCR work less effectively for women. Frame alignment processes – frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension – only succeed in reducing identity conflicts for women under certain circumstances. I draw on intersectional identity theory to explain this finding. The nature of women's multiple or intersecting subordinate identities plays a role in determining which combinations of factors work in conjunction with frame alignment processes to result in identity conflict resolution. Because LCR women must reconcile multiple subordinate identities (i.e., being both female and gay), women must draw on their commitments to the LCR in order to emphasize successfully organizational frames to reduce identity conflict. Quite simply, greater organizational commitment embodied in long-term membership, an active membership, or a salient Republican identity allows the frames to work effectively to reduce identity conflict. These findings support Hypothesis 4 and Hypothesis 5.

As with the men, indicators of organizational commitment for women include a more salient Republican identity, long-term membership, and high levels of organizational activities. Also similar to the men, these factors affect a woman member's commitment to the LCR by increasing her allegiance to the ideology, goals, collective identity or people of the organization. Unlike the men, however, who must only exhibit any one of the three measures of organizational commitment to emphasize amplifying frames to reduce identity conflict, women require specific characteristics of organizational commitment depending on the presence or absence of other factors. For women, the absence of long-term membership and the lack of activity within the organization require the presence of a more salient Republican identity in order to utilize any of the frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict. The presence of a more salient gay identity necessitates long-term membership to emphasize these frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict. Finally, if LCR women are long-term members *and* active members, the salience of their gay and Republican identities are irrelevant.

The QCA results support the literature on intersectionality that suggests that LCR women's abilities to organizational frames to reduce identity conflict are influenced by the subordinate natures of more than one of their identities. More specifically, being both female and homosexual (both subordinate identities) results in women's greater dependence on organizational commitment to reconcile identity conflicts via organizational frames. This is because women must work harder to explain their participation in an organization affiliated with a political party that has historically ignored the interests and concerns women and homosexuals. A more salient Republican

identity, long-term membership, and high levels of organizational activity (all measures of organizational commitment) provide support to women using organizational frames to reduce identity conflict by encouraging and building identification with the ideology, goals, collective identity and other members of the LCR.

With regard to Hypothesis 3 (a-b), QCA results in Chapter 6 support the proposition that LCR members with more salient Republican identities will utilize organizational frames differently than LCR members with more salient gay identities, and these results also illustrate these differences in detail.

The QCA results in this chapter provide important empirical evidence to support the assertions of frame alignment theory and identity control theory that involve the role of organizational frame alignment processes in reducing discrepancies between meanings in an identity standard and meanings in an identity activated in a social situation such that individual's more salient identities are preserved. My analyses of the interview data show that LCR members with more salient Republican identities often emphasize frames that I have classified as "gay rights frames," namely the *equality frame*, to reduce identity conflicts and preserve their Republican identities. Conversely, LCR members with more salient gay identities employ frames that discuss changing the Republican Party, which I have categorized as "Republican change frames," including the *party transformation*, *traditional republicanism*, and *radical right* frames, to reduce identity conflict and thus protect their gay identities. Lastly, both groups emphasize the *congruency frame* and the *party presence frame,* which are referred to here as "gay-Republican frames" to reduce identity conflict. By using these three types of frames, LCR members are able to

reconcile both their gay and Republican identities to the alternative identity standards to which they aspire, thus reducing identity conflict between these identities.

The results of the QCA analyses thus support my argument that in the context of social movements, organizational frames serve as the tools or vehicles via which LCR members with more salient Republican identities and those with more salient gay identities achieve the goal of identity control. That is, members are able to realign an individual identity that has become activated in a social situation and that is central to their self-definition to the identity standard associated with that identity. In other words, when LCR members with more salient Republican identities experience identity conflicts that challenge these members' understandings of their Republican identities, these members will emphasize organizational frames that bolster the Republican identity espoused by the LCR, thus reinforcing the individuals' Republican identities. Similarly, when LCR members with more salient gay identities experience identity conflicts that challenge these members' understandings of their gay identities, these members will emphasize organizational frames that bolster the gay identity espoused by the LCR, thus reinforcing the individuals' Republican identities.

Theoretical Contributions

Researchers of social movements have established that framing processes are crucial to our understanding of identity in most social movements and social movement organizations (Hunt, Benford & Snow 1994; Kubal 1998; Haydu 1999; Benford & Hunt 2003). Though most of these studies focus on the relationship between framing and collective identity, I show that framing is just as important at the level of individual

identity. It is not sufficient for an organization to offer frames to define, change and/or reconstruct a collective identity. Specifically, I demonstrate that framing efforts are key factors in identity conflict negotiation undertaken by the LCR as an organization to maintain its constituency. How successful the organization is in its framing efforts will be reflected in the degree to which these frames are emphasized by individual members in order to reduce identity conflicts and thus to continue their participation in movement activities.

Until very recently, movement theorists have adopted a rational person model of social movement participation. Rational-choice theory holds that individuals are goal-oriented actors who evaluate social movement participation in light of its costs and benefits, and they choose to participate if the benefits outweigh the costs (see Mahoney (2004) for a review of Rational-Choice Theory). Stryker, Owens and White (2000) state that by doing this, movement theorists have assumed the essential equivalence of all persons entering movements. Accepting this assumption has led many scholars to focus not on the individual but on structural constraints and opportunities affecting movements and on the mobilization of resources to achieve organizational goals. A few exceptions to this tendency (see, for example, Kiecolt 2000; Polletta & Jasper 2001; Schrock, Holden & Reid 2004; Stryker, Owens & White 2000; Valocchi 2001) have begun to move the scholarship toward the examination of interactional and micro-level processes involving identity issues in social movements.

This dissertation contributes to the renewed interest in individual-level processes occurring in social movements and thus informs the social movements literature by bridging the discussions of organizational framing and identity. Rather than assuming a

similarity among movement participants, the present research assumes that individuals can vary, particularly in the degree to which individuals experience identity conflict and in the degree to which they resolve this conflict. My research illustrates how organizations deploy organizational frames and how some individuals utilize these organizational messages successfully to reduce identity conflicts. The use of framing processes by the LCR points to the importance of such interpretive work, especially for organizations whose collective identities embrace potentially conflicting elements.

By examining organizational framing processes, the characteristics of the frames organizations produce, and the factors that enable individual members to utilize these frames, we can more accurately evaluate how movement groups maintain their constituencies over time and in the face of identity tensions. The present research provides evidence of the types of framing processes and frame characteristics that most successfully reduce identity conflicts among the LCR's constituency. I also illustrate how LCR members utilize organizational messages to overcome conflicting identities.

While the particular results of this research may be specific to the dynamics of the Log Cabin Republicans, the general processes involved can be applied to similar types of social movement groups – those involving the potential for conflict among members' multiple social identities. For example, my research on the relationships between organizational framing processes (frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension) and specific organizational frames and individual identity conflict resolution could inform researchers' understandings of individual's experiences of identity conflict in the religious pro-choice movement and the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement

(LGCM)[58]. Like the LCR, both of these movement groups maintain a constituency of individuals with potentially conflicting identities. For the religious pro-choice movement, these identities likely include members' Christian and liberal social identities; for the LGCM, identities with the potential to produce conflicts include members' gay and Christian identities.

Empirical Contributions

In addition to the theoretical contributions, there are broader impacts of this research. Because no scholar has previously examined the individual experiences of LCR members, I have constructed a unique data set that includes information on basic demographic characteristics of members, their coming out experiences (if homosexual), discussions of Republican and gay identity salience, how members became involved in the LCR, the presence or absence of ties to other LCR members prior to individuals' involvement in the LCR, experiences of identity conflicts, discussions of how members handled those conflicts, members' exposures to organizational frames, members' thoughts on groups in opposition to the LCR, and members' suggestions for future LCR activism. As a conservative gay activist group, the Log Cabin Republicans provide us with an opportunity to examine conservatism among gay Americans. Identity conflicts have been a major difficulty for this group since its inception nearly 30 years ago. As mentioned previously, the LCR has received harsh criticism from both liberal gay rights groups and members of the Republican Party. In addition, as the results from my study show, members of the LCR themselves wrestle with competing images of being gay and

[58] Social movement researchers have yet to examine the identity experiences of participants in these two movement groups.

being Republican. Nevertheless, the LCR has managed to steadily increase its membership and its organizing efforts, which is evident in the growth of local chapters all across the nation. The present research thus contributes empirically to the social movements and identity literatures by providing an analysis of original data for this previously understudied group.

Limitations & Suggestions for Future Research

This dissertation, while contributing theoretically and empirically to the social movements and identity theory literatures, also has several limitations. These limitations include the type of sampling used to recruit interview participants and my inability to conduct face-to-face interviews with all participants involved in this research. I briefly discuss each of these limitations below and provide suggestions for future research based on these limitations.

First, access to LCR members is not readily available to outsiders. Member lists are kept in confidence by all of the LCR chapters involved in this study (and most likely by all LCR chapters nationwide). Due to the potential negative outcomes for some LCR members if their sexual orientation were to be made public, confidentiality is crucial to the protection of chapter members' identities. Due to this limited access, I relied on non-probability sampling methods including convenience and snowball sampling. There are several limitations associated with non-probability sampling methods. Because individuals can self-select into the study, and because potential participants can be very similar to those who referred them, studies that employ non-probability sampling methods run the risk of over-representing a particular segment of the organization.

However, social research often involves important research questions that cannot be answered via probability sampling techniques such as random sampling (Berg 2004). In fact, qualitative research that seeks a deeper understanding of social phenomena or a more in-depth look at a specific population often necessitates the use of methods like those employed in this dissertation.

My utilization of non-probability sampling methods presents difficulties in generalizing the results of the present research to the population of all social movement groups. While non-probability sampling methods were appropriate for this study, future research that investigates identity issues within social movement organizations would add greatly to the literature by employing probability sampling methods. Randomized sampling would help to ensure that we, as researchers and scholars, are given an accurate representation of the population under observation.

A second limitation of the present study involves my inability to conduct in-person interviews with all respondents. Due to funding constraints, travel to all cities with LCR chapters was not possible. In addition, some participants indicated a preference to speak over the phone due to either (1) scheduling constraints or (2) a desire for anonymity. Beyond funding issues and preferences expressed by individual participants, the LCR chapters chosen for face-to-face interviews were selected because leaders in each local chapter expressed a high interest in participating. I conducted a total of 21 face-to-face interviews in Chicago, IL; Nashville, TN; New Orleans, LA; and St. Louis, MO. The remaining 28 interviews with LCR leaders and regular members were conducted over the telephone.

To minimize any method-related effects due to different data collection methods, I utilized the same interview schedule in both the face-to-face and the telephone interviews. Respondents were asked the same set of questions, some of which had an answer set attached to them, and some of which did not. While questions with predetermined answer categories can limit respondents' choices, other, more open-ended questions were also asked with the intent to gain a richer understanding of the particular subject matter. Further, I conducted all in-person interviews and telephone interviews myself, thus eliminating any effects that might result from multiple interviewers. Lastly, because I conducted all of the interviews, I handled all questions and concerns that arose during the course of the interviews including queries about clarifying interview questions, concerns over anonymity, and questions regarding the purpose of the research. Though ultimately I found no correlation between interview type and the other factors analyzed in my analyses, this may not be the case when interviewing LCR members for future studies. Thus, researchers who are able to conduct face-to-face interviews with all study recruits will no doubt add to the validity of this dissertation's findings.

Conclusion

The results of my Qualitative Comparative Analyses indicate that via the identity modification process through which perceived meanings associated with members' identities are altered, organizational framing processes (i.e., frame amplification, frame bridging, and frame extension) produce individual-level identity effects (i.e., identity amplification, identity consolidation, and identity extension) that enable LCR members to utilize organizational frames to reduce identity conflicts.

QCA results also demonstrate that organizational framing processes work less effectively for women. While gay men are able to emphasize different types of frames (i.e., those that accomplish bridging and extension) without other factors to reduce identity conflict, gay women, however, always require a combination of factors in order for them to emphasizing framing processes to reduce conflict. Because LCR women must reconcile multiple subordinate identities, women must draw on their commitments to the LCR in order to emphasize successfully organizational frames illustrative of the frame alignment processes to reduce identity conflict. Thus, greater organizational commitment embodied in long-term membership, an active membership, or a salient Republican identity allows the frames to work effectively to reduce identity conflict.

The QCA results also support the argument made in this dissertation that organizational frames, by changing the meanings associated with those identities (or by producing an identity modification process), produce individual-level identity effects (amplification, consolidation, extension) that, in turn, aid LCR members in re-aligning their most salient identities (i.e., the gay or Republican identities) with the alternative identity standards touted by the LCR, thus reducing the conflict between their gay and Republican identities.

The results of my research also contribute to social movements scholars' renewed interests in individual-level processes occurring in social movements. By illustrating how organizations deploy organizational frames and how some individuals utilize these organizational messages successfully to reduce identity conflicts, my research bridges the discussions of organizational framing and identity, thus informing the social movements literature.

Appendix A: Coding Guide

LCR Frames

Equality	all people are created equal
	LCR goal is to achieve full equality for gays and lesbians
	focus on fairness and equality
	advocating equal rights for all Americans
	LCR is working to overcome the forces of exclusion and intolerance
	fairness and freedom will prevail over intolerance and exclusion
Congruency	Republican principles are consistent with the pursuit of gay and lesbian rights and equality
	gay Republicans embody and advocate traditional Republican ideologies
	Loyalty to conservative principles does not conflict with LCR efforts to make the GOP more inclusive and tolerant
Radical Right	radical right has gained too much power and influence
	radical right is responsible for current perception of Republicans as discriminatory
	radical right goes against republican principles by trying to legislate morality
	radical right as last obstacle to achieving equality for gays and lesbians
	defeat of radical right as necessary for change

Loyalty	LCR as loyal Republicans
	loyalty means speaking out when the party moves in the wrong direction (i.e. passing discriminatory legislation)
Party Expansion	LCR efforts will contribute to building and sustaining a majority Republican Party
Party Transformation	LCR as powerful force for transforming the Republican Party
	"fighting/working to build" more inclusive party
	grassroots efforts to influence fair-minded Republicans
	support of moderate Republican candidates for office
Party Presence	importance of allies in both parties
	lesbians and gays faced similar challenges in the Democratic Party of 20 yrs ago but did not abandon their party
	not enough votes in Democratic Party to achieve sustained legislative victories
	GOP would still exists even if all gays left the Party
	LCR works for gay and lesbians rights within the party
	efforts to influence the party must occur from within
	pressure from the outside (far left) won't work
Education	education of party about gay and lesbian issues
	education of public about gay republicans in order to shatter stereotype of the Party as invasive to private lives (i.e. discriminatory legislation, moral conservatism, etc.

Integrity	working with integrity to influence change in the Party
Organizational Strength	LCR influence is growing as more and more people join
	strength comes from grassroots chapters all over the nation
	growing numbers of gay republicans
Traditional Republicanism	Reference to party's founding fathers
	Need for party to attend to traditional republican concerns such as govt. spending, tax relief, etc.
	Focus party's attention on privacy and individual responsibility
	Arguments made for states' rights over govt. interference
	Speaking out against legislation that goes against "fair-minded" Republicanism (i.e. Constitutional discrimination)
	smaller government as a core principle of the Party (limited government)
	LCR has a firm belief in individual liberty and Republican Party as a tool to defend liberty
	LCR has a firm belief in individual responsibility and that individuals, not the government, are responsible for their behaviors
	LCR has a firm belief in free markets
	LCR has a firm belief in a strong national defense
Progress	the efforts of gay republicans are on the right path to progress

Grassroots	Change in strategy to focus on America's heartland
	Decrease in black tie dinners and increase in rural barbeques
	Make allies with local leaders of the community
Coming Out	calls for gay conservatives to come out and make their presence known

Appendix B: List of All Active LCR Chapters

Arizona
Arizona Caucus

California
California State Chapter
Los Angeles
Orange County Caucus
Palm Springs Caucus
Sacramento Chapter
San Diego Chapter
Silicon Valley Chapter

Colorado
Colorado State Chapter

District of Columbia
District of Columbia Chapter

Florida
Broward County Chapter
Miami Caucus
Orlando Chapter
Tampa Bay Chapter

Georgia
Georgia Log Cabin Republicans, Inc.

Indiana
Indiana Caucus

Iowa
Iowa State Caucus

Illinois
Chicago Chapter

Louisiana
Louisiana State Chapter

Maine
Maine Caucus

Massachusetts
Massachusetts Commonwealth Chapter

Michigan
Michigan State Chapter

Minnesota:
Minnesota Caucus

Missouri
St. Louis Chapter

New Mexico
New Mexico Caucus

New York
Hudson Valley Caucus
New York City Caucus
New York State Chapter
Rochester/Finger Lakes Caucus

North Carolina
North Carolina Caucus

Ohio
Cleveland Chapter
Northwest Ohio Chapter

Oklahoma
Oklahoma State Chapter

Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania Commonwealth Chapter
Philadelphia Chapter

South Carolina
South Carolina State Chapter

Tennessee
Middle Tennessee Chapter

Texas
Dallas Chapter

Utah
Utah State Chapter

Virginia
Virginia Commonwealth Chapter

Washington
Washington State Chapter

Wisconsin
Log Cabin Republicans Wisconsin

Appendix C: Recruitment Letter

June 20, 2007

Mr. X, President
Log Cabin Republicans
Nashville Chapter

Mr. X,

My name is Courtney Muse. I am a graduate student in Sociology at Vanderbilt University currently working on my dissertation. I am writing to you with the hope that you and your organization will be interested in participating in this research.

I have long been interested in issues affecting the LGBT communities in the U.S. More recently, I became interested in the myriad of organizations working to promote change on behalf of the LGBT population in this country. I first ran across the Log Cabin Republicans last fall when I began my research. I was immediately fascinated with this organization and its tremendous growth over the last 5-10 years. I have looked into the LCR National website, LCR chapter websites from across the US, and interviews in various newspapers and online forums with LCR leaders.

For my dissertation work, I have decided to analyze the Log Cabin Republicans. Who are these individuals? What are their goals and strategies? How do they mediate the conflicts that arise between homosexuality and Republicanism? What has each chapter done to recruit, maintain and strengthen its membership?

From what I have seen thus far, the Log Cabin Republicans are a fascinating group of individuals working for social change. As a unique social movement built on two historically incompatible ideologies, the LCR is important to sociologists in many ways. It is also important that the general public come to know the character and mission of the Log Cabin Republicans.

If you are willing to participate, I will ask you a series of questions about your experiences as a Log Cabin Republican. The interview should take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour. Your answers to the interview questions and any other information that you provide will remain confidential. The information that you provide will be added to that offered by other LCR members who agree to be interviewed. In my dissertation, I will discuss my findings for the group. In the event that individual quotes or examples are used, there will be no personal information given that would allow you to be identified.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to answer any questions asked during the interview, and you may stop the interview at any time. I will be contacting you by phone or email during the next few weeks to set up an interview at a time and place that is convenient for you. If for some reason you prefer not to participate in this study, you can let me know at that time.

If you have any questions about this study, please call me at (615) 333-6337. I will gladly accept collect calls from out-of-state callers. You may also contact me via email at courtney.muse@vanderbilt.edu. Lastly, you may contact my Faculty Advisor, Holly McCammon, at Vanderbilt University via email at holly.j.mccammon@vanderbilt.edu.

For additional information about giving consent or your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the Vanderbilt University Institutional Review Board Office toll free at (866) 224-8273.

Thank you very much for your time and your help.

Sincerely,

Courtney S. Muse
Doctoral Student
Department of Sociology
Vanderbilt University

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

Self Biography

If someone was writing a brief paragraph about who you are, what would you want them to say about you?

Political Party Identity

What is your political party affiliation?

What does being "Republican" (Independent, Democrat) mean to you? In other words, how would you describe the characteristics, goals, ideologies of the party? Of yourself, as a member of that party?

Do you think your understanding of "Republicanism" differs from that of the mainstream public?
If so, how?

How long have you been a Republican/Independent/Democrat?

Have you ever considered changing party affiliation?

How central is your Party identification to your everyday life? How often does it affect the decisions you make on a daily basis?

How often would you say that you are aware of your Party identity on an average day:
All of the time
Most of the time
Some of the time
Little of the time
None of the time

Sexual Identity

What term would you use to describe your sexual orientation or identity? Gay

If gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender:
When did you make this identity/orientation known to others?
Are you "out" with your family? Friends? At work?

How central is your sexual identity to your everyday life? How often does it affect the decisions you make on a daily basis?

How often would you say that you are aware of your sexual identity on an average day:
All of the time
Most of the time
Some of the time
Little of the time
None of the time

Background Information

How did you learn about the Log Cabin Republicans?

How long have you been a member?

Over the last year, which category describes you best?
- Mailings/emails are the extent of my involvement.
- Attended a few meetings or events.
- Attended meetings/events fairly regularly.
- Attended almost all meetings/events.

Have you had a consistent level of activity within the organization for the length of your membership?

Do you have any personal ties with other members of your LCR chapter? In other words, do you have any friends, family, coworkers, etc. who are also members of the LCR?

Family	Friends
*parent	How many?
*sibling	Coworkers
*aunt/uncle	How many?
*grandparent	Other
*cousin	Please elaborate
*partner	

Which of these individuals (if any) did you know prior to your involvement with the LCR?

If asked to define the LCR as a group, what would you say?

How would you describe the leadership of your LCR chapter?
- Race
- Age
- Gender
- Religion
- Class

How would you describe the membership of your LCR chapter?
- Race
- Age
- Gender
- Religion
- Class

Is your idea about the nature/character of the LCR and its members similar to what the LCR itself states (i.e. on its website, in meetings, in press releases, etc.)?

If yes, what are some similar themes, characteristics or qualities of the LCR according to you and the organization itself?

If no, what ideas do you have that differ from those presented by the organization?

How did you come to view the LCR in this/these different ways?

How much did you identify with the group when you first heard about them?

Perfect match
Agreed with a lot
Agreed with most
Agreed/Disagreed with some
Disagreed with most
Disagreed with a lot
Completely opposite

How much did you identify with the group when you first became involved…say in the first year of membership?

Perfect match
Agreed with a lot
Agreed with most
Agreed/Disagreed with some
Disagreed with most
Disagreed with a lot
Completely opposite

How much do you identify with the LCR now?

Perfect match
Agreed with a lot
Agreed with most
Agreed/Disagreed with some
Disagreed with most
Disagreed with a lot
Completely opposite

What would you say were the main reasons you joined the LCR?

Are these still the main reasons you are a member today?

Yes
No

If no, are there additional or different reasons for your continued participation? What are they?

During your membership, have you ever disagreed with a position taken by the LCR…for example a political position, statements about who you are as an LCR member, etc.?

If yes, please elaborate.

If respondent indicates a disagreement ask:

Did this disagreement create any tension between your values, beliefs and identity and that of the organization? In other words, did you feel torn between "who you are" and "who you are supposed to be"?

When did you begin to experience this tension? Year?

Do you still have this tension?

How did/do you manage this tension?

Can you describe specific steps you took/take?

Did the organization provide statements or other resources from which you could draw support?

If so, how did you come across these messages? [meetings, emails, newsletters, other members, etc.]

Did the tension you experienced between your personal identity and the identity of the LCR as a group affect your desire to participate in organizational activities?

If yes, please elaborate.

Do you feel that you have successfully overcome the conflicts in identity that you have experienced as a member of the LCR? Would you say that you have overcome:

All of your conflicting identity issues
Most of your conflicting identity issues
Some of your conflicting identity issues
Few of your conflicting identity issues
None of your conflicting identity issues

How would you describe your activity level within the LCR after you overcame the conflicts in identity?

Participation decreased
Participation remained about the same
Participation increased

Have you noticed or been made aware of any members that have had trouble embracing the values, goals, mission, etc. of the LCR?

If so, do you know why the individual experienced this difficulty?

Have any members told you that they were having trouble reconciling their own personal values and beliefs to those of the LCR?

If so, did you or the organization as a whole respond?

Were any attempts made to provide constituents with positive messages about the LCR or about being gay and republican in an effort to reduce these tensions?

If not, how might you or the organization handle such a situation?
Would any attempts made to provide constituents with positive messages about the LCR or about being gay and republican in an effort to reduce these tensions?

Do your LCR chapter leaders encourage members as to the usefulness of their activism/participation?

If so, how do you and other leaders encourage members?

Do you emphasize certain characteristics of individuals that are particularly useful to the goals, values and beliefs of the LCR?

Think for a moment about groups, political parties, etc. that are in opposition to the LCR?

Who are these groups?

Do LCR chapter leaders provide counterarguments to the opposition?

If so, can you give me some examples of these counterarguments?

Do LCR chapter leaders respond to criticism by highlighting certain attributes of the Log Cabin Republicans?

If so, what are some of those attributes?

Think for a moment about the arguments or statements provided by LCR leaders that talk about characteristics of the Log Cabin Republicans as a group.

Can you provide a few examples of such statements?

Does the organization attempt to send messages to its constituents that reflect the everyday experiences of this group?

If yes, how so?

Think again about the arguments or statements provided by LCR leaders that talk about characteristics of the Log Cabin Republicans as a group, its goals, strategies, etc.

Does your LCR chapter select certain people to talk about "who you are" as Log Cabin Republicans?

For instance, who would address a group of constituents about the identity of the LCR?

Why would these particular individuals be chosen?

If respondent indicated above that he/she was aware of identity conflicts among members ask:

You stated earlier that some of your chapter's members had experienced tensions as gay conservative members of your organization.
Would you say that the participation of these individuals in movement activities decreased, remained about the same, or increased during these periods of tension?

To your knowledge, have these individuals overcome these tensions?

If so, have you noticed a change in their overall levels of organizational participation since they were able to reduce these tensions?

If not, have these members become more withdrawn from organizational activities? Have any members withdrawn their membership altogether as a result of these tensions?

Do you know any individuals who experienced identity conflicts while with the LCR, and who as a result are no longer involved in the organization?

Do you know any individuals who experienced identity conflicts while with the LCR, and who as a result are no longer involved in the organization?
[Elaborate]

Distribute General Survey.

General Survey
(Fill in and/or circle your selection)

Age _____

Sex
Male Female Other

Race
White
Black
Hispanic
Asian
Other _____

Religious Upbringing
Catholic
Protestant
Denomination_____
Jewish
Orthodox □ Yes □ No
Muslim
Other _____
None

Religious Preference Today
Catholic
Protestant
Denomination_____
Jewish
Orthodox □ Yes □ No
Muslim
Other _____
None

Class Identification
Upper Class
Upper-Middle Class
Middle Class
Lower-Middle Class
Lower Class
Working Class

Political Party Identification
Republican
Democrat
Independent
Other _____

Highest Level of Education Completed
Less than 6th grade
Middle School
Some High School (no degree)
High School (degree)
Some College (no degree)
College (degree)
Advanced Degree (MA/PhD/JD/MD)
_____
_
(please specify degree)

Current/ Most Recent Occupation

_____

Marital/Relationship Status
Married
Living with Partner
Dating
Single

Children
No
Yes
Ages _____

State(s) lived in while under age 18:

_____

_____

_____

State(s) lived in as an adult: (post-college)

_____

_____

_____

Appendix E: Differences in Variable Percentages between LCR Members Who Did and Did Not Experience Identity Conflict

	Identity Conflict	No Identity Conflict
Leadership Status		
Percent of Respondents Who are LCR Leaders	58.1%	28.6%
Salience of Republican Identity		
Percent of Respondents Aware Some to All of the Time	83.3%	70.0%
Salience of Gay Identity		
Percent of Respondents Aware Some to All of the Time	93.0%	84.0%
Length of Membership in LCR		
Percent of Respondents Who Have Been Members Three Years or less	35.5%	28.6%
Education Attainment		
Percent of Respondents with Some College	6.5%	21.4%
Percent of Respondents with College or Advanced Degrees	93.5%	78.5%

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Women's Caucus Email 10/13/2007