



LGBTQ Politics & Policy

GOVT 401

Instructor Info —



Andrew R. Flores



M: 4pm-6pm or by appointment



Kerwin Hall 240



american.edu/spa/faculty/



aflores@american.edu

Course Info —



M/Th 2:30pm-3:45pm



No Lab



Kerwin Hall 6

Description —

This course examines the specific case of LGBTQ politics over 70 years to: understand when, how, and what historically marginalized groups achieve from a majoritarian political system, draws on theories and research about American politics, and makes sense of the outcomes of the LGBTQ movement. We study patterns of politics and resistance in the US.



Integrative Courses > Diversity and Equity (DIV)

Integrative Courses > Capstone

Overview

Politics is fundamentally about power – about “who gets what, when, and how.” The primary goal of this course is to understand what historically marginalized groups are able to get out of a majoritarian system, and when and how they do so. We draw on theories and research about American politics in general to make sense of the particular outcomes of the LGBT rights movement. And, we’ll use the specific case of LGBT politics over the past seventy years to learn more about the general patterns of politics in American democracy.

The course is split into three parts. The first part provides research approaches in the application of LGBTQ politics & policy. The second looks at LGBT politics from the “bottom up.” We’ll follow LGBT groups from the 1950s to the 2020s to help answer broader questions about social movements.

The third part looks at LGBT politics from the “top down.” We’ll dissect changes in “political opportunities” to help answer broader questions about democratic politics in the U.S., including public opinion and political behavior.

Materials

Required Texts

Burack, Cynthia. 2008. *Sin, Sex, and Democracy: Antigay Rhetoric and the Christian Right*. New York: SUNY Press.

Burgess, Susan. 2023. *LGBT Inclusion in American Life: Pop Culture, Political Imagination, and Civil Rights*. New York: NYU Press. (Burgess)

Stein, Marc. 2023. *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge. (Stein)

Documentaries

How to Survive a Plague (2012); Pride (2021)

Grading Scheme

15% Exam 1 5% Community Engagement 10% Reflections 10% Participation

20% Exam 2 5% Political Engagement 35% Capstone Paper

“A” >93%; “A-” 90–93%; “B+” 87–89%; “B” 84–86%; “B-” 80–83%; “C+” 77–79%; “C” 74–76%; “C-” 70–73%; “D+” 60–69%; “D” 55–59%; “F” <55%.

Learning Objectives

- **Describe** patterns of thought and practices of LGBTQ people, especially in advocacy organizing & agenda-setting.
- **Examine** how experiences of oppression and responses to them shape the contemporary political realities & current conditions of LGBTQ people.
- **Analyze** how structural inequalities shape identities and how these constructions affect inequities.
- **Evaluate & reflect** on societal values, public policies, and patterns of resistance to develop a more equitable society.

This will address the Diversity and Equity learning outcomes of the AU Core.

- **Build** on knowledge, skills, or dispositions learned or developed at AU in a new context.
- **Identify & execute** a significant project that addresses a substantive political concern.
- **Articulate** the knowledge, skills, or dispositions gained during their undergraduate education or used in the project.

This will address the Capstone learning outcomes of the AU Core.

Acknowledgments: This syllabus draws heavily from the syllabi of Philip E. Jones (U Delaware) and Ed Kammerer (Idaho State U), with some modification.



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Examinations

There will be two in-class examinations throughout the semester. These exams will assess your content knowledge, critical and analytical thought about course content, and your ability to bridge concepts learned throughout the semester.

Both exams will be structured in three sections:

1. Multiple Choice Section
2. Short Answer Section
3. Essay Section

The first section assesses your content knowledge of the course. The second and third sections assess your ability to describe, examine, and analyze patterns of thought, experiences of and responses to oppression, and structural inequalities and their relation to identities and inequities.

All exams are **comprehensive**. Given the limitations of class time, the midterm exam will be less lengthy than the final exam, and the midterm will be graded acknowledging time constraints.

Capstone Paper

Students will prepare a 25–35 page significant research project involving LGBTQ+ politics and policy. This research project may use various disciplinary perspectives that inform LGBTQ+ politics including:

- Legal (e.g., a law review-type entry)
- Theoretical (e.g., a normative or empirical application of political theory)
- Qualitative (e.g., participatory action research)
- Quantitative (e.g., regression analyses)

The goal of this project is for students to gain more knowledge about a particular area of LGBTQ politics & policy by reviewing additional books and articles not assigned in the course that are focused on the student's particular topic and research approach. This assignment will help students examine and analyze structural inequalities and hypothesize a causal process that helps explain current inequities or identify interventions to reduce them.

The topic can range from the effects of legal protections on LGBTQ people's civic participation, the effects of out LGBTQ people holding public office, to the factors that might influence how American adults come to understand bisexuality. Students are **strongly encouraged** to talk with me during office hours about their projects. I am here to help you, and I can help you find literature, modify your question, and/or help you think about your approach.

Students should submit a summary of their chosen topic and plan for analyzing that topic (e.g., empirical, legal, theoretical, etc.) by September 27, 2024. (2.5% of your course grade attributed to the capstone assignment)

Students should submit an outline of their paper by October 11, 2024. (2.5% of your course grade attributed to the capstone assignment)

Feedback will be provided in order to help organize ideas. Students may submit additional drafts of their works in progress for faculty and grad assistant feedback.

Reflections

Once a week, students are asked to write 1–2 paragraphs reflecting on the readings, class discussion, and other relevant interactions, with for example friends or discussions that occur in other classes. Students should focus on evaluating and reflecting how course readings, discussions, and other interactions provide promises and limits to creating a more equitable society for LGBTQ people based upon a particular set of values, policies, or practices.

For example, some course readings will discuss intersectional marginalization both within LGBTQ spaces but also in others. We will also discuss what a transformative queer politics may look like. You may use this reflection journal to think about: *how* does a transformative queer politics create a more equitable society? What challenges might such an approach face? You can share personal experiences and interactions that might clarify what you see as the benefits and costs to such interventions.

Reflections will be done at the end of each week on Canvas.

Community Engagement

Once during the semester, students attend an LGBTQ+ community-focused event. Such events can include but are not limited to:

- LGBTQ+ reading groups
- Queer-focused dance or other groups (e.g., DC Queer Tango Club)

- Drag shows or brunches (age restrictions may apply at some venues)
- Drag story hours
- LGBTQ+ poetry or other arts events
- On-campus LGBTQ+ groups

Students will write a short 1–2 page summary of their experience. In addition, they should examine and analyze this experience as a pattern of thought or practice that is a response (or not) of political oppression and inequality. Once this summary is submitted, students should briefly share in class their experiences and reactions.

Political Engagement

Once during the semester, students will perform an LGBTQ+ political-focused action. Such events can include but are not limited to:

- Attending a meeting or an event convened LGBTQ+ political group
- Lobbying members of Congress around LGBTQ+ topics
- Writing to elected officials about LGBTQ+ topics
- Community organizing and/or Get-Out-The-Vote Efforts
- Canvassing or phone-banking

Students will write a short 1–2 page summary of their experience. In addition, they should examine and analyze this experience as a pattern of thought or practice that is a response (or not) of political oppression and inequality. Once this summary is submitted, students should briefly share in class their experiences and reactions.

Participation

The empirical research overwhelmingly shows that people learn better when classes are “active” rather than passive. Instead of a traditional lecture format, our classes will emphasize interactive discussions and group problem-solving. Thus, student participation is critical. For each class session, students will be scored on the following scale:

- 2 Present and contributing to discussion
- 1 Present but not contributing to discussion
- 0 Not present or not fully present

Reading assignments have common content as well as team content, and students will teach their peers what they read to get everyone on the same page. Thus, active participation and engagement with the literature will be expected.

Excused absences will not factor into the final grade for class participation.

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 “LGBTQ” 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 “LGBTQ” term really are.

Documentaries

This course relies on multiple forms of media including documentaries. Many of these documentaries are available for streaming with a relatively small cost to rent. One documentary is available exclusively on FX & Hulu. Please contact me if you have constraints on accessing any documentary, so we can identify a solution or alternative exercise.

Research Support

You have additional support from American University when it comes to research questions. The Library maintains a [HelpDesk](#) to assist with the research process, and you should actively use this assistance if you find you are stuck somewhere in your prospectus.

Academic Integrity Code

All students are required to follow the University's Academic Integrity Code. If you have not already done so, please familiarize yourself with the standards & requirements of the University's Academic Code of Conduct. Violations of the Code of Conduct will not be tolerated & will be reported appropriately. You can find more information about the University's Academic Integrity Code here: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>

The Use of Artificial Intelligence

Students should not use generative AI (e.g., Chat GPT) to originally generate any of their work. Just as it is considered plagiarism to copy/paste someone else's words without appropriate attribution, copy/pasting output from Chat GPT without acknowledgment or attribution would similarly be considered plagiarism. The same rules apply for paraphrasing. If you ever have a question about whether to cite, please err on the side that citing your sources is generally a better/best practice. This does NOT mean that students can submit an AI-generated paper, cite that it's AI-generated and be absolved. This could still be an AIC violation or be equivalent to a submission that is entirely quotations, which would be evaluated negatively.

You can use tools like Grammarly that revise your original writing to make your writing clearer. This is similar to going to the Writing Center to get feedback on your written work.

Accommodations

All effort will be offered to make this class accessible to all students. Though "reasonable accommodation" is the legal right of people with disabilities, this course is designed to be universally accessible for students regardless of disability or other individual categorization.

The Academic Support & Access Center supports the academic development & educational goals of all American University Students & is committed to providing access for individuals with disabilities within the university's diverse community.

Location: Mary Gradyon Center (MGC-243), x3360, Fax: x1042, M–Th: 9am–7pm & F: 9am–5pm,
<https://www.american.edu/provost/academic-access/index.cfm>

Emergency Preparedness

In an emergency, AU will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering & extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format &/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course & timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail & Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly & keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU website (<http://www.american.edu/emergency>) & the AU information line x1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty &/or respective dean's office for course & school/college-specific information.

COVID-19 Precautions

We will be following all the requirements that American University has established to have a safe semester. This includes vaccination, regular testing, face masks while indoors, and quarantining if anyone shows COVID-19 symptoms. Students should take care of their physical and mental health throughout the semester. There are resources on campus, and I am happy to share further details as necessary. It is understandable that unexpected events may introduce additional burdens on students during this time. Please feel free to communicate with me if something does arise, and I will be as flexible as possible.

Sharing of Course Content

To supplement the classroom experience, lectures may be audio or video recorded by faculty and made available to students registered for this class. Faculty may record classroom lectures or discussions for pedagogical use, future student reference, or to meet the accommodation needs of students with a documented disability. These recordings are limited to personal use and may not be distributed, sold, or posted on social media outlets without written permission of the instructor.

Unauthorized downloading, file sharing, or distribution of any part of course materials, or using information for purposes other than student's own learning, may be deemed a violation of American University's Student Conduct Code and subject to disciplinary action (see [VI. Prohibited Conduct](#)).

Grading Policies

The School of Public Affairs is actively reducing grade inflation. This means that your grade is determined by the following criteria. These criteria are uniform across the School of Public Affairs.

A	Excellent/outstanding: met or exceeded the highest expectations <u>on all criteria</u> for the assignment or course.
A-	Excellent (somewhat): met very high expectations <u>on all criteria</u> , or the the highest expectations <u>on all but one or two criteria</u> for the assignment or course.
B+	Good (very): met high expectations <u>on all but one or two criteria</u> for the assignment or course.
B	Good: met standard expectations <u>all but one or two criteria</u> for the assignment or course.
B-	Good (somewhat)/fair: met standard expectations <u>on most criteria > 50%</u> for the assignment or course while also falling short on one or two significant criteria or on a number of less important criteria.
C+	Satisfactory (very): met minimum expectations <u>on all criteria</u> for the assignment or course.
C	Satisfactory: met minimum expectations on most criteria (> 50%) for the assignment or course while falling short in some ways. For undergraduates, a grade of C or above is required to receive major, minor, or certificate course credit.
C-	Satisfactory (somewhat): fell short of meeting minimum expectations on most criteria (> 50%) for the assignment or course. For undergraduates, a grade of C- is sufficient to receive elective course credit.
D	Poor: fell short of meeting minimum expectations <u>on most criteria</u> for the assignment or course. For undergraduates, a grade of D or above is required to receive elective course credit.
F	Academic failing; very poor performance.

Schedule

All readings should be performed prior to class sessions. Readings are divided into “Main,” “Team A,” and “Team B.” Main readings should be read by everybody. Team A readings should be read by those assigned to Team A, Team B readings should be read by those assigned to Team B. You are *welcome* to read beyond your assigned readings.

MODULE 1: Introduction to LGBTQ People, Politics, & Policy

Week 1

- Aug. 26 Course introduction
 - Main: Syllabus
 - Main: Murib, Zein. 2017. “Rethinking GLBT as a Political Category.” In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*, M. Brettschneider, S. Burgess, & C. Keating (eds). New York: NYU Press. 14–33.
- Aug. 29 Legal Research & LGBTQ Policy
 - Main: Wuest, Joanna W. 2019. “The Scientific Gaze in American Transgender Politics: Contesting the Meanings of Sex, Gender, and Gender Identity in Bathroom Rights Cases.” *Politics & Gender* 15(2): 336–360.

Week 2

- Sept. 2 No Class: Labor Day Holiday
- Sept. 5 Quantitative Research & LGBTQ Policy
 - Lowande, Kenneth, and Andrew Proctor. 2020. “Bureaucratic Responsiveness to LGBT Americans.” *American Journal of Political Science* 64(3): 664–681.
 - Team A: Gates, Gary J. 2011. *How Many People Are Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender?* Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute.
 - Team B: Flores, Andrew R., Jody L. Herman, Gary J. Gates, and Taylor N. T. Brown. 2017. *How Many Adults Identify as Transgender in the United States?* Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute.

Week 3

- Sept. 9 Qualitative Research & LGBTQ Policy
 - Proctor, Andrew. 2022. “Coming Out to Vote: The Construction of a Lesbian and Gay Electoral Constituency in the United States.” *American Political Science Review* 116(3): 777–790.

MODULE 2: Social Movements & LGBTQ Politics from the Bottom Up

- Sept. 12 Early Organizing: The Homophile Era
 - Main: Stein. Skim Ch. 1. Read Ch. 2.
 - Main: The Daughters of Bilitis. 1959. “Purpose of the Daughters of Bilitis.”
 - Main: The Mattachine Society. 1951. “Statement of Purpose and Membership Pledge.”
 - Team A: McAdam, Douglas. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970*. Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press. 5–11.
 - Team B: Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. Press.
 - Documentary: *Pride*, Episode 1 available on FX & Hulu.

Week 4

- Sept. 16 Stonewall & Gay Liberation
 - Main: Stein. Ch. 3.
 - Main: Armstrong, Elizabeth A. and Suzanna M. Cragie. 2006. “Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth.” *American Sociological Review* 71(5): 724–751.
 - Recommended: Retzliff, Tim. 2007. “Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in the U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera.” *Centro Journal* 19(1): 140–161.
 - Documentary: *Pride*, Episode 2 available on FX & Hulu.

•Sep. 19 Internal Conflicts & Radical Transformation?

- **Main:** Cohen, Cathy J. 1997. "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies* 3: 437–465.
- **Main:** Cohen, Cathy J. 1999. "What Is This Movement Doing to My Politics?" *Social Text* 61: 111–118.
- **Team A:** Aron, Nina Renata. 2017. "Lesbians Battled for Their Place in 1960s Feminism." Jan. 19. *Timeline*. Available from: [here](#).
- **Team A:** Mantilla, Karla. "Men in Ewes' Clothing: The Stealth Politics of the Transgender Movement." *Off Our Backs* 30(4): 5, 8–9, 12.
- **Team B:** skim Wittman, Carl. 2004 [1972]. "A Gay Manifesto." In *Feminism and Masculinities*, P. F. Murphy (ed). New York, NY: Oxford U. Press.
- **Documentary:** *Pride*, Episode 3 available on FX & Hulu.

Week 5

•Sept. 23 Conservative Backlash

- **Main:** Stein Ch. 4.
- **Main:** Burack Introduction - Ch. 1.
- **Main:** Stone, Amy. 2012. "An Uphill Battle in the 70s and 80s: Building LGBT Movement Infrastructure." In *Gay Rights at the Ballot Box*. Minneapolis, MN: U. of Minnesota Press.
- **Main:** Burack Ch. 2–3
- **Main:** Fetner, Tina. 2008. "Where's the Party? Entering the Republican and Democratic Folds." In *How the Religious Rights Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism*. Minneapolis, MN: U. of Minnesota Press.

•Sept. 26 Internal/External Logics

Week 6

•Sept. 30 Culture and Politics

- **Main:** Burack Ch. 4.
- **Main:** Bernstein, Mary. 2002. "Identities and Politics: Toward a Historical Understanding of the Lesbian and Gay Movement." *Social Science History* 26(3): 531–581.
- **Main:** Burgess Introduction – Ch. 1
- **Main:** Gould, Deborah B. 2009. "The Emotion Work of Movements." In *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS*. Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press.
- **Main:** Stein Ch. 5.
- **Main:** Brader, Ted and Carly Wayne. 2015. "The Emotional Foundations of Democratic Citizenship." In *New Directions in Public Opinion*, A. J. Berinsky (ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- **Documentary:** *Pride*, Episode 4 available on FX & Hulu.

•Oct. 3 HIV/AIDS and ACT UP!

Week 7

•Oct. 7 AIDS, Race & Class Politics

- **Main:** Cohen, Cathy J. 1999. "Marginalization: Power, Identity, and Membership." In *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press.
- **Main:** McAdam, Douglas. 1996. "The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement." In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, & M. N. Zald (eds.).
- **Recommended:** Cohen, Cathy J. 1999. "Enter AIDS: Context and Confrontation." In *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press.
- **Recommended:** Ramirez-Valles, Jesus and Rafael M. Diaz. 2012. "Public Health, Race, and the AIDS Movement: The Profile and Consequences of Latino Gay Men's Community Involvement." In *Processes of Community Change and Social Action*, A. M. Omoto (ed.). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- **Recommended:** Boykin, Keith O. 2000. "Where Rhetoric Meets Reality: The Role of Black Lesbians and Gays in 'Queer' Politics." In *The Politics of Gay Rights*, C. A. Rimmerman, K. D. Wald, & C. Wilcox (eds.). Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press.

•Oct. 10 Midterm Examinations

MODULE 3: Political Opportunities & LGBTQ Politics from the Top Down

Week 8

•Oct. 14 The Iron Law of Oligarchy

Policy: Don't Ask, Don't Tell

- **Main:** Stein Ch. 6.
- **Main:** Rucht, Dieter. 1999. "Linking Organization and Mobilization: Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy Reconsidered." *Mobilization* 4(2): 151–169.
- **Main:** Burgess Ch. 2.
- **Documentary:** *Pride*, Episode 5 on FX & Hulu.
- **Recommended:** Vaid, Urvashi. 1995. "The Mainstream Response: Don't Ask, Don't Tell." In *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- **Recommended:** Vaid, Urvashi. 1995. "The Prevailing Strategy: Mainstreaming Defined." In *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- **Main:** Nownes, Anthony J. 2014. "Interest Groups and Transgender Politics: Opportunities and Challenges." In *Transgender Rights and Politics: Groups, Issue Framing, and Policy Adoption*, J. K. Taylor & D. P. Haider-Markel (eds.). Ann Arbor, MI: U. of Michigan Press.
- **Main:** Schmelzer, Elise. 2019. "Denver's Tim Gill has donated half a billion dollars to LGBTQ equality." [The Denver Post](#).
- **Main:** Holden, Dominic. 2016. "Top LGBT Leaders Are Divided Over Compromising on The Bathroom Fight." [Buzzfeed News](#)
- **Main:** Movement Advancement Project. 2018. *2018 National Movement Report: A Financial Overview of Leading Organizations in the LGBT Movement*. Denver, CO: The Movement Advancement Project.

•Oct. 17 Movement Infrastructure

Policy: Gender Identity Public Accommodations

Week 9

•Oct. 21 The Costs of Organization

Policy: Marriage Equality

- **Main:** Burgess Ch. 3.
- **Main:** Strollovitch, Dara Z. 2007. *Affirmative Advocacy: Race, Class, and Gender in Interest Group Politics*. Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press.
- **Team A:** Taylor, Jami K. and Daniel C. Lewis. 2014. "The Advocacy Coalition Framework and Transgender Inclusion in LGBT Rights Activism." In *Transgender Rights and Politics: Groups, Issue Framing, and Policy Adoption*, J. K. Taylor & D. P. Haider-Markel (eds.). Ann Arbor, MI: U. of Michigan Press.
- **Team B:** Ward, Jane. 2008. "The Mainstreaming of Intersectionality: Doing Identity Politics in a Diversity Culture." In *Respectably Queer: Diversity Culture in LGBT Activist Organizations*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt U. Press.
- **Documentary:** *Pride*, Episode 6 available on FX & Hulu.
- **Main:** Haider-Markel, Donald P. and Kenneth J. Meier. 1996. "The Politics of Gay and Lesbian Rights: Expanding the Scope of the Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 58(2): 332–349.
- **Main:** Schattschneider, E. E. 1960. "The Contagiousness of Conflict." In *The Semi-sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. Austin, TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- **Main:** Murib, Zein. 2020. "A new kind of anti-trans legislation is hitting the red states." [The Washington Post](#).
- **Recommended documentary:** *Changing the Game* on Hulu.

•Oct. 24 Conflict Expansion

Policy: Transgender Young People

Week 10

•Oct. 28 Political Opportunities: The Judiciary

Policy: Title IX of the Civil Rights Act

- **Main:** Majority opinion of *Bostock v. Clayton County* (2020)
- **Main:** Klarman, Michael J. 2012. *From the Closet to the Altar: Courts, Backlash, and the Struggle for Same-Sex Marriage*. New York, NY: Oxford U. Press.
- **Main:** Department of Education. 2024. [Summary of Rule Changes](#).

•Oct. 31 Political Opportunities: The Judiciary
Policy: Religious Refusals

- **Main:** Majority opinion of *Masterpiece Bakeshop v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission* (2018)
- **Main:** Keck, Thomas M. 2009. "Beyond Backlash: Assessing the Impact of Judicial Decisions on LGBT Rights." *Law & Society Review* 43(1): 151–186.
- **Main:** Rosenblum, Darren. 1994. "Queer Intersectionality and the Failure of Recent Lesbian and Gay 'Victories.'" *Law & Sexuality* 4: 83–122.
- **Recommended:** Andersen, Ellen Ann. 2017. "Transformative Events in the LGBTQ Rights Movement." *Indiana Journal of Law & Social Equality* 5(2): 441–472.

Week 11

•Nov. 4 Political Opportunities: The Executive
Policy: Executive Orders

- **Main:** Biden, Joseph R., Jr. 2021. "Executive Order on Preventing and Combating Discrimination on the Basis of Gender Identity or Sexual Orientation". [The White House](#)
- **Main:** Howell, William G. 2003. *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press.
- **Main:** Taylor, Jami K., Daniel C. Lewis, and Donald P. Haider-Markel, and Mitchell Sellers. 2018. "Executive Branch Treatments of Transgender Rights." In *The Remarkable Rise of Transgender Rights*. Ann Arbor, MI: U. of Michigan Press.
- **Recommended:** Sellers, Mitchell Dylan. 2017. "Gubernatorial Use of Executive Orders: Unilateral Actions and Policy Adoption." *Journal of Public Policy* 37(3): 315–339.

•Nov. 7 Political Opportunities: The Legislative

- **Main:** Neff, Christopher L., and Luke R. Edgell. 2013. "The Rise of Repeal: Policy Entrepreneurship and Don't Ask, Don't Tell." *Journal of Homosexuality* 60: 232–249.
- **Main:** Broockman, David E. and Christopher Skovron. 2018. "Bias in Perception of Public Opinion among Political Elites." *American Political Science Review* 112(3): 542–563.
- **Main:** Taylor, Jami K., Barry L. Tadlock, and Sarah Pogionne. 2014. "State LGBT Rights Policy Outliers: Transsexual Birth Certificate Amendment Laws." *American Review of Politics* 34: 245–270.
- **Recommended:** Bishin, Benjamin G. and Charles Anthony Smith. 2013. "When Do Legislators Defy Popular Sovereignty? Testing Theories of Minority Representation using DOMA." *Political Research Quarterly* 66(4): 794–803.
- **Recommended:** Taylor, Jami K., Daniel C. Lewis, and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2018. "Transgender Rights and Legislative Bodies." In *The Remarkable Rise of Transgender Rights*. Ann Arbor, MI: U. of Michigan Press.

Week 12

•Nov. 11 Political Opportunities:
The Legislative
Policy: Electing LGBTQ Candidates

- **Main:** Haider-Markel, Donald P. 2010. "Translating Descriptive Representation into Substantive Representation." In *Out and Running*. Washington, DC: Georgetown U. Press.
- **Main:** Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 259–274.
- **Main:** Gonzales, Ruben et al. 2021. [The Decision to Run: Uncovering the Barriers and Motivators for LGBTQ Women Running for Office](#). Washington, DC: The Victory Institute.

- Nov. 14 Political Opportunities:
Direct Initiatives
Policy: Non-discrimination

- **Main:** Haider-Markel, Donald P., Alana Querze, and Kara Lindaman. 2007. "Lose, Win, or Draw? A Reexamination of Direct Democracy and Minority Rights."
- **Main:** Taylor, Jami K., Daniel C. Lewis, and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2018. "Direct Democracy and Transgender Rights." In *The Remarkable Rise of Transgender Rights*. Ann Arbor, MI: U. of Michigan Press. *Political Research Quarterly* 60(2): 304–314.
- **Main:** Levesque, Brody. 2021. "Arizona PAC gathered enough signatures to challenge LGBTQ protection ordinance." *Los Angeles Blade*
- **Main:** [Associated Press](#). 2021. "Michigan Bureau: LGBTQ Rights Ballot Drive Short Signatures."
- **Recommended:** Stone, Amy L. 2012. "Losing at Same-Sex Marriage: Rethinking Ballot Measure Tactics." In *Gay Rights at the Ballot Box*. Minneapolis, MN: U. of Minnesota Press.
- **Recommended:** Flores, Andrew R., Mark L. Hatzenbuehler, and Gary J. Gates. 2018. "Identifying Psychological Responses of Stigmatized Groups to Referendums." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115(15): 3816–3821.

MODULE 4: Political Development, Attitude Change, & Political Behavior

Week 13

- Nov. 18 Issue Evolution

- **Main:** Burgess, Conclusion.
- **Main:** Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1989. "The Dynamics of Issues Evolution." In *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press.
- **Main:** Valelly, Richard M. 2012. "LGBT Politics and American Political Development." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 313–332.

- Nov. 21 Changing Mass Opinion

- **Team A:** Garretson, Jeremiah J. 2019. "Coming Out, Entertainment Television, and the Youth Revolt." In *The Path to Gay Rights: How Activism and Coming Out Changed Public Opinion*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
 - **Team A:** Lee, Taeku. 2002. "Elite Opinion Theory and Activated Mass Opinion." In *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press.
 - **Team B:** Jones, Philip E. and Paul R. Brewer. 2018. "Elite Cues and Public Polarization on Transgender Rights." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, doi: 10.1080/21565503.2018.1441722.
 - **Team B:** Zaller, John. 1994. "Elite Leadership of Mass Opinion." In *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, W. L. Bennett & D. L. Paletz (eds.). Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press.
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Week 14

- Nov. 25 Changing Hearts & Minds

- **Main:** Kalla, Joshua and David Broockman. 2021. "Which narrative strategies durably reduce prejudice? Evidence from field and survey experiments supporting the efficacy of perspective-getting." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- **Main:** Jones, Philip Edward. 2021. "Respectability Politics and Straight Support for LGB Rights." *Political Research Quarterly* doi: 10.1177/10659129211035834.
- **Recommended:** Broockman, David and Joshua Kalla. 2016. "Durably Reducing Transphobia: A Field Experiment on Door-to-Door Canvassing." *Science* 352(6282): 220–224.
- **Recommended:** Harrison, Brian F. and Melissa R. Michelson. 2017. *Listen, We Need to Talk: How to Change Attitudes about LGBT Rights*. New York, NY: Oxford U. Press.
- **Recommended:** Ofosu, Eugene K., Michelle K. Chambers, Jacqueline M. Chen, and Eric Hehman. 2018. "Same-Sex Marriage Legalization Associated with Reduced Implicit and Explicit Antigay Bias." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116(18): 8846–8851.
- **Recommended:** Flores, Andrew R. and Scott Barclay. "Backlash, Consensus, Legitimacy, or Polarization: The Effect of Same-Sex Marriage Policy on Mass Attitudes." *Political Research Quarterly* 69(1): 43–56.
- **Recommended:** Tankard, Margaret E. and Elizabeth Levy Paluck. 2017. "The Effect of a Supreme Court Decision Regarding Gay Marriage on Social Norms and Personal Attitudes." *Psychological Science* 28(9): 1334–1344.

- Nov. 28 No Class: Thanksgiving Holiday

Week 15

- Dec. 2 Political Organizing

- **Main:** DeFilippis, Joseph Nicholas and Ben Anderson-Nathe. 2017. "Embodying Margin to Center: Intersectional Activism among Queer Liberation Organizations." In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*, M. Brettschneider, S. Burgess, & C. Keating (eds). New York: NYU Press.
- **Main:** Terriquez, Veronica. 2015. "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement." *Social Problems* 62: 343–362.
- **Main:** Adam, Erin M. 2017. "Intersectional Coalitions: The Paradoxes of Rights-Based Movement Building in LGBTQ and Immigrant Communities." *Law and Society Review* 51(1): 132–167.
- **Main:** Cravens, R. G. 2020. "Political Behavior of Sexual and Gender Minorities." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of LGBTQ Politics and Policy*, D. P. Haider-Markel (ed.). New York, NY: Oxford U Press.
- **Main:** Flores, Andrew R. and Kenneth Sherrill. 2015. "From Freedom to Equality: Marriage and the Shifted Priorities of Lesbians, Gay Men, Bisexuals, and Transgender People." In *Minority Voting in the United States*, T. Baldino & K. Kreider (eds.). Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- **Main:** Strobe, Dakota, Tenaya Storm, and Andrew R. Flores. 2024. "Transgender and Gender Diverse People Disproportionately Report Problems while Trying to Vote than Cisgender People." *Journal of Politics*.
- **Recommended:** James, Sandy E., Jody L. Herman, Susan Rankin, Mara Keisling, Lisa Mottet, and M. Anafi. 2016. "Civic Participation and Policy Priorities." In *The Report of the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey*. Washington, DC: National Center for Transgender Equality.
- **Recommended:** Pew Research Center. *A Survey of LGBT Americans: Attitudes, Experiences and Values in Changing Times*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.
- **Due:** Capstone Project

- Dec. 5 Political Behavior

Examinations Week

- Dec. 9 Final Exam
11:20AM – 1:50PM
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