

POSC 406: LGBT* POLITICS

FALL 2017
MWF 11.15-12.05
GORE 303

INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION

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Office hours: MWF 9.30-10.30 // Smith 302

ABOUT THE COURSE

Politics is, fundamentally, about *power* — about “who gets what, when, and how” as Harold Lasswell once put it. The central goal of this course is to understand what (frequently disliked) minority groups are able to get out of a majoritarian political system, and when and how they do so. We will draw on theories and research about American politics in general to make sense of the particular outcomes of the LGBT rights movement. And, in turn, we’ll use the specific case of LGBT politics over the past sixty years to learn more about the general patterns of politics in American democracy.

The course is split into two halves. The first half looks at LGBT politics from the “bottom up”. We’ll follow LGBT groups from the 1950s to the 2000s to help answer broader questions about social movements. When do groups form to fight for their rights? What mobilizes potential members to join? How do movements organize and how does that affect their success?

The second half looks at LGBT politics from the “top down”. We’ll dissect changes in what Doug McAdam calls “political opportunities” facing the LGBT movement to help answer broader questions about democratic politics in the U.S. When and how do politicians represent marginalized groups? How does party and interest group competition shape policy agendas and outcomes? What explains majority opinion towards minority rights?

LEARNING OUTCOMES

In addition to being able to answer the questions above, students who successfully complete the course will be able to:

1. Identify and evaluate major factors that shape minority group success in majoritarian democracy

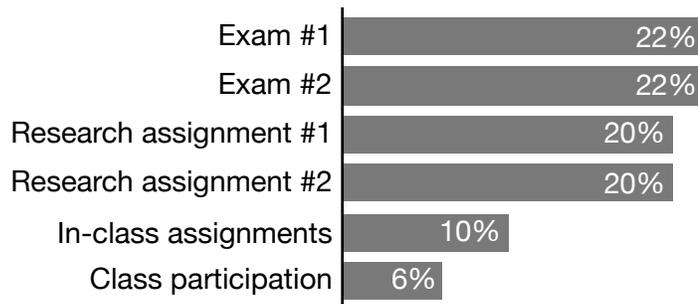
2. Analyze basic quantitative evidence and explain your reasoning to others effectively

3. Communicate your own research to various audiences via papers, handouts, and presentations

4. Critically assess major theories of American democracy and empirical evidence supporting them

HOW YOUR WORK WILL BE ASSESSED

Your proficiency at the course learning outcomes will be assessed in various ways in the course. These will be weighted in your final grade as follows:



More details about these assignments will be given in class and on the website.

Final letter grades will be assigned using the following cutoff points:

A	93	B+	87	C+	77	D+	67
A-	90	B	83	C	73	D	63
		B-	80	C-	70	D-	60

ACTIVE LEARNING AND CLASS EXPECTATIONS

The empirical research overwhelmingly shows that people learn better when classes are “active” rather than passive. Instead of me lecturing for fifty minutes and you trying to memorize what I say, our classes will emphasize interactive discussions and group problem-solving. I expect everyone to engage with, and contribute to, the learning process. To facilitate this, let me make four expectations very clear:

1. I expect everyone to attend every meeting, having carefully read and thought about the assigned readings. Being present and prepared to learn is a minimum requirement for passing the course.
2. I expect you to arrive on time and to spend all of our class time in the room. Coming in late, or leaving during the class for bathroom or snack breaks, distracts me and your classmates from learning. It also means we miss an opportunity to learn from you while you’re absent.
3. To ensure everyone is fully present, this class is an **electronics-free zone**. All laptops, tablets, and cellphones must be turned off and put away, unless an announcement is made. [Students who have a documented reason for laptop use should talk to me about accommodating your needs.] Some of the research on how electronics use damages student learning is summarized on the course site.
4. If you are encountering difficulties in the class, come meet with me. My office hours are open door, first come first served. Please don’t wait; I will always try my best to help students who reach out.

CLASS PARTICIPATION

Your participation is critical, both for your own learning and for others’ in the class. For each of our regular class sessions, you will be scored on the following scale:

2	----- Present and contributing to discussion
1	----- Present but not contributing to discussion
0	----- Not present // Not fully present (late, using cell phone/laptop, etc)

Excused absences (see below) are treated as NAs. I will periodically update you on your scores throughout the course.

ABSENCES AND LATE ASSIGNMENTS

UD has a clear policy on excused absences — see the Provost’s statement at <http://facultyhandbook.udel.edu/handbook/3113-student-class-attendance-and-excused-absences>. If you are unable to attend an exam or submit an assignment for an excusable reason, you must:

1. Contact me before that class begins to let me know of your absence.
2. Contact the Dean’s Office to document the reason for your absence. They will then send a letter of verification to all your professors, saving you explaining the situation repeatedly, etc.

I expect you to complete research assignments on time and in full. If you fail to do so, I will still accept your work. However, it will be subject to a 10% deduction for each calendar day it is overdue (beginning on the day it is due). Missed in-class assignments result in a score of zero.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

I have zero tolerance for academic dishonesty. You should familiarize yourself with UD’s student Code of Conduct, available at: <http://www.udel.edu/stuguide/16-17/code.html>. Without exception, any academic dishonesty will automatically result in a failing grade for the entire course and an official referral to the Office of Student Conduct.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

Students with disabilities are welcome in this class. If you think that you may need an accommodation, please contact Disability Support Services (DSS) as soon as possible and we will work with them to meet your needs. See: www.udel.edu/DSS

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Language itself — and especially the words we use to describe ourselves and other people — is of course highly political. As we will see, the movement that now describes itself as “lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender” (LGBT) has adopted different terminology over its lifespan. The activists of the 1950s and 1960s mostly used the phrases “homophile” and “homosexual”. In the 1970s, “gay” was used by male activists to refer to both men and women, while female activists used the labels of “lesbian” or “lesbian feminist”. By the 1980s, the movement was referring to “lesbian and gay” rights, before adding “bisexual” and then “transgender” later on. To mirror contemporary groups’ language, I’m using the phrase “LGBT” politics. Note, however, that several of the groups we will be studying would *not* recognize that acronym as referring to themselves — and that we will be asking serious questions about how inclusive organizations that *do* use the umbrella “LGBT” term really are.

COURSE SCHEDULE

The schedule for this course is not set in stone, although it is very rare that I make changes during the semester, and never to assignment/exam dates except in emergency situations. Any changes will be announced in class and over email via Canvas. The exams and research assignment due dates are clearly highlighted in the schedule that follows; you will want to make good note of their dates now.

You should read each of the assigned readings *before* the class date they are listed under. You will have noticed there is no textbook for this course. That does not mean you should come to class empty-handed! I expect you to bring hard copies of the readings and/or *detailed* notes to aid in discussion.

8/30 Complete Introductory Student Survey on Canvas by 9am

8/30 Introduction to the course

Read: "What last year's students want you to know" and the syllabus.

9/1 Liberation and assimilation in LGBT politics

Rimmerman, C. (2001). *From identity to politics: The lesbian and gay movements in the U.S.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. [Ch1, "Perspectives on the lesbian and gay movements"]

Stoddard, T.B. (1989). Why gay people should seek the right to marry, and Ettelbrick, P.L. (1989). Since when is marriage a path to liberation? Reprinted in K.M. Cathcart & L.J. Gabel-Brett (Eds.) (2009). *Love unites us: Winning the freedom to marry in America.* New York: The New Press.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND LGBT POLITICS FROM THE BOTTOM UP

When and how groups form: The homophile movement, 1950-1968

9/6 Life after wartime

D'Emilio, J. (1983). *Sexual politics, sexual communities.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Ch3, "The bonds of oppression: Gay life in the 1950s"]

9/8 Two theories of how groups form

McAdam, D. (1982). *Political process and the development of black insurgency, 1930-1970.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [p5-11]

Olson, M. (1965). *The logic of collective action.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. [Extracts]

9/11 The Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis

Armstrong, E.A. (2002). *Forging gay identities: Organizing sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Ch2, "Beginnings: Homosexual politics and organizations, 1950-1968"]

The Mattachine Society. (1951). Statement of purpose and membership pledge.

Daughters of Bilitis. (1959). Purpose of the Daughters of Bilitis.

How groups frame collective action: Gay liberation, 1969-1980

9/13 Stonewall

Frank, W. (2014). *Law and the gay rights story.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. [Ch2, "Stonewall (1969)"]

Miller, N. (2006). *Out of the past: Gay and lesbian history from 1869 to the present.* New York: Alyson Books. [Extract: "The birth of gay and lesbian liberation"]

Shelley, M. (2009). "Our passion shook the world". In Aviccolli Mecca, T. (Ed.), *Smash the church, smash the state! The early years of gay liberation.* San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books.

9/15 Framing collective action

McAdam, D. (1996). The framing function of movement tactics: Strategic dramaturgy in the American civil rights movement. In McAdam, D., McCarthy, J.D., & Zald, M.N. (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on social movements*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [Extracts]

9/18 Framing gay liberation

Hall, S. (2010). The American gay rights movement and patriotic protest. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 19(3), 536-562. [Extract].

Emotions and collective action: AIDS activism in the 1980s and 90s

9/20 The epidemic

Rimmerman, C.A. (2014). *The lesbian and gay movements*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. [p33-47]

Eisenbach, D. (2006). *Gay power: An American revolution*. New York: Carroll & Graf. ["The conspiracy of silence redux"]

9/22 Emotions in politics

Brader, T. (2012). The emotional foundations of democratic citizenship. In Berinsky, A.J. (Ed.), *New directions in public opinion*. London, UK: Routledge. [Extracts]

9/25 ACT UP! Fight back! Fight AIDS!

Gould, D. B. (2009). *Moving politics: Emotion and ACT UP's fight against AIDS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Extracts from Ch4, "The emotion work of movements"]

The iron law of oligarchy: from die-ins to hiring lobbyists

9/27- The tendency towards oligarchy

29 Rucht, D. (1999). Linking organization and mobilization: Michels' iron law of oligarchy reconsidered. *Mobilization* 4(2), 151-169. [Extracts]

10/2 LGBT organizations and the LGBT grassroots

Rimmerman, C.A. (2000). Beyond political mainstreaming: Reflections on lesbian and gay organizations and the grassroots. In Rimmerman, C.A., Wald, K.D., & Wilcox, C. (Eds.), *The politics of gay rights*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Political opportunities and movement success: the sodomy cases

10/4 Political opportunities

McAdam, D. (1982). *Political process and the development of black insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [p39-43]

McAdam, D. (2009). The US civil rights movement: Power from below and above, 1945-70. In Roberts, A., & Garton Ash, T. (Eds.) *Civil resistance and power politics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. [Extracts]

10/6 Legal opportunities

Andersen, E.A. (2006). *Out of the closets and into the courts: Legal opportunity structure and gay rights litigation*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. [Extracts from Ch1, “The puzzle of gay rights litigation”]

10/9 From *Bowers* to *Lawrence*

Andersen, E.A. (2006). *Out of the closets and into the courts: Legal opportunity structure and gay rights litigation*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. [Extracts from Ch5, “Sodomy reform from *Bowers* to *Lawrence*”]

10/11 Research assignment #1 due

10/11 & Research assignment presentations

10/13

10/16 Catch-up and review

10/18 Exam #1

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES AND LGBT POLITICS FROM THE TOP DOWN

Expanding the scope of conflict: The religious right and the LGBT movement

10/20 The scope of conflict

Schattschneider, E.E. (1960). *The semi-sovereign people: A realist's view of democracy*. Austin, TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. [Ch1, “The contagiousness of conflict”]

10/23 Movement strategies

Button, J.W., Rienzo, B.A., & Wald, K.D. (1997). *Private lives, public conflicts*. Washington, DC: CQ Press. [Extracts from Ch3, “The politics of gay rights laws”]

10/25 Counter-movement strategies

Stone, A.L. (2013). Winning for LGBT rights laws, losing for same sex marriage. In Bernstein, M., & Taylor, V. (Eds.) *The Marrying Kind?* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Issue evolution: The parties take sides on LGBT issues

10/27 Parties and social movements

Fetner, T. (2008). *How the religious right shaped lesbian and gay activism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. [Ch4, "Where's the party? Entering the Republican and Democratic Folds"]

10/30 Issue evolution

Adams, G.D. (1997). Abortion: Evidence of an issue evolution. *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(3), 718-737.

11/1 The parties take sides

Karol, D. (2012). How does party position change happen? The case of gay rights in the U.S. Congress. Working paper. [Extracts]

Public opinion: What shapes attitudes toward LGBT rights?

11/3 Prejudice and intergroup contact theory

Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley. [Extracts from Ch2, "The normality of prejudgment" and Ch16, "The effect of contact"]

11/6 Parasocial contact and the power of TV

Schiappa, E. (2008). *Beyond representational correctness: Rethinking criticism of popular media*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. [Extract from Ch 4, "Learning from television: The parasocial contact hypothesis"]

11/8 Elite leadership of public opinion

Zaller, J. (1994). Elite leadership of mass opinion. In Bennett, W.L., & Paletz, D.L. (Eds.), *Taken by storm*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. [Extracts]

11/10 Elites and cues about LGBT rights

Jones, P.E., & Brewer, P.R. (2017). Elite cues and public polarization on transgender rights. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*.

Democratic representation: Politicians and LGBT policymaking

11/13 Descriptive representation and its consequences

Reingold, B. (2008). Women as officeholders: Linking descriptive and substantive representation. In Wolbrecht, C., Beckwith, K., & Baldez, L. (Eds.) *Political women and American democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [Extract]

Dovi, S. (2008). Theorizing women's representation in the United States. In Wolbrecht, C., Beckwith, K., & Baldez, L. (Eds.) *Political women and American democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [Extract]

11/15 Does LGBT policy success depend on LGBT politicians?

Haider-Markel, D.P. (2010). *Out and running*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. [Ch4, "In the legislature" — choose ONE or TWO of the case studies to read; and Ch5, "Translating descriptive representation into substantive representation"]

11/17 When do straight politicians represent LGBT people?

Bishin, B.G. & Smith, C.A. (2013). When do legislators defy popular sovereignty? Testing theories of minority representation using DOMA. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(4), 794-803.

11/27 Research assignment #2 due

Interest group politics: Transgender rights and policy agendas

11/27 Coalitions and competition

Nownes, A.J. (2014). Interest groups and transgender politics. In Taylor, J.K., & Haider-Markel, D.P. (Eds.) *Transgender rights and politics*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

11/29 Who do groups represent?

Strolovitch, D.Z. (2013). The paradoxes of inequality and interest group representation. In Grossmann, M. (Ed.) *New directions in interest group politics*. London, UK: Routledge.

12/1 Guest speaker: Sarah McBride, National Press Secretary, Human Rights Campaign

12/4 Transgender rights on the agenda

Aravosis, J. (October 8, 2007). How did the T get in LGBT? *Salon*.

Talusan, M. (June 25, 2014). 45 years after Stonewall, the LGBT movement has a transphobia problem. *The American Prospect*.

Holden, D. (October 25, 2016). Top LGBT leaders are divided over compromising on the bathroom fight. *BuzzFeed*.

12/6 Catch-up and review

12/8 Exam #2