

Politics & Sexuality
Winter 2017
PLSC 379A (26459) and WGST 379 (26687)
(T/R, 3:30-4:45, Pray-Harrold 421)

Instructor

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Office Hours

Tuesday & Thursday, 2:15-3:15
Thursday: 4:45-5:30
and by appointment

Course Description & Goals

The United States has been the site for many movements to change individual rights, the status of groups, access to the political system, public attitudes, and specific government policies. Such movements are not all alike, of course: women's suffrage, civil rights, antiwar, right to life, disability rights, the recent "Tea Party," Black Lives Matter, and many more.

This course will examine efforts to influence the status of sexual minorities in the U.S. We will draw on theory and empirical research, mainly from political science, sociology, and history, to understand how and why the LGBTQ movement developed. Our analysis will cover participants (both proponents and opponents of change), their strategies, the outcomes of their efforts, and implications for the future.

A one-semester course cannot cover all aspects of this social movement. Many students follow current events, but that provides a limited understanding of any movement. We will extend that purview to focus on the larger efforts and changes that occurred over the last half-century. At the end of the course, students should be able to do the following:

- describe major events in the history of the LGBTQ movement and critically examine alternative explanations for them and their effects;
- identify major groups and organizations on various sides of major LGBTQ issues, including internal divisions among participants, and explain their successes and failures;
- assess how well major propositions in social movement theory apply to the LGBTQ movement and suggest alternative futures for the movement.

Required Material

Haider-Markel, Donald P. 2010. *Out and Running: Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Elections, and Policy Representation*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. ISBN: 9781589016996.
Rimmerman, Craig A. 2014. *The Lesbian and Gay Movements: Assimilation or Liberation?* 2nd edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. ISBN: 9780813348490.
various journal articles available through the EMU library; book chapters and organization reports posted to CANVAS or included with URLs in the syllabus.

Grading

Grade Distribution. Grading is on a 0-100 scale: A = 94%, A- = 90, B+ = 87, B = 84, B- = 80, C+ = 77, C = 74, C- = 70, D+ = 67, D = 64, D- = 60, F < 60. Your final grade is a weighted average, with your score on each task below converted to points:

• midterm examination	15%	75 points
• final examination	25%	125
• research paper	30%	150
• discussion	10%	50
• court case	5%	25
• attendance	5%	25
• quizzes	5%	25
• bonus	5%	<u>25</u>
		500 points

Your final grade can be calculated as the sum of the total points earned. Thus, the cutoffs are A- = 450 points, B- = 400 points, C- = 350 points, D- = 300 points. The “bonus” is applied to the highest grade among your paper, midterm, or final exam. It allows your best performance on the most demanding work to make up for stumbling elsewhere during the semester and should help anyone on “the bubble.”

Grading Policies. Describing something accurately or repeating facts is "C" work. Higher grades are awarded for careful analysis. "B" requires you to examine alternative explanations for something. "A" work also means critically analyzing assumptions and implications, as well as suggesting alternative ways of thinking about a problem.

You must have a verifiable medical reason for late or missed work, including exams. Make-up tests will be scheduled at my discretion. Late work will be penalized 10 points per day. Poor writing on work done outside of class can be penalized up to 10 points.

For all of your work, you will be given sufficient guidance and time to do a good job. Please use office hours, appointments, and e-mail – there’s nothing wrong with asking for help. You are expected to do your own work on all tasks in this course. The Department of Political Science follows [EMU policy on academic honesty](#). The penalty for plagiarism or other forms of dishonesty can range from zero on an assignment to “F” in the course, with possible referral to the Office of Student Conduct for action.

Major Tasks

Exams. Each exam will be a combination of terms and essays. For each term, you must provide a definition and explain its significance in 1-2 sentences. The list that of terms will be at least one-third longer than the number you are required to answer. For essays, you will be given a list of possible questions 7-10 days ahead of the exam. The questions on the exam will be taken from the list. You will do one essay on the midterm. For the final, you will answer one essay on material since the midterm and one comprehensive essay. You are required to submit a “blue book” at least one class prior to each exam.

Quizzes. There will be 5-7 short quizzes, which will be administered either on the day when reading is assigned or as a homework assignment distributed during the previous class. In other words, reading needs to be finished before we discuss something, not afterward. I will count your highest four quiz grades. Missed quizzes are scored zero and cannot be made up at a later time.

Court Cases. The class will be divided into teams to make 15-minute presentations on landmark Supreme Court cases related to LGBTQ issues, followed by Q&A. Team members will also do a brief write-up on the case and post it to CANVAS. Guidelines for this assignment are posted on CANVAS. I will cover *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986). The class will cover *Romer v. Evans* (1996), *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* (2000), *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003), *United States v. Windsor* (2013), and *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015).

Research Paper. Detailed guidelines are posted in CANVAS. This project should be original research of 12-15 double-spaced pages, plus a title page, any figures or tables, and a bibliography. You must use the author-date format found in political science journals (that style is used below). Poor or late work in the preliminary stages can result in a penalty of up to 10 points on the final paper.

Use the course outline and assigned reading to help choose a research question. Most papers will focus on an event (including court cases and individual elections), a policy or legislation, a process (e.g., lobbying or campaign contributions), or participant (organization, group, or individual). There is some danger, though, in trying to address a broad question such as marriage. We need to have a careful discussion of your paper plans during January so you can meet the deadlines for preliminary steps.

The Classroom. I treat our daily class as if it were a staff meeting in any workplace, which means that discussions should be civil; disagreements should be based on evidence and logic, and not be personal. My job is to organize material, highlight and extend (but not replace) your reading, and get you to think. Daily classes will be a combination of lecture, discussion, student and guest presentations, occasional group work, and media. Getting you to think will often mean asking you questions and arguing positions that are not my own. This view of the classroom affects your grade in three ways:

- **Discussion** (10%) is evaluated based on the quality of your analysis, not the volume of words. You may be called on at any time, including when your research fits a topic we are covering.
- For **attendance** (5%), you start with a grade of 100 and lose 5 points per absence not covered by documented illness or EMU policies such as the one covering religious holidays.
- Except when authorized, electronics (e.g., cell phones, laptops) cannot be used during class. The first violation lowers your discussion grade to 60; the second violation reduces it to zero.

Support Services. EMU offers a range of services to help you improve your academic performance.

- [Disability Resource Center](#) (Student Center 246). Students with disabilities must register with the DRC to arrange accommodations to promote your participation and success in the course.
- [University Writing Center](#) (Halle Library 115 and satellite offices, including Pray-Harrod) offers workshops and one-on-one consulting related to reading, writing, research, and analysis.
- [Holman Success Center](#) (Halle Library G04) offers workshops, tutoring, and other services.
- [Office for International Students & Scholars](#) (Student Center 240). Students with F and J visas are required to see this office to receive permission for certain changes in their status and to report other changes. The office also provides advising, help with documents, and other services.

Class Schedule
(subject to change)

January 5 Introduction and Overview

Part 1: Understanding Social Movements

January 10, 12 Historical and Political Context of the LGBTQ Movement

- Mucciaroni, Gary. 2008. *Same Sex, Different Politics: Success and Failure in the Struggles over Gay Rights*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-47): "Issues, Institutions, and Threats." [CANVAS]

January 17, 19 Social Movement Theory

- Tilly, Charles. 2004. *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-15): "Social Movements as Politics." [CANVAS]
- Engel, Stephen M. 2001. *The Unfinished Revolution: Social Movement Theory and the Gay and Lesbian Movement*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 11-18): "Asked and Answered: How Questions Can Condition Conclusions in Social Movement Theory." [CANVAS]

January 24 Early Gay & Lesbian Movement

- Rimmerman: Chapters 1& 2.

Part 2: Attitudes & Laws

January 26, 31 Public Opinion

- Fingerhut, Hannah. 2016. "[Support Steady for Same-Sex Marriage and Acceptance of Homosexuality.](#)" Pew Research Center (May 12). [These data will be supplemented by updates from [Pew](#) and [Gallup](#).]
- Dillon, Michele. 2014. "Asynchrony in Attitudes Toward Abortion and Gay Rights: The Challenge to Values Alignment." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 53:1 (March): 1-16.
- Tadlock, Barry L. 2015. "Issue Framing and Transgender Politics: An Examination of Interest Group Websites and Media Coverage." In *Transgender Rights and Politics: Groups, Issue Framing, & Policy Adoption*, edited by Jami K. Taylor and Donald P. Haider-Markel. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Chapter 1 (pp.25-48). [CANVAS]

February 1 Proposal for research paper due by 6:00 p.m.

- February 2-14 Sexuality and the Law
- Mucciaroni, Chapter 4 (pp. 114-143): “Legalizing Homosexual Conduct.” [CANVAS]
 - Rimmerman: Chapter 4.
 - [FBI Hate Crimes Statistics](#)
 - *Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U.S. 186 (1986). [[Oral argument](#) is at Oyez.]

Depending on progress in covering reading, I will set aside at least one class during this two-week period for appointments to consult on your research papers.

February 16 Midterm Exam

- February 21, 23 Winter Break: No Class

Part 3: Political Participation

- Feb. 28-Mar. 7 Campaigns & Elections
- Perez, Vanessa M. 2014. [“Political Participation of LGBT Americans”](#) (research memo, June). New York: Project Vote.
 - Rhodebeck, Laurie A. 2015. “Another Issue Comes Out: Gay Rights Policy Voting in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections.” *Journal of Homosexuality* 62: 701-734.
 - Smith, Daniel A., Matthew DeSantis, and Jason Kessel. 2006. “Same-Sex Marriage Ballot Measures and the 2004 Presidential Election.” *State and Local Government Review* 38:2 (Spring): 78-91.
 - Haider-Markel: Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-83).

- March 9, 14 Direct Democracy
- Andersen, Ellen Ann. 2006. *Out of the Closets & into the Courts: Legal Opportunity Structure and Gay Rights Litigation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 6 (pp. 143-174): “The Law and Politics of Antigay Initiatives.” [CANVAS]
 - Fleischmann, Arnold, and Laura Moyer. 2009. “Competing Social Movements and Local Political Culture: Voting on Ballot Propositions to Ban Same-Sex Marriage in the U.S. States.” *Social Science Quarterly* 90:1 (March): 134-149. [CANVAS]
 - Student presentation on the *Romer* case.

March 10 Paper synopsis due by 4:00 p.m.

- March 16 Interest Groups
- Rimmerman, Craig A. 2000. “Beyond Political Mainstreaming: Reflections on Lesbian and Gay Organizations and the Grassroots.” In *The Politics of Gay Rights*, edited by Craig A. Rimmerman, Kenneth D. Wald, and Clyde Wilcox. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 54-78. [CANVAS]
 - Student presentations on the *Dale* and *Lawrence* cases.

Part 4: Representation and Policy Making

- March 21, 23 Legislative Process
- Haider-Markel: Chapters 4-7 (pp.84-157).
 - 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.
- March 28, 30 Courts and LGBTQ Policies
- Mezey, Susan Gluck. 2007. *Queers in Court: Gay Rights Law and Public Policy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapter 2 (pp. 45-86): "Litigating Equality and Privacy Rights." [CANVAS]
 - Rimmerman: Chapter 5.
 - Student presentations on the *Windsor* and *Orbergefell* cases.
- April 4-13 Student research (note: EMU closed on Friday, April 14)
- April 17 Research papers due by noon (paper and electronic copies).**
- April 18 Looking Ahead
- Rimmerman: Chapter 6.
- April 20 (Th) Final Exam, 3:00-4:30 p.m.**

Some Groups Involved in Disputes over LGBTQ Issues

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| ACLU, Out For Freedom Blog | https://www.aclu.org/blog-feed/out-freedom |
| American Family Association | https://www.afa.net/ |
| Family Research Council | http://www.frc.org/ |
| Family Research Institute | http://www.familyresearchinst.org/ |
| Lambda Legal | http://www.lambdalegal.org/ |
| Human Rights Campaign | http://www.hrc.org/ |
| National LGBTQ Task Force | http://www.thetaskforce.org/ |
| Traditional Values Coalition | http://www.traditionalvalues.org/ |
| Williams Institute, UCLA Law School | http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/ |