

# PSC 3192W: LGBTQ Politics

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Fall, 2020

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Office Hours: by appointment

The George Washington University  
Class Hours: W 11:10 - 1:00pm

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## Course Description

The course examines the role of sexual orientation and gender identity in politics drawing on the American politics literature on identity, LGBT civil rights movements, and representation. The first half takes a bottom-up approach looking at identity formation and the mobilization of social movements from the 1950s to the 2000s to explore when and why people organized for queer civil rights, what strategies they pursued, and how they navigated complex societal, legal, and political terrains. The second part is a top-down approach that explores the movement's impact on policy-making, electoral politics, representation, and litigation. The course also examines the role of media and religion in shaping movement outcomes since the era of stonewall. Finally, the course builds on a wealth of research on political opinion to explore how majority opinion toward sexual minority rights is formulated. Recent and current events such as the anti-Trans legislation wave of 2020 or the rising visibility of LGBTQ candidates in elections will be analyzed using theories we explore throughout the course.

## Learning Objectives

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

1. Apply a wide range of theories from the field of social movements to understand the rise of collective queer and Trans identities in the United States.
2. Compare the divergent political strategies of different factions within the gay and lesbian liberation movements.
3. Critically read and respond to debates and recent research on the different approaches within the movements (assimilationist, queer, and liberationist).
4. Evaluate the role of religion, partisanship, litigation, and morality politics in shaping the agendas and future of LGBTQ communities in the United States.

5. Demonstrate empirical knowledge of the determinants of attitudes toward queer and trans people in the United States.

## Required Materials

- Brettschneider, M., Burgess, S., and Keating, C. (Eds.). (2017). *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*. NYU Press.

All other readings will be available through the course website on Blackboard.

## Prerequisites

Prior to registering for this course, students are expected to have completed PSC 1002 (Introduction to American Politics and Government) or an equivalent course.

## Grading

Students will be graded according to the following:

Leading Discussion	5%
Attendance and In-Class Participation	20%
Online Engagement	15%
Midterm Project	25%
Quizzes	5%
Final Exam	30%

## Course Requirements

### Leading Discussion

Each student will sign up to lead the discussion alongside a student peer twice a semester. The student is expected to offer brief opening remarks synthesizing the assigned readings. Students will write up and email the instructor a list of 3-5 discussion questions at least 12 hours before the start of class. These questions are meant to encourage thoughtful discussion about the topic of the week.

### Attendance and Participation

Attendance via Webex is required unless prior accommodations have been granted in coordination with the instructor. Students will be evaluated each week on their contributions to the discussion. Students should come prepared with questions and comments about the week's readings in order to engage meaningfully with their peers on the subject. Missing multiple sessions without an excuse or prior arrangement will significantly impact the student's grade. In order to

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foster a sense of community in a seminar setting, I strongly encourage all students to turn their cameras on during class.

### Quizzes

Short reading quizzes will be given during class to assess students' grasp of main themes in the readings. I will drop the two lowest scores.

### Online Engagement

To facilitate interactive online learning, I have created a private Facebook group for the class. This will be a platform for students to share weekly reflections on readings, discuss issues related to LGBTQ politics with their peers, and share events and informational material with the class.

### Midterm Project

Students will submit a Monkey Cage style analysis post on a topic of their choosing in coordination with the course instructor. Instructions and grading rubric will be posted to Blackboard

### Final Exam

A take-home final exam will be assigned in the last two weeks of the course with instructions on how to complete the final exam project.

### Grading Policy

The following scale will be used to determine your overall grade in the course:

$\geq 93.00$	A	73.00 - 76.99	C
90.00 - 92.99	A-	70.00 - 72.99	C-
87.00 - 89.99	B+	67.00 - 69.99	D+
83.00 - 86.99	B	63.00 - 66.99	D
80.00 - 82.99	B-	60.00 - 62.99	D-
77.00 - 79.99	C+	$\leq 59.99$	F

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## Course Policies

### During Class

This course is taught synchronously and as such students are required to remain engaged throughout the session and participate frequently.

### Policies on Late Assignments

Any assignment that is turned in late will lose 1/3 of a letter grade for each 24-hour period that you have not turned it in after the due date and time. Late assignments will be accepted for no penalty if a valid excuse is communicated to the instructor before the deadline. If you need help or an extension, I encourage you to reach out to me as early as possible more than 24 hours prior to the deadline.

### Academic Integrity and Honesty

All members of the university community are expected to exhibit honesty and competence in their academic work. Students have a special responsibility to acquaint themselves with, and make use of, all proper procedures for doing research, writing papers, and taking exams. Members of the community will be presumed to be familiar with the proper academic procedures and will be held responsible for applying them. Deliberate failure to act in accordance with such procedures will be considered academic dishonesty. Academic dishonesty is defined as "cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against the community and will be prosecuted through the proper university channels. The University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>.

### Support for Students With Disabilities

GW's Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities. Additional information is available at <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>.

Please speak with me in the first week of class to discuss what kinds of accommodations can be made for you.

### Mental Health Services 202-994-5300

The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations, confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: <https://healthcenter.gwu.edu/counseling-and-psychological-services>

### University Policy on Religious Holidays

Students should notify me during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance.

### Safety and security

In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

## Schedule and weekly learning goals

The schedule is tentative and subject to change.

### 1. Introduction – LGBTQ identities, Intersectionality and Politics

#### September 2 – Introductory Session

- No required readings

#### September 9 – Sexual Minorities and LGBTQ Political Science

Required readings:

- Murib, Z. (2017). Rethinking GLBT as a political category in U.S. politics. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Taylor, JK, and Tadlock, BL. (2017) Where has the field gone? an investigation of LGBTQ political science research. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- D'Emilio, J. (1981). Gay Politics, Gay Community: San Francisco's Experience. *Making Trouble*.
- Flores, A. (2017). **Yes, there's racism in the LGBT community. But there's more outside it.** *The Washington Post Monkey Cage*.
- Shapiro, S. (2018). **Pose, Paris is Burning, and the Creation of Community.** *The Medium*

Recommended readings:

- Paternotte, D. (2018). Coming Out of the Political Science Closet. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 1(1), 55-74.
- Rahman, M. (2019). What Makes LGBT Sexualities Political? In *The Oxford Handbook of Global LGBT and Sexual Diversity Politics*.
- Mucciaroni, G. (2011). "The Study of LGBT Politics and Its Contributions to Political Science." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(1):17-21.
- Altman, D. (2002). Thinking about Sex and Politics. In *Global Sex*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ghaziani, A., Taylor, V., and Stone, A. (2016). Cycles of Sameness and Difference in LGBT Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 42, 165-183.
- DeFilippis, J. N., and Anderson-Nathe, B. (2017). Embodying Margin to Center: Intersectional activism among queer liberation organizations. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Bergersen, M., Klar, S., and Schmitt, E. (2018). "Intersectionality and Engagement among the LGBTQ+ Community." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 39(2):196-219.
- Watch *Paris Is Burning* (documentary).

### 2. September 16 – Queer Movements in the United States Since the 1950s

Required readings:

- Stulberg, L. (2018). Chapter 2: Before and After Stonewall. In *LGBTQ Social Movements*. [Skim Ch3].
- Epstein, S. G. (1998). Gay and Lesbian Movements in the United States: Dilemmas of Identity, Diversity, and Political Strategy. In *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics: National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement*. Temple University Press. [pp. 30-57]
- Johnson, D. K. (2004). *The Lavender Scare: The cold war persecution of gays and lesbians in the federal government*. University of Chicago Press. [Read Intro]
- Stonewall at 50. (2019). Listen to **From Stonewall to the Present, Fifty Years of L.G.B.T.Q. Rights.** **From The New Yorker Radio Hour**. Audio file also available on Blackboard.

Recommended Readings:

- Cervini, E. (2020). *The Deviant's War: The Homosexual vs. the United States of America*. New York. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- D'Emilio, J. (1983). *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Ch3, "The bonds of oppression: Gay life in the 1950s"]
- Armstrong, E.A. (2002). *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. University of Chicago Press. [Ch2, "Beginnings: Homosexual politics and organizations, 1950-1968"]
- Faderman, L. (2015). *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*. Simon and Schuster. [Part 4: Earthquake: The Stonewall Years, pp. 171 - 210]
- Frank, W. (2014). *Law and the Gay Rights Story*. Rutgers University Press. [Ch2, "Stonewall (1969)"]

### 3. September 23 – Religion and Morality Politics

#### Required readings:

- Williams, H. H. (2018). From family values to religious freedom: conservative discourse and the politics of gay rights. *New Political Science*, 40(2), 246-263.
- Gadarian, S.K. and van der Vort, E. (2017). "The Gag Reflex: Disgust Rhetoric and Gay Rights in American Politics." *Political Behavior* 40:521-43.
- Epps, G. (2018). "The Masterpiece Cakeshop Case Explained." *The Atlantic*
- Bailey, S. (2020). [Buttigieg's candidacy made being openly gay and Christian normal, LGBT activists say](#). *The Washington Post Monkey Cage*.
- Bailey, S. (2020). [Christian conservatives rattled after Supreme Court rules against LGBT discrimination](#). *The Washington Post Monkey Cage*.

#### Recommended Readings:

- Bull, C. (1996). *Perfect Enemies: The religious right, the gay movement, and the politics of the 1990s*. Crown. [Ch1 and 3]
- Jackle, S., and Wenzelburger, G. (2015). Religion, Religiosity, and the Attitudes Toward Homosexuality—A Multilevel Analysis of 79 Countries. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 62(2), 207-241.
- Miller, P.R., Flores, A.R., Haider-Markel, D.P., Lewis, D.C., Tadlock, B.L., and Taylor, J.K. (2017). "Transgender Politics as Body Politics: Effects of Disgust Sensitivity and Authoritarianism on Transgender Rights Attitudes." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5(1):4-24

### Movement Outcomes: Legal and Policy Change

#### 4. September 30 – Courts and Litigation

#### Required readings:

- Andersen, E.A. (2006). *Out of the Closets and Into the Courts: Legal opportunity structure and gay rights litigation*. University of Michigan Press. [Ch1 and Ch2]
- Pierceson, J. (2015). Courts and the LGBT Rights Movement. In *Sexual Minorities and Politics*. Rowman and Littlefield.
- Currah, P., and Minter, S. (2000). Unprincipled Exclusions: The struggle to achieve judicial and legislative equality for transgender people. *William and Mary Journal of Women and Law*. 7(37).

#### Recommended Readings:

- Snell, P. (2020). Theoretical Perspectives on LGBT Representation and Party Politics. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- Leonard, A. (2002). From Bowers v. Hardwick to Romer v. Evans: Lesbian and Gay Rights in the U.S. Supreme Court. In *Creating Change: Sexuality, public policy, and civil rights*. St. Martin's Press.

#### 5. October 7 – LGBT Policy-making

*Required readings:*

- Bishin, B. G., Freebourn, J., and Teten, P. (2020). The Power of Equality? Polarization and Collective Misrepresentation on Gay Rights in Congress, 1989–2019. *Political Research Quarterly*.
- Bishin, B. G., and Smith, C. A. (2013). When Do Legislators Defy Popular Sovereignty? Testing theories of minority representation using DOMA. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(4), 794-803.
- Snell, P. (2017). Equality in the House: The Congressional LGBTQ Equality Caucus and the substantive representation of LGBTQ interests. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.

*Recommended Readings:*

- Ayoub, P. M. (2015). Contested norms in new-adopter states: International determinants of LGBT rights legislation. *European Journal of International Relations*, 21(2), 293-322.
- Lax, J., and Phillips, J. (2009). Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness. *American Political Science Review*, 103(03), 367-386.
- Duggan, L. (1994). Queering the state. *Social text*, (39), 1-14.
- Rayside, D. M. (1998). The Military Ban and the Perils of Congressional Politics. In *On the Fringe: Gays and lesbians in politics*. Cornell University Press.

## **6. October 14 – LGBTQ Issues at the Ballot Box**

*Required readings:*

- Stone, A. L. (2012). *Gay Rights at the Ballot Box*. University of Minnesota Press. [Read Ch.2: An Uphill Battle in the 70s and 80s: Building LGBT Movement Infrastructure, skim Ch3-4]
- Perry, Ravi K., and X. Loudon Manley. (2017). Case Studies of Black and Lesbian Candidates: Winning identity politics in the Obama era. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Magni, G., and Reynolds, A. (2018). Candidate sexual orientation didn't matter (in the Way You Might Think) in the 2015 UK General Election. *American Political Science Review*, 112(3), 713-720.
- McMahan. (2019). Pete Buttigieg is the first U.S. presidential candidate in a same-sex marriage. Here are 3 reasons that matters. *The Washington Post – The Monkey Cage*

*Recommended Readings:*

- Rayside, D. M. (1998). Barney Frank and the Art of the Possible. In *On the Fringe: Gays and lesbians in politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Fetner, T. (2008). *How the religious right shaped lesbian and gay activism*. University of Minnesota Press. [Ch4, Where's the party? Entering the Republican and Democratic Folds]

## **7. October 21 – LGBT Representation Guest Speaker: TBD**

*Required readings:*

- TBD

*Recommended Readings:*

- Snell, P. (2020). Theoretical Perspectives on LGBT Representation and Party Politics. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- Reynolds, A. (2018). *The Children of Harvey Milk: How LGBTQ Politicians Changed the World*. Oxford University Press. [pp.1-56]
- Hansen, E. R., and Treul, S. A. (2015). The symbolic and substantive representation of LGB Americans in the US house. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(4), 955-967.
- Reynolds, A. (2013). Representation and rights: The impact of LGBT legislators in comparative perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2), 259-274.
- Haider-Markel, D. (2007). Representation and Backlash: The Positive and Negative Influence of Descriptive Representation. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32(1):107-33.

## 8. October 28 – Gay Marriage and Beyond

### Required readings:

- Daum, C.W. (2017). Marriage Equality: Assimilationist Victory or Pluralist Defeat? In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Hollar, J. (2019). Beyond Belief? The Rapid Expansion of Same-Sex Marriage . In *The Oxford Handbook of Global LGBT and Sexual Diversity Politics*.
- Ball, C. A. (Ed.). (2016). After Marriage Equality: The future of LGBT rights. NYU Press. [Ch1 and Ch3]

### Recommended Readings:

- Waddock, S., Waddell, S., and Gray, P. S. (2018). The transformational change challenge of Memes: The case of marriage equality in the United States. *Business and Society*.
- Mitchell, J. L., and Petray, E. (2016). The march toward marriage equality: Reexamining the diffusion of same-sex marriage among states. *Public Policy and Administration*, 31(4), 283-302.
- Olsen, K. (2002). What Happens When You Get What You Want? In, D. Meyer, N. Whittier, and B. Robnett, *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*.

## 9. November 4 – Public Opinion and Political Behavior

### Required readings:

- Garretson, J.J. (2017). The How, Why, and Who of LGBTQ “Victory”: A Critical Examination of Change in Public Attitudes Involving LGBTQ People. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Haider-Markel, D.P. and Miller, P.R. (2017). Equality or Transformation? LGBT Political Attitudes and Priorities and the Implications for the Movement. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Rhodebeck, L., Gainous, J., and Gray, T. (2019). Partisan values and gay rights: Public opinion about employment nondiscrimination. *Politics*, 39(3), 300-314.
- Haider-Markel, D. P., and Joslyn, M. R. (2008). Beliefs about the origins of homosexuality and support for gay rights: An empirical test of attribution theory. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 72(2).
- Egan, P.J. (2015). Will Marriage Turn Gay People into Republicans? Not Anytime Soon. *The Washington Post*.

### Recommended Readings:

- Harrison, B. F., and Michelson, M. R. (2017). *Listen, we need to talk: How to change attitudes about LGBT rights*. Oxford University Press.
- Abou-Chadi, T., and Finnigan, R. (2018). Rights for Same-Sex Couples and Public Attitudes Toward Gays and Lesbians in Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Garretson, J., and Suhay, E. (2016). Scientific Communication about Biological Influences on Homosexuality and the Politics of Gay Rights. *Political Research Quarterly*, 69(1), 17-29.
- Baunach, D. M. (2011). Decomposing Trends in Attitudes Toward Gay Marriage, 1988-2006. *Social Science Quarterly*, 92(2), 346-363.
- Kreitzer, R. J., Hamilton, A. J., and Tolbert, C. J. (2014). Does Policy Adoption Change Opinions on Minority Rights? The Effects of Legalizing Same-Sex Marriage. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(4), 795-808.

## 10. November 11 – Backlash and Attitudes Toward Transgender Rights

### Required readings:

- Tadlock, B. L., Flores, A. R., Haider-Markel, D. P., Lewis, D. C., Miller, P. R., and Taylor, J. K. (2017). Testing Contact Theory and Attitudes on Transgender Rights. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 81(4), 956-972.
- Flores, A. R. (2015). Attitudes toward transgender rights: Perceived knowledge and secondary interpersonal contact. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3(3), 398-416.
- Murib, Z. (2020). Backlash, Intersectionality, and Trumpism. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 45(2), 295-302.

- Bishin, B. G., Hayes, T. J., Incantalupo, M. B., and Smith, C. A. (2020). Elite Mobilization: A Theory Explaining Opposition to Gay Rights. *Law and Society Review*, 54(1), 233-264.
- Paternotte, David. (2020). *Backlash: A misleading narrative*. LSE.

*Recommended Readings:*

- Encarnacion, O. G. (2020). The gay rights backlash: Contrasting views from the United States and Latin America. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*.
- Ayoub, Phillip M., and Douglas Page. "When do opponents of gay rights mobilize? Explaining political participation in times of Backlash against liberalism." *Political Research Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2020): 696-713.
- Lewis, D. C., Flores, A. R., Haider-Markel, D. P., Miller, P. R., Tadlock, B. L., and Taylor, J. K. (2017). Degrees of acceptance: Variation in public attitudes toward segments of the LGBT community. *Political Research Quarterly*, 70(4), 861-875.
- Haider-Markel, D., Miller, P. Flores, A., Lewis, D.C., Tadlock, Barry, and Taylor, J. (2017). Bringing "T" to the Table: Understanding Individual Support of Transgender Candidates for Public Office. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5(3):399-417.
- Flores, A. R., and Barclay, S. (2016). Backlash, Consensus, Legitimacy, or Polarization: The Effect of Same-Sex Marriage Policy on Mass Attitudes. *Political Research Quarterly*, 69(1), 43-56
- Bishin, B. G., Hayes, T. J., Incantalupo, M. B., and Smith, C. A. (2015). Opinion Backlash and Public Attitudes: Are Political Advances in Gay Rights Counterproductive? *American Journal of Political Science*, 00(0), 1-24.

## **11. November 18 – Media and Queer Pop Culture**

*Required readings:*

- Bailey, M.B., and Nawara, S.P. (2017). Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Group Stereotypes, and the News Media: An experimental design. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Ayoub, P. M., and Garretson, J. (2017). Getting the Message Out: Media Context and Global Changes in Attitudes Toward Homosexuality. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(8), 1055-1085.
- Edgar, E. A. (2011). Xtravaganza!: drag representation and articulation in RuPaul's Drag Race. *Studies in Popular Culture*, 34(1), 133-146.

*Recommended Readings:*

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

## **12. December 2 – The "B" and the "T" in LGBTQ**

*Required readings:*

- Stulberg, L. (2018). Chapter 6: The "B" and the "T". In *LGBTQ Social Movements*.
- Murib, Z. (2015). Transgender: Examining an emerging political identity using three political processes. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3(3), 381-397.
- Murib, Z. (2020). Administering Biology: How "Bathroom Bills" Criminalize and Stigmatize Trans and Gender Nonconforming People in Public Space. *Administrative Theory and Praxis*, 42(2), 153-171.

*Recommended Readings:*

- Tadlock, Barry L. (2012). Issue Framing and Transgender Politics. In *Transgender Rights and Politics*, pp. 25-48.
- Pierceson, J. (2015). The Transgender and Intersex Movements, Law, and Policy. In *Sexual Minorities and Politics*. Rowman and Littlefield.

### **13. December 9 – The Global Turn in LGBTQ Politics and The Future of the Movement**

*Required readings:*

- Murib, Zein. (2018). Trumpism, Citizenship, and the Future of the LGBTQ Movement. *Politics and Gender* 14(4):649-72.
- Mucciaroni, G. (2017). Whither the LGBTQ Movement in a Post-Civil Rights Era? In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Smith, M. (2017). Homonationalism and the Comparative Politics of LGBTQ Rights. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.
- Burack, C. (2017). Top Down, Bottom Up, or Meeting in the Middle? The U.S. Government in International LGBTQ Human Rights Advocacy. In *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader*.

*Recommended Readings:*

- Kollman, K. (2007). Same-Sex Unions: The Globalization of an Idea. *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(2), 329-357.

**Final Exam – Date: TBD**