

**The University of British Columbia**  
**POLI 333A: 2SLGBTQIA+ Politics and Policy**

**Tuesdays and Thursday 2-3:30pm**

**Winter Term 2 2024-2025**

**Professor Callan Hummel**

**Pronouns: they/them/theirs, e/em/eirs**

**Office hours: 1pm T/Th or email me to set up a Zoom or in-person appointment**

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**Course Description:**

In the last four decades, 2SLGBTQIA+ activists around the world have brought rights for sexual and gender minorities into mainstream politics. In many countries, 2SLGBTQIA+ social movements have expanded family, employment, education, health, and anti-discrimination policies to include sexual and gender minorities. Activists work within and outside of national political systems to write legislation, file lawsuits, and put pressure on politicians to enshrine rights within policy. Once enacted, some policies have had widespread and measurable impacts on the well-being of 2SLGBTQIA+ people while others have not. Simultaneously, countermovements have pushed back against the expansion of 2SLGBTQIA+ rights in most countries and successfully passed anti-2SLGBTQIA+ policy in some places. This class uses political science research, theory, and methods to understand why global 2SLGBTQIA+ movements and rights have expanded over the last decades, when and why governments and activists successfully implement national 2SLGBTQIA+ policies, and the effects of these policies on our communities.

**Course Learning Objectives:**

This course has 4 core learning objectives. Students will be able to:

- Understand the field of 2SLGBTQIA+ politics and articulate its contemporary debates;
- Critically engage with research from across political science;
- Evaluate policy that affects 2SLGBTQIA+ communities;
- Develop academic writing skills and the ability to constructively engage with others' work to advance their own research projects.

**Course Format:**

This is an advanced political science lecture-based course with a significant discussion component. All students are expected to come to each class having thoroughly read and analyzed

each reading and discuss them in depth. Assigned readings are the citations listed under each date; the readings under Suggested Readings are optional and recommended for people with interest in that particular topic.

### **Course Assignments, Due Dates and Grading:**

Students are responsible for material covered in lectures and class discussions as well as in the assigned readings. Regular attendance in class is required.

**All assignments must be submitted on Canvas in a Canvas-readable format.** Assignments submitted in a format that Canvas cannot read will be graded 0.

### **Grades will be determined on the basis of the following:**

**Participation (5%):** Attend every class and participate constructively in discussions. Each student has two excused absences.

**Weekly reading response papers (20%)** Students must write one paragraph summaries of each reading, and a one paragraph response to the reading that includes a question or comment to discuss in class (includes separate ungraded introduction assignment and self-evaluation assignment on first and last days of class). **Due every Tuesday at noon.**

**Beyond the land acknowledgement exercise (10%):** Learn about the land you grew up on, the land you live on, how the nations you live around connect to 2SLGBTQIA+ politics, reflect on your relationship to the land, colonialism, and indigeneity, and develop an action plan. **Due January 16<sup>th</sup> at noon.**

**Midterm exam (30%):** In-class midterm exam on the concepts covered over the course of the term. Exam questions will be a mix of multiple choice and short answer. **Exam on Tuesday, February 11th.**

**Policy analysis paper (35%):** Students choose a 2SLGBTQIA+-related policy and analyze how to expand it to a political jurisdiction (municipality, province, country) of their choice. Students should discuss what the policy is, where it has been implemented, how to adapt it in the context of their choice, what the barriers are to implementation, and the expected impact of the policy on 2SLGBTQIA+ communities. **Due Tuesday April 8th at noon [flexible due date: students get +1 point of extra credit for turning the paper in on time and the late policy starts one week after the due date]**

### **Papers:**

**All papers must be double-spaced, 12 point font, with one inch margins, black ink, and in Times New Roman, Arial, or Cambria font.**

**Late assignments will be penalized 3% per 24-hour period beginning with the start of class on the due date.** To be considered for extensions for papers, make-up exams, and/or being excused for an absence, Arts Students must contact Arts Advising (Buchanan D111) as soon as you are aware you may need an in-term concession. Please review their website for concession criteria as well as process to follow. Students in other Faculties should contact their Faculty advising office for direction. Re-grading of marked work will only take place if accompanied by

a one-page memo indicating in detail the grounds for re-grading; students should note that a re-grading of a paper or exam may result in the lowering of grade upon further review.

#### Grade disputes:

If a student believes a grade was issued in error, they must submit a one page memo explaining what the error was, how they have responded to instructor feedback, and why they think the assignment should be regraded in writing within two days of receiving a graded assignment. The student must then meet with the instructor to discuss the problem. If the instructor agrees to re-grade the assignment, the new, final grade may be higher or lower than the original.

#### Email policy:

Before emailing the professor or the TA about the class, look for the answer to your question in the syllabus and ask a classmate. **Only email the professor or the TA about the class if you cannot find the answer to your question in the syllabus or from a classmate.** The professor and TA may not respond to questions that are answered in the syllabus. The professor and TA do not respond to email on the weekends or holidays and will take up to two business days to respond.

#### Acknowledgement

UBC's Point Grey Campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Musqueam people. The land it is situated on has always been a place of learning for the Musqueam people, who for millennia have passed on in their culture, history, and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.

#### General Academic Policies

Regular attendance in seminar is expected. All assignments must be completed and handed in. Students who do not attend regularly or fail to hand in an assignment may be disallowed from writing the final paper.

Read the university calendar so that you are aware of no-penalty drop dates, requirements for medical authorization (to defer an exam, for example) and other procedures that may affect you.

Students who wish to appeal grades assigned to their academic work may do so. The initial appeal should be made to the TA or course instructor. If the student remains unsatisfied with this process, he/she may proceed to the head of the department or further to a formal committee established in accordance with University policies.

Religious holidays – UBC permits students who are scheduled to attend classes or write examinations on holy days of their religions to notify their instructor in advance of these days and their wish to observe them by absenting themselves from class or examination. Instructors provide opportunity for students to make up work or examinations missed without penalty. (Policy # 65.)

UBC is committed to the academic success of students with disabilities. UBC's policy on Academic Accommodations for students with disabilities aims to remove barriers and provide equal access to University services, ensure fair and consistent treatment of all students, and to

create a welcoming environment. Students with a disability should first meet with an Centre for Accessibility advisor to determine what accommodations/services you are eligible for.

### **University Values and Priorities:**

UBC provides resources to support student learning and to maintain healthy lifestyles but recognizes that sometimes crises arise and so there are additional resources to access including those for survivors of sexual violence. UBC values respect for the person and ideas of all members of the academic community. Harassment and discrimination are not tolerated nor is suppression of academic freedom. UBC provides appropriate accommodation for students with disabilities and for religious and cultural observances. UBC values academic honesty and students are expected to acknowledge the ideas generated by others and to uphold the highest academic standards in all of their actions. Details of the policies and how to access support are available **here** (<https://senate.ubc.ca/policies-resources-support-student-success>)

### **Academic Accommodations and Concessions:**

If you experience unanticipated events or circumstances that interfere with your ability to accomplish your academic coursework, you may be eligible for academic concession. For more information on concessions, please see Arts Advising:

<https://students.arts.ubc.ca/advising/academic-performance/help-academic-concession/>

If you miss marked coursework (assignment, quiz) and you are an Arts student, review the Faculty of Arts' academic concession page and then complete Arts Academic Advising's online academic concession form, so that an advisor can evaluate your concession case. If you are a student in a different Faculty, please consult your Faculty's webpage on academic concession, and then contact me where appropriate.

If your situation is related to an experience of sexual violence, you have the option of contacting UBC's Sexual Violence Prevention and Response Office (SVPRO) (604 822 1588) who can assist you with your academic concession.

### **Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:**

UBC is committed to the academic success of students with disabilities. UBC's policy on Academic Accommodations for students with disabilities aims to remove barriers and provide equal access to University services, ensure fair and consistent treatment of all students, and to create a welcoming environment. Academic accommodations help students with a disability or ongoing medical condition overcome challenges that may affect their academic success. Students requiring academic accommodations must register with the Centre for Accessibility. The Centre will determine that student's eligibility for accommodations in accordance with Policy 73: Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities. Academic accommodations are not determined by your instructors, and instructors should not ask you about the nature of your disability or ongoing medical condition, or request copies of your disability documentation. However, your instructor may consult with the Centre for Accessibility should the accommodations affect the essential learning outcomes of a course.

### **Academic Accommodations for Religious or Spiritual Experiences**

The University is obligated to comply with the BC Human Rights Code in accommodating students observances of sincerely held religious beliefs. If you would like to request an

academic concession because of a conflict with a religious observance, please see your academic advisor. To learn more visit:

<https://students.ubc.ca/enrolment/academic-learning-resources/academic-concessions>

### **Academic Misconduct**

The UBC policy on Academic Misconduct can be found in the UBC Calendar and is detailed as follows: Students are responsible for informing themselves of the guidelines of acceptable and unacceptable conduct for graded assignments established by their instructors for specific courses and of the examples of academic misconduct set out below. Academic misconduct that is subject to disciplinary measures includes, but is not limited to, engaging in, attempting to engage in, or assisting others to engage in any of the actions described below. Cheating, which may include, but is not limited to:

1. Falsification of any material subject to academic evaluation, including research data;
2. Use of or participation in unauthorized collaborative work;
3. Use or possession in an examination of any materials (including devices) other than those permitted by the examiner;
4. Use, possession, or facilitation of unauthorized means to complete an examination (e.g., receiving unauthorized assistance from another person or providing that assistance);
5. Dishonest practices that breach rules governing examinations or submissions for academic evaluation (see the Student Conduct during Examinations).

### **Generative AI Policy**

If you use generative AI for class assignments in any way, you must cite the tool using APA style, and include a description outlining why and how you used the generative AI writing tool and how it enhanced your education. This description needs to be explicit and accompany all assignments that utilize any generative AI tools. Failure to include a comprehensive reference and description will be considered academic misconduct. If you have any questions about generative AI or this policy, contact the instructor.

## **Class schedule, assigned readings, and due dates**

**Week 1, January 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>: Sexual and gender minorities through time.** We've always been here, but how we talk about sexual and gender identities changes a lot across time and place. The words and practices that we bring to the classroom are the very recent iterations of what people have been doing for thousands of years. Many aspects of the categories we have now started in Indigenous communities, so we will start by learning about where we are.

Gallant, Channele. 2021. "The future is Indigiqueer." Xtra:

<https://xtramagazine.com/power/indigenous-future-sovereignty-indigiqueer-203675>

Wilbur, Matika and Adrienne Keene. 2019. "Indigiqueer. Ep. 6." All My Relations (podcast): <https://www.allmyrelationspodcast.com/post/ep-6-indigiqueer>

Cohen, Cathy. 1997. "Bulldaggers, punks, and welfare queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" GLQ. [We'll read and summarize this together in class on Jan. 9th]

Suggested reading:

Two spirit research and resource page: <https://libguides.okanagan.bc.ca/IndigenousStudies/two-spirit-and-indigiqueer>

Faderman, Lillian. *Odd girls and twilight lovers: A history of lesbian life in twentieth-century America*. Columbia University Press, 2012.

**Week 2, January 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>: Constructing identities.** How do new identities form? Why do we have a fast-expanding universe of identities? What are the political implications of our identities? We will discuss research about how we construct our identities and how those are shaped and in turn shape political processes.

**Beyond the land acknowledgement assignment due January 16<sup>th</sup>.**

Murib, Zein. "Transgender: Examining an emerging political identity using three political processes." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3.3 (2015): 381-397.

Morrison, M. A., Sadika, B., & Morrison, T. G. (2019). Contested Meanings and Lived Experiences of Two-Spiritness: A Systematic Review of the Canadian Research Literature. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 39(1), 145–168.

Leonard, Zoe. "I want a president." 1992. Text: <https://www.macba.cat/en/obra/r5775-i-want-a-president/>. Mykki Blanco recitation: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y6DgawQdSlQ>

Suggested reading:

Murib, Zein. *Terms of Exclusion: Rightful Citizenship Claims and the Construction of LGBT Political Identity*. Oxford University Press, 2023.

Smilges, JL. 2024. "Cringe Theory." <https://csalateral.org/issue/13-1/cringe-theory-smilges/>

Smilges, JL. 2023. *Crip Negativity*. University of Minnesota Press.

Carbado, Devon W., et al. "Intersectionality: Mapping the Movements of a Theory." *Du Bois review: social science research on race* 10.2 (2013): 303-312.

**Week 3, January 21<sup>st</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>: Global 2SLGBTQIA+ movements in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.** The modern LGBTQ+ movement mobilized around flashpoint events, some of which reverberated internationally and some of which are only known in local communities. The legalization of equal marriage in the Netherlands in 2000 was a watershed event that led to public movements around the world.

CBC. 2012. Timeline of same sex rights in Canada: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/timeline-same-sex-rights-in-canada-1.1147516>

Devereaux Evans, Tessa. "Conflict and Coalition: Securing LGBT Rights in the Face of Hostility." *Comparative Political Studies* 57.6 (2024): 1035-1067.

Velasco, Kristopher. "Human rights INGOs, LGBT INGOs, and LGBT policy diffusion, 1991–2015." *Social Forces* 97.1 (2018): 377-404.

Suggested readings:

Cossman, Brenda. "Censor, resist, repeat: A history of censorship of gay and lesbian sexual representation in Canada." *Duke J. Gender L. & Pol'y* 21 (2013): 45.

Fuller, Janine, and Stuart Blackley. *Restricted entry: Censorship on trial*. Raincoast Books, 1996.

**Week 4, January 28<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>: Contemporary global 2SLGBTQIA+ movements.** Activists around the world are pushing for rights and innovating new ones. There are a lot of similarities and also a lot of differences across the challenges, barriers, strategies, and successes that queer activists manage in different places.

Fernández Romero, Francisco. 2023. "Beyond Identity: Redistributive Transgender Rights in Argentina." *ReVista*. <https://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/beyond-identity-redistributive-transgender-rights-in-argentina/>

Williamson, Myles. "A global analysis of transgender rights: Introducing the Trans Rights Indicator Project (TRIP)." *Perspectives on Politics* 22.3 (2024): 799-818.

Ayoub, Phillip M., Douglas Page, and Sam Whitt. "Pride amid prejudice: The influence of LGBT+ rights activism in a socially conservative society." *American Political Science Review* 115.2 (2021): 467-485.

Suggested readings:

Sosa Villada, Camila. 2019. *Las malas* (Published in 2023 in English as *Bad girls*) [New Yorker write up: <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/a-novel-and-the-fight-for-transgender-rights-in-argentina>]

Simonetto, Patricio. 2024. *A Body of One's Own: A Trans History of Argentina*

**Week 5, February 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>: National legislation and the correlates of rights expansion.** Rights expand in many different ways, but one of the most enduring ways is to enshrine minority rights in national legislation. How do activists get rights legislation passed? Under what conditions do national legislators protect minority rights? Who benefits from these rights?

Corrales, Javier. "Understanding the uneven spread of LGBT rights in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1999–2013." *Journal of Research in Gender Studies* 7.1 (2017): 52-82.

Hummel, Callan, and V. Ximena Velasco-Guachalla. "Activists, Parties, and the Expansion of Trans Rights in Bolivia." *Comparative Politics* 56.3 (2024): 321-343.

Suggested readings:

Ayoub, Phillip M. "Contested norms in new-adopter states: International determinants of LGBT rights legislation." *European Journal of International Relations* 21.2 (2015): 293-322.

Ayoub, Phillip. *When states come out*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Corrales, Javier. "The expansion of LGBT rights in Latin America and the Backlash." *The Oxford handbook of global LGBT and sexual diversity politics* (2020): 184-200.

**Week 6, February 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>: Midterm review and in-class midterm**

**Midterm break, February 17<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup>**

**Week 7, February 25<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>: Queer migration and remittances.** 2SLGBTQIA+ people frequently choose to migrate to places with larger queer communities and protective laws. How do politics and policies affect this migration? How do queer migrants shape the communities they join and those they come from?

Wang, Skyler. "Migrant allies and sexual remittances: how international students change the sexual attitudes of those who remain behind." *Sociological Perspectives* 65.2 (2022): 328-349.

Callan Hummel and Sarah Berens. *Remittances Increase LGBTQ+ Rights*. Working paper.

**Week 8, March 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>: 2SLGBTQIA+ elected officials.** 2SLGBTQIA+ activists increasingly run for elected office. Who gets elected? By whom? What experiences do these officials have and how does their tenure impact their communities?

Boldrini, Angela. "Erika Hilton's Battle Against Brazil's Conservative Congress." *Americas Quarterly*. October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2023. <https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/erika-hiltons-battle-against-brazils-conservative-congress/>

Reynolds, Andrew. "Representation and rights: The impact of LGBT legislators in comparative perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107.2 (2013): 259-274.

Haider-Markel, Donald, et al. "Bringing "T" to the table: Understanding individual support of transgender candidates for public office." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5.3 (2017): 399-417.

**Week 9, March 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>: 2SLGBTQIA+ data (guest lecture from Dr. Avery Everhart)**

Lett, Elle, and Avery Everhart. "Considerations for transgender population health research based on US national surveys." *Annals of Epidemiology* 65 (2022): 65-71.

Kronk, Clair A., et al. "Transgender data collection in the electronic health record: current concepts and issues." *Journal of the American Medical Informatics Association* 29.2 (2022): 271-284.

Restar, Arjee, et al. "Mapping community-engaged implementation strategies with transgender scientists, stakeholders, and trans-led community organizations." *Current HIV/AIDS Reports* 20.3 (2023): 160-169.



**Week 10, March 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>: Which policies don't work.** After decades of 2SLGBTQIA+ policy, we know that states deeply shape the lives of gender and sexual minorities. We also have evidence on which policies have little to no impact.

Ashley, Florence. "Don't be so hateful: The insufficiency of anti-discrimination and hate crime laws in improving trans well-being." *University of Toronto Law Journal* 68.1 (2018): 1-36.

Hasenbush, Amira, Andrew R. Flores, and Jody L. Herman. "Gender identity nondiscrimination laws in public accommodations: A review of evidence regarding safety and privacy in public restrooms, locker rooms, and changing rooms." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 16.1 (2019): 70-83.

**Week 11, March 25<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>: Public opinion and policy.** Policy often follows public opinion but policy can also change public opinion. How to 2SLGBTQIA+ policies affect cisgender and heterosexual people's ideas about queer people and the rights we should or shouldn't have?

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 (2016): 43-56.

de Abreu Maia, Lucas, Albert Chiu, and Scott Desposato. "No evidence of backlash: LGBT rights in Latin America." *The Journal of Politics* 85.1 (2023): 49-63.

**Week 12, April 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>: Gay rights on the right: headed towards normalization?** Left parties have unevenly expanded 2SLGBTQIA+ rights around the world. In a few countries, like Chile and Canada, conservative politicians have selectively embraced and even expanded some rights for gender and sexual minorities.

Londoño, Ernesto. "Chile Legalizes Same Sex Marriage at Fraught Political Moment." *New York Times*. December 7th 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/07/world/americas/chile-gay-marriage.html>

Turnbull-Dugarte, Stuart J., and Alberto López Ortega. "Instrumentally inclusive: the political psychology of homonationalism." *American Political Science Review* (2023): 1-19.

Magni, Gabriele, and Andrew Reynolds. "Why Europe's right embraces gay rights." *Journal of Democracy* 34.1 (2023): 50-64.

Suggested Reading:

Puar, Jasbir K. *Terrorist assemblages: Homonationalism in queer times*. Duke University Press, 2018.

**Final policy paper due April 8<sup>th</sup>**