

**From Exclusion to Inclusion?
Sexuality and Citizenship in American Politics
Fall 2016
Wednesday, 4:10pm – 6:00pm
International Affairs Building 711**

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Office Hours: Wednesdays 2:00pm-4:00pm

For much of the 20th century, the American political system excluded lesbians and gay men from full citizenship. This course seeks to understand the political and social forces shaping the transformation of these sex nonconformists from a pariah group into a viable social movement and eventually into a powerful constituency within the Democratic Party. Special emphasis will be placed on the state's role in defining lesbian and gay identities, the ways in which gender and racial diversity have shaped the LGB movement, and the role that partisan electoral strategies played in ushering sexuality to the center of American political conflict.

Course Requirements:

Attendance & Participation: This class is conducted in a seminar format. Attendance is mandatory and will be taken weekly. Only university-approved absences are permissible. Typically, I will send discussion questions via email prior to our weekly meeting. Students should (minimally) complete all of the assigned readings and be prepared to answer the discussion questions. Participation grades are determined by attendance and the quality of informed commentary contributed during class time.

Reaction Papers: Students are required to complete, during the course of the semester, three short (3-4 page) papers reacting to the week's readings. Students must choose in advance the three weeks for which they will write a paper. Papers should avoid excessive summarization, and instead *forcefully pursue an original argument*. Papers must have a clear thesis statement! Successful papers usually do one of the following:

- 1) Challenge a central claim or argument made by an author;
- 2) Offer an alternative interpretation of evidence presented in a reading;
- 3) Identify an important oversight in a reading and reflect upon how this oversight biased the author's conclusion;

- 4) Explain *how* and *why* a reading challenges or confirms a key argument made by one or more readings from a prior week.

The aim of these papers is to help students develop skills in the art of scholarly argumentation and writing. No late papers will be accepted. These papers must be turned in (in hard copy or electronically) no later than 5 p.m. on the day prior to class.

Research paper: Each student is required to complete a 15-20 page research paper on a topic of his or her choosing. The topic must be approved by Professor Phillips and cover some general theme related to lesbians and gays in American politics. Students are required to submit a one- or two-page proposal.

Short Assignments: Periodically, students will be asked to complete a short (no longer than one page) assignment. Often these assignments will be related to the week's discussion questions or to the research paper.

Grades: Grades for the seminar will be determined in the following manner

Class Participation	25%
Review Papers	30%
Research Paper	25%
Short Assignments	20%

Books To Be Purchased

Canaday, Margot. 2011. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in 20th Century America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Johnson, David K. 2004. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marcia M. Gallo. 2007. *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement*. Emeryville, CA: Seal Press.

Armstrong, Elizabeth A. 2002. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fred Fejes. 2008. *Gay Rights and Moral Panic: The Origins of America's Debate on Homosexuality*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Shilts, Randy. 1987. *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic*. New York: St. Martins Griffin.

Gould, Deborah B. 2009. *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fetner, Tina. 2008. *How the Religious Right Shaped Gay and Lesbian Activism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Carpenter, Dale. 2012. *Flagrant Conduct: The Story of Lawrence v. Texas: How A Bedroom Arrest Decriminalized Gay Americans*. W.W Norton & Co.

Soloman, Marc. 2015. *Winning Marriage: The Inside Story of How Same-Sex Couples Took on the Politicians and Pundits and Won*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.

After Marriage Equality: The Future of LGBT Rights. 2016. Edited by Carlos A. Ball. New York: New York University Press.

Other Readings

CourseWorks: Some of the readings for this course will be available online through Courseworks (<https://courseworks.columbia.edu/>). These readings are posted under "Class Files."

COURSE OUTLINE

September 7th: Introductory Meeting (no assigned readings)

September 14th: The Construction of the "Straight State"

(1) Canaday, Margot. 2011. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in 20th Century America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (All)

September 21st: The Persecution of Lesbians and Gays in Cold-War America

(1) Johnson, David K. 2004. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (All)

(2) "The Homosexuals" CBS Documentary (1967)
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n2UNcDHa5ao>)

September 28th: Early Lesbian & Gay Rights Organizations

- (1) Klandermas, Bert. 2001. "Why Social Movements Come into Being and Why People Join Them." Pp. 268-281 in J. Blau, ed. *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology*. Blackwell. (CourseWorks)
- (2) Marcia M. Gallo. 2007. *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement*. Emeryville, CA: Seal Press. (All)
- (3) Armstrong, Elizabeth A. 2002. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2.

October 5th: Identity & Group Formation

- (1) "American Experience: Stonewall Uprising" PBS (view on amazon.com for \$2.99)
- (2) Armstrong, Elizabeth A. 2002. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 3-7.

October 12th: Gender, Race, & Class: Intersectionality in the Early Movement for Lesbian & Gay Rights

- (1) "American Sappho: The Lesbian Political Imagination" in Robert O. Self. 2012. *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy since the 1960s*. New York: Hill and Wang. (CourseWorks)
- (2) "Separatism" by Alice, Gordon, Debbie, and Mary in *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology*. 1992. London: Onlywomen Press. (CourseWorks)
- (3) *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color*. Edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. New York: Women of Color Press. Preface and pages 113-127. (Courseworks)
- (4) Wat, Eric C. 2002. *The Making of a Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-AIDS Los Angeles*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Introduction, Chapters 2, 4, 5. (Courseworks)
- (5) Horacio N. Roque Ramírez. 2003. "That's My Place!: Negotiating Racial, Sexual, and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12(2): 224-58.

October 19th: The Entry of Lesbian & Gay Rights into American Politics

- (1) James A. Morone. 2003. *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Introduction, p. 1-28, 450-92. (CourseWorks)
- (2) Fred Fejes. 2008. *Gay Rights and Moral Panic: The Origins of America's Debate on Homosexuality*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (All)

October 26th: Emergence of the AIDS Crisis

- (1) Shilts, Randy. 1987. *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic*. New York: St. Martins Griffin. Pages 1-335.
- (2) Cathy Cohen. 1999. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chapters 4 and 5 (CourseWorks)

November 2nd: ACT UP and the Response to AIDS

- (1) Gould, Deborah B. 2009. *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters: 2, 4, 5, 7
- (2) Schwartz, Ruth L. 1993. "New Alliances, Strange Bedfellows: Lesbians, Gay Men, and AIDS." Pp. 230-44 in Arlene Stein, ed. *Sisters, Sexperts, Queers: Beyond the Lesbian Nation*. New York: Penguin Books (CourseWorks)
- (3) "How to Survive a Plague," Documentary by David France (can be rented on Amazon.com for \$4.99)

November 9th: Lesbian & Gay Rights Become Partisan

- (1) Fetner, Tina. 2008. *How the Religious Right Shaped Gay and Lesbian Activism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. (ALL)
- (2) Krimmel, Kate, Jeffrey Lax, and Justin Phillips. Forthcoming. "Gay Rights in Congress: Public Opinion and (Mis)Representation," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (CourseWorks)

November 16th: The Decriminalization of Sodomy

- (1) Carpenter, Dale. 2012. *Flagrant Conduct: The Story of Lawrence v. Texas: How A Bedroom Arrest Decriminalized Gay Americans*. W.W Norton & Co. (All)

- (2) Listen to the oral arguments presented before the Supreme Court in the case of *Lawrence v. Texas* as well as the reading of the opinion announcement (<https://www.oyez.org/cases/2002/02-102>)

November 23rd: Class is canceled for Thanksgiving Break

November 30th: Winning Marriage Equality

- (1) Soloman, Marc. 2015. *Winning Marriage: The Inside Story of How Same-Sex Couples Took on the Politicians and Pundits and Won*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England. (All)
- (2) Majority decision, *Obergefell v. Hodges* (CourseWorks)

December 7th: Twilight of the Struggle for Lesbian & Gay Rights?

- (1) *After Marriage Equality: The Future of LGBT Rights*. 2016. Edited by Carlos A. Ball. New York: New York University Press. Chapters 1, 3, 4, 6 & 8