

Supplementary Information

August 13, 2014

Contents

List of Tables

1	Balance Test	4
2	Newspaper List	5
3	List of Legal Events	8
4	Descriptive Statistics	9
5	Robustness I: Alternative Measure of Political Competition	11
6	Robustness II: Mean 3-years	13
7	Robustness II: Mean 5-years	14
8	Placebo test: Agriculture and Corruption Saliency	15

List of Figures

1	Distribution DV	6
2	Legislative Events	7
3	Marginal Effects	12
4	Article Slant by Article Type	17

Historical Perspective

The recent expansion of Renewalist Christianity across Sub-Saharan Africa should be viewed in historical perspective. As is well documented, the spread of Christianity in Africa was closely tied to the colonial era: colonial powers supported the expansion of their domestic religious systems. The Anglican Church received preferential treatment in Britain's colonies just as the Catholic Church did in Francophone and Belgian possessions. Early Renewalist movements were suppressed, as colonial authorities perceived them as attempts to break free of European-controlled religious hierarchies. The fear was that an independent African Christianity might serve as a locus of opposition to the colonial regime (Martin, 2002).

The spread of Christianity across Africa continued after independence, albeit with an important modification. Citizens of post-colonial states began forming African Initiated Churches (AICs), which broke from historic denominations and practiced an idiosyncratic form of Christianity that blended biblical doctrine with traditional African practices such as ancestor veneration (Anderson, 1992). Catholic and Protestant denominations, which suffered from association with former colonial regimes, were losing members to the newer AICs— the precursors of Renewalist churches. These processes contributed to increased competition in the religious marketplace. Providing a full account of the growth of Renewalism in Africa is beyond the scope of this paper. Note, however, that the recent Renewalist expansion owes much to the growing ties between AICs and Evangelical and Pentecostal churches from the developed world (Ranger, 2008).

Terminology

Scholars, journalists, and other observers use a number of terms to refer to the Renewalist movement as a whole, as well as to its various currents or subgroups. In the Pew (2006) report, terms are narrowly defined based on responses to several key survey questions. It uses the term “Pentecostal” to describe those who belong to specifically Pentecostal denominations, such as the Assemblies of God or the Assembly of Christian Churches. According to the WCD, Pentecostal is a general descriptive noun or adjective for any person, group, or movement that stresses direct divine inspiration by the Holy Spirit and exhibits glossalia, faith healing, and parallel phenomena.

The term “charismatic” is used in the Pew report to describe Christians who do not belong to Pentecostal denominations but who nevertheless describe themselves as either Charismatic or Pentecostal Christians. Charismatics are defined in the WCD as baptized members affiliated with non-Pentecostal denominations who have entered into the experience of being filled with the Holy Spirit. Neo-Charismatics are defined as religious people or movements similar to Charismatics, but unconnected with mainline Pentecostal or non-Pentecostal denominations.

Renewalist Christianity places special emphasis on God’s ongoing, day-to-day intervention in human affairs through the person of the Holy Spirit. Renewalists believe that the power of the Holy Spirit is manifested through such supernatural phenomena as speaking in tongues, miraculous healing, and prophetic utterances and revelations. In this paper I follow the Pew report in using the term “Renewalist” as an umbrella term that refers to both Pentecostals and Charismatics.

Construction of Dependent Variable

To construct the data used in this manuscript, I searched, with the help of research assistants, for digitalized archives of all available newspapers in English, French, or Portuguese on the databases AllAfrica.com and Factiva.com. For each country in Sub-Saharan Africa, I then determined the newspaper with the highest circulation from the pool of available news sources, through general information websites such as Africa Media, Stanford’s Africa South of the Sahara and Wikipedia. The list of newspapers used in this study is provided in Table 2.

For searches within *AllAfrica / LexisNexis Academic* I use the following information sources: Africa News, AllAfrica Newspapers & Webpubs (French), AllAfrica Newspapers (English), AllAfrica Web Publications (English), and AllAfrica.com. I then searched the database using the following search command: (homosexu! OR lesbi! OR sodomy OR sodom!) AND DATE IS(2011) AND (PUBLICATION(New Vision) OR BYLINE(New Vision)).¹

For Factiva, whose archive only extends as far back as 2003, I used the following search: (rst=afnwsf OR rst=wcafnt) AND lp=pays AND (homosexu* OR lesbi* OR sodomy OR sodom*).*² I have excluded the term “gay,” because including this term significantly distorted the data due to its alternative non-LGBT usages. In addition, random checks suggest that when the term gay is used in the LGBT context, it was always accompanied by a derivative of sodomy, homosexual, and/or lesbian.

Note that in some cases, the archived newspapers were not available for the entire 2002 to 2013 period. In some cases, the newspaper was founded after 2002 or went out of business before 2013. These imperfections in source availability account for most missingness in the measure of LGBT saliency.

Importantly, I was unable to assemble data on LGBT articles from the following 15 countries: Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Somalia, and Swaziland. For this set of

¹This example is for “New Vision” newspaper in 2011. To search for different newspapers, one must change the name of newspaper within the parenthesis following PUBLICATION OR BYLINE

²The terms sodomy OR sodom* are not redundant: the goal is to avoid capturing articles that have the term “Sodom and Gomorrah.”

countries, not a single newspaper has been digitalized via Factiva or AllAfrica. These countries are coded as “missing,” and thus drop from the empirical analysis altogether. By contrast, in countries such as Eritrea, AllAfrica and/or Factiva do allow access to newspaper articles, but none of the articles contained reference to LGBTs. In this case, the count variable for LGBT articles has a value of 0.

To what extent can the study’s findings be biased due to this pattern of missingness? I explore this question by testing whether there are significant differences between the 15 countries that drop due to missingness and the 28 that are used for the empirical analysis. As is evident from Table 1, with the exception of the log population size, none of the key variables used in the empirical analysis is significantly different between the two “types” of countries. This is not to say that missingness is random (it is not), but that there is no strong evidence suggesting this pattern of missingness has biased the results.

More so, some of the countries that dropped from the analysis due to missing data have both been pushing forward anti-gay legislation and have high levels of Renewalist Christians. These include, Congo (21%), Malawi (21%), and Swaziland (49%). In sum, it is hard to know whether there is a systematic bias, and if so what direction the bias is.

Table 1: **Balance Test**

	In dataset	No data	Diff	p.value
State legitimacy	6.651	7.677	1.026	0.154
Polity IV index	12.265	10.727	-1.538	0.320
Minority seat share	0.273	0.252	-0.021	0.695
Presidential	-1.854	-4.195	-2.340	0.691
Homosexuality criminal	0.679	0.467	-0.212	0.199
Human Development Index	0.433	0.377	-0.056	0.095
HIV prevalence	5.680	6.509	0.829	0.734
GDP per capita	940.327	922.365	-17.962	0.972
Aid committed per capita	78.833	79.023	0.190	0.989
Population (log)	16.230	15.226	-1.004	0.012
Population density	88.078	55.208	-32.870	0.320
Christian majority	0.571	0.533	-0.038	0.818
Renewalists share	17.895	11.689	-6.205	0.165
Christians population share	0.557	0.467	-0.090	0.452
Muslims population share	26.554	41.748	15.194	0.223

Note: Table provides balance statistics between countries for which at least one newspaper has been digitalized by AllAfrica or Factiva (“in dataset”) and countries that are excluded from the analysis since no newspapers have been digitalized (“No data”). P-values are derived from simple ordinary least squares, in which each covariate has been regressed on an indicator that takes the value of 1 for “no data” countries and 0 otherwise.

Table 2: Newspaper List

Country	Newspaper	Language	Source	Ownership	Circulation	Daily
Angola	Angola Press Agency	French	Factiva	Government	High circulation	Daily
Benin	Fraternite	French	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
Botswana	Mmegi	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Burkina Faso	L'observateur Paalga	French	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
Burkina Faso	Le Pays	French	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
Cameroon	Le Quotidien Mutations	French	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
Cameroon	Cameroon Tribune	French	Factiva	Government	Most-read	Daily
Cameroon	Le Messenger	French	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
Congo (DRC)	La Prospit	French	Factiva		Medium circulation	Daily
Congo (DRC)	Le Potentiel	French	Factiva	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Cote d'Ivoire	Fraternite Matin	French	Factiva	Government	Most-read	Daily
Cote d'Ivoire	Notre Voie	French	Factiva	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Cote d'Ivoire	Patriote	French	Factiva	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Eritrea	Shabait	English	AllAfrica		High circulation	Daily
Ethiopia	Addis Fortune	English	AllAfrica	Private	Medium circulation	Weekly
Ethiopia	Addis Tribune	English	AllAfrica	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Ethiopia	Daily Monitor	English	AllAfrica	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Ethiopia	Ethiopian Herald	English	AllAfrica	Government	Medium circulation	Daily
Gabon	Gabonews	French	Factiva	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Gambia	Daily Observer	English	AllAfrica	Private	Most-read	Daily
Gambia	The Independent	English	AllAfrica	Private	Medium circulation	Thrice-Weekly
Ghana	Accra Mail	English	AllAfrica	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Ghana	Ghanaian Chronicle	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Bi-Weekly
Kenya	The Nation	English	AllAfrica	Private	Most-read	Daily
Kenya	East African Standard	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Kenya	The Star	English	AllAfrica		Medium circulation	Daily
Liberia	The Inquirer	English	AllAfrica	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Madagascar	L'Express de Madagascar	French	Factiva	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
Madagascar	Midi Madigasikara	French	Factiva		High circulation	Daily
Malawi	Daily Times	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Mali	Les Echos	French	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
Mauritius	l'Express	French	Factiva	Private	Most-read	Daily
Namibia	Namibian	English	AllAfrica	Private	Most-read	Daily
Nigeria	THISDAY	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Nigeria	Vanguard	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Nigeria	Daily Trust	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Rwanda	The New Times	English	AllAfrica	Private	Most-read	Daily
Senegal	Le Soleil	French	Factiva	Government	Most-read	Daily
Senegal	Sud Quotidien	French	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
Senegal	Wal Fidjri	French	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
Senegal	Agence de Presse Sngalaise	French	Factiva	Government	High circulation	Daily
Sierra Leone	Concord Times	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Sierra Leone	The Independent	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Sierra Leone	Standard Times	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
South Africa	Cape Times	English	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
South Africa	Daily Dispatch	English	Factiva	Private	Medium circulation	Daily
South Africa	Mail & Gaurdian Online	English	Factiva	Private	High circulation	Daily
South Africa	The Star	English	Factiva	Private	Most-read	Daily
Tanzania	Citizen	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Tanzania	Tanzania Daily News	English	AllAfrica	Government	High circulation	Daily
Togo	Republic of Togo	French	Factiva	Government	High circulation	Daily
Uganda	Monitor	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Uganda	New Vision	English	AllAfrica	Government	Most-read	Daily
Zambia	The Post	English	AllAfrica	Private	High circulation	Daily
Zambia	Times of Zambia	English	AllAfrica	Government	High circulation	Daily
Zimbabwe	The Herald	English	AllAfrica	Government	High circulation	Daily

Distribution of the Dependent Variable

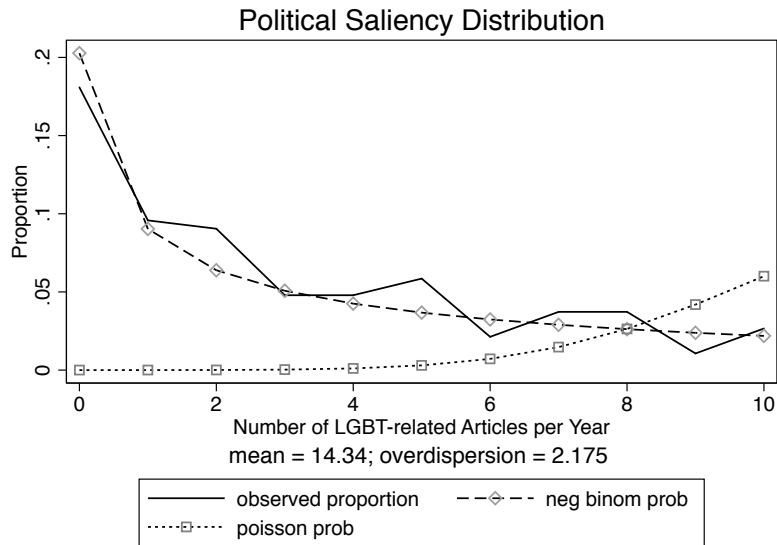


Figure 1: **Distribution DV** Figure describes the distribution of the number of articles per year on LGBT-related issues. Figure strongly suggests that a negative binomial regression would fit the data better than a Poisson regression.

Legal Events

The measure of LGBT saliency used in this manuscript builds on the intuition that the amount of media attention devoted to issue x mirrors not only the degree of *public* concern for that issue, but also the degree to which *elites* have an interest in addressing the issue. To test the plausibility of this assumption I have assembled data on LGBT-related legislative events in Sub-Saharan Africa. For each county-year I code whether LGBT-related legislation has been debated in the national assembly or in the Supreme Court, and whether a piece of legislation regarding LGBTs became the law of the land. The list of legal events is reported in Table 3. Figure 2 below shows that my proxy measure of LGBT saliency correlates strongly with the actions of political actors intent on regulating same-sex behavior

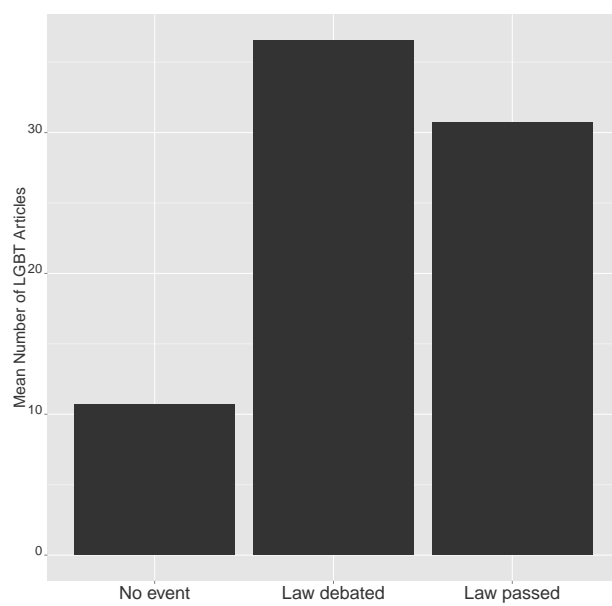


Figure 2: **Legislative Events:** Figure presents the mean number of LGBT-related articles in country j by the occurrence of legislative events, across Sub-Saharan Africa. A list of events is provided in the Appendix, Table 3.

Table 3: List of Legal Events

Country	Year	Event
Botswana	2003	Supreme Court ruling upholds criminalization of same-sex sexual activity
Botswana	2011	Court case challenging criminalization of homosexuality
Burundi	2009	Law passed criminalizing same-sex relations
Cameroon	2011	Draft of new criminal code includes tougher legislation against homosexuals
Cape Verde	2004	Same-sex relations legalized
DRC	2010	Bill in parliament to criminalize same-sex relations and proponents of LGBTI rights
Ethiopia	2004	Criminalization of same-sex sexual acts
The Gambia	2005	Criminalization of same-sex sexual acts expanded to include females
The Gambia	2008	President proclaims he will forcibly close any lodging that houses homosexuals
Ghana	2003	Illegal
Ghana	2006	Homosexual Activists group makes a bid for government recognition and is turned down
Ghana	2011	Western region director orders the arrest of all gays in the region
Ghana	2012	Law criminalizing homosexuality under review by Supreme Court
Kenya	2003	Criminalization of same-sex sexual acts for males
Kenya	2005	Males can now be recognized as legal rape victims
Kenya	2010	PM orders crackdown on homosexuals
Liberia	2012	Law passed making homosexuality a second degree felony and outlawing gay marriage
Malawi	2010	Bill passed by parliament making lesbianism punishable by law
Malawi	2011	Bill signed by president into law
Malawi	2012	Bill making lesbianism punishable by law is under review by courts
Mauritius	2008	Law passed making discrimination against homosexuals in the workplace illegal
Mozambique	2007	Law passed making discrimination against homosexuals in the workplace illegal
Nigeria	2009	Bill introduced in parliament that would prohibit people of the same gender to live together
Nigeria	2011	Bill passed by parliament prohibiting same-sex marriage
Nigeria	2012	Bill introduced in parliament that would further limit gay rights
Rwanda	2003	New Constitution limits marriage to heterosexual couples
Rwanda	2009	Bill submitted in parliament to make homosexuality illegal
South Africa	2006	Law passed legalizing same sex marriage
South Africa	2007	Age of consent made equal for hetero and homosexual couples
South Sudan	2003	New penal code criminalizes same-sex sexual activity
Uganda	2005	Same-sex marriage banned
Uganda	2009	Bill entered into parliament increasing punishment for same-sex sexual activities
Uganda	2010	Bill still being discussed and amended in parliament
Uganda	2011	Bill declared redundant by Museveni and removed
Uganda	2012	Bill currently in parliament that would further limit gay rights
Zimbabwe	2006	Law pass criminalizing same-sex among males
Zimbabwe	2012	Government suing LGBT associations for “undermining the authority of the government”

Descriptive Statistics

Table 4 provides descriptive statistics, using list wise deletion, for the independent and dependent variables used in the regression analysis reported in the main text.

Table 4: **Descriptive Statistics**

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>Observations</i>
Dependent variable					
Annual LGBT articles (highest circulation)	15.03	25.08	0	165	179
Annual LGBT articles (mean available newspapers)	13.12	18.71	0	103	179
Key explanatory variables					
Christian majority	0.598	0.492	0	1	179
Renewalists share (WCD)	20.86	13.89	0.183	49.90	179
Effective number of religions	3.806	1.438	1.158	7.146	179
Newspaper controls					
Annual articles in database (highest circulation)	5409.0	5855.8	0	28,080	179
Annual articles in database (mean available newspapers)	4078.0	4019.9	0	23,552	179
Private ownership	0.709	0.455	0	1	179
Key political variables					
Polity IV index	3.196	4.946	-5	10	179
Margin of minority	0.299	0.177	0	0.859	179
Private ownership	0.709	0.455	0	1	179
State legitimacy	6.184	2.571	0	11	179
Homosexuality criminal	0.777	0.418	0	1	179
Elections held	0.246	0.432	0	1	179
Control variables					
Human Development Index	0.458	0.110	0.274	0.726	179
log HIV prevalence	1.354	1.159	-1.204	3.296	179
log GDP per capita	6.406	1.009	4.959	8.553	179
log Aid committed per capita	4.103	1.079	-0.706	7.173	179
log population size	16.07	1.280	14.02	18.90	179
Ethnic fractionalization	18.51	19.95	0	55.66	179
No European rule	0.0279	0.165	0	1	179
Belgian colony	0.0391	0.194	0	1	179
Ethiopian rule	0	0	0	0	179
French colony	0.268	0.444	0	1	179
Portuguese colony	0.00559	0.0747	0	1	179
South African rule	0.0894	0.286	0	1	179
British colony	0.570	0.496	0	1	179
Eastern Africa	0.346	0.477	0	1	179
Central Africa	0.0838	0.278	0	1	179
Southern Africa	0.151	0.359	0	1	179
Western Africa	0.419	0.495	0	1	179

Robustness checks

In this section we report findings from several robustness checks.

Alternative measure of political competition

The first analysis uses *margin of minority* as an alternative measure of political competition. Derived from the World Bank Database of Political Institutions, the margin of minority variable measures the fraction of parliamentary seats held by parties other than the government and is calculated by dividing the number of non-government seats by the total (government plus opposition plus non-aligned) seats. Results, reported in Table 5, are consistent with the findings reported in the main text. The interaction between Renewalists population share and margin of minority is significant for the mean of all available newspapers and is very close to significant when using the highest circulation newspaper.

To further facilitate appreciation of the magnitude of the relationship between the key independent variables and LGBT saliency, I use the ZINB model for the highest-circulating newspaper to calculate the marginal effects of the share of Renewalist Christians as a function of a country's level of political competition and dominant religion. As Figure 3 shows, the effect of Renewalist population share positively increases with a country's level of political competition. A 10-point increase in the share of Renewalist Christians is associated with about 10-15 more LGBT articles per year when the government share of parliamentary seats is between 50 and 60 percent. By contrast, when the government share of parliamentary seats is high (above 0.6) or low (below 0.3), the marginal effects of Renewalist Christians loses significance at conventional levels.

Multi-year Average

Second, to ensure that the reported findings are not driven by the sensitivity of our models to exceptional years, I compute a 3-year average dataset (2003-2005, 2006-2008, 2009-2011) and a 5-year average (2002-2006, 2007-2011), and run similar negative binomial models on the two alternative specifications of the dependent variable. Results presented in Table 6 and Table 7 support the findings from the annual data.

Placebo tests

Next, I conduct two placebo tests designed to provide greater assurance that the relationship between LGBT saliency and Renewalist share of the population is not spurious. I collect equivalent data from the same newspaper sources and years on two additional salient issues: agriculture and

Table 5: **Alternative Measure of Political Competition**

	Highest Circulation		Available Newspapers	
	NB2	ZINB	NB2	ZINB
Margin of minority	0.796 (0.56)	0.808 (0.57)	0.715 (0.42)	0.715 (0.42)
Renewalists share	0.953 (0.03)	0.951 (0.03)	0.938 (0.04)	0.938 (0.04)
Margin of minority \times Renewalists share	1.134* (0.09)	1.134* (0.09)	1.099 (0.07)	1.099 (0.07)
State legitimacy	0.840* (0.06)	0.841* (0.06)	0.817* (0.06)	0.817* (0.06)
Christian majority	2.120 (1.43)	2.012 (1.36)	1.073 (0.84)	1.073 (0.84)
Christian majority \times Renewalists share	1.026 (0.02)	1.027 (0.02)	1.060* (0.02)	1.060* (0.02)
Annual articles in database	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)
Private ownership	0.530 (0.22)	0.518 (0.21)		
<i>Control variables</i>				
Effective number of religions	1.232 (0.28)	1.237 (0.28)	1.047 (0.20)	1.047 (0.20)
Homosexuality criminal	2.451* (0.94)	2.382* (0.89)	3.743* (1.20)	3.743* (1.20)
Elections held	0.851 (0.13)	0.857 (0.12)	0.782* (0.09)	0.782* (0.09)
Human Development Index	0.520 (0.41)	0.529 (0.42)	0.807 (0.71)	0.807 (0.71)
HIV prevalence	0.979 (0.17)	0.986 (0.18)	1.295 (0.25)	1.295 (0.25)
GDP per capita	2.344 (1.90)	2.312 (1.89)	1.546 (1.37)	1.546 (1.37)
Aid committed per capita	1.015 (0.07)	1.021 (0.07)	1.101 (0.07)	1.101 (0.07)
Population (log)	1.400* (0.15)	1.417* (0.16)	1.735* (0.17)	1.735* (0.17)
Ethnic fractionalization	1.034* (0.01)	1.033* (0.01)	1.019* (0.01)	1.019* (0.01)
Belgian colony	5.643* (4.93)	5.643* (4.89)	3.241 (3.13)	3.241 (3.13)
French colony	1.102 (1.14)	1.072 (1.10)	0.719 (0.84)	0.719 (0.84)
Portuguese colony	0.688 (0.92)	0.668 (0.91)	0.159 (0.24)	0.159 (0.24)
South African rule	0.360 (0.38)	0.355 (0.36)	0.763 (0.76)	0.763 (0.76)
British colony	0.452 (0.31)	0.460 (0.31)	0.331 (0.25)	0.331 (0.25)
Log likelihood	-503.530	-503.463	-500.777	-500.777
AIC	1053.059	1052.926	1049.554	1051.555
Observations	179	179	189	189
Clustered standard errors in parentheses * ($p < 0.1$)				

DV: number of LGBTs-related articles. All models include year and region indicators. For colonial rule the reference category are countries such as Liberia that were not subjected to European rule.

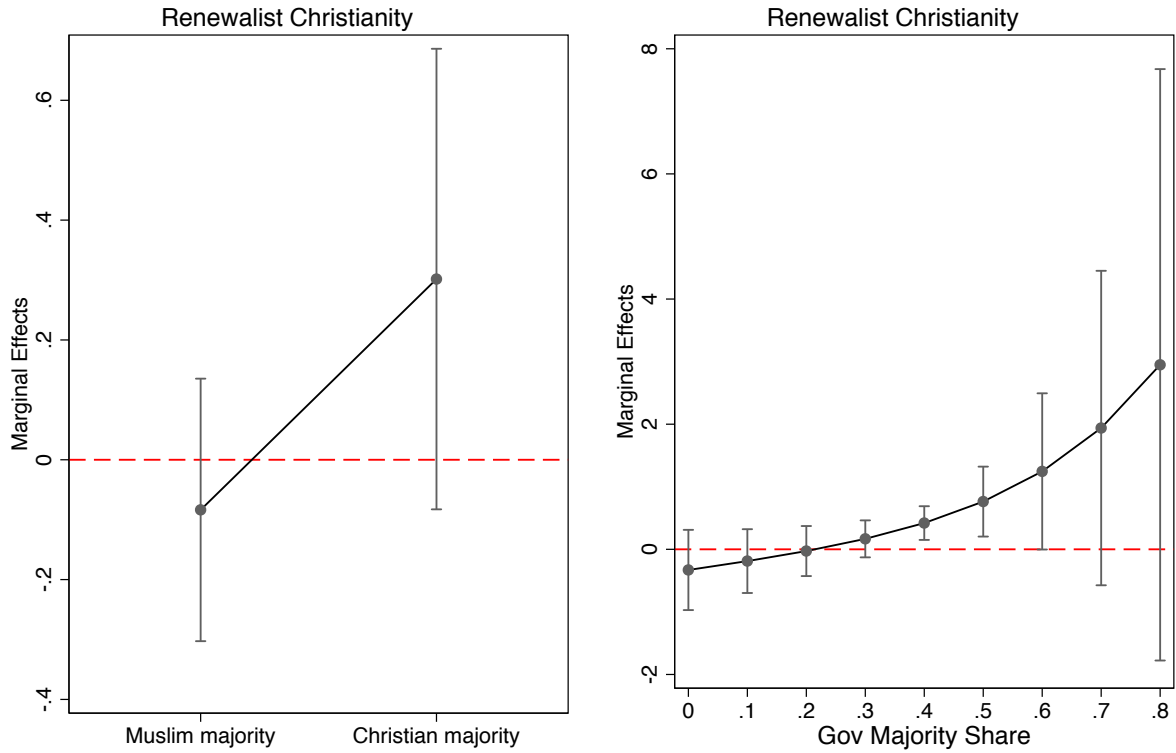


Figure 3: **Marginal Effects:** The marginal effects of Renewalist population share are displayed as a function of countries' level of political competition (right panel) and dominant religion (left). Marginal effects are derived from ZINB model for the highest-available circulation newspapers. Number of observations: 189.

corruption. I selected these issues because they not expected to be affected by a country's share of Evangelical Christians. As Table 8 shows, Renewalists share of the population is not associated with the issue saliency of either agriculture or corruption.

Table 6: Mean 3-years

	Highest Circulation		Newspapers Mean	
	NB2	ZINB	NB2	ZINB
Polity IV Index	1.025 (0.02)	1.025 (0.02)	1.043* (0.02)	1.043* (0.02)
Renewalists share	1.012 (0.02)	1.012 (0.02)	0.996 (0.02)	0.996 (0.02)
Polity IV \times Renewalists share	1.004* (0.00)	1.004* (0.00)	1.005* (0.00)	1.005* (0.00)
State legitimacy	0.989 (0.10)	0.989 (0.10)	0.953 (0.09)	0.953 (0.09)
Christian majority	4.435 (4.09)	4.435 (4.09)	3.311 (3.22)	3.311 (3.22)
Christian majority \times Renewalists share	1.027 (0.02)	1.027 (0.02)	1.046* (0.02)	1.046* (0.02)
Annual articles in database	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)
Private ownership	1.176 (0.38)	1.176 (0.38)		
<i>Control variables</i>				
Effective number of religions	0.784 (0.17)	0.784 (0.17)	0.706* (0.09)	0.706* (0.09)
Homosexuality criminal	7.209* (2.74)	7.209* (2.74)	6.575* (1.94)	6.574* (1.94)
Elections held	1.245 (0.69)	1.245 (0.69)	1.516 (0.80)	1.516 (0.80)
Human Development Index	0.635 (0.55)	0.635 (0.55)	0.735 (0.69)	0.735 (0.69)
HIV prevalence	0.845 (0.16)	0.845 (0.16)	1.063 (0.23)	1.063 (0.23)
GDP per capita	1.744 (1.57)	1.744 (1.57)	1.538 (1.52)	1.538 (1.52)
Aid committed per capita	1.012 (0.08)	1.012 (0.08)	1.013 (0.09)	1.013 (0.09)
Population (log)	1.071 (0.19)	1.071 (0.19)	1.278 (0.20)	1.278 (0.20)
Ethnic fractionalization	1.017* (0.01)	1.017* (0.01)	1.018* (0.01)	1.018* (0.01)
Belgian colony	2.673 (1.73)	2.673 (1.73)	2.435* (1.27)	2.435* (1.27)
French colony	3.257 (2.99)	3.257 (2.99)	1.707 (1.74)	1.707 (1.74)
Portuguese colony	0.114 (0.15)	0.114 (0.15)	0.050* (0.08)	0.050* (0.08)
South African rule	4.430* (2.08)	4.430* (2.08)	5.412* (2.22)	5.412* (2.22)
British colony	0.709 (0.25)	0.709 (0.25)	0.525* (0.16)	0.525* (0.16)
Log likelihood	-192.731	-192.731	-197.024	-197.024
AIC	429.463	431.463	440.047	442.047
Observations	69	69	74	74
Clustered standard errors in parentheses * ($p < 0.1$)				

DV: number of LGBTs-related articles. Models include region indicators (for Eastern, Western, Central and Southern Africa). For colonial rule the reference category are countries such as Liberia that were not subjected to European rule.

Table 7: Mean 5-years

	Highest Circulation		Newspapers Mean	
	NB2	ZINB	NB2	ZINB
Polity IV Index	1.028 (0.03)	1.022 (0.02)	1.037 (0.03)	1.037 (0.03)
Renewalists share	1.036 (0.02)	1.040* (0.02)	1.037 (0.02)	1.037 (0.02)
Polity IV \times Renewalists share	1.007* (0.00)	1.009* (0.00)	1.008* (0.00)	1.008* (0.00)
State legitimacy	0.952 (0.13)	0.852 (0.11)	0.868 (0.10)	0.868 (0.10)
Christian majority	6.428* (5.88)	13.915* (10.75)	7.744* (7.47)	7.744* (7.47)
Christian majority \times Renewalists share	1.016 (0.03)	1.001 (0.02)	1.010 (0.03)	1.010 (0.03)
Annual articles in database	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)
Private ownership	0.923 (0.34)	0.903 (0.27)		
<i>Control variables</i>				
Effective number of religions	0.579* (0.13)	0.613* (0.10)	0.525* (0.05)	0.525* (0.05)
Homosexuality criminal	5.476* (1.97)	6.643* (2.27)	7.860* (2.22)	7.860* (2.22)
Elections held	0.125* (0.07)	0.104* (0.06)	0.095* (0.06)	0.095* (0.06)
Human Development Index	0.940 (0.96)	0.361 (0.27)	0.829 (0.66)	0.829 (0.66)
HIV prevalence	1.051 (0.17)	0.995 (0.16)	1.393* (0.24)	1.393* (0.24)
GDP per capita	1.406 (1.29)	3.501* (2.40)	1.619 (1.21)	1.619 (1.21)
Aid committed per capita	0.676* (0.13)	0.585* (0.11)	0.682* (0.11)	0.682* (0.11)
Population (log)	1.122 (0.16)	1.124 (0.15)	1.219 (0.16)	1.219 (0.16)
Ethnic fractionalization	1.013 (0.01)	1.016* (0.01)	1.011 (0.01)	1.011 (0.01)
Belgian colony	1.303 (1.03)	2.047 (1.26)	1.424 (0.44)	1.424 (0.44)
French colony	2.003 (1.58)	2.592 (1.67)	1.524 (1.26)	1.524 (1.26)
Portuguese colony	0.050* (0.06)	0.101* (0.09)	0.034* (0.04)	0.034* (0.04)
South African rule	7.229* (2.46)	10.833* (3.29)	8.594* (2.33)	8.594* (2.33)
British colony	0.457* (0.18)	0.485 (0.22)	0.281* (0.12)	0.281* (0.12)
Log likelihood	-99.056	-97.309	-96.447	-96.447
AIC	244.113	242.617	238.894	240.894
Observations	43	43	46	46
Clustered standard errors in parentheses * ($p < 0.1$)				

DV: number of LGBTs-related articles. Models include region indicators (for Eastern, Western, Central and Southern Africa). For colonial rule the reference category are countries such as Liberia that were not subjected to European rule.

Table 8: **Placebo test: Agriculture and Corruption Saliency**

	Agriculture			Corruption		
	ZINB	NB1	NB2	ZINB	NB1	NB2
Polity IV index	1.012 (0.01)	1.016 (0.01)	1.013 (0.01)	1.042* (0.02)	1.040* (0.01)	1.040* (0.01)
Renewalists share	1.042* (0.02)	1.043* (0.01)	1.043* (0.02)	1.039 (0.04)	1.046* (0.02)	1.046* (0.02)
Polity IV × Renewalists share	0.999 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)
State legitimacy	0.953 (0.08)	0.995 (0.06)	0.941 (0.08)	0.960 (0.07)	0.985 (0.07)	0.985 (0.07)
Christian majority	16.651* (10.35)	13.053* (5.11)	17.083* (10.41)	4.801* (2.66)	2.043 (1.71)	2.043 (1.71)
Christian majority × Renewalists share	0.950* (0.01)	0.962* (0.01)	0.948* (0.01)	0.960 (0.03)	0.952* (0.02)	0.952* (0.02)
Annual articles in database	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)
Private ownership	2.426* (0.49)	2.060* (0.39)	2.421* (0.48)	1.731 (1.16)	0.935 (0.61)	0.935 (0.61)
<i>Control variables</i>						
Effective number of religions	0.921 (0.11)	0.842 (0.10)	0.932 (0.11)	1.269 (0.21)	1.080 (0.17)	1.080 (0.17)
Homosexuality criminal	14.382* (3.74)	11.895* (2.44)	14.547* (3.69)	5.061* (2.63)	2.286 (1.60)	2.286 (1.60)
Elections held	0.969 (0.06)	0.974 (0.07)	0.985 (0.07)	0.947 (0.09)	1.076 (0.10)	1.076 (0.10)
Human Development Index	0.197* (0.09)	0.291* (0.12)	0.185* (0.08)	0.142* (0.06)	0.426 (0.36)	0.426 (0.36)
HIV prevalence	1.154 (0.20)	1.110 (0.13)	1.159 (0.19)	0.905 (0.23)	0.915 (0.12)	0.915 (0.12)
GDP per capita	7.126* (3.92)	4.507* (2.05)	7.348* (3.98)	5.638* (3.26)	1.983 (1.91)	1.983 (1.91)
Aid committed per capita	0.997 (0.07)	0.927 (0.07)	1.000 (0.07)	1.041 (0.09)	1.004 (0.06)	1.004 (0.06)
Population (log)	1.023 (0.14)	1.058 (0.11)	1.016 (0.14)	1.182 (0.21)	1.192* (0.11)	1.192* (0.11)
Ethnic fractionalization	0.997 (0.01)	1.006 (0.01)	0.997 (0.01)	1.020* (0.01)	1.007 (0.01)	1.007 (0.01)
Belgian colony	6.448* (2.32)	5.188* (2.62)	7.018* (2.64)	16.626* (4.91)	5.195* (3.15)	5.195* (3.15)
French colony	7.099* (3.30)	4.986* (1.65)	7.456* (3.39)	5.454* (3.48)	1.354 (1.60)	1.354 (1.60)
Portuguese colony	15.942* (10.94)	6.778* (3.63)	17.266* (11.88)	2.187 (2.57)	0.319 (0.61)	0.319 (0.61)
South African rule	3.850* (1.36)	2.721* (0.71)	4.626* (1.76)	2.958* (1.50)	2.297* (0.80)	2.297* (0.80)
British colony	1.016 (0.23)	0.720 (0.15)	1.072 (0.26)	2.605* (0.49)	2.014* (0.61)	2.014* (0.61)
Log likelihood	-1014.722	-991.347	-1019.438	-870.124	-869.159	-869.159
AIC	2075.444	2028.694	2084.877	1784.248	1782.318	1782.318
Observations	171.000	171.000	171.000	162.000	162.000	162.000
Clustering standard errors in parentheses * ($p < 0.1$)						
Coefficients are exponentiated (incidence rate ratio)						

DV: number of agriculture (columns 1-2) and corruption-related articles (columns 3-4). All models include year and region indicators. For colonial rule the reference category are countries such as Liberia that were not subjected to European rule.

Content Analysis

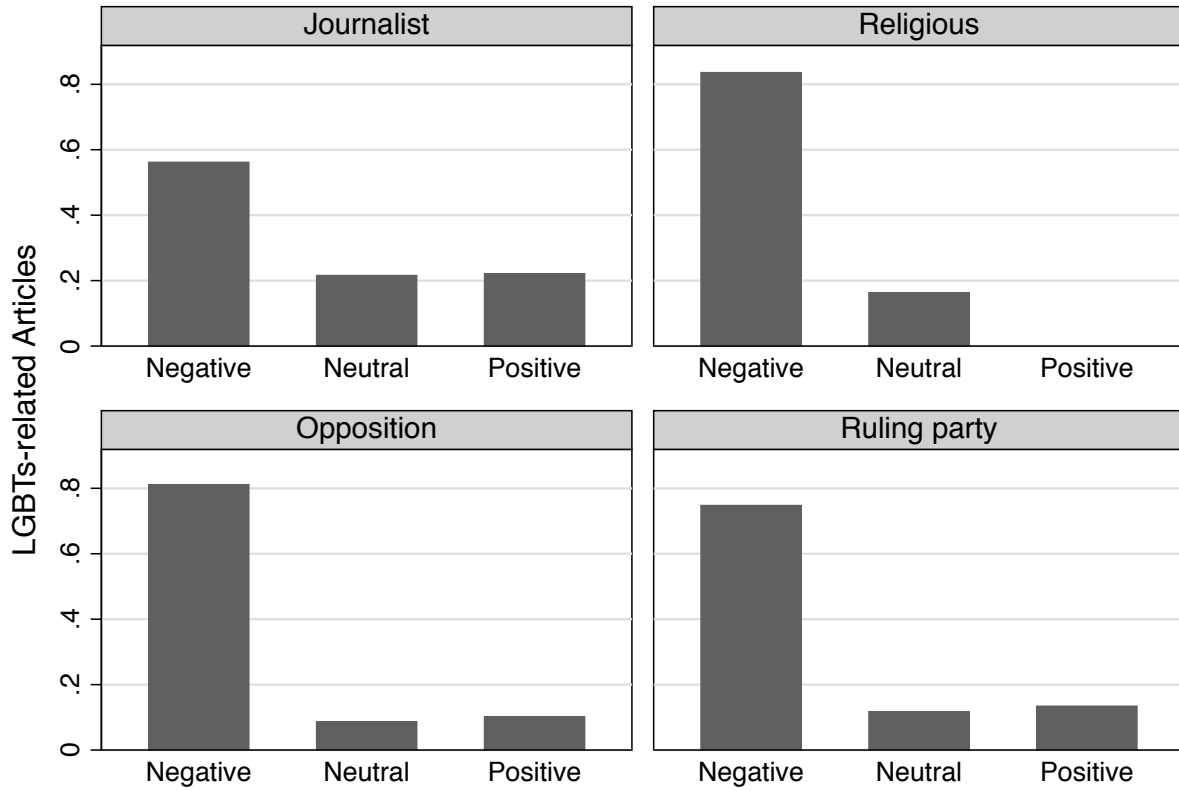
Finally, I have argued that LGBT saliency is driven by elite responses to the mobilization efforts of anti-gay religious groups. Though the empirical results presented above are consistent with the theoretical argument, this study admittedly suffers from limited identification, as the spread of conservative Christianity may be correlated with unobserved country characteristics that may also influence LGBT media coverage. In order to increase confidence in the study's argument, I ask the following question: if anti-gay attitudes fuel the demand for state regulation of homosexuality, how would this be reflected in the content of the media coverage of LGBTs? For example, the plausibility of my theoretical argument would likely be diminished if a high percentage of newspaper articles described LGBT people in positive terms, and it would be strengthened if most newspaper articles described LGBTs in negative terms.

Following this thought experiment, I code all 430 articles appearing in 2011 according to the newspaper article's slant (negative, neutral, or positive).³ Coverage was considered to be "negative" or "positive" when the narrator makes negative or positive value-laden statements regarding LGBT people as if such statements were a matter of fact, or when the narrator of the article does not make any such comments, but includes quotations that make these assertions without balancing them with counter-positions. Articles that included equal coverage of negatively and positively slanted quotations, or that simply related facts and events, were labeled "neutral." For each article, I also code the identity of the person making a statement regarding LGBTs. The data presented in Figure 4 is consistent with the study's theoretical argument: the share of negative slant articles (296) is more than four times the share of positive articles (64). Moreover, the share of negative comments made by opposition leaders (0.81) is similar to the share of negative statements made by ruling party politicians (0.75), which is consistent with my argument that LGBT saliency is a valence rather than a wedge issue.

References

- Anderson, Robert Mapes. 1992. *Vision of the disinherited: the making of American Pentecostalism*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers.
- Martin, David. 2002. *Pentecostalism: the world their parish*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Ranger, Terence O., ed. 2008. *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa (Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in the Global South)*. Oxford University Press.

³Each article was coded by two independent research assistants. In cases in which the RAs coded the article's tone differently I reconciled the discrepancy myself.



Graphs by opinion leader

Figure 4: **Article Slant by Narrator Type.** Coding is based on 430 newspaper articles from 22 African countries that had at least one LGBT-related article published in 2011 in AllAfrica or Factiva.