

# POSC 406: LGBT\* POLITICS

FALL 2019  
MWF 10.10-11.00  
GORE 318

## INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION

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Office hours: MWF 11.10-12.00 // Smith 302

## ABOUT THE COURSE

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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 odds of 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

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

1. Identify and evaluate key 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

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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:

Exam #1	22%
Exam #2	22%
Research assignment #1	20%
Research assignment #2	20%
In-class assignments	10%
Class participation	6%

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

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

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Research shows that people learn better when classes are “active” rather than passive. 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. We also miss an opportunity to learn from you if 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. [Students who have a documented reason for laptop use should talk to me about accommodating your needs.] More information about how laptop use damages learning can be found on the Canvas website.
4. If you are encountering difficulties in the class, come chat with me. See “office hours” below.

## CLASS PARTICIPATION

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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 as being either:

- Present and contributing to discussion [2 points];
- Present but not contributing to discussion [1 point];
- Not present [0 points]; *or*
- Not fully present (late, using cell phone/laptop, etc) [0 points]

Excused absences (see below) are treated as NAs. I will periodically update you on your scores; at the end of the semester these scores will be summed and then converted into a percentage of the highest score possible.

## OFFICE HOURS

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My office hours are listed at the top of the syllabus. These are set times that are blocked off on my schedule, dedicated for you. I will always be in my office during these times, and you should stop by at least once or twice this semester (*very occasionally* I have to reschedule, but I always send an email to the class when this happens). This is by far the best and easiest way to get feedback and help from me outside of class. We can talk about specific course material, review your work in the course, go over your plans for upcoming assignments, and so on. You do not need to make an appointment in advance; just stop by and say hi!

## ABSENCES AND LATE ASSIGNMENTS

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I expect you to attend every class session and complete every assignment for this course. You should familiarize yourself with [UD's policy on excused absences](#). If you have to miss a class, you should email me before the class begins to notify me of your absence. Absences due to religious holidays, participation in University extracurricular activities, and short-term illness are excused, provided you contact me first.

For absences that last more than two classes (due to family emergencies, illness, etc), you should contact the Assistant Dean's office of your College to document the reason for your absence. They will then send a letter of verification to all your professors, and I will excuse your absence.

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 without an excused absence result in a score of zero.

Note well that in an era of free online backups, I will not accept computer failure as a valid excuse for missing any assignment deadline. You should get in the habit now of using a desktop-based backup system (e.g., Dropbox, iCloud) or cloud-based computing (e.g., Google Docs) for all your work.

## ADDITIONAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES

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Additional policies on academic honesty, disclosure of sexual misconduct, harassment and discrimination, and the inclusion of diverse learning needs in the course can be found at the end of the syllabus.

## A NOTE ON LGBT\* TERMINOLOGY

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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 tends to describe 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. Some groups also include other identities such as queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, etc (“LGBTQIA+”). To mirror most 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.

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## 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.

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## INTRODUCTION

8/28 Complete Introductory Student Survey on Canvas by 9am

8/28 Introduction to the course

Read: the syllabus, “What last year’s students want you to know about the course”, and “How to read political science: A guide in four steps” by Amelia Hoover Green

8/30 No class [Professor at APSA conference]

9/2 No class [Labor Day]

9/2 Complete assignment “Liberation and assimilation in LGBT\* politics” on Canvas by 9am

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## SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND LGBT\* POLITICS FROM THE BOTTOM UP

### Mobilizing resources: The homophile movement, 1950-1968

9/4 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”]

9/6 Two theories of resource mobilization

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]

9/9 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.

## **Framing collective action: Gay liberation, 1969-1980**

### 9/11 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 Avicolti Mecca, T. (Ed.), *Smash the church, smash the state! The early years of gay liberation*. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books.

### 9/13 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]

### 9/16 Framing gay liberation

Bruce, K.M. (2016). *Pride parades: How a parade changed the world*. New York: NYU Press. [Extracts from Ch1, "From 'gay is good' to 'unapologetically gay'"]

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**

### 9/18 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"]

### 9/20 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]

### 9/23 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**

### 9/25-7 The tendency towards oligarchy

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

9/30 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**

10/2 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]

10/4 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"]

10/7 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"]

**10/9 Research assignment #1 due**

10/9 Research assignment presentations

10/11 No class [Fall break]

10/14 Catch-up and review

**10/16 Exam #1**

### **Changing the scope of conflict: The religious right and the LGBT movement**

#### 10/18 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"]

#### 10/21 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"]

#### 10/23 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.

### **Party coalitions and capture: The parties take sides on LGBT issues**

#### 10/25 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"]

#### 10/28 Electoral capture

Frymer, P. (1999). *Uneasy alliances: Race and party competition in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Extracts from Ch1, "Introduction"]

#### 10/30 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?**

#### 11/1 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"]

#### 11/4 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"]

#### 11/6 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]

11/8 Elites and cues about LGBT rights

Jones, P.E., & Brewer, P.R. (2018). Elite cues and public polarization on transgender rights. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*.

**Democratic representation: Politicians and LGBT policymaking**

11/11 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]

11/13 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"]

11/15 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.

**Interest group politics: Transgender representation in the LGBT coalition**

11/18 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.

11/20 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.

**11/22 Research assignment #2 due**

11/22 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*.

12/2 Catch-up and review

**12/4 Exam #2**

## ADDITIONAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES

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### ACADEMIC HONESTY

I have zero tolerance for academic dishonesty of any kind. Please familiarize yourself with [UD's policies in this regard](#). To falsify the results of one's research, to steal the words or ideas of another, to cheat on an assignment, to re-submit the same assignment for different classes, or to allow or assist another to commit these acts corrupts the educational process. Students are expected to do their own work and neither give nor receive unauthorized assistance.

### DISCLOSURE OF SEXUAL MISCONDUCT

If, at any time during this course, I happen to be made aware that a student may have been the victim of sexual misconduct (including sexual harassment, sexual violence, domestic/dating violence, or stalking), I am obligated to inform the university's Title IX Coordinator. The university needs to know information about such incidents in order to offer resources to victims and to ensure a safe campus environment for everyone. The Title IX Coordinator will decide if the incident should be examined further. If such a situation is disclosed to me in class, in a paper assignment, or in office hours, I promise to protect your privacy — I will not disclose the incident to anyone but the Title IX Coordinator. More information on sexual misconduct policies, where to get help, and how to report information, is [available online](#). UD provides 24-hour crisis assistance and victim advocacy and counseling. Contact 302-831-1001, UD Helpline 24/7/365, to get in touch with a sexual offense support advocate.

### HARASSMENT AND DISCRIMINATION

The University of Delaware works to promote an academic and work environment that is free from all forms of discrimination, including harassment. As a member of the community, your rights, resources and responsibilities are reflected in the [non-discrimination and sexual misconduct policies](#).

The University of Delaware does not discriminate against any person on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, gender identity or expression, sexual orientation, genetic information, marital status, disability, religion, age, veteran status or any other characteristic protected by applicable law in its employment, educational programs and activities, admissions policies, and scholarship and loan programs as required by Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and other applicable statutes and University policies. The University of Delaware also prohibits unlawful harassment including sexual harassment and sexual violence.

You can report any concerns to the University's Office of Equity & Inclusion, at 305 Hulihan Hall, (302) 831-8063 or you can report anonymously through UD Police (302) 831-2222 or the EthicsPoint Compliance Hotline at [www1.udel.edu/compliance](http://www1.udel.edu/compliance). You can also report any violation of UD policy on harassment, discrimination, or abuse of any person [online here](#).

### INCLUSION OF DIVERSE LEARNING NEEDS

Any student who thinks they may need an accommodation based on a disability should contact the [Office of Disability Support Services](#) (DSS) office as soon as possible. The DSS office is located at 240 Academy Street, Alison Hall Suite 130, Phone: 302-831-4643. We will work together to find accommodations for you that ensure you can get the most out of the class as possible.