

LGBT POLITICS IN AMERICA

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[Office hours and location]
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Course Description

In 2015, gay marriage was legalized nationwide, but many public officials have nonetheless refused to issue marriage licenses to LGBT couples. Transgender women of color were appointed to high-ranking White House offices and graced the covers of national magazines and television shows. Transgender women also experienced unprecedented rates of violence and murder, prompting advocates to declare a “state of emergency.” Laws regarding LGBT people were considered at every level of government throughout the country, both protective and discriminatory. Remarkable obstacles have been overcome, and yet important forms of opposition to LGBT people and issues remain.

The LGBT movement is experiencing a critical moment like none before – and yet, sexuality has played a central role in American culture and politics from the country’s beginning. This course addresses the role of sexuality in American politics and policies, with particular emphases on LGBT issues in the 20th and 21st centuries. This course also uses LGBT and sexuality politics as an avenue for learning basic concepts in political science.

During this semester, we will explore questions such as: how are sexuality and gender constructed and regulated by the state? How are modern LGBT-related policy debates (e.g. gay marriage, transgender rights) shaped and constrained by historical debates? What are the experiences of LGBT people in the American political system and institutions? What is public opinion, and how is it created, shaped, and changed? What is the connection between public opinion and public policy outcomes? How are these answers and processes different for communities of color than for white people? For gay people compared to heterosexual people? What’s next for LGBT movements after marriage? This course focuses on political science perspectives on these topics, while also incorporating scholarship from psychology, law, sociology, and queer and feminist theory.

Course Objectives

- Demonstrate understanding of important terms and concepts in the study of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people and political issues, within the study of sexuality and politics more generally.
- Demonstrate understanding of basic concepts and approaches in areas of political science, such as public opinion, public policy, and American political institutions.
- Identify the predominant frames and stakes of modern LGBT policy debates, and learn how to place these debates into historical contexts and queer critiques.

- Connect LGBT and sexuality politics to politics of race, class, gender, and other systems of power and oppression.
- Develop and practice the ability to express critical thinking in written form (and following standard academic practices such as citation). Through revision, learn how to incorporate feedback and improve clarity, analysis, and structure.

Grading & Assignments

Assessment	% of Final Grade	Description
Office Hours Visit	2%	Each student will attend office hours at least once during the semester, preferably early on, so that we may get to know one another better and discuss any questions related to course content.
Leading Class	8%	Once per semester, each student will lead class discussion. This will occur in pairs or groups of three. Sign-up will occur during the first week of classes.
Written Reflection	10%	This is a 500-1500 word synthesis paper. Students will select one class period and reflect on that day's assigned readings. Show that you read and understand each author's argument. Put these texts in conversation with one another, and connect to at least one other assigned reading or course concept. Students are encouraged to select the day that they also lead class. Examples will be made available.
QCQs	15%	(3 at 5% each.) Three times during the semester, students will select one of the assigned readings and complete a "QCQ" in response. This is a 250-500 word critical response, consisting of: (1) Quote: Identify a significant passage/quote from the text. (2) Comment: Explain the significant of the quote to the author's main argument, or the concepts/theories discussed in class. (3) Question: Pose a critical question for class discussion that arose for you while reading the text. Note that these are due by 6pm the night before the class in which we'll discuss that reading, posted to our course website for the class to consider before our discussion. Example QCQs will be made available. No QCQs will be accepted in Unit Five. No QCQs will be accepted from the day you lead class.
Exam 1	20%	Exams consist of term/concept identification, short answers, and one long essay. Students will be able to select from multiple options in each category.
Exam 2	20%	
Attendance & Participation	25%	Attendance is required and accounts for 10% of your final grade. Critical, informed, and regular participation counts for 15%. See more below.

Classroom Policies

Academic Integrity & Plagiarism

This refers to any number of expectations for behaviors in an academic context. Foremost among these are the preparation for class, respect for each other, and participation as outlined in this syllabus. It also, of course, refers to plagiarism and other forms of dishonesty. I recognize that academic standards are sometimes unclear or unfamiliar, and that citation practices/styles vary by discipline. However, it is your responsibility as a student to learn these standards. I encourage you to review the materials below¹ and then to contact me if you have remaining questions.

At a minimum, the first occurrence of discrepancies or concerns relating to citation practices and transparency in your assignments/writing will result in the following:

1. We will have a meeting during my office hours to discuss the concerns.
2. Within one week of this meeting, you will take Indiana University's online tutorial, "How to Recognize Plagiarism" (linked below), and submit to me the electronic certificate you receive verifying you successfully completed the course.²
3. Within two weeks of the meeting mentioned in #1, you must also resubmit your original assignment and a new version with the appropriate revisions to the citation practices or concerns. This must include a one-page cover letter explaining the errors in citation practices you made and how you corrected them.

Access & Inclusion

Difference enhances both the teaching and learning experiences. The classroom is a space where all students are welcome, regardless of age, dis/ability, ethnicity, gender identity and/or expression, national origin, race, religious non/belief, sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, religious non/belief, and alignment with other identities or contexts. Furthermore, if any student has a particular consideration, including learning and participation style, that affects their ability to meet course expectations, please see me as soon as possible. I am personally committed to creating and maintaining an inclusive learning environment for each and every student.

Please, do not hesitate to contact me with specific needs or concerns, and the sooner the better.

Maintaining transparency (and communication in general) with your instructor is not only a good professional skill, but also a good way to develop a more one-on-one relationship. Furthermore, accommodations are far easier and effective to arrange when planned than when rushed. In short, I will make every effort to ensure students equal access. Please let me know how I can help make this class work for you.

My classroom is intended to be a constructive and critical space, wherein all students feel comfortable engaging openly with the material, each other, and oneself. However, this is only possible when everyone commits to this endeavor. I expect you to do so, and to help your peers (and me) to do the same. While I very much encourage (and celebrate) dissent and/or debate, I will not tolerate disrespect in my classroom. Please let me know if you feel the principles expressed in this syllabus are not being upheld so that I can address it as soon as possible.

¹ The Purdue Online Writing Lab (O.W.L): <https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/>

University of Michigan Resources for Students: <http://www.lib.umich.edu/academic-integrity/resources-students>

² Indiana University's "How to Recognize Plagiarism" Tutorial: <https://www.indiana.edu/~istd/test.html>

Attendance

As in-class participation is a critical element of the learning process (as well as your final grade), attendance is mandatory. Students are permitted two no-questions-asked absences. Other absences will only be excused for university-sanctioned events with advanced notice, or with a medical note. I will take attendance every class period. If you anticipate being unable to make it to class, please let me know ahead of time whenever possible.

Contacting Me

My contact information is available at the beginning of this syllabus. Please maintain professional etiquette in your correspondences, including email.³

When emailing with a question about the course or related work, **always** consult the syllabus first. The syllabus includes information on my office hours, due dates, assignments, and much more. If you conclude that the syllabus does not answer your question and that an email is still necessary, please include the course number in your email's subject line. I will make every effort to respond within 24 hours of your email during the week, and within 48 hours on the weekend. If you do not hear from me within this window, please email me again. Please note this policy does not apply within 72 hours of an exam or final paper due date.

My office is meant to be an open resource. By this I mean you should make use of outside-of-class opportunities to meet with me (during the specified hours or by appointment) to further discuss your experiences in the class, your thoughts or concerns about the course material or classroom matters, and any other questions you have or guidance you seek.

Extra Credit

On any writing assignment – the reflection paper, QCQs, or long essay from an exam – that you earned a B+ or lower, students may revise and resubmit their original assignment. You may recover up to half the original lost points: for example, if you earned an 80%, you can earn up to 10% (half of 20%). You must submit the original written assignment, the newly revised assignment, and a maximum one-page cover letter explaining how you feedback and what revisions were made. These must be submitted within two weeks of receiving the original grade back, or by the last day of class.

Grading

If you feel you earned a grade lower than your work merits, you may communicate this to me but only in the following way. First, wait at least 24 hours after the assignment/exam has been returned to you. Then, write at most one page explaining why you believe your grade is incorrect. You may submit this to me up to one week after the assignment or exam was originally returned. At this point, I will review your comments and respond within one week. If necessary, we can schedule a meeting to discuss my decision. The results of this review process are final.

Late Work

Assignments are due at the beginning of class unless otherwise noted (e.g., QCQs). Late work will be accepted up to one week after the original due date, but you will lose half a letter grade

³ For further advice on emailing professors, see for example:
<http://web.wellesley.edu/SocialComputing/Netiquette/netiquetteprofessor.html>

for each day it is late. If you anticipate you will not be able to complete assignments on time, let me know as soon as possible. Clear communication prior to due dates increases the likelihood that we can plan an alternative arrangement or that I may accept late work with a reduced penalty. Missed exams can only be made up if (1) you communicate with me at least two weeks prior to the exam about why you need alternative arrangements, and (2) you provide documentation of this need.

Participation

Participation is a critical component of this class and the learning process. I will record participation every class period. Your ability to participate in an informed and constructive manner rests on your having completed the readings and assignments *before* class. Questions are always welcome, but do not expect us to review the readings in class; rather, expect us to jump right in to a critical and academic discussion of the assignment and/or readings. Please note that it is more important to contribute substantively rather than repeatedly – in other words, quality over quantity. Additionally, listening and considering others' points of view is just as integral to participation as actually expressing your own. Just as constructive and positive contributions to discussion will earn you points, negative and disrespectful interactions will cost you your participation grade for the day.

If in-class participation is difficult for you, please contact me! We can discuss strategies for participating. Please know I also consider engaged and thoughtful questions via email or in office hours as valid forms of participation (though not a pure substitute for in-class contributions). In short, I want to see that all students are thoughtfully engaging with the class materials, in the ways that work best for you, but also that you are pushing yourself and growing during this class.

Technology

To limit disruptions and facilitate engaged discussion, there are no laptops, tablets, cell phones, or other technology to be used during class, unless for some medical or otherwise documented need. (If you have an access or accommodation related need/use for technology, but do not have documentation, please speak with me! We will work something out together.)

Course Outline

Unit 1: Introduction & Theory

Unit 2: American Political Development & LGBT Social Movements

Unit 3: Sexuality & Public Opinion

Unit 4: LGBT People & Political Institutions

Unit 5: Conclusion

Course Schedule

(based on 15 week semester)

Unit One: Introduction & Theory

Week 1a: Terms

- Syllabus review
- Review GLAAD Definitions: <http://www.glaad.org/reference/transgender>
- Currah, Paisley, and Susan Stryker, eds. 2014. *Postposttranssexual: Key Concepts for a 21st Century Transgender Studies*. Duke University Press.
 - “LGBT” p118-120, “Queer” p172-175, “The State” p197-199

Week 1b: Approaches to Studying Sexuality

- Currah, Paisley. 2011. “The State of LGBT/Sexuality Studies in Political Science.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(1): 13–16.
- Mucciaroni, Gary. 2011. “The Study of LGBT Politics and Its Contributions to Political Science.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(1): 17–21.
- Siedman, Steven. 2011. “Theoretical Perspectives.” In *Introducing the New Sexuality Studies*, eds. Steven Siedman, Nancy Fisher, and Chet Meeks. Routledge. 3-12.

Week 2a: Theories of Sexuality

- Foucault, Michel. 1978. “Scientia Sexualis.” In *The History of Sexuality: Vol 1*. 53-73.

Week 2b: Theories of Sexuality, continued

- Rubin, Gayle. 1984. “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality.” In *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds. Henry Abelove, Michele Barale, and David Halperin. Routledge.

Week 3a: Emergence of Sexual Identity/ies

- Katz, Jonathan Ned. 1995. “The Debut of the Heterosexual.” In *The Invention of Heterosexuality*. University of Chicago Press. 19-32.
- D’Emilio, John. 1993. “Capitalism and gay identity.” In *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds. Henry Abelove, Michele Barale, and David Halperin. Routledge.

Week 3b: Theories of Sex/Gender

- Butler, Judith. 1990. "The Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire." In *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge. 8-10.
- Kessler, Suzanne. 1990. "The Medical Construction of Gender: Case Management of Intersexed Infants." *Signs* 16(1): 3–26.
- Watch this video: "How Many Genders Are There?" <https://youtu.be/tjGu5OCZFzw>
 - Transcript available at <http://everydayfeminism.com/2015/06/non-binary-101/>

Week 4a: Emergence of Gender Identity

- Murib, Zein. 2015. "Transgender: Examining an Emerging Political Identity Using Three Political Processes." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*: 1–17.
- Excerpts from Kate Bornstein's *My Gender Workbook*, p1-24.

Week 4b: Who is/counts as LGBT?

- "What Makes People Gay? (An Update)" – Neil Swidey, 23 Aug 2015. Boston Globe. <http://www.bostonglobe.com/magazine/2015/08/22/what-makes-people-gay-update/8Mos2MXHvX5JsxP7AzW9RJ/story.html>
- Gates, Gary. 2012. "LGBT Identity: A Demographer's Perspective." *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review* 45(3): 693–714.
- Optional: Tate, Charlotte Chuck, Jay Ledbetter, and Cris Youssef. 2012. "A Two-Question Method for Assessing Gender Categories in the Social and Medical Sciences." *Journal of Sex Research*: 1–10.

Unit Two: American Political Development and LGBT Social Movement(s)

Week 5a: Sexuality and Citizenship

- Canaday, Margot. 2009. "Introduction." In *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton University Press. 1-18.
- Optional film: *Before Stonewall* (1985; 1hr 26 min), available on Amazon Prime.

Week 5b: Sexuality and Citizenship, continued

- Valelly, Richard M. 2012. "LGBT Politics and American Political Development." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15(1): 313–32.
- Engel, Stephen M. 2015. "Developmental Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Politics: Fragmented Citizenship in a Fragmented State." *Perspectives on Politics* 13(2): 287–311.
- Optional film: *After Stonewall* (1999; 1hr 25 min), available on Amazon Prime.

Week 6a: HIV/AIDS, ACTUP, and Queer Emergence

- Film: *How to Survive a Plague* (2012; 1hr 49 min) Available on Netflix.
- Anonymous Queers. 1990. *Queers Read This: I Hate Straights!* <http://www.actupny.org/documents/QueersReadThis.pdf>
- Gould, Deborah. 2002. "Life During Wartime: Emotions and the Development of ACT UP." *Mobilization: An international quarterly* 7(2): 177-200.

- Optional: Rom, Mark Carl. "Gays and AIDS: Democratizing Disease?" In *The Politics of Gay Rights*, eds. Craig Rimmerman, Kenneth Wald, and Clyde Wilcox. University of Chicago Press. 217-248.

Week 6b: Anti-Gay Movements

- Green, John. 2000. "Antigay: Varieties of Opposition to Gay Rights." In *The Politics of Gay Rights*, eds. Craig Rimmerman, Kenneth Wald, and Clyde Wilcox. University of Chicago Press. 121-138.
- Dorf, Michael, and Sidney Tarrow. 2014. "Strange Bedfellows: How an Anticipatory Countermovement Brought Same-Sex Marriage into the Public Arena." *Law & Social Inquiry* 39(2): 449-473.
- Optional: Fetner, Tina. 2008. "The Impact of the Religious Right on Lesbian and Gay Activism." In *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. 119-129.

Week 7a: Virtually Normal, or Perfectly Queer?

- Andrew Sullivan. 1995. "A Politics of Homosexuality." In *Virtually Normal: An Argument About Homosexuality*. New York: Random House, Inc. 169-187.
- Warner, Michael. 1999. "What's Wrong with Normal?" In *The Trouble With Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life*. Harvard University Press. 41-80.

Week 7b: Modern LGBT Movement

- Mucciaroni, Gary. 2008. "Advocating Gay Rights." In *Same Sex, Different Politics: Success & Failure in Struggles Over Gay Rights*. University of Chicago Press. 91-113.
- Stone, Amy. 2012. "Introduction." In *Gay Rights at the Ballot Box*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. xiii-xxxi.
- Cohen, Cathy. 1999. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. University of Chicago Press. Ch 1.

Week 8a: Modern LGBT Movement, continued

- Cohen, Cathy. 1997. "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 3(4): 437-465.
- Minter, Shannon Price. 2006. "Do Transsexuals Dream of Gay Rights? Getting Real About Transgender Inclusion." In *Transgender Rights*, eds. Paisley Currah, Richard Juang, and Shannon Price Minter. University of Minnesota Press. 141-170.

Week 8b: Exam on Units 1 & 2

Unit Three: Sexuality & Public Opinion

Week 9a: What is Public Opinion?

- Herbst, Susan. 1993. "Techniques of Opinion Expression and Measurement." In *Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling Has Shaped American Politics*. University of Chicago Press. 43-68.
- Explore this public opinion report [<http://ampr.gs/1DZb5qr>] and this interactive tool [<http://environment.yale.edu/poe/v2014/>]. Pay attention to how answers to similar polling questions can change depending on the phrasing or the group being asked. Bring other observations to class!

Week 9b: What is Prejudice?

- Allport, Gordon. 1954. "What is the Problem?" In *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books Publishing. 3-16.
- Herek, Gregory. 2004. "Beyond 'Homophobia': Thinking About Sexual Prejudice and Stigma in the Twenty-First Century." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 1(2): 6-24.
- Optional: Massey, Sean. 2009. "Polymorphous Prejudice: Liberating the Measurement of Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men." *Journal of Homosexuality* 56(2): 147-72.

Week 10a: Opinion Toward LGBTs

- Herek, Gregory. 2002. "Gender gaps in public opinion about lesbians and gay men." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66 (1): 40-66.
- Lewis, Gregory. 2003. "Black-White Differences in Attitudes Toward Homosexuality and Gay Rights." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67(1): 59-78.
- Tee, Nicola, and Peter Hegarty. 2006. "Predicting Opposition to the Civil Rights of Trans Persons in the United Kingdom." *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 16(1): 70-80.

Week 10b: Opinion of LGBTs

- Egan, Patrick, and Kenneth Sherrill. 2005. "Marriage and the Shifting Priorities of a New Generation of Lesbians and Gays." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 38 (2): 229-232.
- Egan, Patrick J. 2012. "Group Cohesion Without Group Mobilization: the Case of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(03): 597-616.
- Optional: Egan, Patrick, MS Edelman, and Ken Sherrill. 2009. "Findings From the Hunter College Poll: New Discoveries About the Political Attitudes of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals." Unpublished manuscript. New York: Hunter College.

Week 11a: Opinion Change

- Pew Research Center. 2013. "Growing Support for Gay Marriage: Changed Minds and Changing Demographics." <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/3-20-13%20Gay%20Marriage%20Release.pdf> (Read pages 1-10 only.)
- Public Religion Research Institute. 2014. "A Shifting Landscape: A Decade of Change in American Attitudes about Same-sex Marriage and LGBT Issues." http://publicreligion.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/2014.LGBT_REPORT.pdf

- Read the Executive Summary (1-4), “The Evolution of Opinion on Same-sex Marriage” (8-14), “The Power of Social Contexts” (23-28), and a non-marriage-related section of your choosing.
- Skipworth, Sue Ann, Andrew Garner, and Bryan Dettrey. 2010. “Limitations of the Contact Hypothesis: Heterogeneity in the Contact Effect on Attitudes Toward Gay Rights.” *Politics & Policy* 38(5): 887–906.

Unit Four: LGBT People & Political Institutions

Week 11b: (Hetero)Sexuality As An Institution

- Rich, Adrienne. 1980. “Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence.” *Signs* 5: 631-660.
- Warner, Michael. 1993. “Introduction.” In *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. vii-xxxii.

Week 12a: The Court & Constitutions

- Rosenberg, Gerald. 2008 [1991]. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chs 1, 12.
- Stoutenborough, James, Donald Haider-Markel, and Mahalley Allen. 2006. “Reassessing the impact of Supreme Court decisions on public opinion: gay civil rights cases.” *Political Research Quarterly* 59(3): 419-433.
- Lupia, Arthur et al. 2010. “Why State Constitutions Differ in Their Treatment of Same-Sex Marriage.” *The Journal of Politics* 72(4): 1222–35.

Week 12b: Legislation & Policy Making

- Lax, Jeffrey, and Justin Phillips. 2009. “Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness.” *American Political Science Review* 103(3): 367–86.
- McCreery, Patrick. 1999. “Beyond Gay: ‘Deviant’ Sex and the Politics of the ENDA Workplace.” *Social Text* 61, 17(4): 39-58.

Week 13a: Interest Groups

- Hall, Rick and Alan Deardorff. 2006. “Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy.” *American Political Science Review* 100: 69-84. (excerpts)
- Strolovitch, Dara. 2006. “Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender.” *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 894–910.
- “What's Behind Criticisms of Those Red Equal Signs in Your Facebook Feed?” – Derrick Clifton, Huffington Post, 29 March 2013. <http://huff.to/165Jlew>

Week 13b: Presidency & Congress

- Rimmerman, Craig. 2007. “The Presidency, Congress, And Same-Sex Marriage.” In *The Politics of Same-Sex Marriage*, eds. Craig Rimmerman and Clyde Wilcox. University of Chicago Press. 273-290.
- Haider-Markel, Donald. 2010. “Conclusion: Out For Good.” In *Out and Running: Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Elections, and Policy Representation*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 148-157.

- Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: the Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107(02): 259–74.

Week 14a: Limitations of Legal Reform

- Spade, Dean. 2011. "What's Wrong With Rights?" In *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law*. Brooklyn, NY: South End Press. 79-100.
- Brown, Wendy. 2006. "Tolerance as a Discourse of Depoliticization." In *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance and Identity in the Age of Empire*. Princeton University Press, 1–25.

Week 14b: Exam on Units 3 & 4

Unit Five: Conclusion

Week 15a: What's Next?

- Casey, Logan. Manuscript. "Can Disgust Derail LGBT Advocacy?" (Excerpts)
- Stone, Amy. 2012. "Smears, Tears, and Queers: Race and Transgender Inclusion in Campaigns." In *Gay Rights at the Ballot Box*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. 155-178.

Week 15b: What's Next?

- Bassichis, Morgan, Alexander Lee, and Dean Spade. 2011. "Building an Abolitionist Trans and Queer Movement with Everything We've Got." In *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex*, eds. Eric Stanley and Nat Smith. Oakland, CA: AK Press. 15-40.
- Mogul, Joey, Andrea Ritchie, and Kay Whitlock. 2011. "Over the Rainbow: Where Do We Go From Here?" In *Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press. 141-158.