# Introduction to
# Confess the Gay Away?
# Media, Religion, and the Political Economy of Ex-gay Therapy

by Michael Thorn

A PORTION OF THE DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

April 2015

# Introduction: Confess Thy Self?

In the media debate surrounding the Christian ex-gay movement, the phrase "pray the gay away" is often used as shorthand to describe the movement's religiously mediated sexual orientation conversion efforts. However, when one digs deeper, not just into ex-gay practices, but into the debate itself, it becomes clear that ex-gay change—regardless of whether effective or not—is less about prayer than confession and testimony. Consider writer-director Jamie Babbit's film *But I'm a Cheerleader*, a campy, comedic tale of a lesbian cheerleader forced into an ex-gay conversion camp (featuring drag queen Ru Paul in a rare not-in-drag performance). The film, which premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival in September 1999, is the second fictional pop culture text to depict the movement[1] and it is all about confession. It is an iconic depiction, an intervention in the debate that is frequently referenced and imitated. It is mentioned in a 2011 documentary called *This is What Love in Action Looks Like* about real-life teenager Zach Stark being forced into an ex-gay conversion program; it is imitated in both a 2007 episode of the popular Comedy Central animated satire *South Park,* in which the character Butters is forced into an ex-gay conversion program, and a 2013 episode of *Saturday Night Live* featuring Ben Affleck as an ex-gay counsellor. Well-researched by Babbit, the film revolves not around prayer but confession and identity politics, helping to demonstrate a primary finding of this study: today, from religion to psychology to popular culture, confessing one's desires as one's "true self" is pervasive, and the ex-gay debate exemplifies its pervasiveness.

*But I'm a Cheerleader* is about a teenager named Megan (Natasha Lyonne) who has the sinful label "lesbian" forced upon her by her Christian parents (Bud Cort and Mink Stole) and friends (Michelle Williams and Brandt Wille) even though she initially rejects the label.[2] Apparently in denial of her own true self, she is shipped off to a remote country program called

[1]The first is a sketch that aired in 1995 on the HBO comedy series *Mr. Show* to be discussed in Chapter 4. Some earlier fictional pop culture texts reference psychiatric conversion therapy, but not as part of the ex-gay movement.
[2]She also has that identity forced upon her by the film, through fantasy point-of-view shots of cheerleader erotica.

True Directions. There she is expected to sacrifice her secret desires and replace them with a new identity. Indeed, upon arrival she is swiftly compelled to confess her sinful and diseased desires as step one of a five-step program to cure her, so she can testify (which is a form of confession—see below) to a new "ex-gay" self rooted in God and heterosexuality even though her new identity still references homosexuality. Written as a satirical comedy, *But I'm a Cheerleader* almost operates as a documentary. Even if one had never heard of the movement before seeing the film, one could leave it knowing as much about ex-gay change as were one to have read a magazine exposé specifically designed to tell all about the movement. While the film does not cover the movement's history, it does expose its thought and practices, both religious and psychological, and now the movie is itself part of the history of the ex-gay debate.

The ex-gay movement is a loose organization of not-for-profit religious ministries and for-profit psychotherapy practices organized around the management and attempted elimination of what it considers sinful, abnormal and addictive same-sex desires and behaviours. In its attempt to sacrifice one identity in favour of another, the movement mixes Christian confession *and* prayer with confessional psychological methods that draw on now discredited psychiatric and psychological discourses from the mid twentieth century. It draws on biblical knowledge derived from conservative forms of Judeo-Christian thought, and psychoanalytic, behavioural, and addiction model theories that have since been supplanted in mainstream psychology and psychiatry by cognitive, evolutionary and neurobiological theories. Ever since the movement formed in 1973, following the psychiatric declassification of homosexuality as a mental illness, a variety of voices have participated in the debate: ex-gays, ex-gay survivors, conservative and liberal Christians, conservative and liberal psychologists and psychiatrists, and gay activists. However, mainstream media became a major player in the debate only after the movement introduced itself into the public sphere in 1998 through a marketing campaign designed to generate unpaid media coverage. Since then, news and entertainment producers have had a

significant impact on perceptions of the ex-gay "problem." They choose what the public sees in mainstream communication channels; they provoke the most impassioned and angry responses in conservative Christian communities; they even predicted, via a 2007 episode of *Boston Legal*, that the movement would be sued for consumer fraud five years before it happened. *But I'm a Cheerleader* is one of the earliest and best pop culture interventions in the controversy. It is an ethical demonstration that skillfully accounts for, and mocks, the religious and psychological practices and strategies involved in the confessed sacrificial emergence of a new ex-gay self.

In the film, the founder and head of True Directions (Catherine Moriarty) signals the religious basis of her ministry when she says, "It's a long path to righteousness, Megan, and it's a battlefield of temptation out there," but the program itself is described by counsellor Mike (Ru Paul Charles) as akin to Alcoholics Anonymous, thus signalling the addiction model component of ex-gay thought. That model is reinforced by the five steps the program (and film) is structured around. Step one is admitting (or confessing) that one is a homosexual and none of the other steps can be graduated to until step one is complete. Although Megan testifies to being Christian first—because she believes that being Christian, she cannot be lesbian—by the end of her second group therapy session, she tearfully admits to everyone that she is a homosexual. The remaining four steps are rediscovering one's gender identity, family therapy, demystifying the opposite sex, and simulating a heterosexual lifestyle.[3] Although not confessional in and of themselves, taken together, steps four and five are designed to *lead one* to a new confession, not a confession of sacrifice but a testimony of cure and a revelation of self-emergence in which one's new ex-gay identity is celebrated. However, confession and testimony are *embedded* in steps two and three.

In step two one must testify to and perform one's proper gender identity, which is where behavioural learning theory is depicted through the practice of ritually performing one's proper

[3] Simulating sex before marriage would be a sinful practice for real ex-gays; but the film uses it to represent the life-long struggle experienced by most in their change efforts, suggesting that ex-gays who move on to a heterosexual lifestyle underpinned by daily struggle and confession are only *simulating* that lifestyle rather than living it.

gender role through overtly feminine or masculine activities: vacuuming for girls and chopping wood for boys. In step three, confessions of complicity are elicited from one's parents so the psychoanalytic root cause of being gay can be isolated and sacrificed. A "Jewish boy (Joel Michaely) confesses his root cause as a "traumatic bris," blaming both his parents and tradition. Megan confesses hers as a period of mixed-up parental roles from toddlerhood. That has the Program Head invoke a now outdated conclusion about homosexuality from psychoanalyst Irving Bieber (1963; 1965), a researcher often referenced within ex-gay discourse. The Program Head says, "Your father was emasculated and your mother was domineering." Bieber writes that homosexuality is caused by "a detached, hostile father and a close binding, intimate, seductive mother who is a dominating, minimizing wife" (1965, 250). In the movie, as in real life, confessing one's family dynamic as an Oedipal problem to be solved is key to change. What is not depicted, and what is not part of the film's five step conversion process, is prayer.

As it happens, in 1999 the phrase "pray the gay away" had not yet entered popular discourse. In fact, *But I'm a Cheerleader* premiered only a year after the movement introduced itself to the public through its 1998 advertising campaign (to be analyzed in Chapters 1 and 2), but it was already in production before the ads appeared (Cynthia and Babbit 2000). Thus its concern was not with the rhetoric of the debate, but the practices of the movement. Yet the film's release coinciding so closely with the movement's entry into public discourse highlights its importance as a popular culture depiction *in the debate*. By inserting itself into a controversy that was only just beginning, it heralded a proliferation of negative fictional depictions that last to this day and operate alongside and in tandem with numerous news and current affairs reports in print, broadcasting, and online. Indeed, as this study will show, the debate over ex-gay change operates almost as much through popular entertainment as it does through journalism, often blurring the distinction between the two. Both seek to influence the debate, to help govern it one might say, by presenting ex-gays "as objects of assessment and intervention" that solicit media consumers'

"participation in the cultivation of particular habits, ethics, behaviors, and skills" (quoting Ouellette and Hay's 2008 analysis of Reality TV); albeit in this case, *contested* habits, ethics, behaviors, and skills, because whereas in journalism there has been an attempt to show both sides of the debate, in popular fiction ex-gay change is almost universally mocked.

The debate surrounding this movement is a commercialized debate, even when showcased at film festivals (which are advertised, sponsored by corporations, and supported through ticket sales), because it circulates through mass media. Gasher, Skinner, and Lorimer (2012) define mass media as "the vehicles through which mass communication takes place" and note that while it is usually understood as "newspapers, magazines, cinema, television, radio, and advertising; sometimes including book publishing… in the context of technological change… [mass media] now comprise the internet, websites, etc." (14), and *all* "participate in the economy" (244).[4] While the diversification of content across these media forms combined with audience fragmentation means that today it is seldom the case that any one media text will reach a mass audience, taken as a whole, the content of the ex-gay debate, which circulates through multiple forms of media to multiple different audiences, can be understood as a mass media phenomenon. This study, then, by tracing the debate across multiple channels of communication and forms of content, uses this broad definition and treats all ex-gay media as operating in a commercialized mass media environment. While social media will be addressed through specific examples, the primary focus of this study is on traditional news and entertainment, whether print, broadcast, or online. Yes, social media plays an important role in the controversy, but the ex-gay debate operates mostly through conventional media. Even and especially when politicized and used to support antigay legislation designed to repeal gay rights, or pro-gay legislation that bans conversion therapy for minors, the debate operates chiefly through news, film and broadcasting.

[4] Much online social media is also commercialized. Consider targeted Gmail and Facebook ads, and ads embedded on YouTube. Also, as we will learn in Chapter 4, social media is often deployed by marketing firms as earned media

In that light, I argue in this dissertation that limiting the ex-gay debate to commercialized and politicized interventions in the public sphere (even well-researched interventions) obscures the real problem at the heart of the controversy: that the paradoxical use of confessions of self-sacrifice as technologies of self-emergence limits the self to a fundamentalist governmentality of unstable truth games, with the word "fundamentalist" understood in a broad sense. Indeed, the use of confessions of renunciation, true belief and self-emergence *outside* the movement *also* limits the self to a fundamentalist governmentality of unstable truth games. What is at stake here is the problem of what it means to testify the truth about oneself absolutely and unyieldingly by verbalizing one's most secret, inner desires so as to purge them. Yet what is also at stake is the production of oneself as a new identity, one that can be testified to absolutely as a "true self": I am ex-gay, I am straight, or I am an ex-gay survivor and I am gay. There is a double confessed pairing here, between confessions of one's guilty desires and testimonies of fundamentally believed truth, and between confessions of self-sacrifice and confessions of self-emergence. One can see this double confessional pairing *within* the debate, but it is not addressed *by* the debate. The debate's emphasis on prayer rather than confession is tactical. It operates strategically on both sides. For the movement, a focus on prayer offers hope for conservative Christians struggling with same-sex desire that God's grace can change them, even though really what is offered is lifelong struggle and work. For those opposed to the movement, particularly those who do not identify as religious, a focus on prayer allows them to dismiss ex-gay change as magic so that they can claim the scientific position as theirs, even though they often misrepresent scientific data to make their point and even though the movement also claims science is on their side.

## Sacrificial Confessions of Self-Emergence and the Christian Ex-gay Movement

The complicated nature of confession today, wherein confessions of desire and guilt and testimonies of truth and belief are paired with sacrificing the self so as to create the self anew

underlies the discourses and practices of all involved in ex-gay truth games, structuring even the commercial news and entertainment depicting the movement. Take for example a 2013 episode of a popular Oprah Winfrey Network documentary series, in which the President of the then most well-known ex-gay group, Exodus International, confessed his mistake in promoting ex-gay change, apologized on camera to a group of ex-gay survivors, and then shut Exodus down a day before the show was scheduled to air. "Special Report: God and Gays," episode 9 of season 4 of *Our America*, was both prime time Reality TV entertainment and a direct and devastating documentary intervention in the ex-gay debate. In it the commercial producers of the show deployed an ex-gay confession against itself and all but confessed their own guilt in not previously condemning the movement enough. The episode follows two earlier ex-gay episodes of *Our America* from 2011 and 2012, both of which also showcased Alan Chambers. However, those episodes showcased Chambers as an ex-gay spokesperson, wherein he confessed his same-sex desire as a problem that could be solved, testified that he had changed (albeit with struggle) and declared his emergent ex-gay identity a success story that others could emulate. In the 2013 episode, however, Chambers' confession is an atonement, an admission of the movement's guilt, and a complete disavowal of the cause he spent almost a decade promoting. But it was also atonement for the show itself. Although the earlier episodes (both of which showcased the slogan "Pray Away the Gay" in their titles) presented the debate in a relatively balanced fashion, giving voice to various perspectives, they evoked a vitriolic response from gay rights advocates who disapprove of any ex-gay depiction that does not outright condemn ex-gay change as false and harmful (Besen 2011a; John 2011; Ward 2011). "God and Gays" was an apologetic response to those critics. It was also what Anna McCarthy (2007) calls "a neoliberal theater of suffering."

It begins by summarizing the earlier episodes and then introduces the ex-gay survivors gathering to hear Chambers' apology. In the episode itself, the survivors allow their stories to be told cinematically, their interviews intercut with footage of them preparing to meet Chambers;

however, several of their full interviews are available uncut on the show's website. There they testify about their long struggle to reconcile their homosexuality with their faith, noting how much they prayed for change and hoped for help from Exodus; but each also confesses failure, feelings of shame, anger, and betrayal, admissions that overshadow their prayers (OWN 2013b). Eventually everyone gathers in a Lutheran church basement and forms a meeting circle, as if for group therapy, but a cut to Chambers has him read his apology instead. It is an edited two and a half minute apology in which he asks for forgiveness by comparing his promotion of Exodus to having accidently caused a car crash. The footage on the website reveals his full confession to have been nearly eight minutes long (OWN 2013a). That apology is more detailed, and in it Chambers says how sorry he is for the trauma he caused, acknowledges the confessions and testimonies of the many people he harmed, and atones for the "stories of shame, sexual misconduct, and false hope" he heard but did not hear well enough. Thus he confesses his failure in not properly acknowledging the pain of other ex-gays, and for not sharing and acknowledging his own continuing struggles with same-sex desire. He even accepts and utilizes the language of so many of his opponents, who (as we will learn) accuse ex-gay leaders of consumer fraud: he admits that were he to continue promoting change, it would be "truly fraudulent." He ends his apology with a series of six or seven sentences that all begin with the words "I'm sorry."

McCarthy uses the phrase "neoliberal theater of suffering" in reference to Reality TV programs that put the suffering of needy participants on display as correctable by entrepreneurial experts, both to produce profit for producers and to encourage audiences to accept such advice for themselves without state help (see Chapter 4). "God and Gays" operates in much the same way, except here the experts are failed ex-gay "entrepreneurs" who confess their failures so that the audience will not make the same mistake. However, over and above the fact that the ex-gay entrepreneur Alan Chambers did indeed close the enterprise called Exodus following filming, the most striking component of this episode (especially of the website footage) is how much it is

structured by confessions and testimonies of trauma and sexual shame, wherein an older desperate desire to change is replaced by the guilt and anger that change did not happen. Prayer is referenced in the raw footage, by Chambers himself, as well as by the ex-gay survivors who testify to what led them into the movement; but those references are not included in the episode. Indeed, this is an episode about confessing sex, not praying it away. It is also about a confession of guilt and a testimony of change, but not the kind offered by the movement. And it is about the confessions of ex-gay survivors. Much like how ex-gays are expected to confess their past as a problem to be solved and testify that their same-sex desire must change, in "God and Gays" ex-gay survivors confess their past in the ex-gay movement as a problem to be solved, testify to the harm they suffered, and confess their same-sex desire as that which they cannot change.

As should be clear by now, ex-gay confession and testimony are intimately connected. Indeed, testimony is a form of confession. In one of the best accounts of the ex-gay movement, *Straight to Jesus: Sexual and Christian Conversions in the Ex-gay Movement* (2006), Tanya Erzen devotes an entire chapter to that relationship (160-182). She writes that ex-gay "testimony blurs the distinction between the public and private, religious and therapeutic, making sexuality and sexual addiction part of a public discourse of confession and public intimacy" (161). She describes how testimony is the basis of an ex-gay system of confession where one is expected to account for one's struggles with pornography, masturbation, and sexual falls, writing that "nothing is too private or painful to share" (174). She even shoves the two words together into a near hyphenated descriptor, declaring ex-gay confessions "testimonial confessions" (176). As part of her analysis she references Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1990a [1976][5]), noting his claim that the West has become a confessing society. She highlights in particular his analysis of confession as a power relation and describes how in the ex-gay movement confession

[5] Dates in square brackets following a reference indicate the original publication date. In the case of Foucault, for books, articles and interviews, they indicate the original French publication date; for published lectures, the date the lecture was delivered. However, original dates will only be indicated the first time a source is cited in each chapter.

is used to tie ex-gay participants to the primacy of scripture and to encourage obedience to the people running the movement. She even describes the particular ex-gay ministry she studied, New Hope Ministry, as being "part of a wider public culture of intimacy in which ex-gay confessions of traumatized identity become part of a public testimonial discourse of conversion" (179).

Erzen's analysis is sound and this study will confirm much of what she says, especially as it relates to Foucault. However, she only draws on one of Foucault's works and thus misses how his scholarship can help frame ex-gay confession more systematically. For example, she both interchanges and juxtaposes confession and testimony and then concludes that by "blurring the distinction between [the two], the ex-gay movement transforms therapy, traditionally a private transaction between a patient and therapist, into a public process" (181). Except it is not the movement that blurs the distinction and makes private therapy public; it is the culture of confession itself. Because in confession's long and complicated genealogy, it and testimony have always been blurred, and together they became part of a popular therapeutic culture before the ex-gay movement emerged (Foucault 1990a; Shorter 1997). Another analysis of ex-gay struggle by Michelle Wolkomir (2006) operates similarly. She examines two church based therapy groups, one ex-gay and one ex-ex-gay, and uses confessions and testimonies from each to conclude that both privilege heterosexuality as an ideal. While not wrong, she fails to recognize and consider the broader confessional culture within which their participation occurs.[6]

While acknowledging and utilizing the important contributions that both Erzen and Wolkomir offer to understanding the ex-gay phenomenon, this study goes beyond their work in

[6] Dawne Moon (2005) also analyzes ex-gay discourse as testimonial rather than prayer driven, arguing that both it and pro-gay discourse operate to foreclose ways of being that do not fit a gay/straight dichotomy. She even uses Foucault to make her case; however, she only references his conception of discourse as power, failing to recognize the importance of his research into confession and his historical linking of confession with testimony and ethical technologies of the self. In addition, Bernadette Barton (2012) includes a chapter on the ex-gay movement in her ethnographic description of Christian homophobia in the America Bible Belt, but the movement is not the primary focus of her study. Also she does not analyze the role of confession or testimony in the movement, and she only references Foucault in relation to conservative Christian surveillance practices.

two ways. First, it does not limit itself to only a few specific ethnographic cases but addresses instead the entire media debate surrounding ex-gay change, drawing upon and analyzing multiple case studies. Second, by focusing on the primary role confession plays in both the movement and the debate, and by situating confession within a much larger theoretical analytic, this study will account for the ex-gay movement as being part of a much larger and more complicated history of the practice. There are a number of different forms of confession at play in the ex-gay debate, some of which have already been highlighted. In both *But I'm a Cheerleader* and *Our America* we can see confessions of one's secrets, sins, and guilt, as well as testimonial confessions of one's own truth, all of which involve sex and desire. But in this study we will also encounter confessions of faith, doctrine and dogma that harken back to Christian confessions of creed.[7]

Had Erzen engaged with more of Foucault's work, she would have encountered another understanding of confession that is central to his larger analysis, and she would have recognized its placement within a longer history. In the early 1970s Foucault analyzed confessions of legal and criminal guilt, voluntary and coerced, in both *Discipline & Punish* (1995 [1975]) and the memoirs of the nineteenth century murderer Pierre Rivière (1975 [1973]). But Foucault was just as concerned with Rivière's "madness" as with his criminality, having studied historically changing discourses of mental illness years earlier in *History of Madness* (2009 [1961]). Thus it was not a huge leap to trace criminal confessions to psychiatric confessions (2006 [1973/74]), to psychological confessions of sexual desire (1990a; 2003a [1974/75]), then to ancient Christian confessions of self-sacrifice (1997a [1981]; 2007a [1980]; 2014 [1979/80]). Foucault's analysis of Christian confession, in which "the revelation of the truth about oneself [could not] be dissociated from the obligation to renounce oneself" (2007a, 187), led him to contrast "the

[7] There are many churches that confess a denominational creed, but there are also "non-confessional" churches that do not. While technically correct, describing churches that do not confess specific creeds as "non-confessional" uses confession in a specified sense and ignores a strong link between confessing an established creed and confessing a set of basic fundamental doctrines as believed truth (Campbell 1996; Phillips & Okholm 1996). Just because a church does not confess a creed does not mean it does not testify to its own truths, beliefs, doctrines or dogma, however personalized; nor does it mean members do not confess their sins and secrets to God and each other.

obligation to hold as truth a set of propositions that constitute dogma…, to hold certain books as a permanent source of truth…, to accept the decisions of certain authorities in matters of truth… [with] the duty to explore who he [sic] is, what is happening within himself, the faults he may have committed, the temptations to which he is exposed" (1997a, 178). Thus he distinguishes between testimonies of faith rooted in dogma and confessions of the self rooted in desire; however, he also clearly and unequivocally links them together: "A Christian needs the light of faith when he [sic] wants to explore himself. Conversely, his access to the truth can't be conceived of without the purification of his soul" (ibid). In other words, as early as the fourth century, a Christian could not testify without confession nor confess without testifying. Today in the ex-gay movement it is still the case that one cannot confess Christian truth without also testifying that one's guilty desires need to be purged; *and* vice versa.

Foucault also demonstrates that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries we came to be governed by confession in a different way: "one of the great problems of Western culture [in the last two centuries] has been to find the possibility of founding the hermeneutics of the self not, as it was in… early Christianity, on the sacrifice of the self but… on a positive, on the theoretical and practical, emergence of the self" (2007a, 189, addition in brackets from the source). When Christian confession was transmitted first into psychiatry and psychology, and then into civil society via the discourse of sex and the marketing of psychoanalysis as private practice (Shorter 1997), it was transformed and became the positive basis of the self rather than the negative (Foucault 1990a; 2003a).[8] The result was the invention not of identity, but of identity politics, wherein confession became a technology of self-formation in resistance to the psychiatric label "homosexual" but in acceptance of the political and subjective label "gay." That has led many to adopt LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) identities as their true selves.

[8] Judith Butler's claim that in the 1980s Foucault reversed his 1970s critique of confession "as a forcible extraction of sexual truth" to a manifestation "of the self that does not have to correspond to some putative inner truth" is not accurate (2005, 112). His genealogy of confession in multiple publications describes how it changed across history.

Indeed, from psychoanalysis to humanistic psychology to the cognitive revolution, there is a decades long history of discovering oneself through guided, targeted confessions of one's behaviour and past.[9] The ex-gay movement (in spite of its mere tentative acceptance of cognitive psychology and its rejection of secular humanism) sits at the culmination of that transformation, as does the ex-gay debate; but within both, the practice of confession as self-sacrifice still lives.

In *But I'm a Cheerleader*, when Megan tearfully confesses that she is a homosexual and willingly attempts ex-gay change, she participates in a confession of self-sacrifice that has her testify to the truth of her desire precisely so it can be purged. But by testifying an ex-gay identity (however briefly), she also participates in confession as self-emergence. Likewise, in *Our America*, when ex-gay survivors confess themselves as gay and testify that they cannot change, they sacrifice and confess away their former ex-gay identities so as to ground their emergent selves in their same-sex desire. Of course, confession as self-sacrifice may appear to coincide just with confessions of sin, guilt, and one's sexual secrets, and confession as self-emergence could appear to only coincide with confessions of faith and truth (for to confess one's faith is partly to confess one's self as emergent within one's faith tradition.) But it is more complicated than that. Foucault's research shows us that in the Christian monasteries of the fourth century, confessions of faith and truth were intimately tied to obligations of obedience, "a trembling obedience, in which the Christian will have to fear God and recognize the necessity of submitting to His will, and to the will of those who represent Him" (2011 [1983/84], 333). In that context, confessing one's faith involved sacrificing oneself to the will of God, the Church, and the priest, and Erzen and Wolkomir demonstrate that such a dynamic is still at play today in the movement, where public confessions of faith and sin are authoritatively demanded for change and salvation, even in so-called "non-confessional" churches (cf. fn. 7). On the other hand, when gay rights

[9] Cognitive-behavioural questionnaires designed to identify and isolate positive and negative thought and behaviour patterns so they can be reinforced or eliminated are an example of confessional sacrifice and emergence operating together. In other words, psychology today still operates within a larger context that has not yet escaped confession.

activist Wayne Besen appears on television to denounce the movement and proclaim that gay people should identify as who they really are, even writing in his anti-ex-gay book (2003), "the ex-gay actor must take off the costume and rediscover his or her *true self*" (33-4, my italics), he establishes one's desires as one's true identity. Thus to "come out of the closet" and confess oneself as LGBTQ is to confess one's desires *as* self-emergence. The doubling of confessions of desire with confessions of truth and faith, and confessions of self-sacrifice with confessions of self-emergence, creates a quadrate wherein each confessional form is linked to the other.

For that reason I use the word confession in this study broadly, not just in reference to sin, but also identity, not just in reference to secret desires, but also professed beliefs, not just in reference to sacrificing guilt, but also proclaiming truth, and not just in reference to the Catholic church, or even Christianity in general, but also psychiatry and psychology, and yes, popular culture as well. While it is true, Foucault's research into confession, both ancient and modern, draws on mostly European sources, and the ex-gay movement operates primarily as a North American phenomenon, as a primarily *Christian* North American phenomenon rooted also in psychoanalysis (a form of thought born in modern Europe), the ex-gay debate is part of a history of thought that reaches across the ocean and as far back as medieval Europe. Furthermore, the ex-gay debate is not limited to North America. It operates across the English speaking world as well as in Europe, Africa and Asia. There is a reason Exodus was called Exodus *International*.[10] Thus confession is a complicated practice with a long genealogy and many components; however, while some aspects of early Christian confession are still at play today, they have been modified by confession's long history, and they continue to be modified today, for confession now operates on a much larger scale, proliferating even through popular culture as an

[10] Prior to its disbandment, Exodus, which also had ministries in South America, Asia, and Africa, linked to 240 separate local ministries in North America alone (Barton 2012, 118).

increasingly politicized and commodified technology of knowledge, power, and the self that operates as part of "a declarative modality of truth" (phrase taken from Brown 2006, 707).

## Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and "True Believing" Fundamentalism

Although born in the 1970s, the ex-gay movement did not become part of a public debate until 1998 when it joined with several Christian Right lobby groups to promote and advertise "freedom from homosexuality" as a marketable product.[11] While most ex-gay psychotherapy practices charge fees, many churches offer their services for free (see Chapter 2); but by joining lobbyists to market ex-gay change as a service and product, the movement showcased itself as selling something with an economic cost and blurred the distinction between its for-profit counselling and charitable ministries. It commercialized itself and opened itself up to accusations of consumer fraud. Even *But I'm a Cheerleader* picked up on this: the parents in the film complain about how much money they are paying for their children's cure and insist that it better work. By marketing ex-change in paid ads and submitting itself to cost-benefit analyses, the movement could not help but subject itself to a form of commodification, here defined as assigning exchange value to an item or practice previously understood in terms of its non-economic use value. The movement thus also participated in the continued commodification of confession, a process that began as far back as the early twentieth century when psychoanalysis migrated from mental hospitals into private practice (Foucault 1990a; Shorter 1997). That does not mean all confessions or the ex-gay movement have been entirely commodified, or that there is no resistance to commercialization, especially within Christian communities. But ex-gay ads situate the movement and the debate surrounding it within an economic system that increasingly

[11] The movement did receive some mainstream media coverage in the 1990s prior to the ad campaign and it was also the topic of a 1993 feature documentary made by gay rights activists (*One Nation Under God*). Even as far back as the 1980s it was occasionally showcased on daytime talk shows like *Donahue*. But that early coverage was fleeting. The movement did not become part of a *major* public debate until after the 1998 ad campaign (see Chapter 4).

extends the rationality of the market to non-economic domains. By selling itself with funding from Christian lobby groups, the movement also allowed its commodification to be politicized.

A 2007 episode of *Boston Legal* called "Selling Sickness" preceded by five years a real ex-gay consumer fraud lawsuit still on trial in New Jersey (see Chapter 2). The episode draws links between the commodification of ex-gay change and the role it plays in American politics. Although primarily addressing the economics and legality of selling a cure that does not work, this popular culture intervention in the ex-gay debate is also permeated by confession. It begins with a judge (Henry Gibson) confessing to lawyer Denny Crane (William Shatner) that he suffers from SSAD (Same-Sex Attraction Disorder), paid $40,000 for a failed cure, and now wants to sue. Crane solicits help from partner Alan Shore (James Spader) because, he confesses, the case makes him uncomfortable. That has Shore confess to the presiding judge that he hopes the fact they once slept together will not negatively affect the case. At trial the ex-gay ministry being sued calls numerous witnesses to the stand to confess their past same-sex desire and testify to being cured.[12] Dismissing their testimonies as self-deluded false confessions, Shore wins the case by arguing that homosexuality is not a disease and cannot be cured because "Big Pharma" has not invented a pill to do so. In fact, he says, the real purpose of selling a gay cure is about "filling the pockets of Congress" so they can ban gay marriage. In other words, not only does the episode address the commodification of ex-gay change, it also addresses the role the ex-gay movement plays in the culture wars, where battles between social liberals and social conservatives are embedded in a complex political economy that sees two very different philosophies operate together in a very conflicted union: neoliberalism and neoconservatism.

In the past 40 years, neoliberalism and neoconservatism have worked together to alter the political economic landscape of most of the Western world. David Harvey (2007) defines neoliberalism as a set of theories and practices that propose "human well-being can best be

[12]In another case in the episode, we hear the confession of a girl (Hallee Hirsh) who was molested by her Rabbi.

advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (2). Raewyn Connell (2010) calls it "a missionary faith" of deregulation and commodification (23). Ouellette and Hay (2008) and McCarthy (2007) analyze television programming that encourages viewers to govern themselves based on the advice of entrepreneurial experts as part of the neoliberalization of mass media. Neoliberal practices are permeated by cost-benefit analyses, risk management discourses, and the rhetoric of individual choice. Neoconservatism, on the other hand, encourages virtue, patriotism, corporate economics and the destruction of the welfare state (High 2009). Explicitly capitalist, neoconservatism is distinct from neoliberalism by being "centered on fixing and enforcing [moralized] meanings, conserving certain ways of life, and repressing and regulating desire" (Brown 2006, 692). As systematized forms of thought (or "rationalities"), the two are opposed to each other and yet connected. Indeed, corporate expansion and the reduction of welfare dependency are directly amenable to neoliberal policies. At the same time, however, "the neoliberal rationality of strict means-ends calculations and need satisfaction… clashes with the neoconservative project of producing a moral subject and moral order against the effects of the market in culture" (Brown, 699). Although it would be a mistake to conflate neoconservatism (which is not explicitly religious and is sometimes preoccupied with foreign policy) and conservative Christianity, there are strong connections between them (see Chapter 3), and because of that the ex-gay movement as a case study highlights clear tensions between the neoliberal and neoconservative forms of thought and practice it utilizes.

It would also be a mistake to conflate the Christian Right and the Christian groups that support the ex-gay movement. Erzen defines the Christian Right as a "coalition of *politically active* fundamentalist and evangelical conservative Christians" (252 n. 2, my italics), but the ex-gay movement is supported by many Christian churches that are not fundamentalist, evangelical or politically active, as well as by some Jewish groups and psychologists. Unfortunately, in the

media debate, where the labels "fundamentalist," "evangelical" and "conservative Christian" are used interchangeably, such distinctions disappear.[13] The movement itself blurs these distinctions. Before Exodus closed, it was an inter-denominational organization that linked many churches together; not just fundamentalist and evangelical, but several that profess homosexuality to be a sin (Besen 2003; Drescher and Zucker 2006; Jones and Yarhouse 2007). The organization that replaced it, the Restored Hope Network (RHN) is also inter-denominational (RHN 2012). As umbrella organizations, these ministries did and do minimize religious differences so as to focus on the common goal of eliminating unwanted same-sex desire. This extends to conservative Catholic groups and groups many fundamentalists and evangelicals would not even consider Christian, such as Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), and it extends to Judaism through the group JONAH (Jews Offering New Alternatives for Healing), as well as into psychology and psychiatry through the group NARTH (National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality).[14] However, JONAH appeared only after the 1998 ad campaign, and a former member turned critic of NARTH, Dr. Warren Throckmorton, has exposed that organization as being comprised of mostly religious lay people, not secular scientists (2011a). Because of how the media and the movement obscure the differences between these groups, I will address the movement generally as a conservative Christian organization (it is primarily Christian), referring to specific denominations as required, sometimes using the longer descriptor

[13] Consider three articles on the movement from *The New York Times* published within a year of each other. An Erik Eckholm (2012) article describes the movement as being comprised of "conservative Christian groups," whereas a Mimi Swartz (2011) article only discusses evangelical Christianity, noting "how desperately evangelicals do not want to be gay." A third by Benoit Denizet-Lewis (2011) describes former gay rights activist turned ex-gay advocate Michael Glatze as a "fundamentalist Christian who writes derogatorily about being gay" without referencing any other kind of Christian. As it happens, in several articles on the 2015 Gus Van Sant produced biopic of Michael Glatze (which is based on the Denizet-Lewis article) Glatze is described as a "fundamentalist Christian" in one review (Debruge 2015), a "conservative Christian minister" in another article (Ring 2014), an "evangelical Christian pastor" in another (Rolling Stone 2015), and in one more as having merely "embraced Christianity" (Fear and Reilly 2015). Even Christian writers sometimes blur these distinctions. In a *Christian Post* article on the movement, "conservative Christian" and "evangelical" are used interchangeably and the author uncritically quotes a poll that lumps "born-again, evangelical [and] fundamentalist Christians" into one category (Menzie 2014).

[14] In 2014 NARTH folded itself into a new organization: the Alliance for Therapeutic Choice and Scientific Integrity.

"fundamentalist, evangelical, conservative Catholic and Mormon" to remind the reader of the broader religious coalition at play. Of those labels, however, there is one I will use more broadly.

When not in reference to specific Christian groups, I will use the words "fundamentalist" and "fundamentalism" to mean an unquestioned literal belief in fundamental principles that is imposed on others regardless of evidence, something that is pervasive in both ex-gay *and* pro-gay thought, religious and secular alike. Indeed, one of my primary arguments is that numerous participants in the ex-gay debate, both pro and anti, are "true believers" who engage in a form of testimonial fundamentalism. When I make that claim, I extract the word out of its Christian context to refer to a larger phenomenon (see Chapter 1). Also, when I use the descriptor "true belief," I am not isolating any particular belief system or mean to suggest that such beliefs are necessarily "true." I use the descriptor as it is deployed in the discourse itself. When Jim Burroway (2008) states in a YouTube video that ex-gay leaders would offer their services for free if they could because they are "true believers," or when Lori Yearwood (1998) describes one of the architects of the ex-gay ad campaign as a "true believer," they do not refer to any particular denominational belief, nor do they mean to enter any debates over the semantic meaning of the word "believe"; they mean that ex-gay leaders believe absolutely that they are right, that they confess their truth, regardless of arguments or evidence to the contrary. In that light, the descriptor "true believer" can also be applied to many opposed to the movement. The ex-gay debate is a "truth game," in a Foucauldian sense, wherein different forms of conflicted and conflicting truth, which are truly believed by those professing them (or are performed as truly believed) are deployed against each other as technologies of knowledge, power and the self to govern the self and others through declarations of that which is affirmed as fundamental truth.

I do not mean to juxtapose true belief with rational thought either, although I do mean to juxtapose it with Habermas' notion of rational deliberation (see Chapter 4). Many Christians truly believe the Bible condemns homosexuality; and many gay rights activists truly believe that

one's sexual orientation cannot be changed because it is biological—both are true believers who ground their beliefs in a particular rationality, even if they are often unprepared and unwilling to debate each other reasonably. That is to say, if one accepts the Bible as literally and inerrantly true in its apparent condemnation of homosexuality, then it logically follows and is thus rational to believe that homosexuality is a sin. Similarly, if one uncritically accepts *some* contemporary biological research into the nature of homosexuality while uncritically rejecting other studies as wrong, then it logically follows that homosexuality is biological and cannot be cured. In both examples, conclusions are rationally determined based on truly believed premises and are then deployed systematically in the debate to govern what others should believe and how others should behave in relation to homosexuality; they are, in fact, deployed as *governmental* rationalities (see below). What is not happening here is reasoned deliberation wherein both sides listen to and acknowledge the other's argument so as to collaboratively discover a common truth. In fact, in spite of the true beliefs of so many in this debate, exaggerated claims and simplified narratives that misrepresent key issues, especially as related to the science of sexuality, are not just part of the discourse of the movement, they are part of the pro-gay discourses operating against the movement (see Chapters 1, 2, and 4). But that does not undermine the role of truth in the debate. Lorna Weir (2008) differentiates between veridical, governmental, symbolic and mundane forms of truth. That is to say, there are verifiable empirical forms of truth, strategic and regulatory forms of truth, illustrative and ideological forms of truth, and everyday common sense forms of truth. The ex-gay debate oscillates between the first three, often mixing them together with little discernment, wherein, as noted above, scientific studies of ex-gay change are deployed ideologically to govern thought and behaviour. Thus when I refer to certain beliefs, ideologies, or modes of governance as being "rationalities" I mean them as systematic modes of thought and not in reference to any opposition between that which is rational and that which is not.

When I began this study I conceived of the ex-gay movement as a contradictory union of two irreconcilable forms of thought: religious literalism and psychological empiricism. But I discovered that the religious and psychological rationalities at play in ex-gay thought are not necessarily contradictory and that, in fact, psychology and psychiatry are historically founded on, and in some cases emerged out of Christian thought. Although the disciplines of psychiatry and psychology have always been adamant in their claims of scientific empiricism, they both have histories that cannot easily be disentangled from religion (Foucault 1990a; 2003a; Szasz 1960; 1970). Indeed, since before its decline as the dominant form of psychiatry, some considered the "science" of psychoanalysis to be a "temple devoted to the last remaining dinosaur ideology of the nineteenth century" (Shorter 1997, 170) or worse, a form of "faith-healing" (ibid, 312). In fact, since at least the 1990s, there has been general agreement within the disciplines of the psyche—as they finally admitted what Thomas Szasz (1960; 1965; 1970) had been accusing them of for decades—that their own twentieth century understanding of homosexuality as an illness was "little more than a scientific transformation of the ancient Judeo-Christian prejudice" (Konner 1995; see also Bootzin, Acocella and Alloy 1993; Corsini 1994; and Kazdin 2000), a matter that I have written about elsewhere (Thorn 2014). In other words, I discovered that psychological thought is not nearly as "scientific" as it claims to be, but that does not mean it is not a form of rationality. However, this is not an analysis of that which is scientific and that which is not, or that which is religious and that which is not; this is an analysis of how different forms of theological, psychological and political rationality are deployed strategically through media as forms of ethical governance in an increasingly neoliberalized political economy.

Both the Christian Right and the ex-gay movement seek to legislate morality and produce a moral subject within an explicitly condoned capitalist system even as the perceived laissez-faire nature of that system is resisted. As we will learn in Chapters 2 and 3, the movement's rhetoric of choice, in which the freedom to change is situated within a sexual marketplace, does

not always sit well with Christian discourses of virtue and moralism; and yet they still operate together. In this combined discourse, the ex-gay participant is situated as an entrepreneur of the self, working to change the self through daily confessional struggle precisely to conform to a moral order that does not accept same-sex desire. However, that only reveals the ex-gay subject as a political contradiction that is insufficiently entrepreneurial for the discourse it employs, because how can a subject that submits itself to doctrine and authority to sacrifice him or herself to God's gendered will be a self-produced heterosexual enterprise in a free market of sexual choice? Thus neoliberalism and neoconservative are not always allies of the movement.

The discourse of consumer fraud, which emphasizes individual economic rights and operates through isolated court cases rather than collective government action, is agreeable with neoliberal discourse; it is also one of the most powerful weapons deployed against the movement by those promoting confession of the gay or lesbian self as one's true self. While the first ex-gay consumer fraud court case was not filed until 2012, in 2007 *Boston Legal* participated in a *rhetoric* that was already in play (see Chapter 2). But *Boston Legal* also notes neoconservative attempts by the Christian Right to use ex-gay change to limit the protection of gay rights through government intervention. In response to such attempts, those opposed to the movement have deployed similar measures. Anti-ex-gay legislation that bans conversion therapy for minors has passed in California, New Jersey, and the District of Columbia, and similar legislation is being proposed in Canada (see Chapter 3). This kind of intervention, justified to protect children from ex-gay harm, sees those opposed to ex-gay change promoting a certain kind of family morality. Additionally, privately funded media organizations, as well as some that are publically funded (i.e. the CBC in Canada and NPR in the United States), intervene through the deployment of "earned media," or "free" coverage generated by an event, and most of that has turned against the movement. Thus the commodification of ex-gay confession is problematized both within the movement by a moralism that resists the buying and selling of sex and seeks to regulate it, and

outside the movement by counter-measures and media coverage that are themselves rooted in neoliberal and neoconservative forms of thought. In other words, contract law, family values regulation, and commodified representation have all been turned against the movement.

The questions I tackle in this study are these: What does it mean to confess truth today? How can ancient confessions of sacrifice and obedience be combined with modern testimonies striving for self-knowledge and identity formation? How do such apparently contradictory forms of confession circulate within a political economy of neoliberal choice and neoconservative morality? I will show that unstable ex-gay truth games do not *masquerade* as true beliefs—they are truly believed—but their status as fundamentalist declarations of confessed truth undermines their veracity in the controversy, on both sides of the debate. Yes, the movement's marketing of consumer choice combined with legislative interventions aimed at protecting religious rights while denying gay rights have been turned against it in the form of a fraud lawsuit and legislation banning conversion therapy for minors; and also the ex-gay subject has been revealed as a contradiction that is not "entrepreneurial" enough for the discourse it employs. Yet because the movement is rooted in the faith of true believers who reject arguments against change as being biased by politically motivated ideology, and because they have their own parallel system of Christian popular culture in which to circulate their truth claims, the movement has legitimized itself in its own communities in spite of its contradictory regimes of truth. And because the pro-gay discourses used against the movement, however successful in appearance, are founded in the same truth games, the primary confessional practices constituting the movement remain intact.

## Describing an Analytic Approach and Method: A Governmental Discourse Analysis

My approach to this debate combines discourse analysis with tools derived from critical political economy but deployed through a Foucauldian grid of inquiry. It is a "governmental" approach whereby discursive statements, practices, and representations operating in a specific

political economic context are analyzed as events that seek to govern thought and behaviour in a broad sense: to influence, persuade, convince, and encourage people to change their thought and conduct through ethical self-governance *as well as* through discipline, dominance and control. Governmentality is seldom all controlling and never monolithic. Yes, within the movement, pro-ex-gay psychologists, psychiatrists, ministers, and religious leaders exercise dominance and control over participants, often imposing strict rules, managing roles and practices, and obliging confessions of secret desires and behaviours in religious and therapeutic settings; but ex-gay subjects "usually" participate by choice, voluntarily submitting themselves to this management,[15] which they perceive as a supportive pastoral relationship. Furthermore, the movement's governmentality is resisted and modified by the governmentalities of those opposed, including the gay rights movement, gay-positive psychiatry and psychiatry, pro-gay Christianity, and now commercial popular culture. This approach understands ex-gay governmentality to be wide-ranging, complex, and extremely conflicted—not merely the internal rhetoric of the movement *or* its rhetoric in the public sphere, but also its representation and depiction by others.

Foucault first developed governmentality as a political-economic concept, defining it in relation to classical political economy, the administrative state that emerged in Europe following the Middle Ages, and the modern managing of populations (1991 [1980]; 2007b [1977/78]). He analyzed, "the development of a technology of government based on the principle that it is already in itself 'too much,' 'excessive'… whose necessity and usefulness can and must always be questioned" (2008 [1978/79], 319). He traced it back to the medieval Christian pastoral and then followed it forward through modern liberalism into twentieth century neoliberal theory (2007b; 2008). But he later expanded his definition to include guidance, influence and self-government, analyzing technologies of the self in particular: "Governing people, in the broad meaning of the word… is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts

[15] Except when minors are forced into ex-gay therapy by their parents or guardians (see Chapters 3 and 4).

between techniques which impose coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by [the-]self" (2007c [1980], 154). In other words, the government of self and others is political, economic *and* subjective, it involves knowledge, power, *and* ethics, and it operates across historical periods (1983a [1982]; 1983b; 2000a [1977]; 2010 [1982/83]).[16]

I engage with Foucault holistically, considering all of his published books, transcribed lectures, and multiple interviews as being in dialogue, each a component of a larger project. In fact, in the early 1980s, Foucault himself re-described his entire life's work in terms of analyzing three general axes of experience: knowledge, normativity, and the self (1984b). Yes, there are some who only engage with Foucault through one or two works, operating as if he analyzes only singular, historical phenomena that are not always relevant for today. But his analyses are meant to elucidate who we have become in the present. Consider what he writes at the beginning of *The History of Sexuality Vol 2* (1990b [1984]): "in order to understand how the modern individual could experience himself as a subject of a 'sexuality,' it was essential first to determine how, for centuries, Western man [sic] had been brought to recognize himself as a subject of desire" (5-6). The point of tracing the desiring subject back to ancient Greece was to understand who we are now, and the point of tracing governmentality back to the Christian pastoral and forward again into German, French, and American neoliberalism was also to understand ourselves today.

[16] Some scholars highlight governmentality as key to understanding the links between Foucault's different methods and periods (Bevir 2010; Dean 1994; Lemke 2011). His work on psychology, medicine, punishment, economics, sexuality, and spirituality has been categorized into three periods: a) his knowledge period, characterized by an archaeological method that uncovers epistemological similarities, dispersions, and changes between historical periods and accounts for discourse in terms of conditions of existence; b) his power period, characterized by a genealogical method analyzing apparatuses of power and changing tactics and strategies of control that accounts for discourse and practices in terms of conditions of emergence; and c) his ethics and subjectivity period, characterized by an expanded genealogical method emphasizing problematizations, "regimes of truth," subjective self-constitution, and the contingent relationships between knowledge, power, and ethics (Dean 1994; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983; Lemke 2011). However, some argue it is a mistake to see such clear breaks between his methods and periods (Bevir 2010; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983; Lemke 2011). Indeed, Foucault characterizes archaeology as an aspect of genealogy (1984a; 2003b [1975/76]; 2007c; see also Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983) and in his final publications and lectures he analyzes knowledge, power, and ethics together (1988 [1984]; 1990b; 2011).

It is through both governmentality's broadness *and* its specificity that we can recognize confession as a primary form of governmentality. Confession exemplifies the government of self and others. It is rooted in religious, psychological, legal, and even economic knowledges, and it is a technology of power used by experts (ministers, priests, psychiatrists, psychologists, the police, judges, marketers, advertisers, etc.) to regulate, control, influence, and govern others. It also operates as a technology of the self, as a practice of self-regulation, self-purification, self-knowledge, self-control, self-liberation, and yes, self-governance. There should be no surprise, then, that confession sits at the heart of all the differing camps in the ex-gay debate: conservative Christianity confesses desire to purge it; progressive Christianity confesses desire to reconcile it; psychology and psychiatry confesses desire to cure it or reconcile it (depending on the desire's perceived deviancy or normalcy); the gay rights movement confesses desire to celebrate it and convert it into one's personal identity; and commercial media encourage and manipulate it so confessions of desire can be economically rationalized, linked to the buying and selling of commodities, and commodified themselves as products to be bought and sold. I do not argue that today's confession is yesterday's; or that the confessions that took place in the fourth century Christian monasteries Foucault studied are identical to those that structure the ex-gay movement. I argue that ex-gay confession is part of a long genealogy that reaches back to those monasteries, and elements of their practices, modified and modified again, are still in play today, even as they continue to be modified. Therefore I do not impose Foucault's analysis of confession on ex-gay discourse. Rather I see in ex-gay discourse Foucault's research, and in Foucault's research I see the seeds of the ex-gay movement. My theory and research developed in tandem, each opening up new areas of discovery in the other. It is true, Foucault drew primarily (although not exclusively) on modern European and ancient Greco-Roman and medieval sources, and the ex-gay movement emerged out of late twentieth century American evangelical and fundamentalist Christianity. However, there is enough of a genealogical connection between the movement and

Foucault's research, especially via the *general* religious and psychological knowledges the ex-gay movement draws on, for an approach and theory rooted in his work to be very fruitful.

My methodology for this study is also Foucauldian: it is a governmental discourse analysis, a study of the governing functions of tactical and strategic statements, practices, and representations. I examine the discourse through what Foucault calls a "patiently documentary" (1998a [1971], 369) search of available texts from various communication channels. I understand statements, practices, and representations as discursive "events" erupting into and modifying larger discourses and practices of knowledge, power, and ethics (1972 [1969]; 1991; 1998b [1983]; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983). I found and sampled the journalistic texts I analyzed based on key events within the debate that inspired significant coverage and then, similar to grounded theory (but still beginning with a governmental frame), I looked for repeated topics, concepts, and strategies, and categorized them according to the subject positions and objectives of the authors. As many of these texts are available online, I was able to find most through specified Google searches as well as through links made available on websites devoted to following the ex-gay debate. I found fictional and documentary texts I was not already familiar with from references within the discourse through the help of colleagues and a systematic internet search using key terms derived from my journalistic sources. I also used a TV tropes website that has categorized several examples of what it calls a "Cure Your Gays" meme across several forms of fictional media (TVTropes 2014). I sampled, categorized, and analyzed these texts based on the governing concepts, themes and strategies that emerged from my engagement with the discourse as a whole, which is how I realized that confession rather than prayer is the primary governmental strategy of the ex-gay debate (see Appendices A and B for lists of what I found[17]).

[17] Appendix A is a chart of journalistic exposés and pop culture entertainment texts organized by release date, communication medium, genre, and the kind of judgement the text imposes on ex-gay change. Appendix B is a bibliography (separate from my References) of all ex-gay discursive texts consulted, including academic texts, organized by communication medium and whether they are pro- or anti-ex-gay.

My method, then, combines elements from Foucault's archaeological analyses of knowledge with his later genealogical analyses of power and ethics. It is a descriptive method that involves categorizing and mapping relevant statements via the discursive texts within which they occur. Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) describe a Foucauldian analysis as focusing on the objectives of *serious* speech acts (48, my italics).[18] I describe the objectives of *governmental* speech acts. Unlike linguistic discourse analysis, this is not an analysis of language itself. Foucault is not concerned (at least methodologically) with how language is constructed or to what it refers or signifies, but rather with how it functions and operates (1972; 1991). Likewise, I am not concerned with the grammar of ex-gay discourse or with what (or how) it signifies ideologically. I am concerned with how its manifest meanings function to control, persuade or resist within a system of conflicted ex-gay statements that also function to control, persuade or resist. Also, unlike critical discourse analysis, this is not an analysis of how power understood in terms of dominance is developed and maintained as a system of inequality; rather it is an analysis of how different forms of governing statements and practices operate in relation to each other within a contested discursive formation. A governmental approach includes analyses of power relations, but it does not assume power always operates as dominance nor always leads to systematic inequality. A governmental approach assumes power operates positively as well as negatively, usually in relation to different types of knowledge and forms of self-governance, and it is often resisted, especially in discursive formations that are still in flux.

A discursive formation is the constantly changing "totality" of statements and events that form any given discourse and no unity or agreement among statements need be assumed—even

[18] Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) call Foucault's approach "interpretive analytics" and argue that, while initially semi-structuralist in its attempt to establish the theoretical rules of discourse, it became post-hermeneutic and interpretive when his archaeological method was incorporated into and began to serve his genealogical method. They show that Foucault's methods—archaeology *and* genealogy—work in sync to account for *how* discourses and practices are used, for the specific *roles* they play, and for how they came to *operate* as they do *over time*, within the contingency of history. Although they over-emphasize Foucault's early methods as autonomous and self-referential, and over-emphasize an early concern with domination (and misunderstand his refusal of absolutes as something philosophical rather than methodological), they insist that his methods are always specific, disciplined, pragmatic, and diagnostic.

if speaking agents within the formation often seek to achieve such a unity, or at least to achieve the appearance of it. The ex-gay movement and the debate that surrounds it is just such a formation, but the way science is deployed in the debate characterizes the formation not as a formalized unity but as a perpetually incomplete and conflicted formation characterized by exceptional disunity. Thus a governmental discourse analysis recognizes that statements are themselves frequently modified through the counter-governance of other statements and representations (Foucault 1991; 2007c; 2010; see also Bevir 2010; Dean 1994; Lemke 2011). Foucault established the functions and objectives of discursive statements, practices, and problematizations in terms of objects, subject positions, notions and concepts, and tactics and strategies, but without assuming any constancy to such objectives or related terms (1972). The formation of governmental statements and discourses of knowledge is referential to a domain of objects, to that which is talked about through practices of delimitation and specification, but understood by the researcher as historically specific and usually in flux. In the ex-gay debate, that can be understood as the domain constituted by the movement and its antagonists, and by the field of objects at play within its discourse, including sexual orientation, sexual desire, sexual acts, the sexual body, God, Jesus, the Bible, the family, and more. The fluctuation of this domain can be seen in the way the ex-gay body as a "changeable" object has been redefined in terms of life-long struggle rather than immediate cure because numerous psychological studies of the ex-gay body failed to demonstrate unambiguous change.

The formation of governmental statements and discourses of knowledge is also subject defining, both normatively and enunciatively, not only in terms of how subjects are talked about, but in terms of how discourses, practices, and problematizations situate the speaking subject in terms of historically specific and fluctuating positions of authority and fields of knowledge. Thus the space opened up by ex-gay discourse allows subjects (for, against, or neutral) to take up a position to speak of the movement and its beliefs and practices in terms of their positions as ex-

gay participants, ex-ex-gay survivors, pastors, ministers, priests, psychiatrists, psychologists, therapists, sociologists, politicians, gay activists, journalists, writers, film producers, and even economists. Discursive formations are also part of associated fields of statements characterized by both their regularity and their discontinuity—which is to say, statements understood as governmental events are situated within a specific field that is characterized by different types, levels, and functions of compatibility and contradiction that are historically specific and in flux. The field of coordination, coexistence, and subordination in which ex-gay and anti-ex-gay notions and concepts appear (and are defined, applied, manipulated, and transformed) include concepts like confession, sin, redemption, biblical truth, perversion, repression, the reparative drive, the family dynamic—even gay, straight, and bisexual, but also political economic concepts like rational choice, consumer fraud, and earned media. However, these notions and concepts are conflicted and debated; so within the movement's own discourse the notion of homosexuality is denied as a valid category because translated biblical truth appears to forbid it; yet in pro-gay Christian discourses the notion of homosexuality *as sin* is denied because historically contextualized biblical truth is not thought to condemn modern loving same-sex relations but rather ancient forms of idolatrous same-sex child abuse.

Discursive formations are materially distinct but thematically and strategically repeatable through different mediums of communication, through different forms of change, transformation and struggle, but they are always caught up in distinct and fluctuating historical webs. Mediums of communication are key here. Foucault says that discursive statements are "*always* given through some material medium" (1972, 100, my italics), which operates as "a space in which [statements] are used and repeated" (ibid, 106). In the ex-gay debate, strategies and choices employed both for and against the movement, including confession, prayer, Bible study, reparative therapy (a form of conversion therapy), group therapy, pro-gay counter therapies, polemics, biblical interpretation and reinterpretation, and even advertising, dramatization, and

satire are deployed through mediums of communication such as preaching and counselling, therapeutic transference, academic and popular book publishing, and newspapers, radio, television, and the internet. Indeed, communication channels are of primary importance in the ex-gay debate because the choice to advertise the movement in newspapers and broadcasting was what catapulted ex-gay change into the public sphere and created the debate as it now exists.

The necessity of relying as heavily as I do on commercial popular culture for my sources is because the ex-gay movement did not become enough of a public phenomenon to be studied *as* a discursive formation until after it became an object of debate in commercial media. At that point ex-gay discourse came into its own as a discrete set of statements and events seeking cultural legitimization and scientific formalization through print, broadcasting, and new media. Foucault describes a discursive formation's development in terms of crossing four thresholds: a) the threshold of positivity, when a "discursive practice achieves individuality and autonomy" even if still in conflict; b) the threshold of epistemologization, when a model of "verification and coherence" is articulated even if there are still competing models; c) the threshold of scientificity [or disciplinarily] when statements come to comply with rules and laws for the construction of propositions and begin to escape serious conflict; and d) the threshold of formalization, when the discourse is able "to deploy the formal edifice that it constitutes" and legitimize itself without serious opposition from within or without (1972, 186-7). Mathematics, chemistry, and physics are all formalized sciences, even if new discoveries and modifications are frequent; but crossing all four thresholds is not necessary for a formation, nor is there any specific timeline or proper order of succession. The "science" of the ex-gay debate has not been legitimized or formalized, on either side; and not just because psychology is a "soft" science. Rather, some discursive formations are always characterized by discontinuity, breaks, and conflicts wherein a battle for

supremacy erupts between competing statements, subject positions, objectives, concepts, and strategies. In such cases, legitimization and formalization sometimes never occur.[19]

My comparative use of discursive examples from academic, journalistic and pop cultural sources, some factual and some fictional, is also justified by my method. While analytically I am sometimes concerned with factual accuracy in the discourse, my larger concern is with how discourse governs. A fictional depiction of the movement such as *But I'm a Cheerleader* can be just as influential in terms of how the movement is understood and perceived as can a factual exposé such as Wayne Besen's *Anything But Straight: Unmasking the Scandals and Lies Behind the Ex-gay Myth* (2003). My analysis understands discourse not to *represent* truth and knowledge but to *generate* truth and knowledge; and the truth-effects of fiction can often be just as powerful as the truth-effects of non-fiction. That can be seen in ex-gay debate itself, via the often hysterical responses from within the movement to unwanted fictional popular culture depictions of how the movement operates (see Chapter 4). Whether factual or fictional, whether academic or commercial, discursive statements, governmental practices, and ethical problematizations compete with, combine with, cooperate with, and change, modify, and resist each other in games of truth that operate as wills to knowledge, wills to power, and wills to truth; and in the ex-gay movement all of these events intersect with the long established obligation to confess oneself.

## Providing an Original Contribution: a Political Economy of Ex-gay Communication

This study will provide an original contribution to ex-gay research by establishing the discursive and confessional conditions of existence of the movement, not just in terms of religion and psychology, but also in terms of politics, economics, and mediated communication. To date, no ex-gay study has considered such a wide range of sources as comprehensively. I will examine

[19] The focus of Foucault's early work was indeed scientific discourses, albeit the "soft" human sciences. However, he also acknowledges, even in his early work, the possibility of discursive formations of political knowledge, ethical constructions, and aesthetic representations. He writes, "Archaeological territories may extend to 'literary' or 'philosophical' texts, as well as scientific ones. Knowledge is to be found not only in demonstrations, it can also be found in fiction, reflexion, narrative accounts, institutional regulations, and political decisions" (1072, 183-4).

depictions in entertainment as well as journalistic reports and exposés, and I will treat academic studies, especially the psychological literature, as part of a mediated public debate. By mapping the discourse across its many forms, I will provide a Foucauldian re-description that shows how a movement constituted historically by religious and psychological forms of confession has been altered by our contemporary political economy; and how our political economy is itself constituted by confession. Foucault (1990a) tells us confession is "one of the West's most highly valued techniques for producing truth" (59), and that in the twentieth century "all kinds of mechanisms everywhere—in advertising, books, novels, films, and widespread pornography—invite the individual to pass from this daily expression of sexuality to the institutional and expensive confession of his sexuality to the psychiatrist, psychoanalyst, or sexologist" (2003a, 170). This study will update Foucault's statements to show how the quadrate of confessing sin and disease, testifying doctrine and truth, sacrificing oneself to religious and psychological authority, and being born again in an identity politics of self-emergence, has been modified by our contemporary neoliberal political economy.

Most of the academic literature on the movement is comprised of psychological studies of efficacy and harm. While the majority are critical (APA Task Force 2009; Drescher 1998; Drescher, Shidlo and Schroeder 2002; Drescher and Zucker 2006; Hancock, Gock and Haldeman 2012), one is neutral (Svensson 2003), and some conducted by Christian and Jewish identified researchers are supportive (Jones and Yarhouse 2007; Nicolosi 1997; Nicolosi, Byrd and Potts 2000). The most well-known and controversial study, conducted by Dr. Robert Spitzer, was presented in 2001 as a conference paper and published in 2003. That study, which concluded some gays and lesbians can change their orientation, is considered supportive by most, but prior to apologizing for it in 2012 (see Chapters 2 and 4), Spitzer insisted it was objective and neutral. Yet it nearly legitimized the movement, receiving widespread attention because of Spitzer's lead role on the American Psychiatric Association committee that declassified homosexuality as a

mental illness in1973. The study, however, exemplifies problems with most psychological research into ex-gay efficacy and harm because it is riddled with methodological issues related to measurement, subject selection, and unreliable self-reports (i.e. confessions). There are also several sociological and ethnographic books and articles that focus on the subjective experiences of ex-gays and some confirm the movement's focus on confession (Barton 2012; Erzen 2006; Gerber 2008; Moon 2005; Wolkomir 2006); however, as noted above, few address just how important the practice is. My study surpasses that research, treating the movement as a mediated cultural phenomenon historically constituted by religion and psychology but permeated by cost-benefit calculations, marketing protocols, and an impoverished discourse of entrepreneurship.

Within communication studies there are a number of analyses of ex-gay news coverage and advertising that are narrowly focused on the rhetoric of specific case studies (Fetner 2005; Lund and Renna 2006; Stewart 2005; 2008). My study will address the larger political economy of ex-gay communication as it operates in a conflicted field of cultural production through processes of commodification, structuration, and mediation. Alongside those analyses, I will consider more polemical accounts that operate directly as part of the public debate. In news, magazine and book publishing there are numerous high profile journalistic exposés, most of which seek to expose the movement as a fraud (Arana 2012; Besen 2003; Cox 2010; Denizet-Lewis 2011; Slaughter 2013a; Swartz 2011). There are also several commercial "self-help" books and participant autobiographies, both from ex-gays justifying the movement (Chambers 2009; Dallas 2003; Paulk, A. 2003; Paulk, J. 1998), and from survivors condemning it as religious abuse (see Marks 2009; Rix 2010; Tousey 2006). There are also justifications and condemnations from religious leaders who do not identify as ex-gay or ex-ex-gay (Harvey 1996; Pennington 1989). By analyzing the popular discourse surrounding the movement as heated polemics that operate in governmental, confessional form, this study will escape the dichotomous

declarations of right and wrong professed by so many so as to dismantle ex-gay truth-claims and show that most agree on the necessity of confessing desire and testifying fundamental truth.

Finally, there are copious amounts of popular culture depictions and reports spanning multiple media platforms across 15 years (see Appendices A & B). They are published as books, in newspapers, and in magazines (both serious and satirical); they are produced as news and current affairs segments for television and radio, as episodes of daytime talk shows, as feature documentaries, and as fictional films and television programs (both comedic and dramatic). There are also pro- and anti-ex-gay websites, and numerous ex-gay and ex-ex-gay confessionals posted online as chat board messages, blogs, and YouTube videos. To date, however, there are no analyses of the movement as it appears in popular entertainment, and there are no analyses that consider the political and economic implications of an increasingly commodified discourse on the confessional structure of the movement. This study aims to fill that gap.

On a political economic level, it will show that both ex-gay and anti-ex-gay discourses are part of a conjoined field of neoliberal and neoconservative governmentalities. Similar to but expanding on Wolkomir's claim that both ex-gay and ex-ex-gay support groups privilege heteronormativity, I will show how the entire ex-gay debate assumes the same political economic subjectivity, wherein one's sexuality becomes the basis of one's identity as constituted by rational choice assumptions and risk management. In addition to offering the only analysis of the ex-gay movement in popular entertainment, I offer the only exploration of the movement in a legal context of consumer fraud. In that light I will elucidate how the movement's own economic and political tactics and strategies were appropriated and turned against it. As we will learn, the movement's entry into mass media through a politically motivated advertising campaign turned ex-gay therapy, largely unknown in the public sphere until that point, first into a commodity designed to create symbolic capital in the culture wars, and second into an object of political contempt in popular culture. This study will demonstrate that it was the movement's own

communicative tactics and strategies that orchestrated that change. By attempting to deploy individual consumer choice and justifications of antigay legislation to justify itself, the movement saw contract law and family values legislation designed to protect children from ex-gay harm deployed against it. Once that happened, the movement lost control of its own discourse in mainstream media even as it legitimized itself in Christian popular culture.

At the level of advocacy and strategy I will show that while antigay Christian belief systems may be the most effective short term targets to further delegitimize ex-gay claims, because confessions and testimonies of desire, sin and identity pervade the entire ex-gay debate, the real problem is the culture of confession. At the level of theory and method I will show the importance of Foucault's research to critical political economy and media studies. Whereas there is ample use of Foucault's research in cultural studies and religious studies, and communication studies sometimes utilizes Foucauldian discourse analyses, his methods and research are seldom deployed systematically and almost never in relation to governmentality as a concept that bridges the gaps between his different methods and periods of thought. Foucault tended to use what C.G. Prado (1992) calls an "acid bath of… redescription" to analyze historically elite discourses through studies of archived professional documents (15). I will show how a similar kind of acid bath of re-description can be used to analyze contemporary media and pop culture discourses.

One limitation of this study is that it tends to collapse male and female subjectivities together. That is partly a result of a blind spot in Foucault's research that often (but not always) neglects female points of view. However, that is precisely because he studied elite historical discourses, almost all of which privilege men. At the same time, ex-gay discourse also privileges male points of view. Yes, there are some strong female voices in the debate (ex-gay Anne Paulk and lesbian journalist Rachel Maddow, for example), but most voices in the debate are male and most ex-gay studies involve mainly male subjects. Even Erzen's and Wolkomir's studies are of all male groups. The fact is that more men participate in the ex-gay movement than women. A

feminist history of the ex-gay movement could be very productive and enlightening, but that was beyond the scope of this study. It is also possible, of course, that given Judith Butler's feminist work on sex, gender, and performativity (1990; 1993; 2004), psychology and power (1997), ethical self-narratives (2005), and religion in the public sphere (2011) her research could be important for a full understanding of how ex-gay change operates discursively and in practice. But I defer engaging with her here because Butler roots much of her own work in Foucault and my focus is on confession and neoliberalism understood through Foucault as a primary source and political economy understood through Foucault. The relations between Butler's work and ex-gay discourse could be fruitful future research.

## Outlining the Chapters: From Confession to Political Economy and Back Again

This dissertation will show how the use of confessions of self-renunciation and fundamentalist true-belief as technologies of self-emergence sacrifices not just the ex-gay self but all subjects in the debate to unstable and fundamentalist truth games. Ex-gay participants do not try to pray the gay away, the try to confess and testify it away, and ex-gay survivors try to confess and testify the movement away. Chapter 1 will provide a history of the movement and establish the conditions of emergence of the debate in terms of the primary practices underlying it: confessions of sin, disease and harm, faith and true belief, self-sacrifice, and self-emergence. As part of my analysis, Foucault's genealogy of confession will be outlined in more detail and his account of confessions of self-sacrifice becoming confessions of truth becoming confessions of self-emergence will be explained. However, a common understanding of Foucault in which it is assumed he establishes a clear historical "acts versus identity" dichotomy will be questioned. Just as confessional self-sacrifice operates alongside confessional self-emergence in the ex-gay movement, so too does homosexuality problematized in terms of behaviour operate alongside gay rights problematized in terms of identity. In short, this chapter will operate as a history of the

movement, a genealogy of its primary practice, and a functional account of how Foucault's analytics of confession can be used to describe the movement's emergence and historical constitution.

At the heart of Chapter 2 is the irony of a consumer fraud lawsuit that resulted from the movement using mainstream advertising to "come out" in the public sphere. It will cautiously employ a rational choice cost-benefit analysis (but still using a governmental methodology) to quantify the financial and psychological costs of ex-gay change. It will also begin the process of establishing the movement's conditions of existence by describing the commodification of its confessional practices at the level of individual choice. Here I will argue that in spite of the rhetoric and legal accusations of fraud deployed against ex-gay change, the movement is not a financial scam selling a snake oil cure. Rather it is an organization run by true believers who confess their true beliefs as life-long labour. The problem is, they cannot admit the truth that their movement has been (self)-commodified, nor can they confess the scientific truth that there is psychological risk in ex-gay change. Furthermore, the movement's language of choice is undercut by an entrepreneurship limited only to the production of heteronormativity, and by an ex-gay subjectivity derived from confessional obedience rather than entrepreneurial choice.

In Chapter 3 I turn to the "culture wars" of American neoconservative politics. I will show how the movement's turn to politics left it open to anti-ex-gay legislative action because of a slow but distinct shift in societal attitudes following the high profile murder of Matthew Shepard. By combining a Foucauldian analytics of strategic truth games with Anthony Giddens' concept of structuration and the political economy of Pierre Bourdieu, I will show how the interaction of structure and agency in the cultural capital of publically confessed truth reveals the ex-gay movement as a bankrupt form of symbolic power. The chapter will also use queer political economy to critique and contextualize the limits of a rational choice analysis. It will also account for how the ex-gay movement was redesigned by the Christian Right in the 1990s to

fulfill a purpose beyond ex-gay change: to try and eliminate gay and lesbian politics (and gay and lesbian identities) through the strategic promotion of a kinder, gentler form of "love the sinner, hate the sin" antigay politics. However, that strategy failed because the unexpected event of Matthew Shepard's murder shone an international spotlight on antigay prejudice that even the discourse of loving the sinner could not overcome. In short, this chapter will show how the movement's occupation of an awkward space between neoliberalism and neo-conservatism saw its own legislative tactics turned against it as gay rights groups successfully campaigned for their own "family values" legislation to protect children from the ex-gay movement.

In Chapter 4 I will analyze the mediation of the ex-gay debate in news and popular culture contrasting Habermas's ideal of reasoned deliberation with Foucault's analytics of tactics and strategies of control. Beginning with an account of the media frenzy surrounding the case of Zach Stark, a teenager forced into an ex-gay residential program by his parents, I will trace the consequences of attracting adherents and public support using "earned media," or media coverage not paid for by the movement. I will also consider the impact of Alan Chambers' and Robert Spitzer's confessed apologies on the media debate, both of which operated as negative earned media. The increased visibility generated by ex-gay media left it open to journalistic scrutiny, public scorn, and scathing dramatizations and satires. Whereas the movement initially benefited from media's tendency to oversimplify complicated issues and emphasize sensationalism and controversy over reasoned analysis, those same tendencies led it to lose control of its own image. However, by noting a different trajectory of the movement's mediation in Christian popular culture, I will show how its creation of positive cultural capital rooted in compassion over condemnation was not a complete failure. The movement is still accepted in conservative Christian communities.

The ex-gay movement remains a contemporary problem to be solved. In spite of the movement's neoliberal discourse, legislative lobbying, and earned media having backfired, and

in spite of several high profile confessed apologies, ex-gay change is not dead. The movement has certainly lost the public relations war it began 15 years ago in mainstream media, but it has been legitimized in its own parallel world of Christian popular culture. Short of transforming the confessional nature of contemporary society, unless the true beliefs around which the ex-gay debate revolves are changed, the movement will continue to recruit confused subjects, who experience unwanted same-sex desire, into contradictory and unstable truth games.

# References (for entire dissertation)


*700 Club, The*. 2001. "The 700 Club - September 13, 2001." *Christian Broadcasting Network.* [see "Falwell and Robertson on The 700 Club after 9/11." YouTube video of episode clip. Posted by "Veracifier" November 7, 2007. Accessed October 21, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H-CAcdta_8I]

*700 Club, The*. 2011. "The 700 Club - December 21, 2011." *Christian Broadcasting Network.* Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.cbn.com/tv/1470263794001 [see also "Robertson Promotes Ex-Gay Conversion for Gay Son." YouTube video of episode clip. Posted by "RWW Blog" December 21, 2011. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RxzmFXHjSRI#t=11]

*700 Club, The*. 2012a. "The 700 Club - March 26, 2012." *Christian Broadcasting Network.* Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.cbn.com/tv/1530790667001

*700 Club, The*. 2012b. "The 700 Club - March 27, 2012." *Christian Broadcasting Network.* Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.cbn.com/tv/1532656917001 [see also "Robertson: Satan Behind Homosexuality, Abortion Rights." YouTube video of episode clip. Posted by "RWW Blog" March 27, 2012. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z7tGsJFGQ8Y]

*Abomination: Homosexuality and the Ex-Gay Movement*. 2007. Produced by the Association of Gay and Lesbian Psychiatrists. Directed by Alicia Salzer, M.D. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.amazon.com/Abomination-Homosexuality-Movement-Alicia-Salzer/dp/B0038T6E1E

Ahluwalia, Rohini, Robert Burnkrant, and H. Unnava. 2000. "Consumer Response to Negative Publicity: The Moderating Role of Commitment." *Journal of Marketing Research* 37: 203-214.

Airhart, Mike. 2003. "Exodus Condemns NBC's 'Law And Order: SVU.'". *Ex-Gay Watch* November 12. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2003/11/exodus-condemns/

Airhart, Mike. 2005. "Antigay Father Outs 'Zach.'" *Ex-Gay Watch* July 13. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2005/07/antigay-father/

Airhart, Mike. 2006. "Exgay Billboards in Spartanburg, S.C." *Ex-Gay Watch* January 9. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2006/01/exgay-billboard/

Airhart, Mike. 2007a. "Open Forum: Focus on the Family: Benefactor to Exodus Ex-Gays?" *Ex-Gay Watch* August 9. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2007/08/open-forum-focus-on-the-family-benefactor-to-exodus-ex-gays/

Airhart, Mike. 2007b. "Who Da Man — Andrew Sullivan, Wayne Besen, Or XGW?" *Ex-Gay Watch* June 11. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2007/06/who-da-man-andrew-sullivan-wayne-besen-or-xgw/

Airhart, Mike. 2008. "Zach Stark Speaks: Forced into Ex-Gay Boot Camp in 2005." *Truth Wins Out* May 6. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/blog/2008/05/627/

Airhart, Mike 2013. "Ex-Gay Therapy Think-Tank NARTH Loses Tax-Exempt Status." *Truth Wins Out* March 12. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/news/2013/03/33731/

Alcoff, Linda Martin. 2006. *Visible Identities: Race, Gender, and the Self,* Studies in Feminist Philosophy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*All Things Considered*. 1998. Ex-gay ad debate. NPR July 17.

Alliance for Traditional Marriage, American Family Association, Americans for Truth About Homosexuality, Center for Reclaiming America, Christian Family Network, Christian Coalition, Citizens for Community Values, Colorado for Family Values, Concerned Women for America, Coral Ridge Ministries, Family First, Family Research Council, Liberty Counsel, National Legal Foundation, and Kerusso Ministries. 1998a. "Toward Hope and Healing for Homosexuals." Newspaper advertisement, first of four in the "Truth in Love" series. Appeared in the *New York Times* on July 13, 1998.

Alliance for Traditional Marriage, et al. (1998b). "Toward a New National Discussion of Homosexuality." Newspaper advertisement, second of four in the "Truth in Love" series. Appeared in the *Washington Post* on July 14, 1998 and the *Los Angeles Times* on July 27, 1998.

Alliance for Traditional Marriage, et al. (1998c). "Toward an Open Debate on Homosexual Behavior." Newspaper advertisement, third of four in the "Truth in Love" series. Appeared in *USA Today* on July 15, 1998.

Alliance for Traditional Marriage, et al. (1998d). "Toward a New Hope for Healing." Newspaper advertisement, fourth of four in the "Truth in Love" series. Appeared in the Miami Herald on July 29, 1998.

AllPsych. 2003. "How Much Does Therapy Cost?" *AllPsych Online: The Virtual Psychology Classroom.* Accessed October 18, 2014. http://allpsych.com/therapy.html#cost

Ambrosino, Brandon. 2014. "I Wasn't Born This Way. I Choose to Be Gay. Macklemore sends the wrong LGBT message in 'Same Love.'" *New Republic* January 28. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.newrepublic.com/article/116378/macklemores-same-love-sends-wrong-message-about-being-gay

Anderton, Ethan. 2014. "First Look: James Franco Goes Christian in Gus Van Sant's 'Michael.'" *First Showing* August 11. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.firstshowing.net/2014/first-look-james-franco-goes-christian-in-gus-van-sants-michael/

APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation. 2009. *Report of the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Arana, Gabriel. 2012. "My So-Called Ex-Gay Life." *The American Prospect*. April 11. Accessed April 7, 2013. http://prospect.org/article/my-so-called-ex-gay-life.

Arana, Gabriel. 2014. "Macklemore Is Right. Being Gay Isn't a Choice, It's a Civil Rights Issue." *New Republic* January 30. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.newrepublic.com/article/116416/being-gay-choice-no-its-civil-rights-issue

*Archer.* 2011. "A Going Concern." Season 2, Episode 2. Produced by Adam Reed, Matt Thompson, Neal Holman, Eric Sims, and Casey Willis. Written and Directed by Adam Reed. Floyd County Productions and FX Productions. Aired February 3, 2011.

*Arrested Development*. 2005. "Notapusy." Season 3, Episode 4. Produced by Mitchell Hurwitz, Diane Mercer and David Shafer. Directed by Lev L. Spiro. Written by Ron Weiner and Karey Dornetto. Imagine Entertainment, 20th Century Fox Television, and Hurwitz Company. Aired November 7, 2005.

*As It Happens.* 2013. "June 20 - Kenney: Syrian Refugees, Canmore Flooding, Exodus International Closes (Part 1)." *CBC Radio* June 20. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.cbc.ca/player/Radio/As+It+Happens/ID/2392684544/

Associated Press. 2009. “Psychologists Reject Gay ‘Therapy.’” *The New York Times* August 5. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/06/health/06gay.html

ATCSI. 2014a. “Alliance Mission Statement.” *The Alliance for Therapeutic Choice and Scientific Integrity*. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.therapeuticchoice.com/#!mission-statement/cvmj

ATCSI. 2014b. “Home Page.” *The Alliance for Therapeutic Choice and Scientific Integrity.* Accessed February 16, 2015. http://www.therapeuticchoice.com/

*Backlot, The*. 2013. “About Us.” *The Backlot* April 17. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.thebacklot.com/about-us/

Badiou, Alain. 2003 [1997]. *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism.* Translated by Ray Brassier. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Badiou, Alain. 2006 [1988]. *Being and Event.* New York: Continuum.

Badiou, Alain. 2009 [2006]. *Logics of Worlds: Being and Event II.* New York: Continuum.

Bailey, D. Shermon. 1955. *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition.* London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Bailey, Sarah Pulliam. 2010. “Psychologist Resigns from NARTH after Gay Prostitute's Claims.” *Christianity Today* May 12. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2010/mayweb-only/29-32.0.html

Baker, Chris, and Jonathon Miles-Watson. 2010. “Faith and Traditional Capitals: Defining the Public Scope of Spiritual and Religious Capital—A Literature Review.” *Implicit Religion* 13.1: 17-69.

Baker, Dan. 1997. “A History in Ads: The Growth of the Gay and Lesbian Market” in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*. Edited by Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed. New York: Routledge. 11-20.

Ball, Stephen J. 2004. “Education for Sale! The Commodification of Everything?” *King’s Annual Education Lecture 2004, University of London*. Online paper. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/departments/education/news/events/events-files/AnnualEdLecture2004.pdf

Barton, Bernadette. 2012. “‘Going Straight’: The Ex-Gay Movement,” in *Pray the Gay Away: The Extraordinary Lives of Bible Belt Gays*. New York: New York University Press: 116-150.

Bawer, Bruce. 1997. *Stealing Jesus: How Fundamentalism Betrays Christianity.* New York: Three Rivers Press.

Bayer, Ronald. 1987 [1981]. *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry*. With a new Afterword on AIDS and Homosexuality. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bayly, Michael J. 2008a. “"Conversion Therapy" and the Pseudo-Science of NARTH.” *The Wild Reed: Thoughts and reflections from a progressive, gay, Catholic perspective* (blog) January 25. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://thewildreed.blogspot.ca/2008/01/conversion-therapy-and-pseudo-science.html

Bayly, Michael J. 2008b. “Debunking NARTH (Part I).” *The Wild Reed: Thoughts and reflections from a progressive, gay, Catholic perspective* (blog) February 14. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://thewildreed.blogspot.ca/2008/02/debunking-narth.html

BBC. 2012. “'Gay cure' group's London bus adverts banned.” *BBC News* April 13. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-17693947

Beaulieu, Alain. 2010. “Towards a Liberal Utopia: The Connection Between Foucault’s Reporting on the Iranian Revolution and the Ethical Turn.” *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 36.7: 801-818.

Beck, Ulrich. 1992 [1986]. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: SAGE Publications.

Beck, Ulrich. 2010 [2008]. *A God of One’s Own: Religion’s Capacity for Peace and Potential for Violence.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Becker, Gary S. 1968. “Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach.” *Journal of Political Economy* 76.2: 196-217.

Becker, Gary S. 1976. *The Economic Approach to Human Behavior*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Beckstead, A. Lee. 2001. “Cures versus choices: Agendas in sexual reorientation therapy.” *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Psychotherapy* 5.3-4: 87-115.

Beckstead, A. Lee, and Susan L. Morrow. 2004. “Mormon Clients' Experiences of Conversion Therapy: The Need For a New Treatment Approach.” *The Counseling Psychologist* 32.5: 651-690.

Beckstead, A. Lee. 2006. “Understanding the Self-Reports of Reparative Therapy ‘Successes.’” in *Ex-Gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and its Relation to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture*, edited by Jack Drescher and Kenneth J. Zucker. New York: Haworth Press: 75-81. [Originally published in *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 32.5 9 (2003): 421-423.]

Benjamin, Mark. 2005. “My Gay Therapy Session.” *Salon* July 19. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.salon.com/2005/07/19/gaytherapy/

Bennett, David. 2011. “'Money is laughing gas to me' (Freud): a critique of pure reason in economics and psychoanalysis.” *New Formations* 72: 5.

Berger, Jonah, Alan T. Sorensen, and Scott J. Rasmussen. 2010. “Positive Effects of Negative Publicity: When Negative Reviews Increase Sales.” *Marketing Science* 29.5: 815-27.

Berggren, Erik. 1975. *The Psychology of Confession.* Leiden, Belgium: E.J. Brill.

Berlo, Beth. 1999. “America's primer for budding satirists takes aim at 'ex-gays'.” *Bay Windows* January 7.

Besen, Wayne R. 2003. *Anything But Straight: Unmasking the Scandals and Lies Behind the Ex-Gay Myth.* New York, Harrington Park Press.

Besen, Wayne. 2006a. “*Political* Science” in *Ex-Gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and its Relation to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture*, edited by Jack Drescher and Kenneth J. Zucker. New York: Haworth Press. 291-308.

Besen, Wayne. 2006b. “TWO Condemns New ‘Ex-Gay’ Television Show.” *Truth Wins Out* September 6. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/pressrelease/2006/09/63/

Besen, Wayne. 2007. “Truth Wins Out Celebrates the Closing of Coral Ridge Ministries’ Center for Reclaiming America for Christ.” *Truth Wins Out* May 1. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/uncategorized/2007/05/156/

Besen, Wayne. 2009a. “10 Key Facts Everyone Should Know About NARTH.” *Truth Wins Out* November 17. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/opinion/2009/11/4813/

Besen, Wayne. 2009b. “APA Was Right To Reject Harmful 'Ex-Gay' Therapy.” *Huffington Post, Huff Post Politics* September 5. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/wayne-besen/apa-was-right-to-reject-h_b_252269.html

Besen, Wayne. 2009c. “Racist Rant Against Obama By ‘Ex-Gay’ Stage Horse Michael Glatze.” *Truth Wins Out* October 8. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/blog/2009/10/4325/

Besen, Wayne. 2010. “‘Ex-Gay’ Michael Glatze Attracted To Spotlight Like A Mosquito in June.” *Truth Wins Out* October 25. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/blog/2010/03/7770/

Besen, Wayne. 2011. “Lisa Ling’s ‘Ex-Gay’ Puff Piece.” *Advocate* March 17. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.advocate.com/politics/media/2011/03/17/lisa-lings-exgay-puff-piece

Besen, Wayne. 2011b. “Get Brand New ‘Pray Away the Gay’ T-Shirt Today With Donation.” *Truth Wins Out* April 26. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/pressrelease/2011/04/16189/

Besen, Wayne. 2012. “History of ‘Ex-Gay’ Therapy.” *Truth Wins Out.* Accessed September 25, 2013. http://www.truthwinsout.org/history-of-ex-gay-therapy/

Besen, Wayne. 2013a. “Lisa Ling’s Masterpiece On ‘Ex-Gay’ Myth.” *Truth Wins Out* July 8. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/pressrelease/2013/07/36074/

Besen, Wayne. 2013b. “Gullible Fundies Must Have Amnesia As They Cheer Glatze’s Conversion.” *Truth Wins Out* December 10. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/opinion/2013/12/38419/

Besen, Wayne, and Jack Drescher. 2008. “Q&A: Dr. Jack Drescher Discusses 'Reparative Therapy'” YouTube video. Posted by “Wayne Besen,” January 31, 2008. Accessed October 15, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kh6v9aysfQI [Also embedded on *Truth Wins Out* website: TWO. 2008. “What The Mental Health Experts Say.” Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/what-the-experts-say/]

Bevir, Mark. 2010. “Rethinking Governmentality: Towards Genealogies of Governance.” *European Journal of Social Theory* 13.4: 423–441.

Bieber, Irving, et al. 1962. *Homosexuality: A Psychoanalytic Study of Male Homosexuals*. New York: Basic Books.

Bieber, Irving. 1965. “Clinical aspects of male homosexuality” in *Sexual Inversion*, edited by Judd Marmor. New York: Basic Books. 248-268.

Black, Henry Campbell. 1990. “Fraud.” *Black’s Law Dictionary* Sixth Edition. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co. 660. Accessed online October 20, 2014. http://archive.org/stream/BlacksLaw6th/Blacks%20Law%206th_djvu.txt

Boesveld, Sarah. 2012. “‘Pray away the gay’: Conversion therapy groups face heat over charity status.” *National Post* October 6. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/10/06/pray-away-the-gay-conversion-therapy-groups-face-heat-over-charity-status/

Boodman, Sandra G. 2005. “A Conversion Therapist's Unusual Odyssey.” *The Washington Post* August 16. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/08/15/AR2005081501063.html

Bootzin, Richard R., Joan Ross Acocella, and Lauren B. Alloy. 1993. *Abnormal Psychology: Current Perspectives.* Sixth Ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Borger, Julian. 2005. “Straight and narrow: church's 'gay cure': Alarm raised over Memphis evangelicals' therapy.” *The Guardian* August 25. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/aug/26/gayrights.usa

*Boston Legal*. 2007. “Selling Sickness.” Season 3, Episode 14. Directed by Andrew Bernstein. Written by Andrew Kreisberg and Corinne Brinkerhoff. David E. Kelley Productions and 20th Century Fox Television. Aired February 6, 2007.

Boswell, John. 1980. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977 [1973]. “Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction” in *Power and Ideology in Education*, edited by Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 487-511.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1987 [1971]. “Legitimation and Structured Interests in Weber’s Sociology of Religion” in *Max Weber: Rationality and Modernity*, edited by Sam Whimster and Scott Lash, translated by Chris Turner. London: Allen and Unwin. 119-136.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990 [1980]. *The Logic of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991 [1971]. “Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field.” Translated by Jenny B. Burnside, Craig Calhoun, and Leah Florence. *Comparative Social Research* 13:1-44.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Edited by Randal Johnson. New York: Columbia University Press.

Brentlinger, Rick. 2007. *Gay Christian 101: Spiritual Self-Defense For Gay Christians.* Pace, FL: Salient Press.

Britto, Sarah, Tycy Hughes, Kurt Saltzmann, and Colin Stroh. 2007. “Does ‘Special’ Mean Young, White and Female? Deconstructing the Meaning of ‘Special’ in Law & Order: Special Victims Unit.” *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 14.1: 39-57.

Broad, Dave, and Garson Hunter. 2010. “Work, Welfare, and the New Economy: The Commodification of Everything” in *Interrogating the New Economy: Restructuring Work in the 21st Century*, edited by Norene J. Pupo and Mark P. Thomas. Toronto: Toronto Press Incorporated.

Brooke, James. 1998. “Gay Man Dies From Attack, Fanning Outrage and Debate.” *The New York Times* October 13. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/1998/10/13/us/gay-man-dies-from-attack-fanning-outrage-and-debate.html

Broverman, Neil. 2009. “Massaging Therapy.” *Advocate* September 11. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.advocate.com/news/2009/09/11/massaging-therapy

Browder, Sue Ellen. 2013. “Same-Sex Desire: Hardwired With No Hope for Change?” *National Catholic Register* June 18. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.ncregister.com/daily-news/same-sex-desire-hard-wired-with-no-hope-for-change/#ixzz2WckBTnjQ

Brown, Peter. 1967. *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Brown, Wendy. 2006. “American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization.” *Political Theory* 34.6: 690-714.

Brydum, Sunnivie. 2013. “John Paulk Formally Renounces, Apologizes for Harmful 'Ex-Gay' Movement.” *Advocate* April 24. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.advocate.com/politics/religion/2013/04/24/john-paulk-formally-renounces-apologizes-harmful-ex-gay-movement

Buchanan, James M. 1999. *Public Finance and Public Choice: Two Contrasting Visions of the State*." Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Buchanan, James M. 2003. "Public Choice: Politics without Romance." *Policy* 19.3: 13-18.

Bullock, Penn, and Brandon K. Thorp. 2010. "Christian right leader George Rekers takes vacation with 'rent boy.'" *Miami New Times* May 6 2010. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.miaminewtimes.com/2010-05-06/news/christian-right-leader-george-rekers-takes-vacation-with-rent-boy/

Burke, Daniel. 2007. "Christmas wars enrich some advocacy groups." *Christian Century* January 9.

Burroway, Jim. 2008. "Love Won Out – 'How Much Do Ex-Gay Programs Cost?'" YouTube video. Posted by "BoxTurtleBulletin," March 17, 2008. Accessed October 18, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gxXQJIZF3qc

Burroway, Jim. 2013. "NARTH Loses Tax Exempt Status." *Box Turtle Bulletin* March 12. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.boxturtlebulletin.com/2013/03/12/54373

*But I'm a Cheerleader.* 1999. Produced by Andrea Sperling and Leanna Creel. Directed by Jamie Babbit. Written by Brian Wayne Peterson. Lion Gate Films and Ignite Entertainment.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge Classics.

Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 1997. *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. London: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 2005. *Giving an Account of Oneself.* New York: Fordham University Press.

Butler, Judith. 2011. "Is Judaism Zionism" in *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. Edited by Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan Vanantwerpen. New York: Columbia University Press.

Campbell, Ted A. 1996. *Christian Confessions: A Historical Introduction*. Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Capps, Donald. 2003. "From Masturbation to Homosexuality: A Case of Displaced Moral Disapproval." *Pastoral Psychology* 51.4: 249-272.

Capps, Donald and Nathan Carlin. 2008. "The 'Religiously Mediated Change' of 11 Gay Men: A Case of Unexceptional Sublimation." *Pastoral Psychology* 57: 125-146.

Carey, Benedict. 2012. "Psychiatry Giant Sorry for Backing Gay 'Cure.'" *The New York Times* May 18. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/19/health/dr-robert-l-spitzer-noted-psychiatrist-apologizes-for-study-on-gay-cure.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

Carlton, Clark. 2004. "Sexual Reorientation Therapy: An Orthodox Perspective." *Christian Bioethics* 10.2-3: 137-153.

Castells, Manuel. 1989. *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process.* Oxford: Blackwell.

*CBN News.* 2011. "A Cure for Homosexuality? The Debate Continues." *CBN News Channel* July 13. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.cbn.com/tv/1405285581001. [See also "A Cure for Homosexuality? The Debate Continues - CBN.com." YouTube video. Posted by "The Official 700 Club" July 14, 2011. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Nd99AH3-sI]

CDC. 2011. “Stigma and Discrimination.” *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention: Gay and Bisexual Men's Health.* Last updated March 2011. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.cdc.gov/msmhealth/stigma-and-discrimination.htm

CDC. 2014. “HIV and Young Men Who Have Sex with Men.” *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention: Healthy Youth, Sexual Behaviors.* July 2014. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.cdc.gov/healthyyouth/sexualbehaviors/pdf/hiv_factsheet_ymsm.pdf

Chadoff, Paul. 1964. “Psychoanalysis and fees.” *Comprehensive Psychiatry* 5.3: 137–145.

*Chasing the Devil: Inside the Ex-gay Movement.* 2008. Produced and Directed by Mishara Canino-Hussung and Bill Hussung. Coqui Zen Entertainment.

Chambers, Alan. 2009. *Leaving Homosexuality: A Practical Guide for Men and Women Looking for a Way Out.* Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers.

Chapman, Roger. 2010. *Encyclopedia of the Culture Wars: Issues, Voices, and Viewpoints.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

Chapman, Roger, and James Clement. 2014. *Culture Wars in America: An Encyclopedia of Issues, Viewpoints, and Voices.* Second Edition. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

Chin, Justin. 1995. “Saved: Our reporter survives the ex-gay ministries.” *The Progressive* December.

*Christian Post.* 2014. “Ex-Gay Search.” Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/search/?cx=012079842137319898121%3Akryavccayfo&cof=FORID%3A9&ie=UTF-8&q=ex-gay

*Christianity Today.* 2014. “Ex-Gay Movement.” *Christianity Today* Topic Page. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/topics/e/ex-gay-movement/

*Christianity Today* Editorial Board. 1998. “Editorial: Who Killed Matthew Shepard?” *Christianity Today* December 7. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1998/december7/8te035.html

Clements, Roy. 2009. “Forward” in *Exchanging the Truth of God for a Lie: One Man’s Spiritual Journey to Find the Truth about Homosexuality and Same-Sex Partnerships,* Second Edition, by Marks, Jeremy. Glasgow: RoperPenberthy Publishing. xiii-xiv.

Cloud, John. 2005. “The Battle Over Gay Teens.” *Time* October 2. Accessed March 22, 2014. http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1112856-4,00.html

*CNN News.* 2010. “Peter Sprigg and Wayne Besen.” Aired January 2010. [See “PFOX vs Wayne Besen.” YouTube video of interview. Posted by “PFOXvideo” January 21. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gzeCQIFsJPE]

*CNN News*. 2012. “Interview with David Pickup.” Aired October 2, 2014. [see “California Bans Teen Gay to Straight Therapy.” YouTube video of interview. Posted by “On Knees For Jesus” October 2, 2012. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=idhzLgmj6yY]

Coleman, James. 1988. “Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital.” *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 95-12.

*Community*. 2010. “Physical Education” Season 1, Episode 17. Produced by Dan Harmon, Jake Aust, Emily Cutler Krasnoff, Patrick Kienlen, and Heather Petrigala. Directed by Anthony Russo. Written by Jessie Miller. Foster Productions, Harmonius Claptrap, and Russo Brothers. Aired March 4, 2010.

Connell, Raewyn. 2010. “Understanding Neoliberalism” in *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life.* Edited by Susan Braedley and Meg Luxton. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 22-36.

Coral Ridge Ministries. 1999a. “We Are Living Proof.” Posted by *Ad Respest: Where Successful Advertising Meets LGBT Equality.* Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.adrespect.org/common/adlibrary/adlibrarydetails.cfm?QID=724&clientID=11064

Coral Ridge Ministries. 1999b. “Mom.” Posted by *Ad Respect: Where Successful Advertising Meets LGBT Equality.* Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.adrespect.org/common/adlibrary/adlibrarydetails.cfm?QID=168&clientID=11064

Corber, Robert J., and Stephen Valocchi. 2003. “Introduction” in *Queer Studies: An Interdisciplinary Reader,* edited by Robert J. Corber and Stephen Valocchi. Oxford: Blackwell. 1-20.

Cornwall, Richard. 1997. “Queer Political Economy: The Social Articulation of Desire” in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*. Edited by Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed. New York: Routledge. 189-122. [Longer version published as “Deconstructing Silence: the Queer Political Economy of the Social Articulation of Desire.” *Review of Radical Political Economics* 29.1 (1997): 1-130.]

Corsini, Raymond J., ed. 1994. “Homosexuality” in *Encyclopedia of Psychology,* Second Edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Cox, Ted. 2010. “My Journey Into Manhood: Undercover at a Gay Conversion Camp” *Stinque.com*. April 12. Accessed April 7, 2013. http://www.stinque.com/2010/04/12/my-journey-into-manhood/

Coy, Thomas. 2012. “Male Homosexual Risks.” *Ex-GayTruth.com.* Accessed October 20, 2014. http://ex-gaytruth.com/male-homosexual-risks/ [Originally published as “The Smokescreen Putting Young Men’s Health at Risk.” *Mercatornet.* November 13. 2012. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.mercatornet.com/articles/view/the_smokescreen_putting_young_mens_health_at_risk.]

Crary, David. 2009. “Psychologists repudiate gay-to-straight therapy.” *The Toronto Star* (Associated Press) August 5. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2009/08/05/psychologists_repudiate_gaytostraight_therapy.html

Cretella, Michelle A., and Philip M. Sutton. N.d. “Health Risks: Fisting and other Homosexual Practices.” *NARTH: Medical Issues.* Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.narth.org/docs/healthrisks.html

*Criminal Minds.* 2013. “Broken.” Season 8, Episode 15. Produced by Jeff Davis, Rick Dunkle, and Ian Foster Woolf. Directed by Larry Teng. Written by Rick Dunkle. Touchstone Television, Paramount Network Television, and Mark Gordon Company. Aired February 20, 2013.

*Cure For Love.* 2008. Produced by Christina Willings and Bonnie Thompson. Directed by Francine Pelletier and Christina Willings. Written by Christina Willings. Earth to Sky Pictures and The National Film Board of Canada. DVD. [See also “Cure For Love.” *National Film Board of Canada* website. Accessed October 25, 2014. https://www.nfb.ca/film/cure_for_love]

*Current, The.* 2012. “Straightening the Record: A Doctor’s Apology.” Produced by Josh Bloch. *CBC Radio*. Aired September 4, 2012 and June 28, 2013. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.cbc.ca/thecurrent/episode/2013/06/28/a-doctors-apology/

Dallas, Joe. 2003. *Desires In Conflict: Hope for Men Who Struggle with Sexual Identity.* Updated Edition. Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers.

Davis, Aaron C. 2014. "D.C. bans gay conversion therapy of minors." *The Washington Post* December 2. Accessed March 24 2015. http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/dc-politics/dc-bans-gay-conversion-therapy/2014/12/02/58e6aae4-7a67-11e4-84d4-7c896b90abdc_story.html

Davis, Dennis K., and Kurt Kent. 2013. "Journalism Ethics in a Global Communication Era: The Framing Journalism Perspective." *China Media Research* 9.2: 71-82.

Dean, Mitchell. 1994. *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology*. New York: Routledge.

Debruge, Peter. 2015. "Sundance Film Review: 'I Am Michael'" *Variety.* January 24. Accessed February 21, 2015. http://variety.com/2015/film/reviews/sundance-film-review-james-franco-in-i-am-michael-1201414176/

Delamater, John D., and Janet Shibley Hyde. 1998. "Essentialism vs Social Constructionism in the Study of Human Sexuality." *The Journal of Sex Research* 35.1: 10-18.

D'Emilio, John. 1998 [1983]. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*, Second Edition, with a new preface and afterward. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Denizet-Lewis, Benoit. 2011. "My Ex-gay Friend." *The New York Times Magazine.* June 16. Accessed July 16, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/19/magazine/my-ex-gay-friend.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

*Diagnosing Difference*. 2009. Directed by Annalise Ophelian. Floating Ophelia Productions.

Diamond, Lisa. 2008. "Dr. Lisa Diamond: 'NARTH Distorted My Research.'" *Truth Wins Out.* YouTube video. Posted by "Wayne Besen," August 18, 2008. Accessed October 20, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=64A2HrvYdYQ

Dickert, Gail. 2013. "'Where it Starts' Ex-Gay Survivor Speaks Out." YouTube video. Posted by "Gail Dickert" February 27, 2013. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TLumRrhavfY

Dione, E. J. 2008. "Culture Wars? How 2004." *Real Clear Politics* March 11. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2008/03/reclaiming_faith_and_politics.html

DiPaolo, Michael. N.d. "How Much Does Psychotherapy Costs?" *Psychotherapy FAQs.* Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.drmichaeld.com/faq

Doyle, Christopher. 2013a. "CBS' 'Criminal Minds' Offends by Linking Conversion Therapy to Serial Killer." *The Christian Post* March 5. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/cbs-criminal-minds-offends-by-linking-conversion-therapy-to-serial-killer-91223/

Doyle, Christopher. 2013b. "The Ex-Gay Problem: You Can Never Leave?" *The Christian Post* February 27. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/the-ex-gay-problem-you-can-never-leave-90832/

Drescher, Jack. 1998. "I'm Your Handyman: A History of Reparative Therapies." *Journal of Homosexuality* 36.1: 19-42.

Drescher, Jack. 2006. "The Spitzer Study and the Culture Wars" in *Ex-Gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and Its Relation to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture*, edited by Jack Drescher and Kenneth J. Zucker. New York: Haworth Press: 107-112. [Originally published in *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 32.5 (2003): 431.]

Drescher, Jack. 2006b. “Gold or Lead? Introductory Remarks on Conversions” in *Ex-Gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and Its Relation to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture*, edited by Jack Drescher and Kenneth J. Zucker. New York: Haworth Press: 13-26.

Drescher, Jack, and Ariel Shidlo and Michael Schroeder, eds. 2002. *Sexual Conversion Therapy: Ethical, Clinical, and Research Perspectives*. Binghamton: The Howarth Medical Press.

Drescher, Jack and Kenneth Zucker, eds. 2006. *Ex-Gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and Its Relation to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture*. New York: Haworth Press.

Dreyfus, Hubert L. and Paul Rabinow. 1983. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* 2nd Edition with an Afterword by and an Interview with Michel Foucault. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

*Dr. Oz Show, The.* 2012. “From Gay to Straight? The Controversial Therapy.” Aired November 11, 2012. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.doctoroz.com/episode/gay-straight-controversial-therapy

Duin, Julia. 2001. “New psychiatric study says gays can alter orientation.” *The Washington Times* May 9.

Duggan, Lisa. 2002. “The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism” in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, edited by Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 175-194.

Duggan, Lisa. 2003. *The Twilight of Equality?: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Duke, Alan. 2012. “Conversion therapist: Lawsuit won't stop us.” *CNN* November 29. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.cnn.com/2012/11/29/us/conversion-therapy-response/

During, Simon. 1993. “Editor’s Introduction to ‘Advertising: The Magic System’ by Raymond Williams” in *The Cultural Studies Reader*. Edited by Simon During. New York: Routledge. 320-321.

Eckholm, Erik. 2012. “Rift Forms in Movement as Belief in Gay ‘Cure’ Is Renounced.” *The New York Times.* July 6, 2012. Accessed March 11, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/07/us/a-leaders-renunciation-of-ex-gay-tenets-causes-a-schism.html

Edelman, David, and Brian Salsberg. 2010. “Beyond Paid Media: Marketing’s New Vocabulary.” *McKinsey Quarterly: Marketing & Sales Practice* November. 1-8.

Edward, David. 2012. “Pat Robertson blames homosexuality on ‘demonic possession.” *Raw Story* March 26. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.rawstory.com/rs/2012/03/pat-robertson-blames-homosexuality-on-demonic-possession/

Egan, Jesi. 2014. “Abusing Foucault: How Conservatives and Liberals Misunderstand ‘Social Construct’ Sexuality.” *Slate* (blog) March 4. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2014/03/04/sexuality_as_social_construct_foucault_is_misunderstood_by_conservatives.html

Elias, Paul. 2013. “California Gay Conversion Therapy Ban Upheld By Federal Court.” *Huffington Post* (Associated Press) October 29. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/08/29/california-gay-conversion-therapy-ban_n_3837922.html

Elliott, Anthony. 2002. “Beck's Sociology of Risk: A Critical Assessment.” *Sociology* 36.2: 293-315.

England, Paul. 1989. “A Feminist Critique of Rational-Choice Theories: Implications for Sociology.” *The American Sociologist* Spring. 14-28.

Entman, Robert M. 1993. “Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.” *Journal of Communication* 43.4: 51-58.

Erzen, Tanya. 2006. *Straight to Jesus: Sexual and Christian Conversions in the Ex-Gay Movement.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Evangelical Press and Jody Veenker. 2000. “Ex-Gay Leader Disciplined for Gay Bar Visit.” *Christianity Today* October 1. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2000/octoberweb-only/53.0.html

Exodus International. 2005. “Gay? Unhappy?” Posted by *Ad Respest: Where Successful Advertising Meets LGBT Equality.* Accessed October 21, 2014.http://www.adrespect.org/common/adlibrary/adprintdetails.cfm?QID=2835&clientID=11064

Facts About Youth. N.d. “Health Risks of the Homosexual Lifestyle.” *Facts About Youth: Homosexuality.* Accessed October 20, 2014. http://factsaboutyouth.com/posts/health-risks-of-the-homosexual-lifestyle/

Falwell, Jerry. 2006. “Ex-‘gays’: Ignored and discounted.” *WND* April 15. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.wnd.com/2006/04/35728/

Fear, David and Phoebe Reilly. 2015. “25 Must-See Movies at Sundance 2015.” *Rolling Stone* January 16, 2015. Accessed March 11, 2015. www.rollingstone.com/movies/lists/25-must-see-movies-sundance-2015-20150116/i-am-michael-20150116

Fearon, James D. 1999. “What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?” *Stanford University, Department of Political Science,* November 3 (PDF): 1-45. Accessed October 15, 2014. https://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/What-is-Identity-as-we-now-use-the-word-.pdf

Fejes, Fred. 2001. “Advertising and the Political Economy of Lesbian/Gay Identity.” *Sex And Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media,* edited by Eileen R. Meehan. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Ferguson, Michael, Benjamin Ungar, Sheldon Bruck, Chaim Levin, Jo Bruck, and Bella Levin. 2012. “Michael Ferguson, et al., v. JONAH, et al.” *Lite DePalma Greenberg, LLC.* Filed at Superior Court of New Jersey Hudson County, Law Division, November 27, 2012. Accessed October 18, 2014: 1-28. http://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/downloads/case/Ferguson_v._JONAH_-_Complaint.pdf

Ferguson, Rob. 2015. “Ontario to ask medical bodies to ban ‘conversion therapy’ for gay youth.” *The Toronto Star* March 26. Accessed March 30 2015. http://www.thestar.com/news/queenspark/2015/03/26/ontario-to-ask-medical-bodies-to-ban-conversion-therapy-for-gay-youth.html

Fetner, Tina. 2001. “Working Anita Bryant: The Impact of Christian Antigay Activism on Lesbian and Gay Movement Claims.” *Social Problems* 48.3: 411-428.

Fetner, Tina. 2005. “Ex-Gay Rhetoric and the Politics of Sexuality: The Christian Antigay/ProFamily Movement’s ‘Truth in Love’ Ad Campaign.” *Journal of Homosexuality* 50.1: 71-95.

Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. 1992. *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Fjelstrom, Jo. 2013. “Sexual Orientation Change Efforts and the Search for Authenticity.” *Journal of Homosexuality* 60: 801-827.

Flentje, Annesa, Nicholas C. Heck, and Bryan N. Cochran. 2013. "Sexual Reorientation Therapy Interventions: Perspectives of Ex-Ex-Gay Individuals." *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health* 17. 3: 256-277.

Ford, Zack. 2013. "Over 400 Ex-Gay Survivors Share Details Of Their Experience Trying To Change Their Orientation." *ThinkProgress* May 30. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2013/05/30/2079511/ex-gay-survivors/

Foster, David Kyle. 2012. "We Do Exist!... and the Plan That You Never Find Out." *Restored Hope Network.* Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.restoredhopenetwork.org/index.php/resources/articles/homosexuality/9-we-do-exist

Foucault, Michel. 1972 [1969]. *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language*. Translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel, Ed. 1975 [1973]. *I Pierre Rivière, having slaughtered my mother, my sister, and my brother…: A Case of Parricide in the 19th Century*. London: University of Nebraska Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1980 [1978]. "Introduction" in *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth Century French Hermaphrodite.* Edited by Michel Foucault. Translated by Richard McDougall. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1983a [1982]. "The Subject and Power" in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics.* 2nd Edition with an Afterword by and an Interview with Michel Foucault, by Hurbert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 208-226.

Foucault, Michel. 1983b. "On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress" in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics.* 2nd Edition with an Afterword by and an Interview with Michel Foucault, by Hurbert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 229-252.

Foucault, Michel. 1984a. "What is Enlightenment?" in *The Foucault Reader,* edited and Translated by Paul Rabinow. New York, Pantheon Books: 32-50.

Foucault, Michel. 1984b. "Preface to *The History of Sexuality* Vol II" in *The Foucault Reader,* edited and translated by Paul Rabinow. New York, Pantheon Books: 333-339.

Foucault, Michel. 1988 [1984]. *The History of Sexuality: The Care of the Self.* Vol 3. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1990a [1976]. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. Vol 1. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucualt, Michel. 1990b [1984]. *The History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure*. Vol 2. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1991 [1980]. "Questions of Method" in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* with Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 73-86,

Foucault, Michel. 1994 [1966]. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences.* New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1995 [1975]. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Second Vintage Books Edition. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1997a [1981]. "Sexuality and Solitude" in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, edited by Paul Rabinow, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: The New Press. 175-184.

Foucault, Michel. 1997b [1982]. “Technologies of the Self” in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth,* edited by Paul Rabinow, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: The New Press. 223-251.
Foucault, Michel. 1997c [1982/83]. “Sexual Choice, Sexual Act” in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth,* edited by Paul Rabinow, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: The New Press. 141-156.
Foucault, Michel. 1998a [1971]. “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History” in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology,* edited by James D. Faubion and Paul Rabinow. New York: The New Press: 369-392.
Foucault, Michel. 1998b [1983]. “Structuralism and Post-structuralism” in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology,* edited by James D. Faubion and Paul Rabinow. New York: The New Press: 433-458.
Foucault, Michel. 1999 [1979]. “Pastoral Power and Political Reason (1979)” in *Religion and Culture: Michel Foucault,* edited by Jeremy R. Carrette. New York: Routledge. 135-152.
Foucault, Michel. 2000a [1977]. “Truth and Power” in *Power*. Edited by James D. Faubion and Paul Rabinow. Translated by C. Lazzeri. New York: The New Press. 111-133.
Foucault, Michel. 2000b [1983]. “The Risks of Security” in *Power*, edited by James D. Faubion and Paul Rabinow, translated by C. Lazzeri. New York: The New Press. 365-381.
Foucault, Michel. 2001 [1983]. *Fearless Speech*. Edited by Joseph Pearson. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).
Foucault, Michel. 2003a [1974/75]. *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974-1975*. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador.
Foucault, Michel. 2003b [1975/76]. *“Society Must Be Defended”: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador.
Foucault, Michel. 2005 [1981/82]. *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1981-1982*. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador.
Foucault, Michel. 2006 [1973/74]. *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1973-1974.* Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador.
Foucault, Michel. 2007a [1980]. “Christianity and Confession” in *The Politics of Truth,* edited by Sylvere Lotringer, translated by Lysa Hochroth & Catherine Porter. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e). 169-91.
Foucault, Michel. 2007b [1977/78]. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978.* Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Foucault, Michel. 2007c [1980]. “Subjectivity and Truth” in *The Politics of Truth,* edited by Sylvere Lotringer, translated by Lysa Hochroth & Catherine Porter. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e). 147-67.
Foucault, Michel. 2008 [1978/79]. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979.* Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Foucault, Michel. 2009 [1961]. *History of Madness*. Translated by Jonathan Murphy and Jean Khalfa. New York: Routledge.
Foucault, Michel. 2010 [1982/83]. *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1982-1983.* Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
Foucault, Michel. 2011 [1983/84]. *The Courage of Truth: The Government of Self and Others II, Lectures at the Collège de France, 1983-1984.* Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador.
Foucault, Michel. 2014 [1979/80]. *On the Government of the Living: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1979-1980.* Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Fox, Morgan Jon. 2007. “This Is What Love In Action Looks Like extended preview coming 2010!” YouTube video. Posted by “Morgan Jon Fox” November 13, 2007. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLaBkiP0-nA

Fuchs, Cynthia, and Jamie Babbit. 2000. “Interview with Jamie Babbit.” *Pop Matters.* Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.popmatters.com/feature/babbit-jamie/

*FunnyOrDie.* 2014. “Pray The Gay Away Videos, Pray The Gay Away Pictures, and Pray The Gay Away Articles.” *FOD Community.* Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.funnyordie.com/topic/pray-the-gay-away

Frankl, Razelle. 1987. *Televangelism: The Marketing of Popular Religion.* Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Frankl, Razelle. 1998. “Transformation of Televangelism: Repackaging Christian Family Values” in *Media, Culture & the Religious Right*, edited by Linda Katz and Julia Lesage. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. 163-190.

Freedman, Samuel G. 2013. “Focus on the Family Works to Change Its Message.” *The New York Times* March 8. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/09/us/focus-on-the-family-transforms-its-message.html?_r=0

Freud, Sigmund, and Joseph Breuer. 1978 [1895]. *Studies on Hysteria.* Translated and edited by James and Alix Strachey. London: Penguin.

*Futurama.* 2010. “Proposition Infinity.” Season 6, Episode 4. Produced by Matt Groening, David X. Cohen, and Claudia Katz. Directed by Crystal Chesney-Thompson. Written by Michael Rowe. The Curiosity Company and 20th Century Fox Television. Aired July 8, 2010.

Gallagher, John, and Chris Bull. 2001. *Perfect Enemies: The Battle Between the Religious Right and the Gay Movement.* Updated Edition. Lanham, MD: Madison Books.

Gans, Herbert J. 2003. *Democracy and the News.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gans, Herbert J. 2004 [1979]. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time.* 25th Anniversary Edition. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar, and Povinelli, Elizabeth A. 2003. “Technologies of Public Forms: Circulation, Transfiguration, Recognition.” *Public Culture* 15.3: 385–397.

Gasher, Mike, David Skinner, and Rowland Lorimer. 2012. *Mass Communication in Canada.* Seventh Edition. Don Mills ON: Oxford University Press Canada.

Gerber, Lynne. 2008. “The Opposite Of Gay: Nature, Creation, And Queerish Ex-Gay Experiments.” *Nova Religio* 11.4: 8-30.

Geske, Joel, and Patti Brown. 2008. “Gay Marriage in Iowa: The Visual Framing of a Controversial Social Issue.” Paper Submitted for consideration to the *International Communication Association*, Visual Communication Division, November 1, 2008.

Giddens, Anthony. 1976. *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretive Sociologies.* London: Hutchinson.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1992. *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love, and Eroticism in Modern Societies.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giovanniello, Sarah. 2013. “Study Describes Harm Done By 'Ex-Gay Therapy.'” *GLAAD* June 10. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.glaad.org/blog/study-describes-harm-done-ex-gay-therapy

Gilbert, Jeremy. 2008. “Against the Commodification of Everything: Anti-consumerist Cultural Studies in the Age of Ecological Crisis.” *Cultural Studies* 22.5: 551-566.

Gluckman, Amy, and Betsy Reed, eds. 1997. *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*. New York: Routledge.

Gluckman, Amy, and Betsy Reed. 1997a. “Introduction” in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*. Edited by Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed. New York: Routledge. xi-xxxi.

Gluckman, Amy, and Betsy Reed. 1997b. “The Gay Marketing Moment” in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*. Edited by Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed. New York: Routledge. 3-10.

Godwin, Thomas L. 2007. *Ex-Gay: A Novel.* New York: iUniverse, Inc.

Goodstein, Laurie. 1998. “The architect of the ‘gay conversion’ campaign.” *The New York Times* August 13.

Graf, Joseph. 2008. “New Media: The Cutting Edge of Campaign Communications” in *Campaigns on the Cutting Edge*, edited by Richard J. Semiatin. Washington, DC: CQ Press. 48-68.

Greeley, Andrew M., and Michael Hout. 2006. *The Truth about Conservative Christians: What They Think and What They Believe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Green, Donald P., and Ian Shapiro. 1994. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science.* London: Yale University Press.

Green, John C., James L. Guth, Corwin E. Smidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt. 1996. *Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front.* Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield.

Gryboski, Michael. 2014. “Second Annual Ex-Gay Awareness Month Event Showcases Diversity of Movement.” *The Christian Post* October 6. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/second-annual-ex-gay-awareness-month-event-showcases-diversity-of-movement-127608/

Gusdorf, George. 1991. *Les écritures de moi.* Paris: Odile Jacob.

Guth, James L. 1996. “The Politics of the Christian Right” in *Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front*, by John C. Green, James L. Guth, Corwin E. Smidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt. Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1990 [1985]. *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2006a. “Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research.” *Communication Theory* 16: 411–426.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2006b [2005]. “Religion in the Public Sphere.” *European Journal of Philosophy* 14.1: 1–25.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2011. “‘The Political’: The Rational Meaning of a Questionable Inheritance of Political Theology” in *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. Edited by Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan Vanantwerpen. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hacking, Ian. 2000. *The Social Construction of What?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hadden, Jeffrey K and Anson Shupe. 1987. "Televangelism in America." *Social Compass* 34.1: 61-75.

Haldeman, Douglas C. 1994. "The Practice and Ethics of Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 62.2: 221-7.

Hancock, Kristin A., Terry S. Gock, and Douglas C. Haldeman. 2012. "Science Meets Practice in Determining Effectiveness of Sexual Orientation Change Efforts." *American Psychologist* 67.6: 499-500.

*Hannity & Colmes.* 2000. "Is homosexuality a condition curable by therapy?" Fox News Channel August 8.

Hannon, Michael W. 2014. "Against Heterosexuality: The idea of sexual orientation is artificial and inhibits Christian witness." *First Things* March. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.firstthings.com/article/2014/03/against-heterosexuality

*Hardball with Chris Matthews*. 2011. "'Hardball with Chris Matthews' for Tuesday, October 18, 2011." Produced by Court Harson. Aired October 18, 2011. See "Transcript for the Tuesday Show." Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/44961750/ns/msnbc-hardball_with_chris_matthews/t/hardball-chris-matthews-tuesday-october/#.VEfDwxZcn1I [See also "Pray Gay Away Guy Quits & Admits He's Still Gay." YouTube video of clip from episode. Posted by "GateKeeper50hotmail" October 18. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9zRS5ZO72AI]

Hardisty, Jean, and Amy Gluckman. 1997. "The Hoax of 'Special Rights': The Right Wing's Attack on Gay Men and Lesbians" in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*. Edited by Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed. New York: Routledge. 209-222.

Harvey, David. 2006. *Spaces of Global Capitalism.* London: Verso.

Harvey, David. 2007. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, John F. 1996. *The Truth About Homosexuality: The Cry of the Faithful*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Hatt, Ken, Tullio Caputo and Barbara Perry. 1990. "Managing Consent: Canada's Experience with Neoconservatism." *Social Justice* 17.4, Ideology and Penal Reform in the 1990s: 30-48.

Haugaard, Mark. 2012. "Power and Truth." *European Journal of Social Theory* 15.1: 73–92.

Hawkins, Gay. 2001. "The Ethics of Television." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 4.4: 412-426.

Heiser, Jorg. 2005. "Good Circulation." *Frieze* 90: 70–93.

Heller, Matthew. 1998. "Getting Straight." *New Times Los Angeles* November 19. (Referenced in Besen 2003, 159.)

Helminiak, Daniel A. 2000 [1994]. *What the Bible <u>Really</u> Says About Homosexuality*. Millennium Edition, Updated and Expanded. New Mexico: Alamo Square Press.

Henry B. 2003. "Re: Law & Order: SUV tackles ex-gay issue/Exodus response." *Yahoo Groups: Ex-Gay Discussion Board* November 12. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/exgaydiscussionboard/conversations/topics/5869

High, Brandon. 2009. "The Recent Historiography of American Neoconservatism." *The Historical Journal* 52.2: 475–491.

Hindmarsh, D. Bruce. 2005. *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoffman, Scott. W. 2011. "'Last Night, I Prayed to Matthew': Matthew Shepard, Homosexuality, and Popular Martyrdom in Contemporary America." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 21.1: 121–164.

Holtfreter, Kristy, Shanna Van Slyke, and Thomas G. Blomberg. 2005. "Sociolegal Change in Consumer Fraud: From Victim-Offender Interactions to Global Networks." *Crime, Law & Social Change* 44: 251–275

*Holy Bible.* 1989. *New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*Home Movies.* 2002. "Time to Pay the Price." Season 3, Episode 10. Produced by H. Jon Benjamin, Loren Bouchard, Melissa Bardin Galsky, and Tom Snyder. Directed by Loren Bouchard. Written by Brendan Small and Bill Braudis. Burns & Burns Productions and Tom Snyder Productions. Aired November 10, 2002.

Huffer, Lynne. 2010. *Mad For Foucault: Rethinking the Foundations of Queer Theory.* New York: Columbia University Press.

*Huffington Post, The*. 2013. "Alan Chambers, 'Ex-Gay' Group Leader, Apologizes For Practices on Lisa Ling's Special Report (VIDEO)," *Huff Post OWN Videos*, June 13. Accessed September 25, 2013. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/06/13/alan-chambers-apology-exodus-international-lisa-ling_n_3428824.html

*Huffington Post, The.* 2012a. "CNN's Brooke Baldwin To NARTH's David Pickup: 'You Don't Ask Us Questions' (VIDEO)." *Huffington Post, Huff Post Media* October 2. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/02/brooke-baldwin-gay-therapy_n_1932251.html

*Huffington Post, The.* 2012b. "'Will & Grace' Ex-Gay Ministry Episode Angered Focus On The Family Pundit." *Huffington Post, Huff Post Gay Voices* November 28. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/28/will-and-grace-ex-gay-ministry-letter-nom-member_n_2205184.html

*Huffington Post, The.* 2014. "'Pray the Gay Away' Topic Page." Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/news/pray-the-gay-away/

Hunt, Morton. 2007. *The Story of Psychology.* Updated and Revised Edition. New York: Anchor Books.

Hunter, James Davison. 1991. *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America.* New York: Basic Books.

Hunter, James Davison. 2007. "The Enduring Culture War" in *Is There A Culture War?: A Dialogue on Values and American Public Life,* James Davison Hunter and Alan Wolfe. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, Brookings Institution Press. 10-40.

Hurst, Evan. 2012. "'Ex-Gay' Guru Alan Chambers Touts 0.1% Success Rate for Changing Sexual Orientation." *Truth Wins Out* January 10. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/pressrelease/2012/01/21377/

Hurst, Evan. 2013a. "Alan Chambers Issues Long Apology to LGBTQ Community." *Truth Wins Out*, June 19. Accessed September 25, 2013. http://www.truthwinsout.org/news/2013/06/35755/

Hurst, Evan. 2014. "Upcoming 'Ex-Gay' Documentary To Feature Dozens Of People Profiting Off Being 'Ex-Gay.'" *Truth Wins Out* May 7. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/news/2014/05/40386/

Hurston, Zora Neale. 1998 [1937]. *Their Eyes Were Watching God.* New York: Perennial Classics.

Iannaccone, Laurence R. 1990. "Religious Participation: A Human Capital Approach." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29.3:297-314.

Iannaccone, Laurence R. 1995. "Voodoo Economics? Reviewing the Rational Choice Approach to Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34 (1): 76-8.

Iannaccone, Laurence R., and Jonathan Klick. 2003. "Spiritual Capital: An Introduction and Literature Review." Paper delivered at *Spiritual Capital Planning Meeting*, October 9-10, Cambridge, MA. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.metanexus.net/archive/spiritualcapitalresearchprogram/pdf/review.pdf

Ingram, David. "Foucault and Habermas" in *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, Second Edition, edited by Gary Gutting. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 240-283.

Irvine, Janice M. 2000. "Doing It with Words: Discourse and the Sex Education Culture Wars." *Critical Inquiry* 27: 58-76.

Isenberg, Bo. 1991. "Habermas on Foucault: Critical Remarks." *Acta Sociologica* 34: 299-308.

Isensee, Rik. 2000. *The God Squad: A Spoof on the Ex-Gay Movement.* Lincoln, NE: Writer's Showcase presented by *Writer's Digest.*

Jagose, Annamarie. 1996. *Queer Theory: An Introduction.* New York: New York University Press.

Jay, Martin. 2010. "Liquidity Crisis: Zygmunt Bauman and the Incredible Lightness of Modernity." *Theory, Culture & Society* 27.6: 95-106.

Jawillie. 2014. "Texas GOP Advances 'Pray the Gay Away'"*Jawillie's World, Daily Kos* (blog) June 6. Accessed October 14, 2014. http://www.dailykos.com/story/2014/06/06/1304871/-Texas-GOP-Advances-Pray-the-Gay-Away#

Jensen, Richard. 1995. "The Culture Wars, 1965-1995: A Historian's Map." *Journal of Social History* 29, Special Issue: Social History and the American Political Climate: Problems and Strategies: 17-37

John. 2011. "Lisa Ling's 'Our America' Asks Can You 'Pray the Gay Away?' Forcing Us to Ask, 'Seriously?'" *The Backlot* March 10. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.thebacklot.com/lisa-lings-our-america-asks-can-you-pray-the-gay-away-forcing-us-to-ask-seriously/03/2011/

Johnson, Michael, Jr. 2010. "Shepard, Matthew" in *Culture Wars: An Encyclopedia of Issues, Viewpoints, and Voices,* edited by Roger Chapman. Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. 516-517.

Johnson, Randal. 1993. "Editor's Introduction: Pierre Bourdieu on Art, Literature and Culture" in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* by Pierre Bourdieu. Edited by Randal Johnson. New York: Columbia University Press.

Johnston, Ben. 2013. "Chris Christie signs ban on reparative therapy; Liberty Counsel promises to sue." *LifeSiteNews* August 19. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.lifesitenews.com/news/chris-christie-signs-ban-on-reparative-therapy-liberty-counsel-promises-to

JONAH. 2012. "JONAH Press Release- Dec, 19 2012." *JONAH International Institute for Gender Affirmation* December 19. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.jonahweb.org/article.php?secId=348

Jones, Stanton. 1993. “The Loving Opposition.” *Christianity Today*, July 19: 18-25. Accessed February 18, 2015. http://www.wheaton.edu/~/media/Files/Centers-and-Institutes/CACE/articles/Jones1993CTIArticle.pdf

Jones, Stanton L. and Mark A. Yarhouse. 2007. *Ex-gays?: A Longitudinal Study of Religiously Mediated Change in Sexual Orientation.* Downers Grove: IVP Academic.

Jones, Stanton L. and Mark A. Yarhouse. 2011. “A Longitudinal Study of Attempted Religiously Mediated Sexual Orientation Change.” *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy* 37.5: 404-427.

Kapoor, Ilan. 2013. *Celebrity Humanitarianism: The Ideology of Global Charity*. New York: Routledge.

Karlamangla, Soumya. 2013. “New Jersey court ruling another blow to gay conversion therapies.” *Los Angeles Times* November 10. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://articles.latimes.com/2013/nov/10/nation/la-na-nn-gay-conversion-new-jersey-ban-20131109

Katz, Joeli. 2014. “‘Ex-gay” group NARTH rebrands with dangerous mission.” *Glaad*, August 7. Accessed February 16 2015. http://www.glaad.org/blog/ex-gay-group-narth-rebrands-dangerous-mission

Kaufman, Benjamin. 2002. “Why NARTH? The American Psychiatric Association’s Destructive and Blind Pursuit of Political Correctness.” *Regent University Law Review* 14: 423-442.

Kazdin, Alan E., ed. 2000. “Homosexuality” in *Encyclopedia of Psychology*. American Psychological Association. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kellum, Nate. 2013. “Should Christian Counselors Have the Right to Discuss ‘Reparative Therapy’ With Christian Teens?” *The Christian Post*, November 20. Accessed February 5 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/should-christian-counselors-have-the-right-to-discuss-reparative-therapy-with-christian-teens-109177/

Kempner, Martha. 2013. “All Eyes on Gov. Christie: Bill Banning Homophobic ‘Reparative Therapy’ May Soon Head to His Desk.” *RH Reality Check: Reproductive and Sexual Health and Justice* March 28. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://rhrealitycheck.org/article/2013/03/28/all-eyes-on-gov-christie-bill-banning-homophobic-reparative-therapy-may-soon-head-to-his-desk/

Kline, Scott. 2007. “The Morality and Politics of Consumer Religion: How Consumer Religion Fuels the Culture Wars in the United States.” *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 17.Fall: n.p.

Kirell, Andrew. 2013. “SNL Relentlessly Mocks ‘Pray The Gay Away’ With Summer Camp Led By Ben Affleck.” *Mediaite* May 19. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.mediaite.com/tv/snl-relentlessly-mocks-pray-the-gay-away-with-summer-camp-led-by-ben-affleck/

Koenig, Thomas, and Tracey Boyce. 1985. “Corporate Financing of the Christian Right.” *Humanity and Society* 9.l: 13-28.

kolt20. 2013. “Exgay - My Testimony - Leaving the Gay Lifestyle.” YouTube video. Posted by “kolt20” September 30, 2013. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cE_BRc_lIuo

Konner, Melvin, M.D. 1995. “Homosexuality” in *The Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition.* Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated.

Kornbut, Anne E. 1998. “Boston doctor says ads distort his work on gays.” *The Boston Globe* August 4.

Kort, Joe. 2008. *Gay Affirmative Therapy for the Straight Clinician*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Kumar, Anugrah. 2013. “Ex-Gay Activist Begins 10-Day Trip to Washington Against 'Homo-Fascism.'” *The Christian Post* July 22. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/ex-gay-activist-begins-10-day-trip-to-washington-against-homo-fascism-100558/

LaBarbera, Peter. 2009. “AFTAH's LaBarbera Speaks Out on Obama, Kevin Jennings and GLSEN's 'Fistgate' Scandal.” *Americans for Truth About Homosexuality.* YouTube video. Posted by “Americans for Truth,” August 17, 2009. Accessed October 20, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3uo9CQYdIvM

LaBarbera, Peter, and John McCartney. 2014. “AFTAH Open Letter to Michael Sam.” *Americans for Truth About Homosexuality* July 9. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://americansfortruth.com/2014/07/09/aftah-open-letter-to-michael-sam/

Lafsky, Melissa. 2009. “Is It Possible to Systematically Turn Gay People Straight? A century of treatments have ranged from horrifying to horribly unscientific.” *Discover Magazine* September 9. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://discovermagazine.com/2009/sep/09-is-it-possible-to-systematically-turn-gay-people-straight-straight#.Uu13xKGRA5Y

*Larry King Live.* 1994. “Can homosexuality be cured?” CNN June 9.

*Law & Order*. 2007. “Church.” Season 17, Episode 14. Produced by Dick Wolf and Peter Giuliano. Directed by Constantine Makris. Written by Rick Eid. Wolf Films and Universal Worldwide Television. Aired February 9, 2007.

*Law & Order: Special Victims Unit*. 2000. “Bad Blood.” Season 1, Episode 11. Produced by Dick Wolf, David DeClerque, and Michael R. Perry. Directed by Michael Fields. Written by Lisa Marie Petersen and Dawn DeNoon. Wolf Films and Universal Worldwide Television. Aired January 14, 2000.

*Law & Order: Special Victims Unit*. 2003. “Abomination.” Season 5, Episode 8. Produced by Dick Wolf, David DeClerque and Peter Leto. Directed by Alex Zakrzewski. Written by Michele Fazekas and Tara Butters. Wolf Films and Universal Network Television. Aired November 11, 2003.

*Law & Order: Special Victims Unit*. 2007. “Sin.” Season 8, Episode 17. Produced by Dick Wolf, Gail Barringer, and David DeClerque. Directed by George Pattison. Written by Patrick Harbinson. Wolf Films and Universal Network Television. Aired March 27, 2007.

Lazar, Susan G., William H. Sledge, and Gerald Adler. 2010. “Introduction” to *Psychotherapy Is Worth It: A Comprehensive Review of Its Cost-effectiveness,* edited by Susan G. Lazar. Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Publishing, Inc. 1-30.

Learn About Alcoholism. 2013. “12 Step Program of AA.” *Learn-About-Alcoholism: Treatment.* Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.learn-about-alcoholism.com/12-step-program-of-aa.html

LeBlanc, Douglas and Robert Spizer. 2005. “Therapeutically Incorrect: Atheist psychiatrist argues that gays can change.” Interview. *Christianity Today* March 20. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2005/april/20.94.html

Lee, Albert H. 2002. “John Paulk: A Great Challenge Against the Pro-Homosexual Activists.” *The Christian Post* November 5. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/john-paulk-a-great-challenge-against-the-pro-homosexual-activists-19676/

Lee, Benjamin, and LiPuma, Edward. 2002. “Cultures of Circulation: The Imaginations of Modernity.” *Public Culture* 14.1: 191–213.

Lee, Susanna. 2004. “‘These are our stories’: Trauma, Form, and the Screen Phenomenon of Law and Order.” *Discourses* 25.1-2: 81-97.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1979. “Space: Social Product and Use Value” in *Critical Sociology: European International Perspectives*, edited by J. W. Freiberg. New York: Irvington. 285-296.

Leland, John, and Mark Miller. 1998. “Can Gays Convert?” *Newsweek* August 17.

Lemke, Thomas. 2011. *Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Lenz, Ryan. 2012. “NARTH Becomes Main Source for Antigay ‘Junk Science.’” *SPLC, Southern Poverty Law Center: Intelligence Report*. Spring 2011, Issue 145. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2012/spring/queer-science

Levs, Josh. 2012a. “California Governor Jerry Brown signs gay 'reparative therapy' ban, 'based on junk science.'” *ABC Action News* October 1. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.abcactionnews.com/news/health/california-governor-jerry-brown-signs-gay-reparative-therapy-ban-based-on-junk-science

Levs, Josh. 2012b. “California governor OKs ban on gay conversion therapy, calling it 'quackery.'” *CNN* October 2. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.cnn.com/2012/10/01/us/california-gay-therapy-ban/

Li, Xigen, and Xudong Liu. 2010. “Framing and Coverage of Same-Sex Marriage in U.S. Newspapers.” *The Howard Journal of Communications* 21: 72–91.

Lieb, Rebecca, Jeremiah Owyang, Jessica Groopman, and Chris Silva. 2012. “The Converged Media Imperative: How Brands Must Combine Paid, Owned, and Earned Media.” *Altimeter Group* July 19. 1-26.

Lovett, Ian. 2013. “Law Banning ‘Gay Cure’ Is Upheld in California.” *The New York Times* August 29. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/30/us/law-banning-gay-cure-is-upheld-in-california.html

Lovett, Mitchell J., and Richard Staelin. 2012. “The Role of Paid and Earned Media in Building Entertainment Brands: Reminding, Informing, and Enhancing Enjoyment.” *Marketing Science Conference 2012, Marketing Dynamics Session*. The Rochester Faculty Seminar. August 2012.

Lowe, Nicholas. 2007. “Who Needs a Prosecution to Make a Point? The Forgotten British Culture Wars.” *Social Identities* 13.2: 139-158.

Lund, Sean and Cathy Renna. 2006. “An Analysis of the Media Response to the Spitzer Study.” In *Ex-Gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and Its Relation to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture*, edited by Jack Drescher and Kenneth J. Zucker. New York: Haworth Press: 277-290. [Originally published in *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Psychotherapy* 7.3 (2003):55-67.]

Maccio, Elaine. 2001. “Self-Reported Sexual Orientation and Identity before and After Sexual Reorientation Therapy.” *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health* 15.3: 242-59.

Mahoney, Jill. 2013. “Christian ministry claiming to ‘cure’ homosexuality closes with apology.” *The Globe and Mail* June 20. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/us-evangelical-group-closes-shop-apologizes-for-saying-homosexuality-can-be-cured/article12705084/

*Malcolm in the Middle*. 2000. “Lois vs. Evil.” Season 1, Episode 9. Produced by Linwood Boomer and Jimmy Simons. Directed by Todd Holland. Written by Jack Amiel and

Michael Begler. Satin City Productions, Regency Television, and 20th Century Fox Television. Aired March 19, 2000.

Marks, Jeremy. 2009. *Exchanging the Truth of God for a Lie: One Man's Spiritual Journey to Find the Truth about Homosexuality and Same-Sex Partnerships.* Second Edition. Glasgow: RoperPenberthy Publishing.

Marsden, George M. 1991. *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism.* Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Marsden, George M. 2006 [1980]. *Fundamentalism and American Culture,* Second Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Martinez, Jessica. 2014. "Former Gay Activist Talks About His Heterosexual Marriage, Being a Pastor and Upcoming Movie Starring James Franco." *The Christian Post* May 15. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/former-gay-activist-talks-about-his-heterosexual-marriage-being-a-pastor-and-upcoming-movie-starring-james-franco-119780/

Marzullo, Michelle. 2011. "Through a Glass, Darkly: U.S. Marriage Discourse and Neoliberalism." *Journal of Homosexuality* 58: 758–774.

Masaki, Lyle. 2013. "TV on Tap: "Wilfred" Returns and Lisa Ling Revisits the Ex-Gay Movement." *The Backlot* June 20. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.thebacklot.com/tvot-our-america-lisa-ling-alan-chambers-exodus-wilfred-season-three/06/2013/

Mass Resistance. 2012. "The "Fistgate" conference: HERE'S what homosexual activists in schools do with children…" *MassResistance.org.* Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.massresistance.org/docs/issues/fistgate/

Mattelart, Armand. 1991 [1989]. *Advertising International: The Privatisation of Public Space*. New York, Routledge.

Mawby, Robert. 1989. "Review of *Regulating Fraud: White-Collar Crime and the Criminal Process* (1987)." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 33: 87-88.

McCann. 2014. "The Texas GOP Stands on a Platform of Ignorance." *Reason.com: Free Minds and Free Markets* June 28. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://reason.com/archives/2014/06/28/texas-republicans-pray-the-gay-away

McCarthy, Anna. 2007. "Reality Television: a Neoliberal Theater of Suffering." *Social Text 93* 25.4: 17-41.

McChesney, Robert W. 2008a. "The Commercial Tidal Wave" in *The Political Economy of Media: Enduring Issues, Emerging Dilemmas* by Robert W. McChesney. New York: Monthly Review Press. 265-282.

McChesney, Robert W. 2008b. "Noam Chomsky and the Struggle Against Neoliberalism" in *The Political Economy of Media: Enduring Issues, Emerging Dilemmas* by Robert W. McChesney. New York: Monthly Review Press. 283-290.

McClymer, John. 2001. "HIS. 393: Seminar on the Culture Wars of the 1920s." *Assumption College.* Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www1.assumption.edu/users/McClymer/his394/

McGrath, Alister E. 1997 [1994]. *Christian Theology: An Introduction* . Second Edition. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

McKinnon, Andrew M., Marta Trzebiatowska, and Christopher Craig Brittain. 2011. "Bourdieu, Capital, and Conflict in a Religious Field: The Case of the 'Homosexuality' Conflict in the Anglican Communion." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 26.3: 355–370.

McMullen, Troy. 2009. "OK to be Gay?" *ABC News* August 6. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/headlines/2009/08/ok-to-be-gay/

McNeill, John J. 1993 [1976]. *The Church and the Homosexual,* 4th Edition. Boston: Beacon Press.

Menzie, Nicola. 2014. "Can Another 'Gay-Friendly' Faith Group Help Steer the Conversation for Christians on Homosexuality?" *The Christian Post* January 27. Accessed March 11, 2015. http://m.christianpost.com/news/can-another-gay-friendly-faith-group-help-steer-the-conversation-for-christians-on-homosexuality--113274/

*The Middle*. 2010. "The Fun House." Season 1, Episode 18. Produced by Eileen Heisler, DeAnn Heline, and Werner Walian. Directed by Chris Koch. Written by Roy Brown. Blackie and Blondie Productions and Warner Bros. Television. Aired March 24, 2010.

Miller, Gina. 2014. "SPLC's baseless attack on JONAH is evil assault on freedom." *Renew America* February 16. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.renewamerica.com/columns/miller/140216

Miller, Vincent. 2003. *Consuming Religion: Christian Faith and Practice in a Consumer Culture*. New York: Continuum.

Miller, Wesley E. 1986. "The New Christian Right and Its Preexistent Network: A Resource Mobilization Explanation." *Humanity and Society* 10.2: 179-195.

Minor, Jack. 2013a. "Network blasted for demonizing ex-'gays.'" *WND* February 23. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.wnd.com/2013/02/network-blasted-for-demonizing-ex-gays/

Minor, Jack. 2013b. "'Gay' Laws Set Stage for Pedophilia 'Rights': Psychologist Claims 'Minor-Attracted Persons' Normal as Heterosexuals." *WND*, July 18. Accessed September 25, 2013. http://www.wnd.com/2013/07/gay-laws-set-stage-for-pedophilia-rights/

Moberley, Elizabeth. 1983. *Homosexuality: A New Christian Ethic.* Cambridge, U.K.: James Clark & Co. Ltd.

Monteagudo, Jesse. 2006. "Review of *Bashing Back: Wayne Besen on GLBT People, Politics, and Culture*, by Wayne R. Besen." *International Gay and Lesbian Review.* Los Angeles, CA. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://gaybookreviews.info/review/3587/bashing-back-wayne-besen-on-glbt-people-politics-and-culture

*Montel Williams Show, The.* 2007. "Homosexuality—Is There a Cure?" Aired March 15, 2007. [YouTube video clip of show posted by "Peterson Toscano," March 16, 2007. Accessed October 15, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fsYsusY1ALQ]

Moon, Dawne. 2005. "Discourse, Interaction, and Testimony: The Making of Selves in the U.S. Protestant Dispute Over Homosexuality." *Theory and Society* 34.5/6: 551-577.

Moore, Matt. 2014. "A Message to the Church From a So-Called 'Ex-Gay'" *The Christian Post* September 17. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/a-message-to-the-church-from-a-so-called-ex-gay-126568/

Moore, Sarah E. H. 2008. *Ribbon Culture: Charity, Compassion and Public Awareness*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Morrison, A.P. 1989. *Shame: The Underside of Narcissism.* Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.

Mosco, Vincent. 2009. *The Political Economy of Communication.* Second Edition. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

*Mr. Show*. 1995. "What to Think." Season 1, Episode 2. Produced by Troy Miller. Directed by Troy Miller and John Moffitt. Written by David Cross and Bob Odenkirk. HBO, Brillstein-Grey Entertainment, Dakota North Entertainment, and Dakota Pictures. Aired November 10, 1995.

*MSNBC News*. 2011. "Wayne Besen on Marcus Bachmann's 'Ex-gay' Clinic." Aired July 2011. [See "Thomas Roberts & Wayne Besen On Bachmann's Controversial Clinic." YouTube video of interview. Posted by "SuchIsLifeVideos" July 12, 2011. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1eeLkQBFCbo]

*My Husband's Not Gay*. 2015. TLC and Hot Snakes Media. Aired January 11, 2015.

Myers, David G. 2013. *Psychology: Tenth Edition in Modules*. New York: Worth Publishers.

Myers, David G. & Letha Dawson Scanzoni. 2005. *What God Has Joined Together: The Christian Case for Gay Marriage*. New York: HarperCollins

Mythen, Gabe. 2013. "Ulrich Beck, Cosmopolitanism and the Individualization of Religion." *Theory, Culture & Society* 30.3: 114-127.

NARTH. N.d. "Are there increased psychological and physical health risks associated with homosexual behavior?" *Answers to Frequently Asked Questions about the Alliance for Therapeutic Choice and Scientific Integrity (ATCSI) and the NARTH Institute and Homosexuality*. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.narth.com/#!faq/cirw

NARTH. 2010-11. "Search Results for 'Bieber' = 5 articles." *National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality*. Accessed April 7, 2013. http://narth.com/?=Bieber&x=0&y=0.

Neiwert, David A. 2004. *Death on the Fourth of July: The Story of a Killing, a Trial, and Hate Crime in America*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Nevitte, Neil, and Roger Gibbins. 1984. "Neoconservatism: Canadian Variations on an Ideological Theme?" *Canadian Public Policy* 10.4: 384-394.

New Direction. 2014. "What's Our Story?" *New Direction Ministries of Canada.* Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.newdirection.ca/about/whats-our-story/

New Hope. 2014. "Men's Support Group." Accessed October 18, 2014. https://www.newhope123.org/mens-support-group/

New York Times Editorial Board. 2013. "Banning a Pseudo-Therapy." *The New York Times,* September 7. Accessed September 25 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/08/opinion/sunday/banning-a-pseudo-therapy.html?_r=0

News in Brief. 2015. "Gay Conversion Therapists Claim Most Patients Fully Straight By The Time They Commit Suicide." *The Onion* April 9. Accessed April 9, 2015. http://www.theonion.com/articles/gay-conversion-therapists-claim-most-patients-full,38406/?utm_source=Facebook&utm_medium=SocialMarketing&utm_campaign=LinkPreview:1:Default

Nicolosi, Joseph. 1997. *Reparative Therapy of Male Homosexuality: A New Clinical Approach*. New York: J. Aronson, Inc.

Nicolosi, Joseph, A. D. Byrd, and Richard W. Potts. 2000. "Beliefs and Practices of Therapists Who Practice Sexual Reorientation Psychotherapy." *Psychological reports* 86.2: 689-702.

*Nightline.* 1998. "Homosexuality, morality and politics." ABC July 30.

Nissinen, Martti. 1998. *Homoeroticism in the Biblical World: A Historical Perspective.* Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

Nolan, James. 1998. *The Therapeutic State: Justifying Government at Century's End.* New York: New York University Press.

Norton, Rictor. 2008. “A Critique of Social Constructionism and Postmodern Queer Theory.” *Social Constructionism* (blog) June 1, 2002, updated June 19, 2008. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.rictornorton.co.uk/social02.htm

Oakley, Tyler. 2011. “HOW TO: Pray The Gay Away | Tyler Oakley.” YouTube video. Posted by “Tyler Oakley” August 17, 2011. Accessed October 15, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKyTmlUgpTU

O’Donnell, Mike H. 2003. “Radically Reconstituting the Subject: Social Theory and Human Nature.” *Sociology* 37.4: 753–770.

Olsen, Ted. 2001. “Ex-Gays Are For Real, Says Study.” *Christianity Today* May 1. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2001/mayweb-only/5-7-32.0.html

*One Nation Under God.* 1993. Written, Produced and Directed by Teodoro Maniaci and Francine Rzeznik. 3Z Hourglass Productions.

Ouellette, Laurie and James Hay. 2008. *Better Living Through Reality TV: Television and Post-Welfare Citizenship*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

*Our America with Lisa Ling*. 2011. “Pray the Gay Away?” Season 1, Episode 4. Produced by Amy Bucher. Directed by Courtney Thompson. Written by Amy Bucher and Courtney Thompson. OWN: Oprah Winfrey Network. Aired March 8, 2011.

*Our America with Lisa Ling*. 2012. “Pray the Gay Away? Revisited” Season 3, Episode 9. Produced by Amy Bucher. Directed by Courtney Thompson. Written by Amy Bucher and Courtney Thompson. OWN: Oprah Winfrey Network. Aired August 21, 2012.

*Our America with Lisa Ling*. 2013. “Special Report: God and Gays” Season 4, Episode 9. Produced, Written, and Directed by Jeremy Siefer. OWN: Oprah Winfrey Network. Aired June 20, 2013.

OWN. 2013a. “Exodus Head Alan Chambers' Full Apology to the LGBT Community.” *Our America with Lisa Ling Webpage.* Accessed March 12, 2015. http://www.oprah.com/own-our-america-lisa-ling/Exodus-Head-Alan-Chambers-Full-Apology-Video?playlist_id=44044#ixzz3UBaJi9Mf

OWN. 2013b. “Exclusive Full Interview: First-Hand Accounts of "Ex-Gay" Experiences.” *Our America with Lisa Ling Webpage.* Accessed March 12, 2015. http://www.oprah.com/own-our-america-lisa-ling/First-Hand-Accounts-of-Ex-Gay-Experiences-Video?playlist_id=44044#ixzz3UBdEhEa9

Palazzolo, Rose. 2005a. “'Ex-Gay' Camps, Therapy Programs Attract Controversy.” *ABC News* June 28. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/Health/story?id=983209

Palazzolo, Rose. 2005b. “Ex-Gay Camp Investigation Called Off.” *ABC News* June 28. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://abcnews.go.com/US/story?id=878912&page=1

Pappas, Stephanie. 2012. “5 Things You Should Know About Gay Conversion Therapy.” *FoxNews* November 28. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.foxnews.com/science/2012/11/28/5-things-should-know-about-gay-conversion-therapy/

Pattison, E. Mansell and Myrna L. Pattison. 1980. “‘Ex-gays’: Religiously mediated change in homosexuals.” *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 137.12: 1553-1562.

*Paula Zahn Now.* 2005. Report on Zach Stark and Ex-gay Movement.” *CNN* July 29.

Paulk, Anne. 2003. *Restoring Sexual Identity: Hope for Women Who Struggle with Same-Sex Attraction.* Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers.

Paulk, John, with Tony Marco. 1998. *Not Afraid to Change: The Remarkable Story of How One Man Overcame Homosexuality.* Mulkilteo, WA: WinePress Publishing.

Pearson, Carlton. 2013. "36th Live Stream with Carlton Pearson - God and Gays." YouTube video. Posted by "BishopPearson" June 22, 2013. Accessed October 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IeTWYt7DaNc

Pennington, Sylvia. 1989. *Ex-Gays? There Are None! What It Means To Be A New Creature in Christ.* Hawthorne, CA: Lambda Christian Fellowship.

People Can Change. 2000-14. "Journey into Manhood: A Healing Weekend." Accessed March 11, 2015. http://www.peoplecanchange.com/jim/

People Can Change. 2000-12. "Is Change Really Possible?" *Peoplecanchange.com*. Accessed April 7, 2013. http://www.peoplecanchange.com/change/possible.php.

Perry, Phillip. 2008. "The Michael Johnston 'Ex-Gay' Scandal." *Truth Wins Out* January 31. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/videos/2008/01/467/

Perry, Troy D. and Thomas L.P. Swicegood. 1990. *Don't Be Afraid Anymore: The Story of Reverend Troy Perry and the Metropolitan Community Churches.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

PFLAG. N.d. "Reparative Therapy." Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.gbpflag.org/ReparativeTherapy

PFOX. 2014. "What is an Ex-gay? Do Former Homosexuals Really Exist?" *PFOX Resources.* Accessed October 20, 2014. http://pfox.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Do_former_homosexuals_really_exist.pdf

Phelan, James E., Neil Whitehead, and Philip M. Sutton. 2009. "What Research Shows: NARTH's Response to the APA Claims on Homosexuality A Report of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality." *Journal of Human Sexuality* 1. 1-121.

Phillips, Timothy R. & Dennis L. Okholm. 1996. *The Nature of Confession: Evangelicals & Postliberals in Conversation.* Downer Groves IL: InterVarsity Press.

Portwood, Jerry. 2014. "James Franco to Play Ex-Gay in New Gus Van Sant Film." *Out Magazine: Popnography* April 1. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.out.com/entertainment/popnography/2014/04/01/james-franco-play-ex-gay-michael-glatze-new-gus-van-sant-movie

Posner, Richard A. 1994. *Sex and Reason.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Posner, Sarah. 2008. *God's Profits: Faith, Fraud, and the Republican Crusade for Values Voters*. Sausalito, CA: PoliPointPress.

Prado, C.G. 1992. *Descartes and Foucault: A Contrastive Introduction to Philosophy.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

*Pure Passion.* 2014a. "Pure Passion TV: Mastering Life." Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.purepassion.us/

*Pure Passion.* 2014b. "Pure Passion on Vimeo." Accessed October 22, 2014. http://vimeo.com/purepassion

QMI Agency. 2012. "Christian ministry apologizes to gay community, closes its doors." *Sun News* June 20. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.sunnewsnetwork.ca/sunnews/world/archives/2013/06/20130620-093652.html

Quicke, Andrew. 2009. "The Era of Censorship (1930-1967)" in *The Routledge Companion to Religion and Film*, edited by John Lyden. New York: Routledge. 32-51.

Quinn, Laura. 2002. “The Politics of *Law and Order*.” *Journal of American and Comparative Cultures* 25.1-2: 130-133.

Quinlan, Greg. 2012. “Why homosexual ‘marriage’ signals the end of heterosexual rights.” *LifeSiteNews*, October 31. Accessed October 15, 2014. https://www.lifesitenews.com/news/why-homosexual-marriage-signals-the-end-of-heterosexual-rights

*Rachel Maddow Show, The*. 2009. “Transcript for ‘The Rachel Maddow Show’ for Tuesday, December 8, 2009.” *NBC News*, December 9. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/34345821/ns/msnbc-rachel_maddow_show/t/rachel-maddow-show-tuesday-december/#.VEAGXa32nx8 [See also “Rachel Maddow interviews "ex-gay" activist Richard Cohen. Part 02” YouTube video of December 9 broadcast, posted by “Roch Lester,” December 9, 2009. Accessed October 16, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dWbrevMEVuM]

*Rachel Maddow Show, The*. 2010. “Transcript for ‘The Rachel Maddow Show’ for Friday, September 17th, 2010.” *NBC News*, September 20, 2012. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/39271334/ns/msnbc-rachel_maddow_show/t/rachel-maddow-show-friday-september-th/#.VEAM2q32nx8 [See also “Christine O'Donnell - Cure The Gays Movement.” YouTube video of September 17 broadcast, posted by “SuchIsLifeVideos,” September 17, 2010. Accessed October 16, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dvsg6mUso5o]

*Rachel Maddow Show, The*. 2012a. “Transcript for ‘The Rachel Maddow Show’ for Thursday, April 26, 2012.” *NBC News*, May 9, 2012. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/47356030/ns/msnbc-rachel_maddow_show/t/rachel-maddow-show-thursday-april/#.VEAJua32nx8 [See also “Gay cure' retraction undermines Prop 8 case.” *NBCNews*, posted video, April 26. Accessed September 25, 2013. http://www.nbcnews.com/video/rachel-maddow/47198688#47198688]

*Rachel Maddow Show, The*. 2012b. “Transcript for ‘The Rachel Maddow Show’ for Wednesday, April 18, 2012.” *NBC News*, May 9. Accessed September 25, 2013. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/47355981/ns/msnbc-rachel_maddow_show/t/rachel-maddow-show-wednesday-april/#.UkOMkcWRA5Y [See also “The disturbing history of 'Pray away the gay'” *NBC News*, posted video, April 18. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.nbcnews.com/video/rachel-maddow/47094763#47094763 and “'Curing homosexuality' totally baseless.” *NBC News*, posted video, April 18. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.nbcnews.com/video/rachel-maddow/47094765#47094765]

Radó, Sándor. 1995 [1969]. *Adaptational Psychodynamics*. Edited by Jean Jameson and Henriette Klein. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson

Rajchman, John. 2007. “Introduction: Enlightenment Today” in *The Politics of Truth* by Michel Foucault. Edited by Sylvere Lotringer. Translated by Lysa Hochroth & Catherine Porter. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e). 9-28.

Rattigan, Dave. 2012. “Restored Hope Network: Beginnings of an Exodus Splinter Group?” *Ex-GayWatch*, July 22. Accessed September 25, 2013. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2012/07/beginnings-of-an-exodus-splinter-group/

Rattigan, Dave. 2012b. “Alan Chambers Begins Damage Control at Exodus after GCN Debacle.” *Ex-GayWatch*, February 3. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2012/02/alan-chambers-begins-damage-control-at-exodus-after-gcn-debacle/

Ratzinger, Joseph Cardinal. 1986. “Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons.” *The Vatican: Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.* Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19861001_homosexual-persons_en.html

Rau, Krishna. 2008. “CTV airs, then yanks, homophobic ad.” *DailyXtra*, March 6. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://dailyxtra.com/canada/news/ctv-airs-yanks-homophobic-ad

Reardon, Robin. 2008. *Thinking Straight: A Novel.* New York: Kensington Books.

Reckwitz, Andreas. 2002. “Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing.” *European Journal of Social Theory* 5.2: 243–263.

Religious Tolerance. 2010. “Study of homosexuality. Reparative therapy safety & effectiveness. Racism. Rekers incident.” *About ex-gays: reparative & other therapies: About NARTH: The National Association for Research & Therapy of Homosexuality*. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.religioustolerance.org/hom_nart3.htm

Respect My Research. 2009. “Scientists.” *Respect My Research: The Distortions.* Accessed October 20, 2014. http://respectmyresearch.org/scientists/

Rhineberger-Dunn, Gayle M. and Nicole E. Rader. 2008. “Constructing Juvenile Delinquency through Crime Drama: An Analysis of Law & Order.” *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 15.1: 94-116.

RHN. 2012. “What is RHN? Who We Are.” *RestoredHopeNetwork.org.* Accessed September 25, 2013. http://www.restoredhopenetwork.org/index.php/who-we-are/what-is-rhn

Rieff, Phillip. 1966. *The Triumph of the Therapeutic*. New York: Harper and Row.

Ring, Trudy. 2014a. “'Ex-Gay' Group Could Pay Big Damages in N.J. Suit.” *Advocate* June 6. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.advocate.com/ex-gay-therapy/2014/06/06/ex-gay-group-could-pay-big-damages-nj-suit

Ring, Trudy. 2014b. “Meet the 'Ex-Gay' Man James Franco Will Bring to the Big Screen.” *Advocate* August 11. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.advocate.com/arts-entertainment/film/2014/08/11/meet-ex-gay-man-james-franco-will-bring-big-screen

Ritter, Malcolm. 2001. “Study: Some Gays Can Go Straight.” *The Washington Post/Associated Press* May 9. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/aponline/20010509/aponline013921_000.htm

Rix, Jallen. 2010. *Ex-Gay, No Way: Survival and Recovery From Religious Abuse.* Forres, Scotland: Findhorn Press.

Rix, Jallen and BeyondEx-gay. 2013a. “Question 5. Approximately how much money did you spend on the experience?” *The Ex-Gay Survivor's Survey Results.* Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.beyondexgay.com/survey/results/demo.html#Q5

Rix, Jallen and BeyondEx-Gay. 2013b. “Question 2. In general, how long a period of time was your experience?” *The Ex-Gay Survivor's Survey Results.* Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.beyondexgay.com/survey/results/demo.html#Q2

Rix, Jallen and BeyondEx-Gay. 2013c. “Question 1. What kind of ex-gay activities did you participate in?” *The Ex-Gay Survivor's Survey Results*. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.beyondexgay.com/survey/results/q1.html

Rix, Jallen and BeyondEx-Gay. 2013d. “Question 9. Do you feel that you were harmed by your ex-gay experience?” *The Ex-Gay Survivor's Survey Results*. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.beyondexgay.com/survey/results/q9q11.html

Rix, Jallen and BeyondEx-Gay. 2013e. “Question 10. If you feel that you were harmed, please check the below boxes that describe the kinds of harm you experienced.” *The Ex-Gay Survivor's Survey Results*. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.beyondexgay.com/survey/results/q10.html

Roberts, David. 2010. “Former Love In Action Director John Smid Offers Apology.” *Ex-Gay Watch* March 4. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2010/03/former-love-in-action-director-john-smid-offers-apology/

Roberts, David. 2011. “Exclusive: Secret Conference Held to ‘Save Exodus International’ from Ruin.” *Ex-Gay Watch* November 30. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.exgaywatch.com/2011/11/exclusive-secret-conference-held-to-save-exodus-international/

Roberts, Judy. 2001. “New study reverses psychiatrist's earlier work.” *National Catholic Register* May 20. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.ncregister.com/site/article/10280

Rolling Stone. 2015. “Sundance 2015: James Franco 'Went on Faith' for 'I Am Michael'” *Rolling Stone* January 27, 2015. Accessed March 11, 2015. http://www.rollingstone.com/movies/videos/sundance-2015-james-franco-went-on-faith-for-i-am-michael-20150127

Rosoff, Stephan, Henry Pontell, and Robert Tillman. 2004. *Profit Without Honor: White-Collar Crime and the Looting of America* (3rd Edition). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Rose, Nikolas. 1998a. “Expertise and the *Techne* of Psychology” in *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood* by Nikolas Rose. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 81-100.

Rose, Nikolas. 1998b. “Governing Enterprising Individuals” in *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood* by Nikolas Rose. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 150-168.

Rose, Nikolas. 1999. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosik, Christopher H. 2014. “The Reincarnation of Shidlo & Shroeder (2002): New Studies Introduce Anti-SOCE Advocacy Research to the Next Generation.” *NARTH: Research Report Division*. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.narth.com/#!reincarnation-of-shidlo--/c1tch

Rosin, Hanna. 1999. “Ads seeking to convert gays from lifestyle debut here.” *The Washington Post* May 11. (Referenced in Besen 2003, 215.)

Ross, Bobby, Jr. 2009. “No Straight Shot: More evangelical therapists move from changing orientation to embracing faith identity for gays.” *Christianity Today*, September 14. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2009/october/1.10.html

Rudman, Chelsea. 2012. “Cable Networks Covered "Reparative" Gay Therapy Study -- Will They All Cover Author's Retraction?” *Media Matters For America* May 21. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://mediamatters.org/research/2012/05/21/cable-networks-covered-reparative-gay-therapy-s/185800

Ruthven, Malise. 2009. *Fundamentalism: The Search for Meaning.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Samuel, Stephanie. 2010. “Ex-Gay Convention Draws Protesters in Penn.” *The Christian Post* November 5. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianpost.com/news/ex-gay-convention-draws-protesters-in-penn-47503/

Saltman, Kenneth J. 2006. “The Right-Wing Attack on Critical and Public Education in the United States: From Neoliberalism to Neoconservativism.” *Cultural Politics* 2.3: 339–358.

Satinover, Jeffrey, M.D. 1996. *Homosexuality and the Politics of Truth*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Schaeffer, K. W., Hyde, R. A., Kroencke, T., McCormick, B., & Nottebaum, L. 2000. “Religiously Motivated Sexual Orientation Change.” *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* 19: 61–70.

Schaeffer, K. W., Nottebaum, L., Smith, P., Dech, K., & Krawczyk, J. 1999. “Religiously Motivated Sexual Orientation Change: A Follow-up Study.” *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 27: 329–337.

Schuster, Shlomit. 2003. *The Philosopher’s Autobiography: A Qualitative Study.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Schofield, Norman. 1995. “Rational Choice and Political Economy.” *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society* 9.1-2: 189-211.

Schoofs, Mark. 1998. “Straight to hell.” *The Village Voice* August 11.

Schwartz, John. 2010. “Scandal Stirs Legal Questions in Antigay Cases.” *The New York Times* May 18. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/19/us/19rekers.html?_r=0

Scroggs, Robin. 1983. *Homosexuality in the New Testament: Contextual Background for Contemporary Debate.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Seigler, Mara. 2014. “James Franco to play gay activist in Gus Van Sant movie.” *New York Post, Page Six* April 1. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://pagesix.com/2014/04/01/james-franco-to-play-gay-activist-in-gus-van-sant-movie/

Setoodeh, Ramin. 2014. “Zachary Quinto and Emma Roberts Join James Franco’s ‘Michael’ (EXCLUSIVE).” *Variety* July 14. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://variety.com/2014/film/news/zachary-quinto-and-emma-roberts-join-james-francos-michael-exclusive-1201262255/

Sewell, William H., Jr. 1992. “A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation.” *American Journal of Sociology* 98.1: 1-29.

Shaffer, David R. 2005. *Social and Personality Development.* Fifth Edition. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

Shamy, Chelsea. 2013. “The end of Exodus International brings mixed responses.” *GLAAD* June 21. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.glaad.org/blog/end-exodus-international-brings-mixed-responses/

Shapiro, Lila. 2013. “Conversion Therapy Survey Reveals Real Harm In Gay 'Cure.'” *HuffingtonPost: HuffPost, Gay Voices* May 30. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/30/conversion-therapy-survey_n_3354253.html

Shear, Michael. 2015. “Obama Calls for End to ‘Conversion’ Therapies for Gay and Transgender Youth.” *The New York Times* April 8. Accessed April 8 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/09/us/politics/obama-to-call-for-end-to-conversion-therapies-for-gay-and-transgender-youth.html?_r=0

Sheehy, Kate. 2001. “Gays Bash Study That Says ‘Go Straight.’”*New York Post* May 9. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://nypost.com/2001/05/09/gays-bash-study-that-says-go-straight/

Shidlo, Ariel, and Michael Schroeder. 2002. “Changing Sexual Orientation: A Consumers' Report.” *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 33.3: 249-259.

Shorter, Edward. 1997. *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Siebold, Steve. 2013. "Chris Christie Gets It Right on Gay Conversion Therapy, Needs to Support Gay Marriage." *Huffington Post, Huff Post Gay Voices* August 20. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/steve-siebold/chris-christie-conversion-therapy_b_3780377.html

Sim, Stuart. 2001. "Spiritual Autobiography." *The Literary Encyclopedia*. Accessed March 26, 2015. http://www.litencyc.com/php/stopics.php?rec=true&UID=1377

Simon, Herbert A. 1982a. "Reply: Surrogates for Uncertain Decision Problems" in *Models of Bounded Rationality* Vol 1*: Economic Analysis and Public Policy*, by Herbert A. Simon. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 99-118.

Simon, Herbert A. 1982b. "A Behavioral Model of Rational Choice" in *Models of Bounded Rationality*, Vol 2*: Behavioral Economics and Business Organization*, by Herbert A. Simon. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 99-118.

Simon, Herbert A. 1982c. "Economics and Psychology" in *Models of Bounded Rationality*, Vol 2*: Behavioral Economics and Business Organization*, by Herbert A. Simon. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 318-355.

*Simpsons, The.* 2003. "Treehouse of Horror XIV." Season 15, Episode 1. Produced by Bat Groening, Tomb Gammill, Run Hauge!, Gouge Eyer, and Decadent Dave Mirkin. Directed by Steven Dean Moore . Written by Triple Admiral John Swartzwelder. Gracie Films, 20th Century Fox Television, Curiosity Company. Aired November 2, 2003.

Skinner, David, James Crompton, and Mike Gasher, eds. 2005. *Converging Media, Diverging Politics: A Political Economy of News Media in the United States and Canada*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books.

Slaughter, Graham. 2013a. "Toronto Christian program tries to 'heal' gays." *The Toronto Star* October 5. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2013/10/05/toronto_christian_program_tries_to_heal_gays.html

Slaughter, Graham. 2013b. "Former participants speak up about gay healing program." *The Toronto Star* October 6. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2013/10/06/former_participants_speak_up_about_gay_healing_program.html

Slaughter, Graham. 2013c. "'Healing' gays still qualifies for charitable tax status." *The Toronto Star* October 9. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2013/10/09/healing_gays_still_qualifies_for_charitable_tax_status.html

Smelser, Neil J. 1992. "The Rational Choice Perspective: A Theoretical Assessment." *Rationality and Society* 4.4: 381-420.

Smid, John J. 2010. "A Letter of Apology." *Grace Rivers* (blog) March 4. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.gracerivers.com/apology/

Smith, Glenn, Annie Bartlett, and Michael King. 2004. "Treatments of Homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s—an Oral History: The Experience of Patients." *British Medical Journal* 328.7437: 427-429.

Smith, Vernon L. 1991. "Rational Choice: The Contrast between Economics and Psychology." *Journal of Political Economy* 99.4: 877-897.

Socarides, Charles W. 1968. *The Overt Homosexual.* New York: Grune & Stratton.

Socardies, Charles W. 1975. *Beyond Sexual Freedom*. New York: New York Times Book Co.
Socarides, Charles W. 1978. *Homosexuality*. New York: J. Aronson.
Socarides, Charles W. 1989. *Homosexuality: Psychoanalytic Therapy*. Northvale, NJ: J. Aronson.
Sosa, Chris. 2013. "Closed for Business: The Death of the 'Ex-Gay' Movement." *Edge Boston* July 16. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.edgeboston.com/news/religion/147040/closed_for_business:_the_death_of_the_%E2%80%99ex-gay%E2%80%99_movement
Soulliere, Danielle M. 2003. "Prime Time Murder: Presentations of Murder on Popular Television Justice Programs." *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 10.1: 12-38.
*South Park*. 2007. "Cartman Sucks." Season 11, Episode 2. Produced by Trey Parker and Matt Stone. Written and Directed by Trey Parker. Comedy Central and Paramount Pictures. Aired March 14, 2007. DVD.
Spahn, Martin. 1910. "Kulturkampf." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume 8. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Edward A. Pace, Conde B. Pallen, Thomas J. Shahan, and John J. Wynne, S.J. New York: Robert Appleton Company.
Spargo, Tamsin. 1999. *Foucault and Queer Theory*. Cambridge: Icon.
Spitzer, Robert L. 2003. "Can Some Gay Men and Lesbians Change Their Sexual Orientation? 200 Participants Reporting a Change from Homosexual to Heterosexual Orientation." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 32.5: 403-417. [Also published in *Ex-gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and its Relations to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture* edited by Jack Drescher and Kenneth J. Zucker. New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006.]
Spitzer, Robert L. 2012. "Spitzer Reassesses His 2003 Study of Reparative Therapy of Homosexuality." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 41: 757.
SPLC. 2005. "History of the Antigay Movement Since 1977." *Southern Poverty Law Center, Intelligence Report* 117. Accessed April 7, 2013. http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2005/spring/the-thirty-years-war.
SPLC. 2014a. "Michael Ferguson, et al., v. JONAH, et al." *Southern Poverty Law Center, Get Informed Case Docket.* Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/case-docket/michael-ferguson-et-al-v-jonah-et-al
SPLC. 2014b. "Judge rules in favor of SPLC clients: Conversion therapy practitioners potentially liable for costs to repair damage" June 6. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/judge-rules-in-favor-of-splc-clients-conversion-therapy-practitioners-potentially-
SPLC. 2015. "New Jersey judge rules conversion therapy group can't claim homosexuality is a disorder." February 10. Accessed February 21, 2015. http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/new-jersey-judge-rules-conversion-therapy-group-can-t-claim-homosexuality-is-a-dis
Squire, Darin. 2014. "My Ex-Ex-Gay Story." *New Direction Ministries of Canada.* Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.newdirection.ca/my-ex-ex-gay-story/
Stafford, Tim. 2007. "An Older, Wiser Ex-Gay Movement: The 30-year-old ministry now offers realistic hope for homosexuals." *Christianity Today.* September 13. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2007/october/6.48.html
Staff Writer. 2006. "Sign sparks debate over religion, gays." *GoUpstate.com* January 7. Accessed October 21, 2014.

http://www.goupstate.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?Date=20060107&Category=NEWS&ArtNo=601070385

Stark, Rodney, and Roger Finke. 2000. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stauff, Marcus. 2010. "The Governmentality of Media: Television as 'Problem' and 'Instrument'" in *Media, Culture, and Mediality: New Insights into the Current State of Research*, edited by Ludwig Jager, Erica Linz, Irmela Schneider. London: Transaction Publishers. 263-284.

Steffan, Melissa. 2013. "Former Ex-Gay Spokesman John Paulk Apologizes Amid Divorce: Wife Anne Paulk cites key differences in their walk and asks for prayer for him." *Christianity Today* May 2. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.christianitytoday.com/gleanings/2013/may/former-ex-gay-spokesman-john-paulk-apologizes-amid-divorce.html

Stephen, Andrew T., and Jeff Galak. 2012. "The Effects of Traditional and Social Earned Media on Sales: A Study of a Microlending Marketplace." *Journal of Marketing Research* 49: 624-639.

Stephens, Randall J. and Karl W. Giberson. 2011. *The Anointed: Evangelical Truth in a Secular Age*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Stephenson, Rev. Jerry. 2000. *Out of the Closet and Into the Light: Clearing up the Myths and Giving Answers About Gays and Lesbians.* Lincoln, NE: Writers Club Press.

Stern, Mark Joseph. 2014. "No, Being Gay Is Not a Choice." *Slate* (blog) February 4. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2014/02/04/choose_to_be_gay_no_you_don_t.html

Stewart, Craig O. 2005. "A Rhetorical Approach to News Discourse: Media Representations of a Controversial Study on 'Reparative Therapy.'" *Western Journal of Communication* 69.2: 147-66.

Stewart, Craig O. 2008. "Social Cognition and Discourse Processing Goals in the Analysis of 'Ex-Gay' Rhetoric." *Discourse & Society* 19.1: 63-83

Stewart, Sandra. 2013. "Reparative Therapy of the Transgendered." *GenderTree* (blog) December 24. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.gendertree.com/Reparative_Therapy.htm

Straw, Will. 2009. "The Circulatory Turn" in *The Wireless Spectrum: The Politics, Practices and Poetics of Mobile*, edited by Barbara Crow, Michael Longford, and Kim Sawchuk. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press. 17-28.

Strombo. 2007. "Can Gays Be Cured?" *The Hour.* CBC Television. YouTube video. Posted by "Strombo," February 21, 2007. Accessed October 15, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_NGxOht70g0

Superior Court of New Jersey. 2015. "Order Granting Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judement." Filed February 10, 2015. Accessed via Southern Poverty Law Center February 21, 2015. http://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/downloads/case/ferguson_v._jonah_l-5473-12_summary_judgment_orders_statement_of_reaso.pdf

Sutton, David L., Melissa Britts, and Margaret Landman. 2000. "Television Programs as Legal Texts: What *Law and Order* Tells Us About the American Criminal Justice System." *Kimena* 14: 5-20.

Svensson, Travis K. 2003. *Bioethical Analysis of Sexual Reorientation Interventions: The Ethics of Conversion Therapy.* Parkland: Brown Walker Press.

Swartz, David. 1996. “Bridging the Study of Culture and Religion: Pierre Bourdieu's Political Economy of Symbolic Power.” *Sociology of Religion* 57.1: 71-85.

Swartz, Mimi. 2011. “Living the Good Lie.” *The New York Times Magazine.* June 16. Accessed July 16, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/19/magazine/therapists-who-help-people-stay-in-the-closet.html?pagewanted=all

Szasz, Thomas S., M.D. 1960. *The Myth of Mental Illness.* New York: Harper and Row, Publishers

Szasz, Thomas S., M.D. 1965. “Legal and Moral Aspects of Homosexuality.” *Sexual Inversion: The Multiple Roots of Homosexuality*. Edited by Judd Marmor. New York: Basic books: 124-139.

Szasz, Thomas S., M.D. 1970. *The Manufacture of Madness: A Comparative Study of the Inquisition and the Mental Health Movement*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Talan, Jamie. 2001. “Study of gays flawed? Researcher: Therapy helps change orientation.” *Newsday* May 10.

*Talk of the Nation.* 2012. “Spitzer's Apology Changes 'Ex-Gay' Debate.” *National Public Radio (NPR)* May 21, 2012. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.npr.org/2012/05/21/153213796/spitzers-apology-changes-ex-gay-debate

Taylor, Chloe. 2009. *The Culture of Confession from Augustine to Foucault: A Genealogy of the ‘Confessing Animal’*. New York: Routledge.

*Ted Haggard: Scandalous.* 2011. TLC and Relativity Television. Aired January 16, 2011.

Tentler, Thomas. 1977. *Sin and Confession on the Eve of Reformation.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thacker, Eugene. 2004. “Foreword: Protocol is as Protocol Does” in *Protocol: How Control Exists after Decentralization*, by Alexander R. Galloway. Leonardo Book Series. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. xi-xxii.

TheGoodDrugsGuide. N.d. “How much does Drug Treatment Cost?” *The Cost For Drug Treatment*. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.thegooddrugsguide.com/drug-and-alcohol-treatment/cost-drug-treatment/insurance-benefits-for-substance-abuse/index.htm

Thelos, Philo. 2004. *God Is Not A Homophobe: An Unbiased Look at Homosexuality in the Bible.* Victoria, BC: Trafford.

*This Is What Love In Action Looks Like.* 2011. Produced by Rebecca Adelman. Directed by Morgan Jon Fox. TLA Releasing and Sawed-Off Collaboratory Prod & LFM Films. DVD.

Thomas, Frank. 2004. *What's the Matter with Kansas?: How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Thomson, Irene Taviss. 2010. *Culture Wars and Enduring American Dilemmas.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Thorn, Michael. 2011. “Confessing Our Selves: Truth and Identity Politics in the Christian Ex-gay Movement.” *The International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society* 1.3: 205-220.

Thorn, Michael. 2012. “Authority, Legitimacy and the Ex-Gay Debate in Digital Religious Spaces.” Paper presented at the *International Conference on Digital Religion*, University of Colorado, Center for Media, Religion and Culture, Boulder, CO, January 12-15, 2012.

Thorn, Michael. 2014. “Shifting Psychological Knowledge and Conservative Christian Media Controversies: Blaming the Judeo-Christian Tradition for Antigay Prejudice in Psychiatry and Psychology.” *The International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society* 3.4: 51-77.

Throckmorton, Warren. 2003. “This Week’s Special Victim: The Truth.” *The Center for Vision and Values* November 18. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.visionandvalues.org/2003/11/this-weeks-special-victim-the-truth/

Throckmorton, Warren. 2011a. “NARTH is not Primarily Composed of Mental Health Professionals.” *Patheos: Hosting the Conversation on Faith* (blog) October 24. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.patheos.com/blogs/warrenthrockmorton/2011/10/24/narth-is-not-primarily-composed-of-mental-health-professionals/

Throckmorton, Warren. 2011b. “Participant Discredits the Original Ex-Gay Study.” *Religious Dispatches Magazine*. November 10. Accessed April 7, 2013. http://www.religiondispatches.org/archive/sexandgender/5374/participant_discredits_the_original_ex-gay_study/.

Throckmorton, Warren. 2013. “NARTH Loses Tax Exempt Status (UPDATED).” *Patheos: Hosting the Conversation on Faith* (blog) March 12. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.patheos.com/blogs/warrenthrockmorton/2013/03/12/narthtaxstatus/

Toronto Psychotherapists. N.d. “How Much Does Psychotherapy Cost?” *Frequently Asked Questions.* Accessed October 18, 2014. http://torontopsychotherapists.ca/faq/#q21

Toscano, Peter. 2009. “‘Ex-gay’ Survivors Go Online.” *The Gay & Lesbian Review* May-June: 12-13.

Toscano, Peter. 2013. “Ex-Gay Harm—Let Me Count the Ways.” *Beyond Ex-Gay*. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.beyondexgay.com/article/harm1.html

Toscano, Peter. 2014. “Doin’ Time In The Homo No Mo’ Halfway House.” *PeterToscano.com.* Accessed October 22, 2014. https://petersontoscano.com/portfolio/homo-no-mo-halfway-house/

Tousey, Ben. 2006. *My Egypt: Why I Left the Ex-gay Movement.* Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.

Tuchman, Gaye. 1978. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

TVTropes. 2014. “Cure Your Gays.” *TVTropes.org.* Accessed October 22, 2014. http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/CureYourGays

TWO. 2014a. “Ex-Gay Ads.” *Truth Wins Out.* Accessed October 15, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/ex-gay-ads/

TWO. 2014b. “‘Ex-Gay’ Consumer Fraud Division.” *Truth Wins Out*. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/ex-gay-consumer-fraud-division/

TWO. 2014c. “‘Ex-Gay’ Industry Snapshot.” *Truth Wins Out*. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.truthwinsout.org/ex-gay-industry-snapshot/

*Ukgaynews.* 2005. “Gay Reparative Therapy: Statements From Today’s ‘Love In Action’ Press Conference.” *Ukgaynews* June 16. Accessed March 22, 2014. http://www.ukgaynews.org.uk/Archive/2005june/1601.htm

Unruh, Bob. 2009. “Fistgate: Obama chief 'knew' of 'disgusting' sex subjects.” *WND* December 9. Accessed October 20, 2014. http://www.wnd.com/2009/12/118484/

Valkenburg, Patti. M., Holli. A. Semetko, and Claes H. de Vreese. 1999. “The Effects of News Frames on Readers’ Thoughts and Recall.” *Communication Research* 26: 550–569.

Van Den Aardweg, Gerard J.M. 1997. *The Battle For Normality: A Guide for (Self-)Therapy for Homosexuality*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Venn-Brown, Anthony. 2011. “John Smid Interview on Hardball - is this an 'ex-gay' tsunami?” *‘Ex-Gay’ Australia: Realistic information about ex-gay/reparative/conversion therapies*

October 20. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://exgayaustralia.blogspot.ca/2011/10/john-smid-admits-to-chris-matthews-on.html

Verter, Bradford. 2003. “Spiritual Capital: Theorizing Religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu.” *Sociological Theory* 21.2: 150-174.

Vladeck, David C. 2000. “Truth and Consequences: The Perils of Half-Truths and Unsubstantiated Health Claims for Dietary Supplements.” *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 19.1: 132-128.

Voices of the Voiceless. 2014. “CBS Petition.” *Voices of the Voiceless: Defending the Rights of Former Homosexuals, Individuals with Unwanted Same-Sex Attraction, and Their Families.* Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.voiceofthevoiceless.info/cbs-petition/

Wade, Carole, Carol Tavris, Deborah Saucier, and Lorin Elias. 2009. *Psychology.* Third Canadian Edition. Toronto: Pearson Canada.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1983. *Historical Capitalism*. London: Verso.

Wallsten, Kevin. 2010. “‘Yes We Can’: How Online Viewership, Blog Discussion, Campaign Statements, and Mainstream Media Coverage Produced a Viral Video Phenomenon.” *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 7.2-3:163-181.

Walsh, Andrew D. 2000. *Religion, Economics, and Public Policy: Ironies, Tragedies, and Absurdities of the Contemporary Culture Wars*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Ward, Justin. 2011. “Reflections on This Week's Episode of ‘Our America with Lisa Ling’ & Post-Show Discussion.” *GLAAD* March 9. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.glaad.org/2011/03/09/reflections-on-this-weeks-episode-of-our-america-with-lisa-ling-post-show-discussion

Waxinlyrical. 2011. “Gay Away! Comes in Swallow, Spray or Pray.” *Blogs.24.com* (blog) February 17. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://blogs.24.com/waxinlyrical/2011/02/17/gay-away-comes-in-swallow-spray-or-pray/

Wearing, Michael, and Leanne Dowse. 2000. “Risk in Practice, Risk in Theory: Ulrich Beck and the Sub-Politics of Welfare.” Sociological Sites/Sights, TASA 2000 Conference, Adelaide: Flinders University. December 6-8.

Weatherhead, Leslie D. 1937 [1929]. *Psychology in Service of the Soul*. London: The Epworth Press.

Weatherhead, Leslie D. 2010 [1931]. *The Mastery of Sex Through Psychology and Religion*. Becker Press.

Weber, Max. 2003 [1905]. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* Translated by Talcott Parsons. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

*Week, The.* 2014. “Jon Stewart vulgarly mocks the Texas GOP for pushing 'pray the gay away' therapy.” *The Week: The Daily Showdown* , June 18. Accessed October 15, 2014. http://theweek.com/speedreads/index/263358/speedreads-jon-stewart-vulgarly-mocks-the-texas-gop-for-pushing-pray-the-gay-away-therapy

Weeks, Jeffrey. 1985. *Sexuality and its Discontents: Meanings, Myths and Modern Sexualities*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Weeks, Jeffrey. 1991a. “Questions of Identity” in *Against Nature: Essays on history, sexuality and identity* by Jeffrey Weeks. London: Rivers Oram Press. 68-85.

Weeks, Jeffrey. 1991b. “Discourse, Desire and Sexual Deviance: Some Problems in a History of Homosexuality” in *Against Nature: Essays on history, sexuality and identity* by Jeffrey Weeks. London: Rivers Oram Press. 10-45.

Weiner, Irving B. and W. Edward Craighead, Eds. 2010. *The Corsini Encyclopedia of Psychology*. Fourth Edition. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Weir, Lorna. 2008. "The Concept of Truth Regime." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 33.2: 327-389.

Weiss, Elizabeth M., Jeremiah Morehouse, Tiffany Yeager, and Tess Berry. 2010. "A Qualitative Study of Ex-Gay and Ex-Ex-Gay Experiences." *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health* 14.4: 291-319.

Weiten, Wayne, and Doug McCann. 2007. *Psychology: Themes & Variations*. First Canadian Edition. Canada: Thomson & Nelson.

Wershler, Darren. 2012. "Marshall McLuhan and the Economies of Knowledge." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37: 625-636.

Wetzstein, Cheryl. 2014a. "Gay 'conversion' therapy bans stall across the nation." *The Washington Times* May 4. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/may/4/gay-conversion-therapy-bans-stall-across-the-natio/#ixzz3GqrQzPDs

Wetzstein, Cheryl. 2014b. "Gay conversion therapy moving to culture war front." *The Washington Times* June 9. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/jun/9/gay-conversion-therapy-moving-to-culture-war-front/?page=all

White, Mel. 2003. "Forward" in *Anything But Straight: Unmasking the Scandals and Lies Behind the Ex-Gay Myth* by Wayne Besen. New York, Harrington Park Press. ix-xii.

White, Mimi. 1992. *Tele-advising: Therapeutic Discourse in American Television*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Wilcox, Clyde. 1988. "Political Action Committees of the New Christian Right: A Longitudinal Analysis." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 27: 60-71.

*Will & Grace.* 2000. "Girls, Interrupted." Season 2, Episode 20. Produced by Tim Kaiser. Directed by James Burrows. Written by Jhoni Marchinko, Jon Kinnally, and Tracy Poust. KoMut Entertainment, Three Sisters Entertainment, and NBC Studios. Aired May 2, 2000.

Williams, Alex. 2005. "Gay Teenager Stirs a Storm." *The New York Times* July 17. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/17/fashion/sundaystyles/17ZACH.html

Williams, Raymond. 1993 [1980]. "Advertising: The Magic System" in *The Cultural Studies Reader*. Edited by Simon During. New York: Routledge. 321-336.

Williams, Raymond. 2003 [1974]. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. New York: Routledge Classics.

Witherup, Ronald D. 2001. *Biblical Fundamentalism: What Every Catholic Should* Know. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press.

*WND* and Dennis Jernigan. 2013. "Listen to new ex-'gay' anthem." *WND* October 12. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://www.wnd.com/2013/10/listen-to-new-ex-gay-anthem/

Wolkomir, Michelle. 2006. *Be Not Deceived: The Sacred and Sexual Struggles of Gay and Ex-gay Christian Men.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Wood, Robert W. 1960. *Christ and the Homosexual: (Some Observations).* New York: Vantage Press.

Worthern, Frank. 2010. *Destiny Bridge.* Winnipeg, MB: World Alive Press.

Wright, Rogers H. 2007. "Congratulations on your book," Review in *Ex-gays?: A Longitudinal Study of Religiously Mediated Change in Sexual Orientation* by Stanton L. Jones and Mark A. Yarhouse. Downers Grove: IVP Academic. 4.

Yearwood, Lori Teresa. 1998. “True believer: She’s youthful and hip, but don’t underestimate Janet Folger, the architect of a national ad campaign urging homosexuals to change.” *Miami Herald* August 12.

Yarhouse, Mark A. 1998. “When Clients Seek Treatment for Same-Sex Attraction: Ethical Issues in the ‘Right to Choose’ *Debate*.” *Psychotherapy* 35: 248-259.

Ybarra, Michael J. 1993. “Going straight: Christian groups press gay people to take heterosexual path.” *The Wall Street Journal* April 21.

York, Sara. 2014. *Pray the Gay Away: A Southern Tale of Good Triumphing Over Evil.* Kindle ebook. Available at Amazon.com: http://www.amazon.com/Pray-Away-Southern-Thing-Book-ebook/dp/B00J0JGM3G

Zafirovski, Milan. 2000. “Extending the Rational Choice Model from the Economy to Society.” *Economy and Society* 29.2: 181–206

Zafirovski, Milan. 2012. “Beneath Rational Choice: Elements of ‘Irrational Choice Theory’” *Current Sociology* 61.1: 3–21.

Zhang, Baobao. 2009. “Harvard professor seeks ‘gay’ term in Bible.” *Yale Daily News* October 28. Accessed October 22, 2014. http://yaledailynews.com/blog/2009/10/28/harvard-professor-seeks-gay-term-in-bible/

Žižek, Slavoj. 2010. “RSA Animate: First as Tragedy, Then as Farce.” Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. Produced by Abi Stephenson. Animation by Cognitive Media (RSA). YouTube video. Posted by “The RSA,” July 28, 2010. Accessed October 15, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hpAMbpQ8J7g

Zucker, Kenneth J. 2006. “The Politics and Science of ‘Reparative Therapy’” in *Ex-Gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and Its Relation to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture*, edited by Jack Drescher and Kenneth J. Zucker. New York: Haworth Press: 3-12.