INTRODUCTION TO LGBTQ+ STUDIES



Has Arakelyan
Rio Hondo College



Introduction to LGBTQ+ Studies

Has Arakelyan

Rio Hondo College

This text is disseminated via the Open Education Resource (OER) LibreTexts Project (https://LibreTexts.org) and like the thousands of other texts available within this powerful platform, it is freely available for reading, printing, and "consuming."

The LibreTexts mission is to bring together students, faculty, and scholars in a collaborative effort to provide an accessible, and comprehensive platform that empowers our community to develop, curate, adapt, and adopt openly licensed resources and technologies; through these efforts we can reduce the financial burden born from traditional educational resource costs, ensuring education is more accessible for students and communities worldwide.

Most, but not all, pages in the library have licenses that may allow individuals to make changes, save, and print this book. Carefully consult the applicable license(s) before pursuing such effects. Instructors can adopt existing LibreTexts texts or Remix them to quickly build course-specific resources to meet the needs of their students. Unlike traditional textbooks, LibreTexts' web based origins allow powerful integration of advanced features and new technologies to support learning.



LibreTexts is the adaptable, user-friendly non-profit open education resource platform that educators trust for creating, customizing, and sharing accessible, interactive textbooks, adaptive homework, and ancillary materials. We collaborate with individuals and organizations to champion open education initiatives, support institutional publishing programs, drive curriculum development projects, and more.

The LibreTexts libraries are Powered by NICE CXone Expert and was supported by the Department of Education Open Textbook Pilot Project, the California Education Learning Lab, the UC Davis Office of the Provost, the UC Davis Library, the California State University Affordable Learning Solutions Program, and Merlot. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 1246120, 1525057, and 1413739.

Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation nor the US Department of Education.

Have questions or comments? For information about adoptions or adaptions contact info@LibreTexts.org or visit our main website at https://LibreTexts.org.

This text was compiled on 04/20/2026

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Licensing

Acknowledgements

Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies

1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory

- 1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
- 1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
- 1.3: Gender Performativity
- 1.4: Transgender Studies
- 1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
- 1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes

2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future

- 2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
- 2.2: The Americas
- 2.3: Asia and Polynesia
- 2.4: Africa and Europe
- 2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)
- 2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
- 2.7: Research Resources
- 2.8: Glossary
- 2.9: Footnotes

3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology

- 3.1: Queer New World - Overview
- 3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
- 3.3: Abjection and Normativity
- 3.4: Research Resources
- 3.5: Glossary
- 3.6: Footnotes

4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History

- 4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
- 4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
- 4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
- 4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
- 4.5: Research Resources
- 4.6: Glossary
- 4.7: Footnotes

5: LGBTQ+ Legal History

- 5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
- 5.2: Marriage Equality
- 5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates
- 5.4: Research Resources
- 5.5: Glossary and Footnotes
- 5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles

6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People

- 6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
- 6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
- 6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
- 6.4: Research Resources
- 6.5: Glossary
- 6.6: Footnotes

7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness

- 7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
- 7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
- 7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
- 7.4: Health Care Providers
- 7.5: Research Resources
- 7.6: Glossary
- 7.7: Footnotes
- 7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
- 7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription

8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families

- 8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
- 8.2: What Is a Family?
- 8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children
- 8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
- 8.5: Research Resources
- 8.6: Glossary
- 8.7: Footnotes
- 8.8: Deep Dive - Books

9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth

- 9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
- 9.2: Family Support or Rejection
- 9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
- 9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
- 9.5: Research Resources
- 9.6: Glossary
- 9.7: Footnotes

10: Screening LGBTQ+

- 10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
- 10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
- 10.3: Other Web Content
- 10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
- 10.5: Research Resources
- 10.6: Glossary
- 10.7: Footnotes
- 10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

11: LGBTQ+ Literature

- 11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
- 11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature
- 11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics
- 11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
- 11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)
- 11.6: Research Resources
- 11.7: Glossary
- 11.8: Footnotes

12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies

- 12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
- 12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information
- 12.3: Glossary and Footnotes
- 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

Index

Glossary

Detailed Licensing

Licensing

*A detailed breakdown of this resource's licensing can be found in **Back Matter/Detailed Licensing**.*

Acknowledgements

An earlier version of the first research profile in chapter 2, “Lukas Avendaño: Reflections from *Muxeidad*,” was published on Siwar Mayu: A River of Hummingbirds (http://siwarmayu.com/). I would especially like to thank Mario Patiño, the very talented photographer, for use of the stunning photographs. An earlier version of the second research profile for chapter 2, “Queering Pan-Africanism,” was published on Africa Is a Country, “*Not the Continent with 55 Countries” (https://africasacountry.com/about).

Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies

At the 1984 Hacker's Convention, Stewart Brand reportedly uttered the classic phrase "Information wants to be free."[1] Among this statement's several interpretations is the one reflecting a belief that all people should be able to freely access information and that scientific information should be openly circulated. And I would like to suggest that if information wants to be free, queer information, especially, should *always* be free.

This textbook is dedicated to the bold idea that information and education should be free and widely accessible across age, race, class, gender, and other categories—such as the nation-state—that are all too often invoked to divide peoples. In the last few years we have experienced a global pandemic, the rise of a radical form of domestic political extremism, a racial reckoning sparked by the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, and the revival of 1990s-style culture wars that are not struggles over culture but really about politics and power. In this volatile context, this textbook is more important than ever, especially as nearly one in five young adults globally who are members of Generation Z (born after 1997) identify as not being straight and almost 4 percent as not being cisgender.[2] Free and empowering information is the only answer to the politics of hatred and divisiveness.

The information in this textbook can empower readers because it provides an introduction to and an overview of LGBTQ+ studies for college students and the curious public. It is an Open Educational Resource (OER), which means that it carries an open license so that all its content can be retained, reused, revised, remixed, and redistributed for free, as long as authorship is clearly attributed. The State University of New York (SUNY) Geneseo's Milne Library is publishing and maintaining this free, online resource. Additionally, SUNY Press is publishing paperback and hardcover copies of the textbook for those who would like to hold the text in their hands.

Producing an open-license textbook for LGBTQ+ studies embodies the spirit of the political struggle for the rights of gender and sexual minorities that also animates the field itself. This textbook is free for everyone to use; it is community oriented and a cultural production grounded in the struggle to challenge stereotypes, silences, and untruths that have long been circulated about lesbians, gays, bisexuals, trans folk, queer and nonbinary people, our histories, and our cultures. It's a kind of DIY LGBTQ+ project for the twenty-first century. It also helps combat the high cost of a college education in the United States, and around the world. Students all too often simply cannot afford to purchase textbooks for their classes because the books cost too much.

This political struggle for the human rights of gender and sexual minorities continues today. Research and writing on LGBTQ+ issues remains vitally important. Equality has advanced in the United States—there is federal recognition of marriage equality, for example, and enhanced visibility for transgender issues on many college campuses—but simultaneously, backlash and hostility toward LGBTQ+ people is widespread. LGBTQ+ people continue to experience hate crimes at unacceptable levels, and state legislators continue to try to pass anti-LGBTQ+ laws and ordinances.[3] Similarly, there are advances in terms of global LGBTQ+ rights—India and Jamaica, two former British colonies, have struck down colonial-era laws against homosexual activity—but violations of LGBTQ+ human rights still occur worldwide. This textbook speaks directly to a broad range of audiences by engaging these critically important social issues.

This textbook fills a number of needs for both academic readers and the general public. First, it is the only free, openly licensed textbook on LGBTQ+ issues in the world. It offers accessible, academically sound information on a wide range of LGBTQ+ topics —history, relationships, families, parenting, health, and culture—and a chapter on how to conduct research in LGBTQ+ studies. Second, it employs an intersectional analysis, highlighting how sexuality and gender are simultaneously experienced and constructed through other structures of inequality and privilege, such as race and class. This intersectional analysis is grounded in social theory and a commitment to racial equality. Third, it expands the temporal and spatial perspectives on LGBTQ+ issues, from the ancient world to more contemporary regions. Finally, it aims to support multiple learning styles by integrating visual elements and multimedia resources throughout the textbook.

This textbook has evolved over several years of research, writing, and—most importantly—collaboration with a host of colleagues across the United States and indeed the world. It was originally borne out of my experience teaching the Introduction to LGBTQ+ Studies course in the online environment at SUNY Empire State college. SUNY Empire students are typically older (average age thirty-six), working full or part time, and taking care of their families, including parents, children, or both. They are struggling to secure a college degree and to learn more about the world they live in. What is most striking about the students in the class—whether they identify as LGBTQ+ or straight—is both their genuine curiosity and their deep desire to learn more so that they can

advocate for LGBTQ+ family members or serve as allies to friends and colleagues in the workplace. Many work in human services, health care, or in educational settings, and they want to know more about how to better support LGBTQ+ youth and fight the discrimination they witness. The textbook for this class cost $93, and I found myself buying textbooks for students when they could not afford them. Out of these experiences came this textbook, an answer to the need for access to critically important information on LGBTQ+ lives, for free.

In January 2019 a call for participants to create this textbook, placed through the Rebus Community platform, received dozens of answers from people within forty-eight hours. I and Sean Massey, who agreed to serve as coeditor, sifted through dozens of impressive résumés to find the right mix of proposed topics, relevant expertise, and comprehensive coverage. Thanks to a grant from SUNY OER Services, we were able to hold a workshop in Saratoga Springs in spring of 2019, where most of the authors met, shared their work, brainstormed learning outcomes and textbook design, and generally enjoyed each other's company. During 2019, each chapter was peer reviewed at least once and reviewed by the coeditors, and the entire textbook was also peer reviewed. The beta version of the textbook launched in spring 2020 through SUNY OER Services.

On the basis of feedback about that version, we recruited Jennifer Miller to organize a chapter on LGBTQ+ literature, which strengthened part 6, on LGBTQ+ culture. Along the way, she became a coeditor. Subsequently, SUNY Press joined the project, and the entire textbook was substantially revised to include pedagogical supports and create a uniform structure. Allison Brown served as project manager and digital publishing expert for the entire project. She also served as an editor and developed key content for the pedagogical supports. Her expertise in digital publishing, deft project management skills, and cool, calm influence have kept the project on track and moving in the right direction for four long years. We hope you enjoy the results of our efforts.[4]

The next section defines LGBTQ+ studies and situates the textbook within the field. The last section provides an overview of the organization of the textbook so that readers will have a sense of the range of topics and ideas that they will encounter.



Figure I.1. The authors hard at work at the spring 2019 event where we brainstormed learning outcomes and textbook design. (Deborah Amory.)

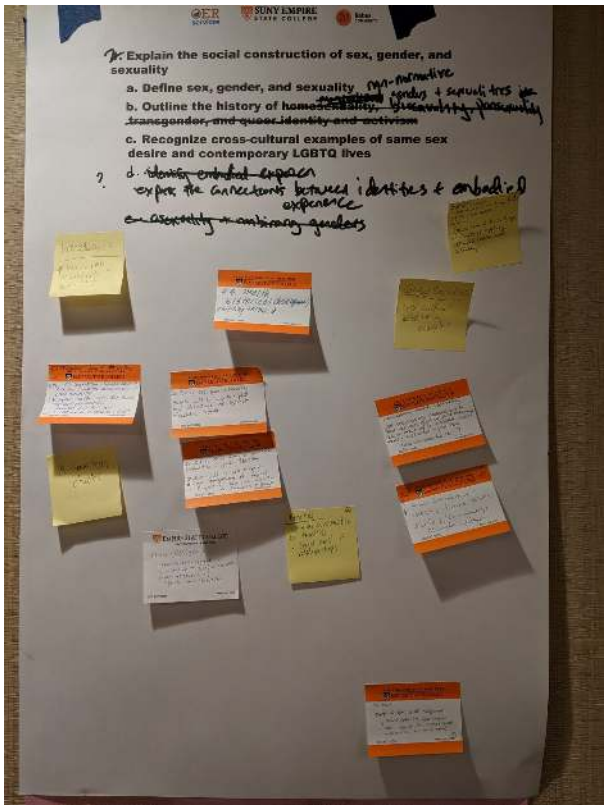


Figure I.2. Collective editing of the textbook's learning objectives in spring 2019. (Deborah Amory.)

WHAT IS LGBTQ+ STUDIES?

LGBTQ+ studies examines issues relating to sexual orientation and gender identity, usually focusing on lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer people—hence the initialism *LGBTQ*—and their histories and cultures. In the twenty-first century, that collection of identities has expanded to include asexual, questioning, intersex, and two-spirit peoples and myriad other genders and sexualities—hence the plus sign in *LGBTQ+*. The field relies on and benefits from interdisciplinary methods to arrive at new ideas and theories, and it has always been closely aligned with different forms of political activism. This means that scholars in LGBTQ+ studies might combine historical analysis with ideas from literary analysis to make sense of their own experience or the experiences of others with whom they have conducted fieldwork. Finally, the field is hard to categorize simply because it is always evolving and always questioning the politics and poetics of its own practitioners. In fact, different names have marked different periods in the field; it was gay and lesbian studies in the beginning, then came the birth of queer theory in the 1990s, and we call it LGBTQ+ studies now. However it is described, LGBTQ+ studies is dedicated to the simple notion that discrimination against human sexual and gender diversity is wrong. Rather, gender and sexual diversity are to be valued and celebrated but also critically analyzed and theorized, for everyone's benefit.

LGBTQ+ studies as a field of inquiry has grown out of various liberation movements in the latter half of the twentieth century in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Indeed, interdisciplinary academic fields have a long history of emerging in response to activist movements and the accompanying demands to understand and legitimate the histories, literatures, and cultures of oppressed peoples. For example, in the United States the civil rights and Black power movements of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s gave rise to Black studies, and feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s gave rise to women's studies, or gender studies as it is now often known. As Alisa Solomon and Paisley Currah argue, "LGTBQ studies has its origins in the gay activism that marks its symbolic birth with the Stonewall uprising of 1969."[5] Leaders in what was initially called gay and lesbian studies were also active in lesbian, feminist, gay, and trans liberation movements in the United States and United Kingdom, including Esther Newton, Jeffrey Weeks, Larry Kramer, Jonathan Ned Katz (founder of Gay Academic Union), and Leslie Feinberg.[6]

At a very basic level, what was originally called the gay liberation movement gave birth to a new field—gay and lesbian studies. In this field, scholars developed new analyses and research methodologies to challenge the silences and erasure of lesbian and gay lives from history, art, politics, and public policy. Activists and scholars sought to build new institutions and transform old ones.

Gay interest groups within academic professional organizations were organized, and archives such as the Lesbian Herstory Archives (in 1974) were set up to safeguard histories, memorabilia, and literature that document lesbian experience. Community centers were founded to provide social, psychological, and material support for community members, and cultural institutions were established to ensure the creation and production of literature, music, and art. Olivia Records was founded in 1973 by radical lesbian feminist members of the Washington, D.C., collective the Furies and the Radicalesbians, and the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival was founded in 1976.

Another key component of our definition of LGBTQ+ studies is a form of analysis called intersectional feminism that emerged in the 1980s as Black lesbians critiqued racism within the white women's movement (and women's studies) and sexism and homophobia among Black activists (and in Black studies). Radical women of color set about creating their own institutions and articulating their own theories, including the Combahee River Collective in Boston and Kitchen Table Press (founded in 1980). The Combahee River Collective Statement is an important, early statement of intersectional feminism.[7] Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term *intersectionality* in 1989 as part of her work in critical race theory. The importance of this analysis has not diminished, as evidenced by Crenshaw's 2016 Ted Talk, "The Urgency of Intersectionality."[8]

By the 1990s, the HIV/AIDS pandemic had started to decimate gay communities, creating a sense of fury and desperation among gays and lesbians and a growing mainstream backlash as well. Lesbian and gay activism took increasingly radical approaches, perhaps best exemplified by ACT UP—the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power—and Queer Nation. These groups articulated a radical critique of straight culture and developed revolutionary tactics to disrupt business as usual and push the U.S. medical establishment to attend to the ravages of the disease. Within academic contexts, queer theory was born, and perhaps most closely identified with the work of theorists like Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, and Eve Sedgwick (see chapter 1, "Thirty Years of Queer Theory"). At the same time, in a synergistic relationship among activist movements, the academy, and human services, new names for a broader array of sexual and gender identities emerged, including trans and queer. And somewhere along the way, the meanings of *gender* and *sexuality* became much more complicated.

The story of LGBTQ+ studies is complicated, ongoing, and hard to understand, but one important element is that it emerged in relationship to historical and political forces hard at work in the late twentieth century. Moreover, we emphasize that our definition of LGBTQ+ studies is a broad and inclusive one. We rely on an intersectional feminist analysis to remind us that discrimination and oppression are not simple, unilinear forces. Rather, multiple interlocking systems of discrimination—including racism, sexism, and homophobia—affect all our lives in different and complex ways. An additional goal of this textbook is to embrace the original impulse of queer theory to challenge and disrupt the conventions of straight, white, middle-class America. And we heed the call of trans theory to think against the grain and across traditional definitions of sexuality and gender. Finally, in the new millennium of the twenty-first century, we embrace and seek to celebrate and empower nonbinary gender and sexual identities and thinking. To get a sense of the breadth and depth of this gender and sexual revolution, review PFLAG's "National Glossary of Terms."[9]

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Chapter 1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory

- Identify key approaches and debates within the field of queer theory.
- Explain the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality.
- Describe the relationship among LGBTQ+ history, political activism, and LGBTQ+ studies.
- Summarize the personal, theoretical, and political differences of the homophile, gay liberation, radical feminism, LGBTQ+ rights, and queer movements.

Chapter 2: Global Sexualities

- Identify key approaches used in LGBTQ+ studies, including anthropology.
  - Define key terms relevant to particular methods of interpreting LGBTQ+ people and issues, such as anthropology and ethnography.
- Identify cross-cultural examples of same-sex desire and contemporary LGBTQ+ lives.
  - Describe the connections between identities and embodied experiences.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
  - Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.

- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
    - Identify forms of LGBTQ+ activism globally.

Chapter 3: Queer New World

- Define LGBTQ+ studies and queer theory, and explain why queer theory matters in the field of archaeology.
- Explain the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality in both the present and the ancient past.
- Define key terms such as *heteronormativity*, *gender performativity*, and *binary oppositions*, and explain how they influence interpretations of the past.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
- Discuss archaeology as a key subfield within LGBTQ+ anthropology.

Chapter 4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History

- Explain the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality.
    - Summarize the history of nonnormative genders and sexualities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identity, as well as queer identity and activism.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
    - Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
    - Describe several examples of LGBTQ+ activism, particularly in relation to other struggles for civil rights.
- Identify key approaches used in LGBTQ+ studies, including the study of LGBTQ+ history.
    - Define key terms relevant to particular methods of interpreting LGBTQ+ people and issues, such as *history* and *primary sources*.
- Describe the relationship between LGBTQ+ history, political activism, and LGBTQ+ studies.
    - Summarize the personal, theoretical, and political differences of the homophile, gay liberation, radical feminism, LGBTQ+ rights, and queer movements.

Chapter 5: LGBTQ+ Legal History

- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
- Recognize that progress faces resistance and does not follow a linear path.
- Identify key approaches within LGBTQ+ studies, and discuss at least the legal history approach in detail.

Chapter 6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People

- Describe the connections between identities and embodied experiences.
- Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
- Explain how different understandings of sexuality and gender affect self- and community-understanding of LGBTQ+ people.

Chapter 7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness

- Summarize the history of nonnormative genders and sexualities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identity, as well as queer identity and activism.
- Describe the connections between identities and embodied experiences.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
- Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.

Chapter 8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families

- Explain the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality.
    - Describe the ways that LGBTQ+ people form relationships and the configurations of LGBTQ+ relationships.
    - Describe the myths that exist regarding the quality of LGBTQ+ relationships and the research that refutes those myths.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.

  - Describe some of the negative consequences of homophobia, heterosexism, and minority stress and the ways LGBTQ+ people manage those consequences.
  - Identify different types of LGBTQ+ family formations, including challenges to family formation and family building.
  - Describe sources of stress and buffers for LGBTQ+ families and for LGBTQ+ individuals within their families of origin.
- Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
  - Describe challenges that some LGBTQ+ families have in interacting with public and private systems, including legal, health care and human services, and educational systems.
- Describe the relationship between LGBTQ+ history, political activism, and LGBTQ+ studies.
  - Articulate the queer viewpoint on LGBTQ+ relationships and families.

Chapter 9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth

- Describe the connections between identities and embodied experiences.
  - Recognize the steps of coming out and the range of responses for gender and sexuality identities.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality
  - Differentiate between the components making schools supportive and inclusive and those needing improvements.
  - Assess resources for LGBTQ+ youth facing discrimination, oppression, and marginalization.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
  - Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
  - Identify health and education disparities for minoritized gender and sexuality identities.

Chapter 10: Screening LGBTQ+

- Summarize the cinematic history of nonnormative genders and sexualities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identity.
- Summarize the history of film censorship as it relates to nonnormative genders and sexualities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identity.
- Identify key approaches to critiquing explicit and coded LGBTQ+ identities and themes in film.
  - Discuss at least one approach in detail and apply it to an original interpretation of queer film.

Chapter 11: LGBTQ+ Literature

- Identify and describe resistance to LGBTQ+ cultural representations specific to literary fields (e.g., comics, children's literature).
- Explain how LGBTQ+ content creators overcame censorship to create varied and complex representations of LGBTQ+ identities, desires, and lives.
- Describe tropes that emerge in particular fields of LGBTQ+ literature.
- Explain literature's role in identity and community formation.

OVERVIEW OF THE TEXTBOOK

This textbook is organized into seven parts, each with one or more chapters that provide a broad overview on a particular topic in a disciplinary approach. Each chapter starts by stating the relevant learning objectives and ends with a "Key Questions" section for class discussion that points back to those objectives. Pedagogical supports include resources listed at key places in the chapter and at the chapter's end, with discussion questions or suggestions for learning activities, such as presentation topics, creative responses, and debate questions. Many chapters also include one or more "Profile" sections, which provide in-depth looks at particular issues relevant to the broader topic of the chapter. Glossaries are at the end of each chapter.

Part I, "Theoretical Foundations," consists of chapter 1, "Thirty Years of Queer Theory," by Jennifer Miller. It examines the emergence of queer theory and queer theoretical interventions into understandings of gender and sexual identities. It identifies key concepts and theorists in queer theory, and it explores queer theory at the intersection of gender, race, and ability.

Part II, "Global Histories," explores different understandings and manifestations of gender and sexuality throughout history and from a global perspective. It provides readers with a historically based understanding of LGBTQ+ identities, lives, and rights in the

United States and the complex ways these phenomena have changed and been contested over time. Its two chapters explain how gender and sexual diversity is the rule, rather than the exception, across all human cultures. In chapter 2, "Global Sexualities: LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future," Joseph Russo delineates the many functions, meanings, practices, and methods of conceptualization for sexuality. Across different cultures and societies, as well as throughout history, sexuality has come to define an entire spectrum of phenomena. Two profiles accompany this chapter. Rita Palacios introduces the work of the *muxe* artist and anthropologist Lukas Avendaño in Mexico. Adriaan van Klinken's profile positions LGBTQ+ identities within the pan-African decolonization movement and specifically in relation to religion and LGBTQ+ activism.

Chapter 3, "Queer New World: Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology," by James Aimers, explores how new theories of sex and sexuality that have emerged from feminist studies, gender studies, and queer theory have changed the way we see the lives of ancient people. In particular, the assumption that heterosexuality and heteronormativity is and always has been the norm in human culture is challenged. In particular, Aimers describes nonheteronormative behaviors and identities in ancient Mesoamerica. Both chapters help us rethink some of our basic assumptions about gender and sexuality and what is "normal."

Moving from a global perspective, part III focuses on U.S. histories in relation to LGBTQ+ lives. In chapter 4, "U.S. LGBTQ+ History," Clark Pomerleau traces the development of LGBTQ+ concepts, identities, and movements in the United States from white settler colonialism through the nineteenth century. The broadening from thinking of sexuality as behavior to sexuality as identity is highlighted, as is the subsequent development of homosexual communities in the twentieth century. Toward this end, the profile by Jennifer Miller and Clark Pomerleau documents how the science of sexology introduced the idea that same-sex attraction was a pathological identity born of mental illness that correlated with gender transgression. Pomerleau's chapter also evaluates the political strategies that influenced LGBTQ+ organizing, including the civil rights movement, radical Left tactics, and cross-pollination from 1960s and 1970s student organizing and feminism. Pomerleau sketches how, in response to the AIDS epidemic, LGBTQ+ Americans developed institutions and new forms of political activism that included the rise of queer politics.

In chapter 5, "LGBTQ+ Legal History," Dara Silberstein explores the history of constitutional law in the United States and how it has served as the context for critical LGBTQ+ legal battles. She considers the tenets that paved the way for recognition of sexual rights and the process that eventually led the Supreme Court to extend these rights to include lesbian and gay people. The chapter addresses the question of marriage equality. This overview of LGBTQ+ legal history is supplemented by Ariella Rotramel's profile on anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes in the United States. The profile defines hate crimes and summarizes the history of hate-crime laws, at both the federal and the state levels. A map in the profile depicts the very uneven development of hate crime laws across the United States, notwithstanding ongoing violence against LGBTQ+ people.

Part IV, "Prejudice and Health," begins by drawing on social psychology research to understand how discrimination and prejudice affect LGBTQ+ people. In chapter 6, "Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People," Sean Massey, Sarah Young, and Ann Merriwether emphasize that even though there have been great strides in recent years in terms of LGBTQ+ acceptance in the United States and elsewhere, ongoing forms of prejudice, discrimination, and violence remain. Their chapter reviews the prevalence and trends of anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice in the United States; sets out what is known about its nature, origins, and consequences; provides a historical overview of attempts to define and measure it; and reviews the variables that increase or reduce its impact on the lives of LGBTQ+ people. Finally, they also discuss the resistance and resilience shown by the LGBTQ+ community in response to prejudice and discrimination.

In the accompanying profile, "Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples," David Frost analyzes discrimination and structural violence on same-sex couples that results in minority stress. He and his colleagues have conducted several studies to understand how sexual minority individuals and members of same-sex relationships experience stigma related to their intimate relationships. He demonstrates that stigma harms their mental health and the quality of their relationships.

Chapter 7, "LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness," explores the history and culture of medicine in relation to LGBTQ+ people. The authors—Thomas Long, Christine Rodriguez, Marianne Snyder, and Ryan Watson—consider vulnerabilities across the lifespan and across intersectional identities and disease prevention and health promotion. These experts identify both the negative outcomes for LGBTQ+ peoples' health and the resistance by LGBTQ+ people to the pathologizing of queer sexuality. Queer communities have sought to take health into their own hands, particularly in relation to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The authors also discuss mental health and transgender people's health, and they conclude with advice on how to be a smart patient and health care consumer.

Part V, “Relationships, Families, and Youth,” continues to draw on psychology research to explore LGBTQ+ relationships and families and the experiences of youth in educational settings. In chapter 8, “LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families,” Sarah Young and Sean Massey explore the complex worlds of LGBTQ+ intimate relationships and the varied ways that LGBTQ+ people form families. In her profile, “LGBTQ+ Family Building: Challenges and Opportunity,” Christa Craven shares insights from her research on the reproductive challenges and experiences of loss that many lesbian and gay couples in the United States face. She argues that support resources should be more inclusive, to help LGBTQ+ families who experience reproductive loss.

In chapter 9, “Education and LGBTQ+ Youth,” Kim Fuller identifies the social and educational barriers to healthy LGBTQ+ youth development, such as inequities and injustice. She also shows the resiliency of LGBTQ+ youths and the role supportive adults can assume in facilitating positive youth development. She describes the coming out process for young people and how educational institutions and settings can sabotage or support that process. In the profile complementing this chapter, Sabia Prescott reviews the current state of LGBTQ+ inclusion in prekindergarten through twelfth-grade educational settings and its consequences for learning outcomes for LGBTQ+ youth.

Part VI, “Culture” encompasses two important realms of LGBTQ+ life: film and literature. In chapter 10, “Screening LGBTQ+,” Lynne Stahl reviews various forms of LGBTQ+ film and media from the beginnings of the cinematic form to the contemporary milieu of producing DIY web series and viewing on smartphones. The chapter addresses milestone films and other visual media along with significant laws, political contexts, technological developments, genres, movements, and controversies, primarily in the United States. Stahl’s analysis reveals that other structures of oppression—in particular, race and class—have interacted in complex ways with gender and sexuality in the history and contemporary challenges of LGBTQ+ representations on-screen, both large and small.

Two profiles take an in-depth look at this theme. In “Giving Voice to Black Gay Men through Marlon Riggs’s *Tongues Untied*,” Marquis Bey thoughtfully analyzes a canonical film in the archive of Black queer cinema. The 1989 *Tongues Untied* explicitly addresses, interrogates, and celebrates Black gay identity and culture. Bey also meditates on Riggs’s biography and his relationship to the marginalized voices, Black gay cultural practices, and politics of sexuality within Black communities. In the second profile, “How *One Day at a Time* Avoids Negative Queer Tropes,” Shyla Saltzman argues that the queer characters of this series are presented in a way that offers nuanced and positive depictions to its queer viewers and allies.

Chapter 11, “LGBTQ+ Literature,” doesn’t try to capture the varied LGBTQ+ literature within a single narrative arc. Instead, Jennifer Miller, the chapter editor, gathered several discussions that explore fields of LGBTQ+ literature: children’s literature, young adult literature, comics, pulp fiction, and memoir. The discussion authors think of literature as both a product and a producer of history. It plays an essential role in the creation of LGBTQ+ culture and the formation of LGBTQ+ communities and identities. Each discussion focuses on tropes, or themes, that emerge in that field. Jennifer Miller’s discussion offers an engaging look at LGBTQ+ children’s picture books as an important source of empowerment for LGBTQ+ youth and families. She traces the history of the LGBTQ+ picture book in the United States and reviews some of the controversies that surround positive imagery of LGBTQ+ life designed for children. The next two discussions explore young adult literature: Maddison Lauren Simmons examines tropes in lesbian young adult literature, and Robert Bittner explores trans and gender nonconforming characters. The last three discussions explore LGBTQ+ comics, by Mycroft Roske and Cathy Corder; lesbian and gay pulp fiction, by Cathy Corder; and LGBTQ+ memoir and life writing by Olivia Wood.

Part VII, “Research,” comprises chapter 12, “A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies.” The chapter offers practical steps for conducting LGBTQ+ research. In a world where infinite amounts of information appear online, the search for reliable information can be challenging. Rachel Wexelbaum and Gesina Phillips wrote this chapter to help people search for LGBTQ+ information and resources in an effective, mindful manner. They provide tips on what to ask and where to look. This chapter is intended to complement the “Research Resources” sections in the chapters and can support student research assignments in class.

Introduction to LGBTQ+ Studies: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach will acquaint readers with many of the compelling topics found under the broad umbrella of LGBTQ+ studies. Although our intention was to provide global coverage of LGBTQ+ issues, this first edition centers on North America, and particularly the United States. We hope to create a truly global version of this textbook in the future. Nonetheless, we do believe that the textbook you are now viewing on a screen (or holding in your hands) represents a significant contribution to the ever-expanding archive of LGBTQ+ knowledge and literature.

Last but not least, enjoy!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project spanned four years, involved several organizations, and called on dozens of contributors. Thanks to everyone who added their work or art or insights; your generosity and talent were inspiring and are very much appreciated.

We are grateful for the help of a few key individuals and organizations whom we would like to acknowledge individually. First, SUNY OER Services provided financial support for this project with funds from New York State's 2018–2019 budget allocation for Open Educational Resources. The Rebus Foundation, and especially Zoe Wake Hyde and Apurva Ashok, included us in their work on developing resources for the creation of OER textbooks. We learned a great deal about the process of creating OERs and developing textbooks along the way, and we benefited enormously from the resources created by folks at the Rebus Foundation.

Thanks to SUNY Empire State College for supporting our project. This support included a six-month sabbatical for Deborah Amory in the spring of 2019, and a PILLARS grant 2019–2020. We especially recognize Kate Scacchetti, who ably organized the June 2019 workshop in Saratoga for authors; Amanda Mickel, who chased down permissions for us when we thought all was lost; and Meg Benke, provost, who contributed unflagging enthusiasm and unfailing encouragement. Everyone's help has meant a great deal.

Allison Brown enlisted the help of the SUNY Geneseo student publishing assistants Nicole Callahan and Jack Terwilliger, who helped to make the chapters even more beautiful with openly licensed images and artwork. Thanks as well to Milne Library at SUNY Geneseo for hosting the online, digital OER versions of the textbook.

Some glossary terms in chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 are edited versions of definitions found on Wikipedia and Wiktionary and are licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike License 3.0.

For the SUNY Press edition, we thank Mary Ann Short, who did an awesome job on a developmental edit of the entire text and then copyedited the final stages. Special thanks to Tim Stookesbury, executive director of SUNY Press, who saw the value in this project and supported us in the last two years (2020–2022). Finally, a thousand thanks to Rachel Wexelbaum, our lead librarian and a contributing author, for managing the bevy of librarians who answered the call to develop annotated bibliographies for each and every chapter.

Finally, thanks to everyone who responded to calls for participation and pleas for help in producing two editions of this textbook. Indeed, as Rita Mae Brown once wrote, "An army of lovers shall not fail." We love this project, and together we have made it happen.

Media Attributions

- Figure I.1. © Deborah Amory is licensed under a CC BY (Attribution) license
- Figure I.2. © Deborah Amory is licensed under a CC BY (Attribution) license

---

1. "R. Polk Wagner, Information Wants to Be Free: Intellectual Property and the Mythologies of Control," *Columbia Law Review* 103 (2003): 995-1034. ↵
2. J. Moreau, "Nearly 1 in 5 Young Adults Say They're Not Straight, Global Survey Finds," NBC News, June 9, 2021, https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/nearly-1-5-young-adults-say-they-re-not-straight-n12700033. ↵
3. Movement Advancement Project, "Hate Crimes," accessed March 14, 2022, https://www.lgbtmap.org/policy-and-issue-analysis/hate-crimes. ↵
4. Rebus Community (website), https://www.rebus.community/; SUNY OER Services (website), https://oer.suny.edu/about-us/; Deborah Amory and Sean Massey, eds., *LGBTQ+ Studies: An Open Textbook*, beta edition spring 2020, https://courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-lgbtq-studies/. ↵
5. A. Solomon and P. Currah, introduction to *Queer Ideas: The David R. Kessler Lectures in Lesbian and Gay Studies* (New York: Feminist Press / CUNY Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, 2003), 3. ↵
6. A. Medhurst and S. R. Munt, introduction to *Lesbian and Gay Studies: A Critical Introduction*, ed. A. Medhurst and S. R. Munt (London: Cassell, 1997), xv; J. Weeks, "The Social Construction of Sexuality: Interview with Jeffrey Weeks," in *Introducing the New Sexuality Studies*, ed. S. Seidman, N. Fischer, and C. Meeks (London: Routledge, 2006), 14–20; Solomon and Currah, introduction; S. Stryker, *Transgender History: The Roots of Today's Revolution* (New York: Seal Press, 2017). ↵
7. "The Combahee River Collective Statement," in *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, ed. Barbara Smith (New York: Kitchen Table Press), 264–274; and see Combahee River Collective (website), https://combaheerivercollective.weebly.com. ↵

8. K. Crenshaw, “The Urgency of Intersectionality,” October 2016, TED Talk, https://www.ted.com/talks/kimberle_crenshaw_the_urgency_of_intersectionality?language=en ↵
9. “National Glossary of Terms,” PFLAG, accessed January 11, 2022, https://pflag.org/glossary. ↵

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Deborah P. Amory is professor of social science at SUNY Empire State College. She holds a PhD from Stanford University in anthropology, and a BA from Yale University in African studies. Her early work focused on same-sex relations on the Swahili-speaking coast of East Africa and on lesbian identity in the United States. She has served in academic administration and has been energized by the open education movement, especially in relation to developing online open educational resource courses and textbooks, including *Introduction to Anthropology*, *Sex and Gender in Global Perspective*, and *Introduction to LGBTQ+ Studies*.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Identify key approaches and debates within the field of queer theory.
- Explain the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality.
- Describe the relationship among LGBTQ+ history, political activism, and LGBTQ+ studies.
- Summarize the personal, theoretical, and political differences of the homophile, gay liberation, radical feminism, LGBTQ+ rights, and queer movements.

1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview

1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies

1.3: Gender Performativity

1.4: Transgender Studies

1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles

1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes

This page titled 1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview

Introduction

It is a challenge to create an origin story about a field of study, in this instance queer theory, because ideas are not birthed in a moment, a day, or even a year. They build on what has come before, reflect on it, challenge it, seek to bend or break it, and only eventually, and only sometimes, become an identifiable entity with a name given to them. The story of queer theory's emergence is entwined with queer activism. Queer theory and queer activism are products of their historical moment as well as transformative forces changing how gender and sexuality are understood in multiple academic disciplines and, increasingly, outside academia. Additionally, both queer theory and activism introduced ways of thinking and acting through politics that went beyond normalizing demands for the inclusion of **LGBTQ+ people in existing social institutions.**

The 1970s and 1980s saw a rapid increase in **lesbian and gay activism and scholarship.** A police raid at **the Stonewall Inn in New York City in 1969 i**gnited demonstrations. Following the Stonewall rebellion, lesbian and gay liberation groups started to fight for equal rights, and some scholars started to study the history and culture of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals. Then, in 1987, Larry Kramer, Vito Russo, and others founded the direct-action group AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) to demand that politicians, the medical community, drug manufacturers, and the public acknowledge the AIDS epidemic. The group's motto was, and remains, "Silence = Death."[1] An offshoot of **ACT UP**, **Queer Nation,** was founded in 1990 to fight the escalating violence and discrimination against LGBTQ+ people.

Teresa de Lauretis

At roughly the same time, the term ***queer theory*** began to circulate and quickly gained momentum within academic circles. The film theorist Teresa de Lauretis (figure 1.1) coined the term at a University of California, Santa Cruz, conference about lesbian and gay sexualities in February 1990. The conference proceedings were later collected in a 1991 special issue of *Differences: **A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies.*** In her introduction to the special issue, de Lauretis outlines the central features of queer theory, sketching the field in broad strokes that have held up remarkably well.[2]



Figure 1.1. Teresa de Lauretis. (From Queer: A Graphic History by Meg-John Barker and Jules Scheele, provided courtesy of Icon Books. Copyright Icon Books, reprinted with permission.)

De Lauretis suggested gay and lesbian sexualities should be studied, not as deviations of heterosexuality, but on their own terms. She went on to claim gay and lesbian sexualities should be "understood and imagined as forms of resistance to cultural homogenization, counteracting dominant discourses."[3] According to de Lauretis, and queer theorists more generally, lesbian and gay sexualities enact nonnormative intimate and social modes of relating; they put new things in the world, and those new things have transformative potential.

From its earliest iterations, queer theory **challenged norms** that reproduced inequalities and, at its best, sought to understand how **sexuality intersected with gender, race, class, and other social identities** to maintain social hierarchies. In fact, de Lauretis used the term ***queer*** to create critical distance from lesbian and gay studies. Lesbian and gay studies courses began to appear in the 1970s, and programs slowly emerged in the 1980s. De Lauretis claimed that differences were collapsed within **lesbian and gay studies** and the experience of white middle-class gay men was privileged. She notes that although it became standard to refer to lesbians *and* gays in the 1980s, the "and" obscured differences instead of revealing them.[4] In addition to sexuality, de Lauretis hoped queer theory would identify and trouble other "constructed silences"—for instance, those of race, ethnicity, class, and gender.[5] She wanted to break with the past and transform the future by developing new ways of conceptualizing sexual identities in the present of the 1990s.

Tyler Ford Explains the History Behind the Work 'Queer'

In a video in the InQueery series by them, Tyler Ford explains the history behind the word *queer* (youtu.be/UpE0u9Dx_24).



- What are the key events that Ford identifies as defining the broad outlines of the history of the word *queer* in the English language?
- What is your own history with the word *queer*? Where did you first hear it, and how was it used? Do you consider it an insult, a fierce statement of resistance, or something else? Do you self-identify as queer?
- How does your history with the word relate to the broader history described by Ford in the video? What connections between the two do you find?

In Conclusion

Gay and lesbian activism has a complex history in the United States and even more so globally. Activist demands that have been most palatable to cisgender heterosexuals are those that foreground the right to privacy, individual autonomy, and equal access to social institutions like marriage and the military. However, **queer activism** and scholarship reject mainstream liberal ideals of privacy, the goal of formal equality under the law, and the desirability of assimilation into existing social institutions. Instead, queer theory and activism demand publicness, reject civility, and challenge the legitimacy, naturalness, and intrinsic value of institutions—whether marriage or the military—that regulate gender and sexuality.[6] Of course, this very critical, very **radical relationship** to the normative appears in times before the late 1980s and in places other than the United States, but it is then and there that queer activism and queer theory are named and begin to be, however hesitantly, defined.

Furthermore, contemporary queer theory continues to challenge and dismantle rigid categorizations of identity, emphasizing the fluidity and multiplicity of sexual and gender expressions. As queer theory continues to progress, it remains a vital tool for challenging assumptions, disrupting heteronormative structures, and promoting greater understanding and acceptance of diverse sexualities, gender identities, and intersectional experiences. By encouraging **critical reflection** on the complexities of identity and power dynamics, queer theory has the potential to contribute to more **equitable and inclusive societies.**

This chapter explores the development of queer theory from the 1990s to the present. It begins by elaborating on distinctions between gay and lesbian studies and queer studies before identifying important trends in queer theory.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

Multiple Choice Questions

1. **What event ignited demonstrations and contributed to the rise of queer activism in the 1970s?**
   a) The Stonewall rebellion
   b) The founding of ACT UP
   c) The emergence of Queer Nation
   d) The publication of the special issue of Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies

2. **Which group was founded to fight the escalating violence and discrimination against LGBTQ+ people in 1990?**
   a) Lesbian and Gay Liberation Groups
   b) ACT UP
   c) Queer Nation
   d) Silence = Death
3. **Who coined the term "queer theory" at a University of California, Santa Cruz conference in February 1990?**
   a) Larry Kramer
   b) Teresa de Lauretis
   c) Vito Russo
   d) ACT UP
4. **In which journal was the special issue featuring the proceedings of the conference on lesbian and gay sexualities published?**
   a) The Journal of Queer Studies
   b) Lesbian and Gay Sexualities: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies|
   c) Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies
   d) Queer Nation: A Journal of LGBTQ+ Activism
5. **Which of the following is NOT a key player in the development of queer theory and activism as discussed in the passage?**
   a) Teresa de Lauretis
   b) Larry Kramer
   c) Vito Russo
   d) Judith Butler

Discussion Questions

1. How has the historical context of the 1970s and 1980s shaped the emergence of queer theory and activism, and what are the lasting impacts on current LGBTQ+ movements?
2. How did the work of Teresa de Lauretis and the conference at the University of California, Santa Cruz contribute to the development and understanding of queer theory?
3. In what ways do queer theory and queer activism intersect, and how do they support and challenge each other in their efforts to effect change?
4. How does the concept of "Silence = Death" relate to the broader goals and values of queer theory and activism?
5. In your opinion, what is the significance of recognizing and acknowledging the complex history of queer theory and activism in understanding and supporting the LGBTQ+ community today?

Multiple Choice Questions - Answers

1. a) The Stonewall rebellion
2. c) Queer Nation
3. b) Teresa de Lauretis
4. c) Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies
5. d) Judith Butler

This page titled 1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **1.1: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory** by Jennifer Miller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.
- **Current page** by Has Arakelyan is licensed CC BY 4.0.

1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies

Lesbian and Gay Studies

Queer theorists take a very different approach to understanding identity, which can be understood as constructionist. Constructionists see identity as a sociocultural construct that changes. To assert that identities are sociocultural constructs assumes that in different times and places different meanings and values dominate and influence identity. These meanings and values are transmitted through cultural texts like television, music, or film and are produced within social institutions like schools, museums, and families. As a result, meanings and values change across space and time.

Michel Foucault

In the mid-1970s, the French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault published *The History of Sexuality*, which describes the origin of modern homosexual identity. In this sweeping history of sexuality, Foucault creates an influential theory of sexual-identity formation. For Foucault, "Sexuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually to uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct."[8] By rejecting the idea that something called sexuality exists in all of us, waiting to be liberated, Foucault's work challenged not only how sexuality was understood in popular and scholarly discourses but also how power was understood. For Foucault, power does not repress a preexisting sexual identity; it provides the conditions needed for sexual identities to multiply. Here it is important to distinguish between sexual identities and sexual practices. Sexual practices have existed in multiple forms across time and space, but only in particular moments do practices congeal into identities that can be named and managed.

According to Foucault, power is everywhere, although it is not evenly dispersed. He argues that medical discourse, particularly the field of sexology, which applies scientific principles to the study of sexuality, intersected with legal discourse to simultaneously create the need and the means to identify and produce knowledge about sexual identity, particularly "the homosexual." Power in this instance belonged to medical and legal authorities. However, naming the homosexual had unforeseen consequences. Those identified as homosexual in medical discourse appropriated the discourse to revise what the category might mean, identify one another, build a community, and make political demands. This can be seen in the early homophile movement, which refers to late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century homosexual rights activism that emerged in tandem and entwined with sexology and anti-sodomy laws.

Philosophy - Michel Foucault

A video from the School of Life series discusses Michel Foucault, a philosopher of history who explored different institutions —medicine, crime and punishment, and homosexuality—with the goal of radically disrupting our understanding of them (https://youtu.be/BBJTeNTZtGU).



- What was Foucault's personal background, and how do you imagine it might have influenced his academic career?
- Do you see progress or instead a lack of spontaneity and imagination in the way the West has treated people with mental health issues, criminals, and homosexuals?

- Did Foucault want us to become nostalgic, or did he want us to learn from the past about better ways of doing things now?

Foucault's work influenced a new wave of historians committed to studying the construction of modern homosexuality. David Halperin, a historian of classical Greek culture, provided volumes' worth of historical evidence to support Foucault's more theoretical claims.[9] Halperin argues that using modern identity frameworks to understand culturally and historically specific expressions of desire is poor scholarship. He interprets sexual histories through a queer lens that does not assume that identities and experiences are universal. John D'Emilio, another queer historian, connects the development of modern gay identity to nineteenth-century urbanization and industrialization.[10] Jonathan Ned Katz, also a historian, focuses a critically queer lens on heterosexuality, arguing that it is also a social construct.[11] By demonstrating that heterosexuality, like homosexuality, is a modern invention, Katz seeks to strip the category of its normalizing power.

Foucault, Halperin, D'Emilio, and Katz contribute to a critical understanding of the social construction of homosexuality and heterosexuality. This does important political and intellectual work in troubling the idea of heterosexuality as normal and natural, a claim that has been used to marginalize homosexuals.

Eve Sedgwick

Eve Sedgwick, a literary theorist, continues the project of troubling both homosexuality and heterosexuality in her 1990 publication *Epistemology of the Closet*, which is widely recognized as a foundational queer theory text (Figure 1.2). Sedgwick argues that by the twentieth century, in Western culture, every person was assigned a sexual identity.[12] For Sedgwick, the history of homosexuality is not a minority history—it is the history of modern Western culture. According to Sedgwick, homosexual and heterosexual definition is central to the construction of the modern nation-state, because it informs modern modes of population management. She introduces the terms minoritizing and universalizing to describe competing and coexisting understandings of homosexuality that shape how we imagine sexuality.



Figure 1.2. Eve Sedgwick. (From *Queer: A Graphic History* by Meg-John Barker and Jules Scheele, provided courtesy of Icon Books. Copyright Icon Books, reprinted with permission.)

The minoritizing view sees homosexuality as relevant only to homosexuals. This view sees homosexuals as a specific group of people, a minority, within a largely heterosexual world. This can have its uses—for instance, in creating a discernible community able to make demands of the state, as seen in the homophile movement as well as in current gay (and lesbian) rights activism. The universalizing view, in contrast, sees sexuality and sexual definition as important to everyone. This is the position Sedgwick takes in her book when she claims that sexual definition is central to social organization and identity formation.

Gayle Rubin

Social constructionism also influenced understandings of gender. For instance, the cultural anthropologist Gayle Rubin's essay "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex" sought to identify the origin of women's oppression across cultures.[13] It is a constructivist account of gender identity that connects the binary construction of

gender (man or woman) to heterosexual kinship and by extension to women's oppression within heterosexual patriarchal cultures (figure 1.3).

Rubin uses the phrase sex-gender system to describe the process by which social relations produce women as oppressed beings. According to Rubin, "One begins to have a sense of a systematic social apparatus which takes up females as raw material and fashions domesticated women as products."[14] Rubin writes, "As a preliminary definition, a ' sex-gender system' is the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied."[15]

Although Rubin's work is very influential in feminist and queer theory, one of her basic assumptions, that sex is raw material and thus lacks the influence of social norms, has been challenged by other queer theorists.

Anne Fausto-Sterling

The queer feminist science scholar Anne Fausto-Sterling's early 1990s work on intersex categories contends that although social institutions are invested in maintaining a dyadic sex system, this system does not map onto nature (figure 1.4). She argues that sex exists as a spectrum between female and male with a minimum of five distinct categories. Fausto-Sterling introduces the terms "herms," "ferms," and "merms" to categorize anatomical, hormonal, and chromosomal differences that fall outside a male-female sex dyad.[16] Like Rubin, Fausto-Sterling's early provocation about sex categories sees sex as biological, natural, and unchangeable; it is raw material that culture transforms into gender. Both Rubin's work and Fausto-Sterling's early work leave a nature-nurture binary in place and suggest that sex correlates with nature and gender correlates with nurture.

Fausto-Sterling's work was soon challenged for focusing too much attention on genitals. For instance, the social psychologist Suzanne Kessler was critical of Fausto-Sterling's attachment to reading genitals for the truth of sex, insisting that the performance of gender on the body rather than on genitalia was more often used to gender bodies.[17] Fausto-Sterling has since conceded Kessler's point.[18] Most queer theoretical engagements with gender deprivilege the body, particularly genitals, as a site of truth by suggesting that the appearance of binary sexed bodies is actually an effect of binary gender discourse and, as discussed in the next section, binary performances of gender. In other words, a binary sex-gender system that assumes a correlation between sex and gender is an effect of power, not nature.

In Conclusion

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

Research conducted globally has consistently demonstrated that sex, sexuality, gender, gender identity and gender expression exist on a continuum rather than as binary or fixed categories. This understanding has significant implications for how we conceptualize and discuss these aspects of human experience.

The spectrum perspective challenges traditional binary notions of sexuality, gender, and gender identity, which have historically categorized individuals as either heterosexual or homosexual, male or female, and cisgender or transgender. Instead, the continuum model acknowledges the complexity and fluidity of these elements, recognizing that individuals may experience and express their sexuality, gender, and gender identity in a variety of ways.

By embracing a continuum approach, we can better appreciate and celebrate the diverse range of human experiences and this understanding fosters inclusivity and acceptance, allowing individuals to embrace their unique identities without the pressure to conform to rigid societal expectations.

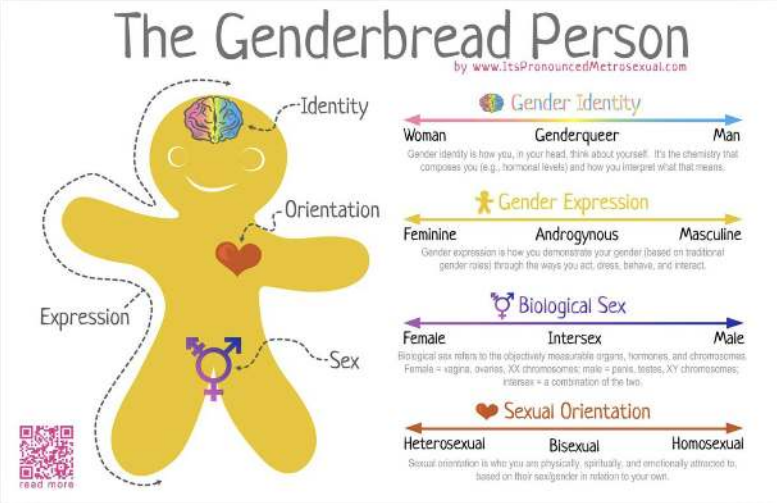


Figure 1.3 The Gender Bread Person by Sam Killerman. Demonstrating the complexity and continuum of sex, sexuality, gender, gender identity, and expression. ("Uncopyrighted", Sam Killerman.)

This page titled 1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **1.1: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory** by Jennifer Miller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

1.3: Gender Performativity

Drag Culture

The cultural anthropologist Esther Newton published *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*, a groundbreaking ethnography of drag culture in 1972. Newton uses the term drag queen to describe a "homosexual male who often, or habitually, dresses in female attire."[19] Newton separated the sexed body from the gender expressed on it, suggesting that there is no natural link between the two, as discussed in the previous section, but in 1972 the link between sex and gender remained tightly clamped. Newton writes, "The effect of the drag system is to wrench sex roles loose from that which supposedly determines them, that is, genital sex. Gay people know that sex-typed behavior can be achieved, contrary to what is popularly believed. They know that the possession of one type of genital equipment by no means guarantees the 'naturally appropriate' behavior."[20] Like Rubin, Newton was writing before the 1990 birth of queer theory. Also like Rubin, her intellectual investments and theoretical findings were harbingers of things to come. In fact, Judith Butler, who is often identified as an early and formative player in the creation of queer theory, cites both theorists as influential to her work on performativity.

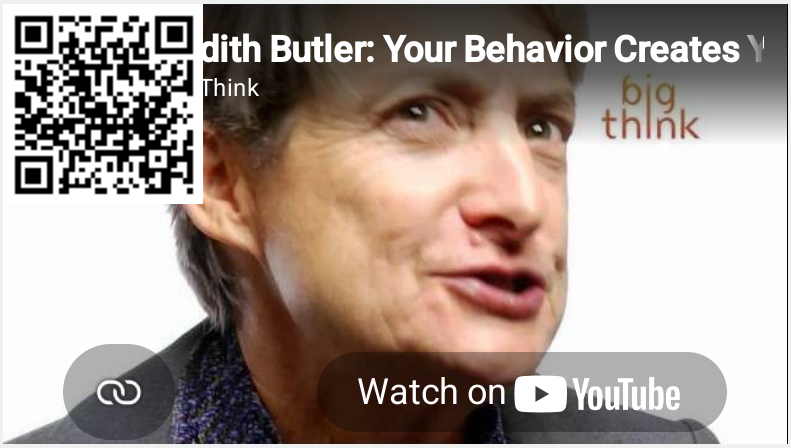
Judith Butler

Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble*, originally published in 1990, introduces the term performativity to suggest that gender identity is not natural and does not emanate from an essential truth that can be located on or in the body (figure 1.5). For Butler, gender is established as consistent and cohesive through its repeated performance.[21] Importantly, for Butler, because gender must be constantly reperformed, it can be intentionally or unintentionally troubled, revealing it as an ongoing project with no origin. This is similar to Newton's observation of drag, particularly her suggestion that drag reveals gender as a performance.

Gender Trouble was critiqued for ignoring the materiality of the body and real sex differences. In a follow-up publication, Butler argues that sex is a regulatory ideal that forces many bodies into a two-part system.[22] This is likely reminiscent of Fausto-Sterling's provocation that there are five discernible sexes. Butler responded to critique by arguing that, although discourse does not produce material sex differences, it organizes these differences, gives them meaning, and renders them legible.[23]

Judith Butler: Your Behavior Creates Your Gender

Judith Butler describes the social construction of gender, and the policing of gender, by social institutions in this video in the Big Think series. Clearly a social constructionist, Butler emphasizes that she considers gender an important site of freedom and pleasure.



- Butler states that there is a difference between saying that gender is performed as opposed to saying gender is performative. Describe that difference in your own words. What examples of different kinds of behavior help you understand that difference? And if you disagree with this idea, explain why you do not see an important difference between the two.
- Butler names institutional powers, like psychologists and psychiatrists, and informal practices, like bullying, that try to keep us in our place. Has someone you know had their gender presentation challenged or censored? Was there any way for the person to resist that challenge? How would you respond to that challenge today?

In *Female Masculinity*, Jack Halberstam continues the work of disentangling gender from genitals through a series of interpretive readings of literary, filmic, and historical representations (figure 1.6). Halberstam argues that female masculinity "actually affords us a glimpse of how masculinity is constructed as masculinity."[24] In other words, women and especially lesbians who are masculine reveal masculinity as a construct, in much the same way that drag queen performances reveal femininity as a construct. Halberstam convincingly claims, "Masculinity must not and cannot and should not reduce down to the male body and its effects."[25] Like many queer theorists engaging gender, Halberstam deemphasizes genitals, refocusing on gender expressions. In other words, much as Newton observes about drag performances of femininity, anybody can put on a gender expression.

In Conclusion

Queer theories of gender have influenced scholars across disciplines, radically transforming how we think about gender. For Butler, there is no natural and essential gender or sexuality that queers deviate from. For Newton, femininity is not the property of women, just as for Halberstam masculinity is not the property of men. Instead, we are all citing, at times contesting, at others complying with, existing ideas about gender and sexuality. Additionally, these ideas, and the value hierarchies that adhere to them, are maintained only by their reproduction.

The work discussed in this chapter dissipates some of the power that coheres around the idea of natural gender and sexuality, an idea that has often been used to mark queer genders and sexualities as unnatural and by extension inferior to heterosexuality.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. **According to Eve Sedgwick, what concept is central to the construction of the modern nation-state?**
   A) Biological determinism
   B) Religious doctrine
   C) Sexual identity categorization
   D) Capitalism

2. **Judith Butler's theory of performativity suggests that:**
   A) gender identity is innate and biologically fixed.
   B) dender is performed repeatedly and has no essential origin.
   C) only drag performances challenge gender norms.
   D) sex differences are socially constructed.

3. **Which scholar introduced the concept of the "sex-gender system"?**
   A) Anne Fausto-Sterling
   B) Judith Butler
   C) Gayle Rubin
   D) Suzanne Kessler

4. **Anne Fausto-Sterling argued that biological sex:**
   A) is binary and unchangeable.
   B) is purely cultural.
   C) exists on a spectrum with more than two categories.
   D) is irrelevant to gender.

5. **Which of the following best reflects Suzanne Kessler's critique of Fausto-Sterling?**
   A) Gender identity cannot be theorized without considering economics.
   B) Gender is better understood through genital examination.
   C) Intersex categories are biologically invalid.
   D) Gender performance, not genitalia, is used to assign gender in social contexts.

Short Answer / Essay Questions

1. Compare and contrast Eve Sedgwick's "minoritizing" and "universalizing" views of homosexuality. How do these frameworks influence modern conversations about sexual identity?
2. Explain Judith Butler's concept of gender performativity. How does this idea challenge conventional understandings of gender and sex? Include examples like drag or social norms in your explanation.
3. Describe Gayle Rubin's concept of the "sex-gender system." How does this system work to uphold patriarchy and heteronormativity according to her analysis?
4. Discuss Anne Fausto-Sterling's argument for a spectrum of biological sex categories. What social or political systems does her work challenge, and how was it critiqued by scholars like Suzanne Kessler?
5. Many of these theorists distinguish between 'sex' and 'gender' in different ways. How does the nature vs. nurture debate play out in the work of Rubin, Butler, and Fausto-Sterling? Whose argument do you find most compelling and why?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) Sexual identity categorization
2. B) gender is performed repeatedly and has no essential origin.
3. C) Gayle Rubin
4. C) exists on a spectrum with more than two categories.
5. D) Gender performance, not genitalia, is used to assign gender in social contexts.

This page titled 1.3: Gender Performativity is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **1.1: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory** by Jennifer Miller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

1.4: Transgender Studies

Understanding Transgender Studies

Transgender studies is an interdisciplinary field of knowledge production that, like queer theory, challenges discursive and institutional regimes of normativity. However, whereas queer theory is sometimes guilty of the "privileging of homosexual ways of differing from heterosexual norms," transgender studies challenges naturalized links between the material body, psychic structures, and gendered social roles.[26] Transgender studies emerged in activist and academic circles around the same time as queer activism and theory. The anthropologist David Valentine attributes the term's early emergence to activist communities in the United States and the United Kingdom, noting that "it was seen as a way of organizing a politics of gender variance that differentiated it from homosexuality."[27]

Susan Stryker provides an even more specific periodization, finding that the term *transgender* emerged in the 1980s but didn't take on its current meaning until 1992 when Leslie Feinberg published *Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come*.[28] At this point transgender began to be used broadly to refer to "discomfort with role expectations, being queer, occasional or more frequent cross-dressing, permanent cross-dressing and cross-gender living, through to accessing major health interventions such as hormonal therapy and surgical reassignment procedures."[29] Before the 1990s, transgender referred specifically to persons who socially transitioned to a gender other than the one they were assigned at birth without using hormones or surgery to medically transition.

By refusing to accept that there is a right way to be transgender and encouraging coalition building under the newly flexible term *transgender*, Feinberg hoped transgender persons could build a transformative activism-oriented community.[30] Feinberg's 1993 publication, *Stone Butch Blues*, is a fictionalized personal account of negotiating New York City as a butch lesbian in the 1970s.[31] Feinberg experienced harassment and brutality at the hands of police, and the vivid descriptions of violence in the book illustrate the consequences of not embodying a socially sanctioned gender expression. Work like this and work published by other trans scholars demonstrates the importance of thinking gender and sexuality queerly.

Another example is Kate Bornstein, whose 1995 publication, *Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women, and the Rest of Us*, humorously and accessibly describes her experiences with gender and sexuality.[32] Bornstein writes, "I identify as neither male nor female, and now that my lover is going through his gender change, it turns out I'm neither straight nor gay."[33] She matter-of-factly expresses her feelings of shame at not fitting into normative gender identities and a corresponding sense of relief with intellectual work coming out in the 1990s that made it possible to understand gender as a social construct.[34]

The Iconic Kate Bornstein Explains the Gender Revolution

In this interview with Kate Bornstein, she explains the gender revolution.

- Restate, in your own words, what Kate Bornstein means when she talks about gender in four dimensions.
- What are some examples of what Bornstein calls the "multiplicity of gender truths" discussed in this chapter so far?
- Bornstein describes how she sees the future of gender. What hopes do you have for the future of gender? What fears? Why?

Against Normativity

In the first years of the 2000s, groups like the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), which takes a formal rights approach to securing legal protections for LGBTQ+ persons, experienced many successes.[35] For instance, Don't Ask, Don't Tell, a policy of forced silence about sexuality for gay, lesbian, and bisexual service members instituted by the Bill Clinton administration in 1993, was repealed in 2011. Additionally, as of June 26, 2015, same-sex marriage is legal in the United States. Although inclusion in these institutions is contingent, precarious, and not evenly distributed among all members of the LGBTQ+ community, these two shifts in policy secured access and rights for some LGBTQ+ persons—specifically, white middle-class gay men for whom marriage equality has often been a primary political concern.

Queer critics of the HRC maintain that the organization has a limited vision of human rights, is procapitalist, and supports bills that fail to include transgender persons—for example, the proposed 2007 Employment Non-discrimination Act. For queers invested in transformative justice-oriented politics, the assimilationist strategies employed by liberal LGBTQ+ organizations typified by the

HRC stand in the way of meaningful social change. Many queer theorists and activists are concerned that emphasizing single issues (marriage or the military) and centering LGBTQ+ politics on inclusion into existing institutions diminishes the radical potential of queer thought and action. The desire for radical social change that is central to the queer theoretical project is discussed further in the next section.

Lisa Duggan coined the term homonormativity to describe the activist work of groups like the HRC.[36]. According to Duggan, groups like the HRC represent the interests of white middle-class gay men whose privilege provides them cover to access social institutions and benefit from assimilation in ways unavailable or undesirable to other members of the LGBTQ+ community. For instance, a primary benefit of marriage is access to health insurance, but one partner must have health insurance for marriage to help a couple in this way. Job discrimination, housing discrimination, street harassment, and access to identification documents are central to the politics of queers of color as well as women and lower-income members of the LGBTQ+ community. Many express criticism that groups like the HRC have become representative voices of the LGBTQ+ community and are failing to represent its most vulnerable members.

Explore

Visit the website of the Human Rights Campaign and explore.

- What issues and whose interests does the HRC most seem to represent?
- Is diversity present in the HRC?
- Is there a place for organizations like the HRC in queer politics?

Published only a few years after Duggan's work on homonormativity and neoliberalism, Jasbir Puar's *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* confirms that some queer subjects have been incorporated into U.S. national life as valued citizens. However, according to Puar, "This benevolence towards sexual others is contingent upon ever-narrowing parameters of white racial privilege, consumption capabilities, gender and kinship normativity, and bodily integrity."[37] Puar further argues that welcoming some queers into national life requires queerness to be projected onto other bodies. She suggests that the deviancy and abjection previously associated with gay and lesbian sexualities is redirected to brown Muslim bodies and instrumentalized to justify the war on terror. That is, the United States appeals to its tolerance of some queers to construct itself as civil and progressive. It then attaches sexual backwardness and violent homophobia to Islamic nations.

Duggan and Puar are critical of activist initiatives that are based on inclusion into existing social institutions, because they see these institutions themselves as damaging. Furthermore, they argue that capitalism and militarism do harm and can only contingently benefit individual LGBTQ+ persons.

Read

In an article for *Afropunk*, "Growing Up Queer: A Brief Lesson on Hetero- and Homonormativity," Justin Allen talks about the social consequences of heteronormativity.

- Using your own words, define *heteronormativity* and *homonormativity*. Then explain the relationship between the terms.
- Do you think challenging homonormativity is important? Why or why not?
- In the article, Allen states that "one purpose of this post is to create a conversation about the complexities of the contradictions many people's identities present to preconceived societal ideas." Have you ever felt that your identity challenged accepted social norms? If so, describe how, and if not, explain why that might be the case.

Queer Politics, Transformative Politics

Queer theorists like Duggan and Puar are critical of assimilationist politics, but neither offers tangible suggestions for what a socially just and queer-inclusive world might look like. Other queer theorists, particularly queer of color theorists, are doing the important work of imagining politics and society radically differently. Their scholarship gestures toward what a queerly transformed world might look like.

José Esteban Muñoz's hope-affirming work claims the future for queers (figure 1.7). He writes, "The future is queerness's domain. Queerness is a structuring and educated mode of desiring that allows us to see and feel beyond the quagmire of the

present."[38] For Muñoz, conditions of everyday life are simply not viable for queer people of color, which prompts many to imagine a transformed world. In *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, Muñoz explores "the critical imagination," which he refers to as transformative thought that can prompt and shape social change. This idea, along with Muñoz's intersectional theorization of oppression and social transformation, resonates with many other queer theorists.[39]

The activist Charlene A. Carruthers's *Unapologetic: A Black, Queer, and Feminist Mandate for Radical Movements* foregrounds the importance of intersectional thinking. She introduces a "Black queer feminist lens," which she describes as a lens "through which people and groups see to bring their full selves into the process of dismantling all systems of oppression."[40] Whereas libertarian, conservative, and even liberal lesbian and gay groups seek to diminish the importance of sexual (and other) differences, Carruthers suggests that bringing a Black queer feminist lens to political thought and praxis renounces the middle-class notion of the public sphere as a place where identity should be abandoned to maintain the myth of universality.[41] Even more, her vision of activism decenters queerness; she demands that multiple types of oppression, types that will not be experienced the same way or even at all by the entire LGBTQ+ community, must be acknowledged to imagine and enact a truly transformed, justice-oriented social world.

Charlene Carruthers on Black Liberation for all Black People

Charlene Carruthers (figure 1.8) describes the Black queer feminist lens in this video.



- What is Carruthers referring to when she talks about telling "more complete stories"?
- Carruthers states that "unless we move the margins into the center, none of us will be free." What does she mean by that statement?
- Carruthers presents an intersectional analysis in the video. For example, she says, "You cannot talk about racial justice without talking about economic justice." Describe and define more fully Carruthers's intersectional analysis, and be sure to cite specific statements she makes in the video as evidence.



Figure 1.8. Charlene A. Carruthers. (Photo by Lucy Hewitt. Courtesy of Charlene A. Carruthers.)

Like Muñoz, Carruthers emphasizes the importance of the Black imagination, specifically the ability to imagine "alternative economics, alternative family structures, or something else entirely."[42] This work cannot be accomplished if groups like the HRC, which has a clear procapitalist agenda, shape public discourse about LGBTQ+ issues.

In *After the Party: A Manifesto for Queer of Color Life*, Joshua Chambers-Letson explores the affect music and art can have on audiences in an attempt to theorize the conditions necessary to envision collective change. He suggests that creative work can expand imaginative possibilities and prompt new modes of being together in the world. His project explores "the ways minoritarian subjects mobilize performance to survive the present, improvise new worlds, and sustain new ways of being in the world."[43]

Similar to Muñoz and Carruthers, he argues that radical transformation is the only way forward for queers of color. Instead of asking, How can we include queers in the existing social world, he asks, How can we queer the existing social world to make it habitable by queers?

Additionally, like Carruthers, Chambers-Letson decenters the queer sexual subject and queer theory to explore intersectional possibilities for speculative world making and practical activism. For him, experiencing performance allows audiences to rehearse new ways of seeing and being in the world together, which is why he emphasizes the importance of art and music. Importantly, Chambers-Letson does not see art and performance as able to fulfill the promise of revolutionary transformative change; instead, it is a site where possible worlds are imagined, but they must still be materially enacted.[44]

Conclusion

This chapter maps the emergence of queer theory, over time and across disciplines, out of the lived experiences of diverse LGBTQ+ people. Both activism and theory are historically and geographically contingent, tethered to time, space, and the material body in its specificity. Queer theory is flexible enough to account for differences of race, class, gender, and nation, although it does not always do so. It does, however, have at its founding, and through the twists and turns of its development, an investment in radical social change tethered to a belief that, because gender, sexual, and other forms of social hierarchy are reproduced and regulated through discourse and social institutions, those institutions can and must be changed for the better.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

Multiple-Choice Questions

- What are the differences between essentialist and constructionist theories of identity? Which perspective views identity as fixed, or innate, and which perspective argues that identity is produced through social processes? What evidence does each perspective use to support its argument?

- What do we mean when we talk about gender performativity and the implications of the constructionist turn?
- What are the similarities and differences between transgender studies and queer studies? Who are some of the key thinkers and activists who have contributed to these movements?
- What do we mean when we talk about intersectional analyses, and how have they contributed to queer theory? Who are some important queer of color theorists we should know about?

Contributed by Jennifer Miller

- Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about queer theory.
- Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the “Quick Dip” and “Deep Dive” sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or creating a short video in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- With a partner or split into groups, choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the chapter’s research resources to support your argument.

This page titled 1.4: Transgender Studies is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **1.1: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory** by Jennifer Miller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles

Compiled by Rachel Wexelbaum

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about queer theory.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or creating a short video in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** With a partner or split into groups, choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the chapter's research resources to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

"Gender Critical," by ContraPoints

ContraPoints is an irreverent video essayist who explores gender identity and queer theory while using her extensive background in academic philosophy. In "Gender Critical" she addresses transphobic feminists (https://youtu.be/1pTPuoGjQsI). Other videos by the same essayist are at https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCNvsIonJdJ5E4EXMa65VYpA.

My Genderation

An independent documentary series, *My Genderation* explores gender variance in short films (https://www.youtube.com/user/MyGenderation/videos).

Queer Nation NY

Queer Nation was the first national activist group to employ the term *queer* in its name. The group was founded by veterans from ACT UP, and the group's activism enacted and enabled queer theory. Read about the group's history at https://queernationny.org/history.

"Queer Theory and Gender Performativity," by Paul Fry

In this lecture at Yale University, the professor Paul Fry introduces Judith Butler's and Michel Foucault's works on sexuality and gender (https://youtu.be/7bkFlJfxyF0).

"Queer Theory Reading List," from Brown University

This living list of queer scholarship includes many important intersectional texts (https://www.brown.edu/campus-life/support/lgbtq/graduate-student-resources/queer-theory-reading-list).

Deep Dive: Books and Articles

Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique, by Roderick A. Ferguson

Roderick A. Ferguson analyzes how sociologists articulate theories of racial difference by using theories of sexuality. Ferguson demonstrates that predominantly white sociologists have used works by Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, Toni Morrison, and other African American writers to construct theories about Black sexualities and therefore Black people (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

Beautiful Bottom, Beautiful Shame: Where "Black" Meets "Queer," by Kathryn Bond Stockton

In this Lambda Literary Award finalist and Modern Language Association's Crompton-Noll Award winner for best essay in gay and lesbian studies, Stockton analyzes the embracing of shame among Black and queer people and the role of shame in fostering attraction, the arts, storytelling and recording of history, and camp (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

Black Performance on the Outskirts of the Left: A History of the Impossible, by Malik Gaines

Malik Gaines expands on Butler's theory of performativity by depicting how artists, musicians, playwrights, and actors perform race, Black political ideas, and resistance politics to disrupt mainstream views of race, gender, and sexuality. Because queer theory focuses on the interruption, disruption, and decentering of whiteness and on patriarchy, heteronormativity, homonormativity, and cisnormativity, this is a must read (New York: New York University Press, 2017).

Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability, by Robert McRuer

Robert McRuer is one of the founders of queer disability studies and a major contributor to the fields of transnational queer theory and disability theory. In this book he coins "crip theory" to describe the intersection of disability, gender, and sexuality and an interdisciplinary approach to critical disability theory, which encompasses queer theory. McRuer examines how dominant and marginal physical and sexual identities are constructed, and he demonstrates through popular culture, politics, and higher education how disabilities and queerness disrupt and transform those identities (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

Invisible Lives: The Erasure of Transsexual and Transgendered People, by Viviane K. Namaste

Winner of the Gustavus Myers Center / Study of Human Rights Outstanding Book Award, this book provides the first scholarly study of trans people. In it, Namaste argues that trans people are erased rather than produced in a wide variety of institutional and cultural settings (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Also, Namaste talks about the book and the struggles of transgender people in society in an interview (http://newsocialist.org/old_mag/magazine/39/article04.html).

Irresistible Revolution: Confronting Race, Class, and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics, by Urvashi Vaid

Urvashi Vaid is a frequently cited attorney and leader of LGBTQ+ social justice movements. She applies queer theory to her activism and advocacy, pursuing the notion that LGBTQ+ equality will be achieved once heteronormativity and homonormativity within the institutions of family, society, and government are interrupted, disrupted, and decentered to become more inclusive of racial, gender, and economic diversity (New York: Magnus Books, 2012).

My New Gender Workbook: A Step-by-Step Guide to Achieving World Peace through Gender Anarchy and Sex Positivity, by Kate Bornstein

Kate Bornstein is a famous author, playwright, performance artist, actress, and gender theorist. She was one of the first people to publicly identify as transgender, then later as nonbinary and gender nonconforming. Her updated version of the classic *My Gender Workbook* (1997) is an accessible, humorous, and interactive introduction to contemporary gender theory, as well as the intersection of gender, sexuality, and power (New York: Routledge, 2013).

Nobody Passes: Rejecting the Rules of Gender and Conformity, edited by Mattilda Bernstein Sycamore

This anthology of essays explores the concept and act of passing, critiquing the visible and invisible systems of power involved in this performance (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press. 2006). Mattilda Bernstein Sycamore is also the author of the influential *That's Revolting! Queer Strategies for Resisting Assimilation* (New York: Soft Skull Press, 2004) and *Why Are Faggots So Afraid of Faggots? Flaming Challenges to Masculinity, Objectification, and the Desire to Conform* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2012).

"The Normalization of Queer Theory," by David Halperin

David Halperin traces the origin of the term *queer theory* to Teresa de Lauretis in 1990 in this 2003 article in the *Journal of Homosexuality* (volume 45, numbers 2–4; https://www.researchgate.net/publication/8980528_The_Normalization_of_Queer_Theory). He identifies major contributors to a canon of works that built up the theory. Halperin is cofounder of *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*.

Queer: A Graphic History, by Meg-John Barker and Jules Scheele

Meg-John Barker, an academic and activist, teamed up with the cartoonist Jules Scheele in this nonfiction graphic novel to illuminate the histories of queer thought and LGBTQ+ action (London: Icon Books, 2016).

Queer Theory and the Jewish Question, edited by Daniel Boyarin, Daniel Itzkovitz, and Ann Pellegrini

This book is the first compilation of essays to address the intersection of queer theory with Jewish identity, homophobia, and anti-Semitism and the invention of the homosexual and the modern Jew. The book includes essays written by Judith Butler and Eve

Kosofsky Sedgwick. The editors are scholars and authors of Jewish studies, queer theory, and religious studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

"Queer Theory for Everyone: A Review Essay," by Sharon Marcus

This 2005 article in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (volume 31, number 1; https://doi.org/10.1086/432743) covers the history of queer theory and gives an overview of its origins. It explains the problematic and complicated histories of library classification of queer texts and includes an excellent bibliography of queer theorists.

Queer Theory, Gender Theory: An Instant Primer, by Riki Wilchins

The influential transgender activist Riki Wilchins wrote this classic work to make queer theory and gender theory accessible to a nonacademic audience. It is a starting point for first-year undergraduates (New York: Riverdale Avenue Books, 2014).

"Queer Theory Revisited," by Michael Hames-García

This frequently cited essay challenges queer theorists to apply the theory to address the oppression, policing, and marginalization of people of color, the poor, and the colonized. Hames-García is the first to identify two schools of queer theory: the separatist, which keeps race, class, and gender outside descriptions of sexuality, and the integrationist, which blurs these categories and may abandon the concept of identity altogether. His essay is included in *Gay Latino Studies: A Critical Reader*, edited by M. Hames-García and E. J. Martínez (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 19–45, which won the 2011 Lambda Literary Award for Best LGBT Anthology.

Sexual Futures, Queer Futures, and Other Latina Longings, by Juana Maria Rodríguez

Rodríguez deconstructs the archetype of the gesturing emotional Latina femme to discuss how gestures and types of bodies inform sexual pleasures and practices, as well as racialized sexual and gender identities (New York: New York University Press, 2014). This book won the Alan Bray Memorial Book Prize presented by the Gay Lesbian Queer Caucus of the Modern Language Association and was finalist for the 2015 Lambda Literary Foundation LGBT Studies Award. Rodríguez is also author of *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).

A View from the Bottom: Asian American Masculinity and Sexual Representation, by Tan Hoang Nguyen

Tan Hoang Nguyen reassesses male effeminacy and how it is racialized in cinema, art, and pornography. Nguyen challenges the concept of bottom as passive and shameful, transforming it into a sexual position, a social alliance, a romantic bond, and an art form. According to Nguyen, this reinvention of the term *bottom* has the potential to interrupt, disrupt, and transform sexual, gender, and racial norms (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

This page titled 1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **1.1: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory** by Jennifer Miller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes

Glossary

assimilationist. A strategy or one who enacts such strategy to gain access to, or assimilate into, existing social structures, like monogamous marriage or serving in the U.S. military.

constructionist. The view that identity is a sociocultural construct that influences identity formation.

discourses. An institutionalized way of thinking and speaking, which creates a social boundary defining what can be said about a specific topic.

Don't Ask, Don't Tell. The U.S. military's policy on gays, bisexuals, and lesbians serving in the military, introduced in 1994 by Bill Clinton's administration. The policy required gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons to remain closeted while in the military. In exchange, it prohibited the discrimination of closeted service persons.

drag. Refers to the performance of femininity or masculinity, and is most frequently used to describe the performance of gender expressions that differ from those associated with the performer's natal sex assignment.

drag queen. Most often someone who identifies as a man who behaves in an exaggerated performance of femininity. Drag queens are often associated with gay culture.

essentialist. The view of sexuality that assumes individuals possess a fixed and innate sexual identity that is both universal and transhistorical.

homonormativity. Academics and activists use the term to discuss attempts by LGBTQ+ persons to assimilate into institutions like marriage and the military that reproduce hierarchy and are associated with oppression.

homophile movement. Emerging in the United States and the United Kingdom in the 1950s, the movement was a concerted effort to demand equal rights for homosexuals.

Human Rights Campaign. The largest U.S.-based LGBTQ+ advocacy group. It works for legal protections for LGBTQ+ persons, such as promoting legislation to prevent discrimination and hate crimes.

intersectional. Overlapping or intersecting social identities, such as race, class, and gender, that are produced by social structures of inequality.

intersex. Persons who do not have chromosomes, gonads, or genitals that meet medical expectations and definitions of sex within a binary system.

minoritizing. A term introduced by Eve Sedgwick to describe the view of homosexuality as relevant only to homosexuals. This view sees homosexuals as a specific group of people, a minority, within a largely heterosexual world.

neoliberalism. A political ideology that espouses economic liberalism, such as trade liberalization and financial deregulation, and small government. It accepts greater economic inequality and disfavors unionization.

performativity. The capacity of language and expressive actions to produce a type of being.

public sphere. Where identity should be abandoned to maintain the myth of universality.

same-sex marriage. The marriage of two people of the same sex or gender in a civil or religious ceremony.

sex-gender system. A phrase coined by Gayle Rubin to describe the social apparatus that oppresses women.

sexology. The scientific study of human sexuality, including human sexual interests, behaviors, and functions.

universalizing. A term introduced by Eve Sedgwick to describe viewing sexuality and sexual definition as important to everyone, rather than focusing on homosexuals as a distinct group.

People

Charlene A. Carruthers. A Black queer feminist activist and organizer. Her work aims to create young leaders in marginalized communities to fight for community interests and liberation.

Jack Halberstam. A gender and queer theorist and author, perhaps best known for work on tomboys and female masculinity.

José Esteban Muñoz. An academic in the fields of performance studies, visual culture, queer theory, cultural studies, and critical theory. His book *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (1999) uses performance studies to investigate the performance, activism, and survival of queer people of color.

Susan Stryker. An American professor, author, filmmaker, and theorist whose work focuses on gender and human sexuality, and a founder of Transgender Studies.

Footnotes

1. ACT UP New York (website), accessed March 8, 2021, https://actupny.com/. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-1
2. T. de Lauretis, "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities," in special issue, *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 3, no. 2 (1991): iii. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-2
3. De Lauretis, iii. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-3
4. De Lauretis, vi. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-4
5. De Lauretis, iv. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-5
6. L. Duggan, "Making It Perfectly Queer," in *Theorizing Feminism Parallel Trends in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, ed. Anne C. Herrmann and Abigail J. Stewart (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), 219. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-6
7. A. Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 8; Duggan, "Making It Perfectly Queer," 225. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-7
8. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990), 23. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-8
9. D. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: And Other Essays on Greek Love*, illustrated edition (New York: Routledge, 1989); David Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-9
10. J. D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *The Gender/Sexuality Reader: Culture, History, Political Economy*, ed. Roger N. Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo (New York: Routledge, 1997), 169–178. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-10
11. J. Ned Katz, "The Invention of Heterosexuality," *Socialist Review* 20 (March 1990): 7–34. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-11
12. E. Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 1. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-12
13. G. Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Women, Class and the Feminist Imagination*, ed. Karen V. Hansen and Ilene J. Philipson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 74–112. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-13
14. Rubin, "The Traffic in Women," 78. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-14
15. Rubin, 79. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-15
16. A. Fausto-Sterling, "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough," *Sciences* 33, no. 2 (March–April 1993): 20–24. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-16
17. S. J. Kessler, *Lessons from the Intersexed* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998). 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-17
18. A. Fausto-Sterling, "The Five Sexes, Revisited," *Sciences* 40, no. 4 (July–August 2000): 18–23. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-18
19. E. Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 100. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-19
20. Newton, *Mother Camp*, 103. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-20
21. J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2006). 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-21

22. J. Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993). 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-22
23. Butler, *Bodies That Matter*. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-23
24. J. "Jack" Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 1. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-24
25. Halberstam, 1. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-25
26. S. Stryker, "(De)Subjugated Knowledges: An Introduction to Transgender Studies," in *The Transgender Studies Reader*, ed. Susan Stryker (London: Routledge, 2006), 7. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-26
27. D. Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 33. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-27
28. L. Feinberg, "Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come," in Stryker, *The Transgender Studies Reader*, 4. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-28
29. S. Whittle, foreword to Stryker, *The Transgender Studies Reader*, xi. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-29
30. Feinberg, "Transgender Liberation." 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-30
31. L. Feinberg, *Stone Butch Blues* (Los Angeles, CA: Alyson Books, 1993). 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-31
32. K. Bornstein, *Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women and the Rest of Us* (New York: Vintage, 1995). 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-32
33. Bornstein, *Gender Outlaw*, 4. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-33
34. Bornstein, 12. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-34
35. "About," Human Rights Campaign, accessed May 12, 2021, https://www.hrc.org/about. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-35
36. L. Duggan, "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism," in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana Nelson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 175–193. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-36
37. J. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), xii. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-37
38. J. Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 1. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-38
39. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-39
40. C. Carruthers, *Unapologetic: A Black, Queer, and Feminist Mandate for Radical Movements* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2018), 10. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-40
41. Carruthers, 10. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-41
42. Carruthers, 39. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-42
43. J. Chambers-Letson, *After the Party: A Manifesto for Queer of Color Life* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 4–5. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-43
44. Chambers-Letson, 33. 1.01: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory#return-footnote-38-44

This page titled 1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **1.1: Chapter 1- Thirty Years of Queer Theory** by Jennifer Miller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Identify key approaches used in LGBTQ+ studies, including anthropology.
  - Define key terms relevant to particular methods of interpreting LGBTQ+ people and issues, such as anthropology and ethnography.
- Identify cross-cultural examples of same-sex desire and contemporary LGBTQ+ lives.
  - Describe the connections between identities and embodied experiences.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
  - Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
  - Identify forms of LGBTQ+ activism globally.

2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
2.2: The Americas
2.3: Asia and Polynesia
2.4: Africa and Europe
2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)
2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
2.7: Research Resources
2.8: Glossary
2.9: Footnotes

This page titled 2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview

Introduction

Sexuality has long been an interest of sociocultural anthropological research. When anthropologists study sexuality, they examine how the values of a culture are expressed through sexuality practices by analyzing things like **kinship systems, hierarchy, and social roles.** Anthropologists are interested in not only categories of sexuality but also the **purpose or function sexuality serves** within a particular culture, as well as across cultures. Heterosexuality was the presumed norm in sexuality studies until the mid-twentieth century. Because of its widespread practice and its association with the reproduction of human life, heterosexuality has also been connected to the sustainment of human culture. Although widespread, heterosexuality varies across cultures, and anthropology has significantly contributed to understanding these differences.

This chapter discusses anthropological studies of **non-Western and Indigenous sexualities** that question the status of heteronormativity as a global model of social organization. Questioning the status of heteronormativity, however, does not mean that heterosexual kinship and the reproductive unit are not prominent features of nearly all cultures. Rather, this study of global sexualities shows the pertinence of questioning the imperative to *be* heterosexual. An understanding of sexual difference is enriched by putting sexuality practices in conversation with concepts of gender, race, and class and even with capital, industry, colonialism, and statecraft.[1] Instead of dismissing nonheteronormative sexuality as an outlier or anomaly, this chapter pursues culturally and historically specific data on different cultures across the globe to examine how **LGBTQ+ anthropology** posits the integral social function of these other sexualities.

What is Anthropology?

Anthropology is the study of human societies and cultures. One of its subfields is sociocultural anthropology, which explores cultural variation, norms, and values. This subfield is the focus of this chapter, with an emphasis on **sociocultural ethnographic studies of gender and sexuality.** Ethnography is the systematic study of human cultures and is the primary qualitative research method used by anthropologists. Sociocultural anthropologists use ethnography's immersive, experiential techniques to glean valuable knowledge about human behavior. For instance, they usually live in the communities they study, among the people who reside there, for a significant length of time, to understand life from the point of view of those being studied.

Previous distinctions between sexuality and gender and previous understandings of gender as a binary system do not stand up to scrutiny. The anthropology of sexualities explores the intertwining of gender and sexuality in a culture and the variations among cultures. Studies have found several ways that sex, sexuality, and gender relate to one another in different global cultures. They can form discrete yet related categories, have closely interwoven qualities, and even have qualities that directly inform one another and are occasionally interchangeable or confluent. **Gender refers to the characteristics of femininity and masculinity** that emerge as social norms and manifest in sociocultural practices and identities. Some theorists maintain that there are boundaries between gender identity and sexuality, but boundaries are not evident in all cultures and throughout all historical periods. Further, defining sexuality and gender as identity formations is not a universal practice. Some cultural conceptions of sexuality and gender see them as a collection of practices or functions.

Additionally, the commonly held belief in a gender binary is not a universal belief. Many cultures have a **third gender, a fourth gender, and even a fifth gender.** Other cultures understand certain individuals as **neither male nor female,** either because they embody both genders, moving between gender embodiments (gender fluidity), or they embody neither (gender neutrality). Most research on **nonheteronormative gender and sexuality practices** focuses on third-gender individuals who were assigned male at birth, but attention to other genders and sexualities is growing. Some other examples are third-gender individuals who were assigned female at birth and queer sexualities, **such as female two spirit, gender-fluid queerness, and lesbianism**. As discussed later, Native studies have traced this oversight to colonization and the effort of the colonizer to eradicate Native sexualities.[2] Under colonialism, the Native body was seen as sexually deviant. This belief helped justify the elimination and disappearance of Native people and was part of the systematic oppression inherent in colonialism.

Edward Carpenter

Edward Carpenter was an outspoken socialist, philosopher, and activist early in the struggle for rights for homosexuals. His pioneering work ***Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk***, published in 1914, explores the integral social function of

nonheteronormative sexualities and gender practices.[3] This work is a combination of archival historical research and armchair ethnography that compiles field notes, travel writings, and anecdotes of settlers, explorers, and missionaries in their encounters with nonheteronormative sexuality and gender practices around the world. In the book, Carpenter developed the theory of intermediacy, which repositions nonheteronormative subjects (previously referred to as inverts or Uranians) to an ambiguously gendered middle ground. They occupy special positions, such as ritual practitioners or creators of arts and crafts. Carpenter includes in his account the samurai code of Japan and military practices in ancient Greece. Military histories from previous eras record same-sex pair bonds and sex acts between warriors. These were often societally enforced sexual and romantic bonds between men in mentorship and initiation, although the reasoning behind such activities and the way societies treated them is still a matter of debate. Carpenter calls these **"intermediates," an umbrella term** for any person who falls outside the normative definitions of sexuality or gender practices.

Esther Newton

During the mid-twentieth century, LGBTQ+ visibility and political organization in Europe and the United States increased, leading to a deeper engagement with Western LGBTQ+ culture by anthropologists. Esther Newton's 1972 ***Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*** is often cited as the first U.S. ethnography on nonheteronormative sexuality and gender. Its subject is drag performance by drag queens (called female impersonators at the time) in the mid-twentieth-century United States.[4] Newton's work encouraged other LGBTQ+ anthropologists to pursue ethnographic research of LGBTQ+ sexualities in the United States and around the world.

Evelyn Blackwood

Evelyn Blackwood's pioneering edited volume ***The Many Faces of Homosexuality: Anthropological Approaches to Homosexual Behavior*** presented in 1986 a global ethnography of forms of homosexuality.[5] Feminist and gender theory, as well as the rise of queer theory, added complexity to some anthropological concepts. These theories continue to challenge the field today to address ethnographic research that supports LGBTQ+ people and feminist, anti-racist, and anti-colonialist and decolonizing perspectives. For example, one of anthropology's main theories in studies on global sexualities is the adverse effects European colonialism has had—and continues to have—on the textures and conceptions of Indigenous sexualities and gender embodiments worldwide. These violent, homogenizing colonial encounters were rooted in racist, heteronormative religious orthodoxies that sought to erase Indigenous lifeways.[6]

Explore

Read about the history of the Association for Queer Anthropology and explore the association's website. (queeranthro.org/business/aqa-history/)

- Why did it take eight years from the introduction of the resolution on homosexuality to the first official meeting of the Anthropology Research Group on Homosexuality?
- On the "Resources" page, members share syllabi for classes on LGBTQ+ anthropology. Which class would you most like to take, and why?
- On the "Awards" page is a link to the Ruth Benedict Prize, which is awarded annually for a "scholarly book written from an anthropological perspective about a lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender topic." Choose one of the books that have won the prize and determine the author's main argument in the book. How does its central idea expand or challenge your understanding of sexuality, gender, or both?

Will Roscoe

Will Roscoe's study of two-spirit **Zuni people** and the development of two-spirit activism in North America brought an Indigenous perspective to the idea of the erotic.[7] This reframing of the erotic accounted for sexuality on its own terms rather than in constant comparison to a norm from which sexual and gender practices deviate. Some queer Indigenous scholars developed the initialism **GLBTQ2**—that is, gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer, two spirit[8]—to describe the spectrum of sexualities and gender embodiments included in Indigenous conceptualizations of sex and gender. Embracing the terms ***queer*** and ***two spirit,*** these scholars argue for the decolonization of Indigenous sexualities, and they **critique heteronormativity,** finding it a product of

colonialism. In so doing, these scholars insist on the autonomy of Indigenous people in controlling and contributing to knowledge production about themselves.

Anthropologists study nonheteronormative sexuality and sexual practices, both today's globalization of Western LGBTQ+ sexualities and community and precolonial global sexuality and gender nonnormativity. The encounter of non-Western cultures with Western models of LGBTQ+ identity has had far-flung effects on identity politics and rights-based notions of identity and community. Governments and organizations even use **pinkwashing,** or LGBTQ+ people's presence or themes, to simultaneously downplay or distract from other unethical or illegal, oppressive, and violent behavior.

Henry Abelove and John D'Emilio

Henry Abelove and John D'Emilio have suggested that so-called modern sexual identities such as heteronormativity and LGBTQ+ identity (specifically addressing gay male and lesbian identity and community formation) coincide with the rise of industry and capitalism of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries in the West.[9] D'Emilio connects the rise of lesbian and gay identities to the reduced centrality of the heteronormative family unit as a productive labor force necessary for self-sufficiency and survival. A thread in historical studies and cultural critique traces the now relatively common presence of LGBTQ+ communities globally through capitalism and industry, largely in urban centers. Anthropological contributions to this theory describe and document local, regional, and cultural variations, noting that queerness as such (individuals engaging in nonheteronormative sexual practices and gender embodiments) precedes these modern historical developments, often back to ancient periods.

Anthropological work emphasizes that Indigenous concepts and terminology more accurately describe the nuanced differences of Indigenous gender and sexuality than do Western LGBTQ+ **neocolonial models**. For instance, the **Maori** word for a same-sex partner is **takatapui** and is used as an identifier for LGBTQ+ identity in modern Maori culture. However, the term has a meaning beyond the mainstream Western definition of LGBTQ+ identity. It describes nonheterosexual identity generally as well as men who have sex with men but do not identify as LGBTQ+.[10] In Hawaiian culture, **aikane** is another culturally specific term that describes men and women who have same-sex relationships. Historically, this was a socially accepted role in Hawaiian culture. LGBTQ+ people may describe someone as *aikane* today, but the term retains nuances that the English-language *lesbian* or *gay* might not capture. Both terms were common in precolonial usage. *Takatapui* has become repopularized in today's society and is used as a marker to create a distinction between Indigenous Maori modes of queerness and mainstream settler-colonialist LGBTQ+ models of identity.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What is the primary research method used in sociocultural anthropology?
A. surveys
B. content analysis
C. ethnography
D. experimentation
2. Which of the following best describes Edward Carpenter's concept of "intermediates"?
A. People who strictly follow Western heterosexual norms
B. Individuals who refuse to identify with any gender or sexuality
C. Persons who fall outside normative gender and sexuality categories and often occupy special social roles
D. Anthropologists who study gender and sexuality from a Western perspective
3. According to the chapter, what is a major critique of Western LGBTQ+ models applied to Indigenous cultures?
A. they do not consider technological advancements
B. they universally enhance LGBTQ+ visibility
C. they often erase culturally specific terms and practices
D. they are completely accepted by all Indigenous groups
4. Which early ethnographer is credited with conducting one of the first U.S. ethnographies on nonheteronormative sexuality?
A. Henry Abelove

B. Evelyn Blackwood
C. Esther Newton
D. Will Roscoe

5. The term “pinkwashing” refers to:

A. using LGBTQ+ identities to criticize capitalism.
B. concealing unethical practices by promoting LGBTQ+ friendliness.
C. promoting traditional gender roles in LGBTQ+ spaces.
D. erasing Indigenous perspectives from gender studies.

Discussion Questions

1. **Explain how colonialism has shaped perceptions of nonheteronormative sexualities in Indigenous cultures.**
   Suggested Focus: Discuss the role of religious orthodoxy, colonial narratives of deviance, and the impact on contemporary Indigenous identities.
2. **Compare and contrast the Western LGBTQ+ identity model with Indigenous terms like *takatāpui* or *aikāne*. What are the implications of using one framework over the other in anthropological research?**
3. **Discuss how capitalism and industrialization, according to scholars like D’Emilio and Abelove, contributed to the formation of modern sexual identities. How does this theory intersect with anthropology's global perspective?**
4. **Why is it important for anthropologists to challenge the gender binary and heteronormative assumptions in their fieldwork? Give examples from the chapter that show how gender and sexuality are experienced differently across cultures.**

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C. ethnography
2. C. Persons who fall outside normative gender and sexuality categories and often occupy special social roles
3. C. they often erase culturally specific terms and practices
4. C. Esther Newton
5. B. concealing unethical practices by promoting LGBTQ+ friendliness.

This page titled 2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Joseph Russo.

- **2.1: Chapter 2- Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future** by Joseph Russo is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

2.2: The Americas

North America

North American Indigenous conceptions of nonheteronormative sexuality and gender practices were documented by settlers, missionaries, and explorers. The individuals engaging in these practices traditionally held integral social roles that fulfilled particular social and ceremonial functions within their respective tribes. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century white French settlers and missionaries labeled such a person a berdache (the term, denoting a passive homosexual partner or slave, is now usually rejected as a slur) (figure 2.2). Settler colonialists eventually discouraged these roles and violently eliminated those in them. Indigenous groups in the 1990s adopted the term two spirit to emphasize an individual's experience of dual gender and spiritual embodiments. Two-spirit embodiment, while holding specific meaning and terminology intratribally, commonly signifies a religious or healer role. In Cherokee, the two-spirit term **asegi** translates to "strange" and is used by some as the modern connotation of ***queer*.**



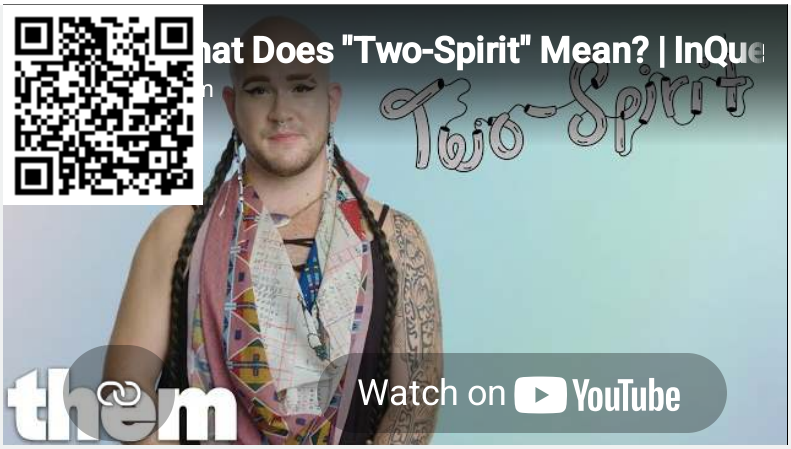
Figure 2.2.
Dance to the Berdache
(1835–1837) by George Catlin. (Public domain.)

Berdache and Two Spirit

The origin of the berdache role is unclear, and various reasons for the presence of two-spirit individuals have been offered. Some scholars interpret historical material as showing that communities probably assigned this social role, possibly foisting it on a feminine boy or extraneous son to be a passive sex partner, to bolster and reinforce a hierarchy.[11] However, this interpretation is largely rejected by the two-spirit community and is contradicted by the firsthand accounts of two-spirit individuals, such as **Osh-Tisch.** Also known as Finds Them and Kills Them, Osh-Tisch was a Crow ***badé*** (or *baté*; a male-bodied person who performs some of the social and ceremonial roles usually filled by women) who lived from 1854 to 1929 and famously fought in the Battle of the Rosebud. The story of Osh-Tisch suggests two major points about agency in Crow two-spirit social roles: (1) the role was a cultural institution and chosen by individuals who exhibited exemplary traits, such as excelling at women's work, and (2) two-spirit individuals could also perform the roles of traditionally gendered males or females, as Osh-Tisch's part in the Battle of the Rosebud suggests. Similarly, the idea that demographic necessity dictated who would be a two-spirit person is not sufficient to explain female two spirits. Many Crow women took on the traditionally male warrior role, making it difficult to classify two spirits as a response to a shortage of men. A well-known instance is **Bíawacheeitchish** (Woman Chief) of the Crow, 1806–1858.

What Does "Two-Spirit" Mean?

Learn more about the history of the word *two spirit* from Geo Neptune on this episode in the InQueery series. (https://youtu.be/A4lBibGzUnE)



The most common explanation for two-spirit embodiment suggests that the person prefers avocations traditionally associated with the opposite sex, experiences cosmological dreams and visions, or both. The conception of gender as a binary is challenged by two-spirit notions of being neither male nor female or being both male and female. Further, **Inuit** (culturally similar Indigenous peoples of the circumpolar North, Arctic Canada, Alaska, and Greenland) conceptions of nonheteronormative gender and sexuality were often connected to the Inuit shamanic role of an *angakkuq*. Although an *angakkuq* is not always or even usually nonheteronormative, inclusion of nonheteronormative people in its traditional social role shows an association with LGBTQ+ ways of being. Two-spirit people have also been noted in other Arctic cultural contexts, such as among the Aleutians, in Western Canada, and in Greenland.[13]

Check Your Knowledge

- Describe the history of the term *two spirit*. Why was it important for Native American activists to create this umbrella term?
- In what ways is the meaning of *two spirit* similar to, and different from, *gay* and *queer*?
- Were there elements of the history of the development of the term *two spirit* that surprised you? What were they, and why were you surprised.Two-spirit presence has been noted in more than 130 Native American tribes. Among the Great Plains Indians alone are instances in the Arapahos, Arikaras, Assiniboines, Blackfoot, Cheyennes, Comanches, Plains Crees, Crows, Gros Ventres, Hidatsas, Kansas, Kiowas, Mandans, Plains Ojibwas, Omahas, Osages, Otoes, Pawnees, Poncas, Potawatomis, Quapaws, Winnebagos, and the Siouan tribes (Lakota or Dakota). Female two spirits, although documented among the Cheyennes, were more widespread among western North American tribes.[12] These practices were often, but not always, associated with nonheteronormative sexuality as well as nonbinary gender. Some two-spirit people engaged in same-sex or queer sexual or romantic and marriage relations.

Latin America and Central America

The Zapotec in Mexico call themselves **Ben ’Zaa, “cloud people.”** They are Indigenous peoples concentrated in southern Mexico and especially in Oaxaca. Third-gender Zapotec roles such as **muxe or muxhe in Oaxaca** and **biza’ah in Teotitlán del Valle** receive more respect in regions where the Catholic faith has less influence than elsewhere and are believed to bring good luck to their communities. They are often thought of as caretakers of the community and of their families (figure 2.4). The Western notion of gender dysphoria does not describe the third-gender experience. *Muxes* are culturally accepted as not being in an either-or position. They are not placed on only one side of the male-female gender binary. *Muxes* have various sexualities that are not necessarily determined by their gender variance, which has local categories based on dress, including ***vestidas*** (wearing women’s clothing) and ***pintadas*** (wearing men’s clothing, sometimes wearing makeup). Also, if a *muxe* chooses a male partner (called a *mayate*), neither is necessarily thought of as a gay man or homosexual male.



Figure 2.4. Lukas Avendaño, a Zapotec *muxe* who is an artist and anthropologist from Mexico. (CC-BY-SA Mario Patiño.)

South America

In South America, **travestis** are a well-studied LGBTQ+ group. The term is shared among Peruvian, Argentinian, and Brazilian cultures. *Travestis* are assigned-male-at-birth individuals who use female pronouns and self-identify on a gender spectrum. This spectrum runs the gamut from transgender to a type of third-gender role that is distinct from transgender identity. *Travestis* are often working-class sex workers. Their societal positions are precarious but also openly recognized. They are open to body modification and transitional surgeries and tend to favor black-market industrial silicone enhancements and intensive hormone therapies. Don Kulick's study of Brazilian *travestis*, however, found that they had generally negative attitudes about gender-affirming surgery, preferring to retain their penises for their sex work. They also view transness itself as abnormal to some extent. [14] For these urban Brazilian *travestis*, gender was a men–not men binary, in which the not-men category encompassed women, homosexuals, and *travestis*. The ***travesti*** category describes a wide spectrum of self-identifying gender-nonnormative individuals, [15] a spectrum that often shifts with changes in politics, legislation, gender, medical science, and cultural conceptions of self.

This page titled 2.2: The Americas is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.1: Chapter 2- Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future** by Joseph Russo is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

2.3: Asia and Polynesia

South Asia

The Indian subcontinent's transgender or third-gender category, **hijra** (referred to in different regions as *aravani*, *aruvani*, *chhakka*, and *jagappa*), is perhaps one of the more well-documented (by anthropology) nonheteronormative gender embodiments. *Hijra* is a social category that has been mobilized for political organizing, advocacy, and debate. *Hijra* people refer to themselves as **kinnar or kinner**—a reference to the Hindu celestial dance of the hybrid horse-human figure. From Indian antiquity to now, *hijra* people have been considered closer to third-gender categories than to modern Western binary notions of transgender.[16] In recent political developments, India and Bangladesh have legally recognized *hijras* as third-gender individuals. Interestingly, the word *hijra* derives from a Hindustani word that translates to **"eunuch"** and is used to designate actual **eunuchs** (people throughout history—most commonly men—whose genitals were mutilated or removed, often for social functions such as guarding women, singing, or religious purposes) and **intersex people** (those born with bodies that appear neither completely male nor female). Therefore, many third-gender people in India find the term offensive and have created more accurate and appropriate self-identifiers such as ***kinnar*.** In India and Pakistan, *hijra* people usually are employed in sex work. In this precarious and often violent occupation, they experience higher rates of violence, higher rates of HIV infection, and higher rates of homelessness, displacement, and depression.

India's Transgender Community: The Hijra

The following is a modification of the introduction to this video as posted in YouTube.

There are many items of clothing that announce to the world that their wearer is now a woman. For some people, it's the bra, for others, it's their first shoe with a heel. For many Indian women, that garment is the sari, an expansive length of cloth that takes skill and know-how to wear correctly. Girls learn to execute this multi-step process from their mothers, and "come out" for the first time in their own sari during Ritu Kala Samskara, a ceremony that marks a girl's transition into womanhood.

But, this journey isn't just for girls. For India's third gender, the hijra, that process of transformation is a much more complicated and fraught one to make. The label of "hijra" pertains to a diverse range of people who consider themselves outside of the cis categorization of male or female, but largely describes those born male who transition to female through a combination of gender affirmation surgery, taking on India's traditional feminine gender roles, and wearing women's clothing.

In this video a group of hijras from Coimbatore, India share their their world and perspective, and how powerful a single piece of clothing can be.



Check Your Knowledge

- Why is it so important for *hijras* to be able to wear a sari? What does the Ritu Kala Samskara ceremony symbolize for them?
- The host of the video states, "Fashion is our most ready means available to us to express in a visual statement our identity." How do you see this play out in your own society?
- What similarities and differences do you see between the *hijra* identity and two-spirit people?

Southeast Asia

Southeast Asian **third-gender** embodiments have also been influenced by globalization and capitalism. Third-gender individuals are popularly associated with industries that value their distinct cultural traits. In the Philippines, third-gender embodiments are referred to as **bakla** (in the Tagalog language), ***bayot*** (Cebuano and Bisaya), or ***agi*** (Hiligaynon and Ilonggo). Third-gender individuals are incorporated into the social and cultural structures of Filipino life and often work in the beauty and entertainment industries. Anthropologists such as Martin Manalansan have documented how modern *bakla* life is lived in the context of the diaspora, immigration, globalization, and community, noting that *bakla* presence challenges Western notions of gay identity and the assumed connection between LGBTQ+ people and progressive politics.[17]

In Indonesia, Evelyn Blackwood has explored **tomboi** identity among women who identify more closely with masculine cultural traits and enact masculinity in particular ways, thereby blurring the distinctions between male and female social roles.[18] In Thailand, third-gender and third-sex embodiments are described by the identifying term **kathoey (or ladyboy)**.[19] These are distinctive identities, often understood as contrasting with trans identity in Thailand, but not exclusively. Scholars have noted that *kathoey* can describe a spectrum of gender and sexualities, ranging from trans woman to effeminate gay man, and opinions on what constitutes *kathoey* identity differ (figure 2.5). The historical connotation of *kathoey* was much wider; before the 1960s, it referred to anyone falling outside heteronormative sexuality or gender categories. The English translation of *kathoey* as "ladyboy" has been adopted across other Southeast Asian countries as well.

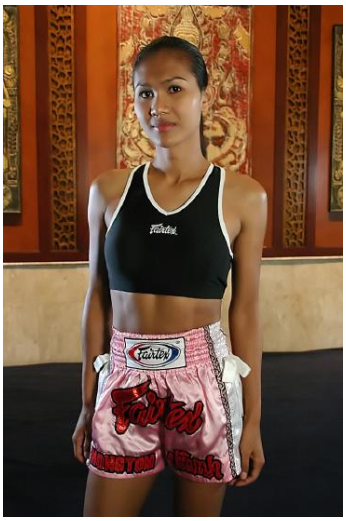


Figure 2.5. The Muay Thai boxer, actress, and model Parinya Charoenphol (also known as Nong Thoom) is a well-known *kathoey*, pictured here at Fairtex Gym in Bangkok. (CC-BY Fairtex from Thailand.)

Polynesia and Pacific Islands

Polynesian language and culture have specific terms for LGBTQ+ identities and for third-gender or nonbinary assigned-male-at-birth individuals. These individuals are understood as embodying characteristics that lead them to self-select or to be socialized as women. In Samoa, the **fa'afafine (meaning "in the manner of a woman" in Samoan)** third-gender or nonbinary role,[20] similar to the ***muxe***, has cultural associations with the family and hard work (figure 2.6). *Fa'afafine* is distinct from ***fa'afatama*** (male-to-female trans individuals), and the designation's origin is disputed. The term may have been introduced in the nineteenth century with the advent of British colonialism and the introduction of Bibles translated into Samoan.[21] This suggests that before the introduction of Christianity, gender-variant individuals may have simply been referred to as *fafine* (women). *Fa'afafine* sexualities express along a spectrum, from male to female partners, although literature has suggested that *fa'afafine* do not form sexual relationships with one another. As in other cultures with nonbinary or third-gender individuals, *fa'afafine* celebrate their cultural heritage and gender variance in pageantry.

The word *fa'afafine* is cognate with other Polynesian language words in Tongan, Cook Islands Maori, Maori, Niuean, Tokelauan, Tuvaluan, Gilbertese, and Wallisian describing third-gender and nonbinary roles. In Hawaiian and Tahitian, the word is mahu. Third-gender or nonbinary assigned-female-at-birth individuals in Samoa can be referred to also as fa'atane. Dan Taulapapa McMullin, a *fa'afafine* scholar, argues that the shared history of the words *fa'afafine* and *fa'atane* and those individuals' integral

role in society demonstrate that Samoan culture lacks heteropatriarchal structures. He further observes that daughterless Samoan families choosing a son to become a *fa'afafine* is an anthropological myth.[22] McMullin notes that Western anthropological work on Samoan culture that is seen as authoritative conflates gender and sexual categories in order to make false statements about the status of *fa'afafine*.[23] Further, the suppression of gender variance in the Samoa Islands in the nineteenth century was a direct and violent result of British colonialism and missionary work. Third-gender identities of Samoan migrants to the United States and Europe were also repressed.

Fa'afafine: Samoan Boys Raised As Girls

Video text/introduction.



Check Your Knowledge

- How would you describe what it means to be *fa'afafine* after watching the video?
- Phylesha talks about the difference between tolerance and acceptance. What are some examples of the difference between these attitudes?
- Phylesha uses both *fa'afafine* and *transgender* to describe herself, but she also describes her gender identity as being neither male nor female. Does her explanation of her identity change how you understand what it means to be transgender? Why or why not?

East Asia

Japanese cultural norms around nonheteronormative sexuality and gender practices have shifted over time. Historians have focused on the homosexualities of men. These are traced through ancient homoerotic military and warrior practices of samurai and gender embodiments used in ancient times for sacred and erotic purposes. For example, adolescent boys dressed as traditional geishas in the third-gender **wakashu role** (figure 2.7). Male homosexuality in ancient and premodern Japan is generally separated into the categories of **nanshoku** (translating to "male colors" and referring to practices of sex between men) and of **shudo and wakashudo** (translating to "the ways of teenage and adolescent boys"). The decline of these terms' use and the discouragement of these practices began with the rise of sexology in Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Meiji period), when Western notions of sex and sexuality started to replace traditional Japanese norms. Homosexual practices were relegated to areas of Japanese society in which certain transgressions were tolerated, such as among **Kabuki** performers, some of whom dressed as women. Kabuki and **Noh** theater barred women from performing, and males played female roles.



Figure 2.7. *Samurai and Wakashu* by Miyagawa Isshō depicts Kabuki actors of the 1740s portraying a wakashu (*left*) and an adult male (*right*). (Public domain, "Miyagawa Isshō," Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

Today, homosexuality practices in Japan are similar to the Western model, with culturally specific variations. Homosexuality is not illegal, but as of 2022, same-sex marriage was still not legal at the national level. Same-sex partnerships are recognized in some cities, and antidiscrimination laws vary according to region, much as in the United States and Europe. The LGBTQ+ community is especially visible in urban centers like Tokyo and Osaka, and modern terms for gay and lesbian identities exist. Also, nonnormative gender categories exist, such as the genderless **danshi**. These are generally young men who adopt third-gender and androgynous elements (e.g., makeup) but who often define themselves using cisgender and heterosexual markers. *Danshi* are often public performers—for example, musicians—whose fan base is mostly adolescent girls. Some gay erotica and media in Japan, such as the ***yaoi*** genre, typically depict adolescent boys in romantic or erotic relationships. *Yaoi* is generally authored by women and read by adolescent females. Conversely, ***bara,*** another form of gay erotica, is made primarily by gay men and has a majority-gay male audience. Among the audience are men who love men (MLM) and men who have sex with men (MSM); both types may or may not self-identify as gay.

This page titled 2.3: Asia and Polynesia is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.1: Chapter 2- Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future** by Joseph Russo is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

2.4: Africa and Europe

Africa

African formations of sexuality and gender include culturally specific norms of Indigenous groups in urban, rural, and religious contexts. Rudolf Gaudio's work on **'yan daudu** (or "effeminate men" in the Hausa language) in the northern Nigeria city of Kano finds differences between sexual identity and sexual practices. '*Yan daudu* are thought of, by themselves and by the public at large, as effeminate male sex workers who are not necessarily homosexual, even though they regularly have sex with men. They also occupy a socially ambiguous space with regard to their Islamic faith.[24]

Regine Oboler studied female husbands among the Nandi of Kenya. She describes a cultural position occupied by older, childless (or more specifically, without a son) women who marry other women. They take on wives, receive bridewealth, and perform male duties, while not necessarily making their position part of their sexualities or gender embodiments. Oboler argues that maleness and the woman-woman marriage bond is understood as a matter of necessity and function in Nandi patrilineal societies.[25] Some authors argue that Oboler did not sufficiently explore the possibilities of a sexual relationship between the women.[26]

Ifi Amadiume similarly explores female husbands in **Igbo culture**, as does Kenneth Chukwuemeka Nwoko.[27] Among the Tanala, a Malagasy ethnic group in Madagascar, third-gender-embodied individuals are referred to as **sarombavy**. They have been described as occupying a cultural position like that of Native American two spirits. The Swahili on the East African coast also have third- or alternative-gender identities (figure 2.8).



Figure 2.8. The 2013 winners of the annual Miss Gay Daveyton pageant in Daveyton, a township in East Rand, Gauteng, South Africa. (CC-BY Collen Mfazwe of Inkanyiso, Africa Is a Country.)

In the late twentieth century, leaders of new African states typically derided homosexuality as un-African, and they supported the persecution of lesbians and gay men. Nonetheless, after decades of struggle against apartheid in South Africa, the new South African constitution in **1996 enshrined protections** against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The increase in studies on postcolonial LGBTQ+ rights and gender nonconformity and sexual minorities in Africa constitutes a relatively recent pan-African political movement. In postcolonial African cities, sexual violence against lesbians in South Africa and gender- or sexuality-based oppression and violence have occurred.[28] Scholars have focused on a variety of topics, including sexual violence against lesbians in South Africa and ***knowing women***, a term for working-class women in southern Ghana who share friendship and intimacy.[29] The twenty-first century has witnessed a surge of activism by gender and sexual minorities across Africa. This activism promotes both Indigenous terms and histories of sexuality and gender. It also draws on international LGBTQ+ culture and activism in creating identities that resist and critique colonial and neocolonial heteronormativity.

Europe

Binary formations of sexuality and gender are widely characterized as Western, European, Euro-American, or American. European cultures, however, also have multiple instances of third-gender or nonbinary gender formations. For example, Italy's traditional Neapolitan culture has the **femminiello** (the plural form is *femminielli*), an assigned-male-at-birth homosexual with gender-variant expression (figure 2.9). Members of this group play prominent roles in cultural festivities. These individuals have specific roles in

religious parades, are often asked to hold newborn infants, and participate in games such as bingo and raffles (*tombolas*). Moreover, recent studies suggest that today's Neapolitan culture is more accepting of ***femminielli*** than mainstream LGBTQ+ notions of sexuality and gender.[30] This assignation as *femminiello* is associated with the long-standing references to gender ambiguity (androgyny) and intersex individuals in Italian custom, going back to ancient myths about Hermaphroditus (the intersex son of Aphrodite and Hermes) and Tiresias. The cult of Hermaphroditus traces back to ancient Cypriot rites in which men and women exchanged clothing before the statue of a bearded Aphrodite.



Figure 2.9. Portrait of A. de Pardadeda, a femminiello. (Public domain, Abele de Blasio.)

Rictor Norton chronicles eighteenth- and nineteenth-century **England's molly houses**, meeting places for gay men, or mollies—although it is unclear whether this term was a pejorative one or used as a self-designator.[31] Socializing, romancing, and same-sex sexual encounters took place there, as well as **cross-dressing activities such as faux-wedding rituals between men** and mock births (figure 2.10). These venues were illegal, and homosexuality of any kind was a capital offense in England until the late nineteenth century. Police regularly raided molly houses, and the homosexuals who frequented them were recognizable social types. This complicates Michel Foucault's suggestion that the public categorizing and punishment of homosexuals and homosexuality did not begin until later.[3



Figure 2.10. A man and a woman in dishabille swapping clothes. (Public domain, Yale Center for British Art.)

Conclusion

Throughout history and all around the world, many peoples engaged in same-sex relations. In many societies these practices were accepted and even celebrated. Christianity and colonialism were two key forces that brought homophobia to many societies and influenced local social constructions of gender and sexuality. The study of global sexualities is an ever-evolving discipline. This chapter describes the range of gender and sexual practices that have existed in different places and times and that continue to evolve. In the twenty-first century, globalization continues to spread Western notions of LGBTQ+ liberation, and in turn, local and regional cultural practices affect contemporary Western expressions and struggles over gender and sexuality.

Read “In Han Dynasty China, Bisexuality Was the Norm"

The article “In Han Dynasty China, Bisexuality Was the Norm,” by Sarah Prager (https://daily.jstor.org/in-han-dynas...-was-the-norm/), explores studies that document China’s “long history of dynastic homosexuality.”

- What are some catchphrases that refer to love between men in ancient China? Where do they come from?
- What evidence does the author present that bisexuality (and not heterosexuality or homosexuality) was the norm in China’s Han dynasty? Do you agree or disagree with this characterization?
- What is one of the only references to love between women in ancient China? Why isn’t there more documentation of women’s sexuality?

Watch “Naples’ Beloved ‘Third Sex’ Wedding”

On the BBC’s Travel gallery, “Naples’ Beloved ‘Third Sex’ Wedding” (http://www.bbc.com/travel/gallery/20...rd-sex-wedding) explores a play, a local ritual, that takes place in the Italian town of **Pagani.** Although the ritual dates back to the seventeenth century, it is kept alive today by the gay community. The play, ***The Wedding of Zeza,*** features a marriage between a *femminiello a*nd a straight man.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. In northern Nigeria, what is the term for the effeminate men who may have sex with men but are not considered homosexual?
A) Sarombavy
B) Femminiello
C) ‘Yan daudu
D) Molly

2. Among the Nandi of Kenya, what is the cultural role of a “female husband”?
A) A woman who dresses as a man for religious rituals
B) An older, childless woman who marries another woman and performs male duties
C) A third-gender individual who is a healer
D) A male who takes on female roles in ceremonies

3. What is the Malagasy term for third-gender-embodied individuals among the Tanala?
A) Sarombavy
B) Kinnar
C) Fa’afafine
D) Bakla

4. Which African country was the first to enshrine protections against discrimination based on sexual orientation in its constitution?
A) Nigeria
B) Kenya
C) South Africa
D) Ghana

5. In traditional Neapolitan culture, what is a femminiello?
A) A female husband

B) An assigned-male-at-birth homosexual with gender-variant expression
C) A third-gender healer in Madagascar
D) A cross-dressing performer in England

Discussion Questions

1. How do African Indigenous gender and sexuality roles, such as ‘yan daudu and female husbands, challenge Western binary understandings of gender and sexual identity?
2. Discuss the impact of colonialism and postcolonial politics on the recognition and treatment of LGBTQ+ individuals and gender minorities in Africa.
3. Compare the roles and social acceptance of third-gender individuals in African and European contexts, such as sarombavy in Madagascar and femminielli in Italy.
4. What are the implications of the legal and social changes in post-apartheid South Africa for LGBTQ+ rights across the African continent?
5. How do historical spaces like England’s molly houses complicate our understanding of the development of sexual identity categories in Europe?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) ‘Yan daudu
2. B) An older, childless woman who marries another woman and performs male duties
3. A) Sarombavy
4. C) South Africa

B) An assigned-male-at-birth homosexual with gender-variant expression

---

This page titled 2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Joseph Russo.

- **2.1: Chapter 2- Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future** by Joseph Russo is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.
- **2.1: Chapter 2- Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future** by Joseph Russo is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

Back to top

This page titled 2.4: Africa and Europe is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)

Lukas Avendaño (1977–) is a muxe artist and anthropologist from the **Tehuantepec isthmus** in Oaxaca, Mexico. In his work, he explores notions of sexual, gender, and ethnic identity through muxeidad. Avendaño describes ***muxeidad*** as "un hecho social total," a **total social fact**, performed by people born as men who fulfill roles that are not typically considered masculine. Though it would be easy to make an equivalency between *gay* and muxe or between *transgender* and muxe, it can best be described as a third gender specific to **Be'ena' Za'a** (Zapotec) culture. Muxes are a community of Indigenous people who are assigned male at birth and take on traditional women's roles, presenting not as women but as muxes. Avendaño's work is a reflection on muxeidad, sexuality, eroticism, and the tensions that exist around it. Though muxeidad is understood and generally accepted as part of Be'ena' Za'a society, it exists within a structure that privileges fixed roles for men and women, respectively. It is important to note that his work provides a reflection on muxeidad from within rather than without—that is, he critically explores what it means to be muxe as muxe himself, providing an alternative to academic analyses that can exoticize.

In *Réquiem para un alcaraván*, Avendaño reflects on traditional women's roles, particularly in rites and ceremonies of the **Tehuantepec region** (a wedding, mourning, a funeral), many of which are denied to muxes. For the wedding ceremony, the artist prepares the stage by decorating for the occasion and then, blindfolded, selects a member of the audience who presents as male to marry him. Such a union would not be well regarded in traditional Be'ena' Za'a society, even though same-sex marriage was recently legalized in Oaxaca, an initiative spearheaded by a muxe scholar and activist, Amaranta Gómez Regalado, in August 2019.



Figure 2.11. Lukas Avendaño. (© Mario Patiño. Courtesy of Siwar Mayu.)

On May 10, 2018, in Tehuantepec, Avendaño's younger brother, Bruno Avendaño, disappeared during a brief vacation from his duties in the navy. He hasn't been found since, and the artist has used his platform as an international artist to bring attention to the issue of the disappeared in Mexico. Other artists and activists join him as he travels around the world to show his work and create spaces where he can ask for answers at Mexican consulates and embassies for his brother as well as the more than sixty thousand individuals who have disappeared in Mexico in the last decade and a half.

This page titled 2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios) is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.1: Chapter 2- Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future** by Joseph Russo is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)

The recent politicization of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) identities and rights in many parts of Africa has given rise to a renewed emergence of pan-Africanist thought in two directions.[33] First, there is the well-known narrative of antiqueer pan-Africanism, invoked by many African statesmen, clergy, and opinion leaders. It uses sexuality as a key site to defend and preserve African values and identities vis-à-vis perceived foreign imperialism. LGBT sexualities are framed here as "un-African," and violence against sexual minorities is legitimized in the name of "African pride." The Ugandan human rights lawyer Adrian Jjuuko summarizes this as the "rise of a conservative streak of pan-Africanism."[34] Second, and of greater interest here, LGBT activists and allies across the continent resist this popular narrative through a discursive counterstrategy in which they deploy progressive Black and pan-Africanist figures, ideas, and symbols.

One key example of this emerging discourse is the African LGBTI Manifesto(opens in new window), drafted at a meeting in Nairobi in April 2010 by activists from across the continent.[35] It opens with a strong, explicitly pan-Africanist vision: "As Africans, we all have infinite potential. We stand for an African revolution which encompasses the demand for a re-imagination of our lives outside neo-colonial categories of identity and power." The manifesto then explicitly states its specific concern with sexuality but links it to the project of "total liberation" of the African continent and its peoples: "We are specifically committed to the transformation of the politics of sexuality in our contexts. As long as African LGBTI people are oppressed, the whole of Africa is oppressed."

A similar emphasis on mainstreaming sexuality in a broader project of decolonization is found in the emerging body of literature in African queer studies. For instance, Sokari Ekine and Hakima Abbas state that "at the root of queer resistance in Africa, is a carrying forward of the struggle for African liberation and self-determination (opens in new window)."[36] African queer politics is a project concerned not just with LGBT identities and rights but with the struggle against patriarchy, heteronormativity, homophobia, and neoliberal capitalism. It aims at a comprehensive liberation of African peoples and societies from the multiple structures of domination and oppression.

As much as the queer African project is about the future of the continent, there is a critical sense of retrieving something that has been lost in the course of history and that can be recovered for contemporary political purposes. In the talk titled "Conversations with Baba (opens in new window)," the late Kenyan literary writer Binyavanga Wainaina uses an inclusive "we" to reclaim Africa as a continent that has always been characterized by diversity, and he thus sets an example to the rest of the world: "We, the oldest and the most diverse continent there has been. We, where humanity came from. We, the moral reservoir of human diversity, human aid, human dignity."[37]

In Wainaina's commentary, this rich and strong tradition of diversity characterizing African societies was only interrupted by "those people who came from that time of colonization to split us apart, until our splitting apart came from our own hearts." Thus, he suggests that the interruption came from outside—from the forces of colonialism and missionary Christianity; he further suggests that moral conservatism and rigidity have been adopted and internalized by certain sections of society in postcolonial Africa, in particular conservative religious actors such as Pentecostal Christian pastors.

Vis-à-vis such forces, Wainaina calls for a reclaiming of indigenous African moral traditions that recognize human diversity. In part two of his six-part video "We Must Free Our Imaginations (opens in new window)," Wainaina describes sociopolitical and religious homophobia in Africa as "the bankruptcy of a certain kind of imagination." He urges fellow Africans to engage in creative, liberating, and imaginary thinking, reclaiming the past in order to reimagine the future—a future free from oppressive modes of thought.

In a more popularized form, the same narrative is found in the "Same Love" music video.[38] Released in 2016 by the Kenyan band Art Attack under the leadership of the openly gay musician and activist George Barasa, the video was presented as "a Kenyan song about same-sex rights, LGBT struggles, and civil liberties for all sexual orientations." The lyrics and imagery present a progressive pan-Africanist vision, which unfolds in two steps. First, the video draws critical attention to the recent politics against homosexuality across the continent, showing newspapers with strong and sensationalist antigay messages and images of Kenyan antigay political protests. This part of the song concludes by stating,

> *Homophobia is the new African culture / Everyone's the police, Everyone's a court judge, mob law, street justice / Kill 'em when you see 'em / Blame it on the west, never blame it*

> *on love, it's un-African to try and show a brother some love.*

In the next part, the lyrics specifically refer to Uganda and Nigeria, the two countries that in 2015 became internationally known for passing new anti-homosexuality legislation. Then the song calls upon Africa as a whole, saying,

> *Uganda stand strong, Nigeria, Africa, it's time for new laws, not time for new wars / We come from the same God, cut from the same cord, share the same pain and share the same skin.*

A positive pan-Africanist vision is presented here, emphasizing the unity and common history of African peoples. The basis for this vision is a religious one: the idea of African peoples as created by God. This echoes an important tradition of religiously inspired pan-Africanist thought, centering on the belief "that Africa's destiny is God given."[39] In the words of Marcus Garvey, "God Almighty created us all to be free."[40] Originally, this religious notion allowed for resisting racial discrimination and overcoming the inferiority of people of African descent vis-à-vis white superiority. "Same Love" appropriates it to resist sexual discrimination and to overcome divisions that exist today about who counts as truly African.

In its opening statement—"This song goes out to the new slaves, the new blacks"—"Same Love" situates the experience of same-sex-loving people in Africa in a longer history of racial and ethnic oppression. The lyrics suggest continuity between the civil rights movement in the United States and the contemporary LGBT rights movement in Africa. This is acknowledged later in the video when images of some prominent African queer individuals appear on the screen, while the vocals in the song state that "Luther's spirit lives on." The suggestion is that the spirit of Martin Luther King Jr. lives on in those Africans campaigning for the human rights of sexual minorities today. This allows the producers of the video to claim a moral high ground, implicitly appropriating King's prophetic dream of racial liberation in the United States and applying it to the struggle for queer freedom in Africa.

Wainaina has also invoked the name of King, and of the African American literary writer James Baldwin, as part of his queer pan-Africanist imagination. He referred to Baldwin as a source of inspiration, recognizing him as "black, African, ours," as a "gay icon of freedom," and canonizing him as a writer of "new scriptures" (figure 2.14). While commenting on the anti-homosexuality bill in Uganda, he further stated that the pastor of the former U.S. president George W. Bush "has had more influence on the imagination of Africans than Martin Luther King and James Baldwin." Elaborating on this, Wainaina invoked the tradition of progressive Black religious thought, explicitly referring to "the Jesus of James Baldwin and Martin Luther King," which, he critically observes, is "a dead man in Africa" (figure 2.15).[41] Describing Jesus as a liberating figure, who is in solidarity with the marginalized, Wainaina criticized the church in Africa for maintaining structures of oppression and exclusion.

The invocation of progressive traditions of Black religious thought is particularly significant in light of popular discourses that denounce homosexuality as both un-African and un-Christian. The question of whether religion, in particular Christianity, can make a constructive contribution to queer pan-Africanist discourse is a debatable one. Many African queer scholars and activists tend to see Christianity as a colonial and conservative religion from which Africa and Africans need to be liberated. This is understandable, but one could ask whether it not also reflects the influence of Western queer scholarship and politics with its secular inclination and anti-religious tendencies. Both Wainaina and the "Same Love" video agree with the postcolonial critique of Christianity. Yet they also suggest that progressive traditions of Christian thought can inspire the Black African queer imagination. Hence, they invite us to engage creatively and constructively with the resources within religious traditions toward Black pan-African queer liberation.

Key Questions

- What is anthropology and how has it contributed to our understanding of sex, gender, and sexuality?
- What are some examples of same-sex desire and LGBTQ+ identities from different parts of the world?
- What do we mean by *third gender*, and what are some examples of third-gender identities?
- How are the new identities you learned about in this chapter both the same as and different from your understanding of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer identities in your own culture?
- How has anthropology played a role in the struggle for LGBTQ+ rights in the United States and around the world?

This page titled 2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken) is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

2.7: Research Resources

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

Compiled by Rachel Wexelbaum

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about queer anthropology.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter and have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

The Asia Pacific Transgender Network

The Asia Pacific Transgender Network (http://www.weareaptn.org/) is an advocacy and community network for transgender rights in China, Pakistan, India, and Nepal. The network releases reports and other publications to guide social and public policy.

Digital Transgender Archive

The Digital Transgender Archive (https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/) is an online hub for digitized archival materials on nonnormative gender practices from around the world.

Jen Deerinwater

Jen Deerinwater is a two-spirit citizen of the Cherokee Nation and has written on Medium (https://medium.com/@JenDeerinwater) and Truthout (https://truthout.org/authors/jen-deerinwater/page/1/) about the intersectionalities of Indigenous or Native identity and queer or two spirit in North America.

A Map of Gender-Diverse Cultures

An interactive Google map displays Indigenous cultures around the world that have gender and sexual identities distinct from those of Western cultures (http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/content/two-spirits_map-html/). This map ties in with other supplementary materials (linked on the web page) to support the documentary *Kumu Hina*, about the Hawaiian *mahu*.

Muxes Identidades Periféricas

See the Instagram account of the nonbinary *muxe* performer Lukas Avendaño, who advocates for *muxe* rights and awareness (https://www.instagram.com/muxe_lukas_avendano_muxes/). This chapter's profile by Rita Palacios describes Avendaño's work.

OutRight Action International

OutRight Action International (https://outrightinternational.org/), founded in 1990, works internationally to support the rights of LGBTIQ people. They advocate for LGBTIQ human rights and equality, and they provide technical assistance, training, and funding to local grassroots LGBTIQ groups around the world. They also publish reports and briefing papers on key topics that affect LGBTIQ people.

Takatāpui: A Resource Hub

This resource guide and podcast series is about and for LGBTQ+ Maori people and their families (https://takatapui.nz/).

Deep Dive: Books and Articles

Boy-Wives and Female Husbands: Studies in African Homosexualities, edited by Stephen O. Murray and Will Roscoe

This book was first published in 1996 and provided the first study of same-sex sexuality and gender diversity in Africa. It includes ethnographic essays based on research conducted in the 1990s and oral histories and translations of early ethnographic reports by German and French authors. The book was republished as an open educational resource in 2021 (SUNY Press, https://soar.suny.edu/handle/20.500.12648/1714) with a new foreword by Marc Epprecht that situates the book in the history of studies of indigenous African sexualities and genders.

Colouring the Rainbow: Blak Queer and Trans Perspectives: Life Stories and Essays by First Nations People of Australia, edited by Dino Hodge

The experiences of Indigenous Australians with diverse sexual and gender identities are revealed through personal stories and academic essays. Dino Hodge is an award-winning Australian LGBTQ+ studies scholar who is known in his country for his histories of LGBTQ+ existences in Australia and his work with Indigenous communities in HIV/AIDS treatment, audiology, career development, and education (Mile End, Australia: Wakefield Press, 2018).

"The Complicated Terrain of Latin American Homosexuality," by Martin Nesvig

In this 2001 article in *Hispanic American Historical Review* (volume 81, numbers 3–4, pages 689–729), Nesvig provides a comprehensive, well-cited history of Latin American homosexualities and the impact of Spanish colonialism and Catholicism on these identities.

Gender Identity and Sexual Identity in the Pacific and Hawai'i: Introduction

This constantly updated research guide includes clear definitions of vernacular terms for queer identities in the Pacific and Hawaii and links to resources and groups supporting Pacific Islander gender and sexual-identity organizations (https://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/Pacificsexualidentity). The guide was originally created by Eleanor Kleiber, a librarian at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Pacific Collection Librarian, and D. Keali'i MacKenzie, during his internship with the UHM library's Hawaiian and Pacific Collection in 2012.

Invisible: Stories from Kenya's Queer Community, by Kevin Mwachiro

This collection of short stories and essays about the queer experience in Kenya includes firsthand perspectives from both rural and urban queer folks. The author is a renowned gay rights activist (Nairobi, Kenya: Goethe-Institut Kenya, 2014).

Lady Boys, Tom Boys, Rent Boys: Male and Female Homosexualities in Contemporary Thailand, edited by Peter A. Jackson and Gerard Sullivan

Academic essays in this book cover portions of the populations of Thailand that the Western world would label LGBTQ+. These case studies reveal the challenges that lady boys, tom boys, rent boys, and other LGBTQ+ populations in Thailand face. Essay authors challenge Western theories and models of queerness in their interpretation of Thai identities (Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2000). Jackson is a specialist in Thai history at Australian National University and conducts research on gender and sexual identities in Thailand.

The Many Faces of Homosexuality: Anthropological Approaches to Homosexual Behavior, by Evelyn Blackwood

Originally published in 1986, this book is one of the first collections of ethnographic materials on same-sex relations from different cultures and historical periods. It also provides an early critique of traditional anthropological approaches to studying homosexuality (New York: Routledge, 2010).

Same-Sex Relations and Female Desires: Transgender Practices across Cultures, edited by Evelyn Blackwood and Saskia Wieringa

In this collection of essays, historians, sociologists, and anthropologists offer evidence that non-Western women have autonomy over their identities and that same-sex female desire exists independently of Western colonialism and globalization. The book won the Ruth Benedict Book Award in Anthropology (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

"Sexualities and Genders in Zapotec Oaxaca," by Lynn Stephen

This ethnography of sexual identities provides an overview of the history and culture of sexual and gender identities in Oaxaca, including an examination of the role of *muxes*. The 2002 article is published in *Latin American Perspectives* (volume 29, number 2; http://www.jstor.org/stable/3185126).

Sexuality and Translation in World Politics, edited by Caroline Cottet and Manuela Lavinas Picq

Caroline Cottet and Manuela Lavinas Picq brought together essays from authors around the world to demonstrate that Western imposition of LGBTQ+ terminologies on non-Western populations obstruct these populations' civil rights movements and erase traditional cultures (Bristol, UK: E-International Relations; https://www.e-ir.info/publication/sexuality-and-translation-in-world-politics/).

Stories of Our Lives: Queer Narratives from Kenya, from NEST Collective

In June 2013, the Kenyan multidisciplinary group NEST Collective traveled across Kenya to record over 250 personal accounts of persons identifying as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and intersex. This book presents a selection from the resulting archive to explore the consciousness, ambition, and expression of many queer Kenyans in their daily interactions with family, friends, schools, workplaces, religion, and ideas of the future and in diverse social contexts (Nairobi, Kenya: NEST Arts, 2015).

Tommy Boys, Lesbian Men, and Ancestral Wives: Female Same-Sex Practices in Africa, by Ruth Morgan and Saskia Wieringa

This pioneering work on lesbian identities in six sub-Saharan African countries is based on an oral history project and presents the voices of African women from Kenya, South Africa, Namibia, Tanzania, and Uganda talking about their lives and loves. Reviewers have noted the problematic nature of two white women as authors of such a volume—as well as how they collected the stories from the participants—but this book remains valuable (Johannesburg, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2005).

Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality, edited by Sue-Ellen Jacob, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang

The first major contemporary work about the North American Indigenous two-spirit identity, this book covers how two-spirit people identify themselves and describe their lived experiences, how other Native Americans treat them, and how anthropologists and other scholars interpret and depict them. The Society of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists (now the Association for Queer Anthropology) granted this book the Ruth Benedict Prize in 1997 (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

With Respect to Sex: Negotiating Hijra Identity in South India, by Gayatri Reddy

This is the definitive work on *hijras* (traditionally, South Asian men who sacrifice their genitals to a goddess in order to bless newlyweds with fertility). *Hijras* live as the third sex in India and Pakistan, usually in segregated, stigmatized communities. This ethnography focuses on how *hijras* navigate the complexities of identity, sexuality, morality, and local and global economies (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

This page titled 2.7: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

2.8: Glossary

aikane. A Hawaiian term used in precolonial times for same-sex relationships between men.

asegi. A Cherokee term for two-spirit people.

bakla. In the Philippines, a person who was assigned male at birth but, usually, adopts feminine mannerisms and dresses as a woman. *Bakla* are often considered a third gender. Many *bakla* are exclusively attracted to men but are not necessarily gay. Some self-identify as women.

berdache. Before the late twentieth century, a term bestowed by anthropologists who were not Native American, or First Nations in Canada, people to broadly identify an Indigenous individual fulfilling one of many mixed-gender roles in a tribe. Anthropologists often applied this term to any male whom they perceived to be homosexual, bisexual, or effeminate by Western social standards, leading to a wide variety of individuals being categorized under what is now considered a pejorative term.

biza'ah. A Zapotec term similar to the Oaxacan *muxe* describing a male-bodied individual who acts and dresses in feminine ways.

danshi. A Japanese term literally meaning "herbivore men," describing men who have no interest in getting married or finding a girlfriend. *Herbivore men* also describes young men who have lost their manliness.

drag queens. People who use stereotypically gendered clothing and makeup to imitate and often exaggerate gender signifiers and gender roles in an entertainment performance. Drag queens are associated with gay men and gay culture.

ethnography. An account of social life and culture in a particular time and place, written by an anthropologist. The account is based on detailed observations of people interacting in a particular social setting over time.

fa'afafine or fa'atane. People who identify themselves as having a third-gender or nonbinary role in Samoa, American Samoa, and the Samoan diaspora. It is a recognized gender identity or gender role in traditional Samoan society and an integral part of Samoan culture. *Fa'afafine* are assigned male at birth and explicitly embody both masculine and feminine gender traits in a way unique to Polynesia.

female husbands. Describes the union of two women in marriage in many African cultures, including the Nandi of Kenya.

femminiello. A member of a population of homosexual males with markedly feminine gender expression in traditional Neapolitan culture. The plural is *femminielli*.

gender. The range of characteristics pertaining to, and differentiating between, masculinity and femininity. Depending on the context, these characteristics may include biological sex (i.e., the state of being male, female, or an intersex variation), sex-based social structures (i.e., gender roles), or gender identity. Some societies have genders that are in addition to male and female and are neither, such as the *hijras* of South Asia; these are often referred to as third genders. Some anthropologists and sociologists have described fourth and fifth genders.

gender binary. The classification of gender into two distinct, opposite, and disconnected forms of masculine and feminine, whether by social system or cultural belief.

gender dysphoria. The distress some individuals feel if their gender identity does not match their sex assigned at birth.

gender variance. Behavior or gender expression by an individual that does not match masculine or feminine gender norms. Also called gender nonconformity.

heterosexuality. Romantic attraction, sexual attraction, or sexual behavior between persons of the opposite sex or gender.

hijra. A eunuch, intersex, or transgender person. *Hijras* are officially recognized as a third gender in countries on the Indian subcontinent and considered neither completely male nor female.

identity. In psychology, the qualities, beliefs, personality, looks, or expressions that make up a person (self-identity) or group (particular social category or social group).

intersex. Individuals born with any of several combinations in sex characteristics, including chromosomes, gonads, sex hormones, or genitals.

inverts. Used by sexologists, primarily in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to refer to homosexuals. Sexual inversion was believed to be an inborn reversal of gender traits: male inverts were inclined to traditionally female pursuits and dress and vice versa for female inverts.

kathoey. In Thailand, describes a male-to-female transgender person or person of a third gender or an effeminate homosexual male.

kinnar or kinner. The preferred term of members of the *hijra* community in India, referring to the mythological beings that excel at song and dance.

ladyboy. Another term for *kathoey*.

mahu. The word for "in the middle" in Kanaka Maoli (Hawaiian) and Maohi (Tahitian) cultures describing third-gender persons with traditional spiritual and social roles within the culture.

molly house. A meeting place in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England, generally taverns, public houses, or coffeehouses, where homosexual men could socialize or meet sexual partners.

muxe or muxhe. In Zapotec cultures of Oaxaca (southern Mexico), a person who is assigned male at birth but who dresses and behaves in ways otherwise associated with women; the person may be seen as a third gender.

nanshoku. Literally meaning "male colors" in Japanese and widely used to refer to male-to-male sex in premodern Japan.

queer theory. A field of critical theory that emerged in the early 1990s out of the fields of lesbian and gay studies and women's studies. Queer theory seeks to challenge and overturn sex and gender binaries and the normative expectations that support those binaries.

sarombavy. A Tanala Malagasy term referring to third-gender males who adopt the behavior and roles of women.

sexuality. The way people experience and express themselves sexually and involving biological, erotic, physical, emotional, social, or spiritual feelings and behaviors.

shudo and wakashudo. The Japanese words for "the ways of teenage and adolescent boys," respectively.

sociocultural anthropology. Refers to social anthropology and cultural anthropology together, focusing on the study of human culture and society.

takatapui. The Maori word meaning a devoted partner of the same sex.

third gender. A concept in which individuals are categorized, either by themselves or by society, as neither man nor woman.

tomboi. A West Sumatran term for women who dress like men and have relationships with women.

travesti. In South America, a gender identity describing people assigned male at birth who take on a feminine gender role and gender expression, especially through the use of feminizing body modifications such as hormone replacement therapy, breast implants, and silicone injections.

two spirit. A modern umbrella term used by some Indigenous North Americans to describe Native people in their communities who fulfill a traditional third-gender (or other gender-variant) ceremonial role in their cultures.

wakashu. The Japanese term for "young person" (although never used for girls); it is a historical Japanese term indicating an adolescent boy, and in Edo-period Japan, considered as suitable objects of erotic desire for young women, older women, and older men.

'yan daudu. A Nigerian Hausa term meaning "men who act like women."

This page titled 2.8: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

2.9: Footnotes

1. M. Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). [1]
2. C. Finley, "Decolonizing the Queer Native Body (and Recovering the Native Bull-Dyke): Bringing 'Sexy Back' and Out of Native Studies' Closet," in *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*, ed. Q.-L. Driskill, C. Finley, B. J. Gilley, and S. L. Morgensen (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 31–42. [2]
3. E. Carpenter. *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914). [3]
4. E. Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1972). [4]
5. E. Blackwood, *The Many Faces of Homosexuality: Anthropological Approaches to Homosexual Behavior* (London: Routledge, 1986). [5]
6. S. L. Morgensen, "Theorising Gender, Sexuality, and Settler Colonialism: An Introduction," *Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no. 2 (2012): 2–22. [6]
7. For two-spirit Zuni peoples, see W. Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); for development of two-spirit activism in North America, see S-E. Jacobs, W. Thomas, and S. Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997). [7]
8. Q-L. Driskill, C. Finley, B. J. Gilley, and S. L. Morgensen, eds., *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011). [8]
9. H. Abelove, "Some Speculations on the History of Sexual Intercourse during the Long Eighteenth Century in England," *Genders*, no. 6 (1989): 125–130, https://www.utexaspressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.5555/gen.1989.6.125; John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. H. Abelove, M. A. Barale, and D. M. Halperin (New York: Routledge, 1993), 467–476. [9]
10. C. Aspin, "Exploring Takatapui Identity Within the Maori Community: Implications for Health and Well-Being," in Driskill et al., *Queer Indigenous Studies*. [10]
11. See, e.g., R. Trexler, "Making the American Berdache: Choice or Constraint?," *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 3 (2011): 613–636. [11]
12. Roscoe, *Zuni Man-Woman*. [12]
13. J. Briggs, "Eskimo Women: Makers of Men," in *Many Sisters: Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. C. Matthiasson (New York: Free Press, 1974), 271; J. Briggs, "Expecting the Unexpected: Canadian Inuit Training for an Experimental Lifestyle," *Ethos* 19 (1991): 266; J. Robert-Lamblin, "Ammassalik, East Greenland: End or Persistance of an Isolate? Anthropological and Demographic Study on Change," *Meddelelser om Gronland, Man and Society* (Museum Tusculanum Press, 1986), 42. Saladin d'Anglure found the same percentages in his area, see B. Saladin d'Anglure, "Du foetus au chamane: la construction d'un 'troisieme sexe' inuit," *Etudes Inuit* 10 (1986): 68. [13]
14. D. Kulick, *Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). [14]
15. J. Fernández, *Cuerpos Desobedientes: Travestismo e Identitad de Genero* [Disobedient bodies: cross-dressing and gender identity] (Barcelona, Spain: Edhasa, 2004). [15]
16. R. Talwar, *The Third Sex and Human Rights* (New Delhi, India: Gyan, 1999); Dayanita Singh, *Myself Mona Ahmed* (Zürich, Switzerland: Scalo Verlag, 2001). [16]
17. M. Manalansan, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). [17]
18. E. Blackwood, "Tombois in West Sumatra: Constructing Masculinity and Erotic Desire," *Cultural Anthropology* 13, no. 4 (1998): 491–521. [18]
19. R. Totman, *The Third Sex: Kathoey—Thailand's Ladyboys* (London: Souvenir Press, 2004). [19]
20. N. Bartlett and P. Vasey, "A Retrospective Study of Childhood Gender-Atypical Behavior in Samoan *Fa'afafine*," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 35, no. 6 (2006): 659–666. [20]
21. D. T. McMullin, "*Fa'afafine* Notes: On Tagaloa, Jesus, and Nafanua," *Amerasia Journal* 37, no. 3 (2011): 114–131. [21]
22. McMullin, "*Fa'afafine* Notes." [22]
23. For an example of conflation, see J. M. Mageo, *Theorizing Self in Samoa: Emotions, Genders, and Sexualities* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998). [23]
24. R. P. Gaudio, *Allah Made Us: Sexual Outlaws in an Islamic African City* (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009). [24]

25. R. Smith Oboler, “Is the Female Husband a Man? Woman/Woman Marriage among the Nandi of Kenya,” *Ethnology* 19, no. 1 (1980): 69–88. [25]
26. R. Morgan and S. Wieringa, *Tommy Boys, Lesbian Men, and Ancestral Wives: Female Same-Sex Practices in Africa* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Jacana Press, 2005); Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya, “Research on the Lived Experiences of Lesbian, Bisexual and Queer Women in Kenya,” 2016, https://www.icop.or.ke/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Research-on-the-lived-experiences-of-LBQ-women-in-Kenya.pdf. [26]
27. I. Amadiume, *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society* (London: Zed Press, 1987); Kenneth Chukwuemeka Nwoko, “Female Husbands in Igbo Land: Southeast Nigeria,” *Journal of Pan African Studies* 5, no. 1 (2012): 6982. [27]
28. S. Dankwa, “The One Who First Says ‘I Love You’: Love, Seniority, and Relational Gender in Postcolonial Ghana,” in *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory, and Citizenship*, ed. S. N. Nyeck and M. Epprecht (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013), 170–187; Zanele Muholi, “Thinking through Lesbian Rape,” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 18, no. 61 (2004): 116–125, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4066614. [28]
29. S. O. Dankwa, *Knowing Women: Same Sex Intimacy, Gender, and Identity in Postcolonial Ghana* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021). [29]
30. A. della Ragione, “*I Femminielli*” [in Italian], accessed March 17, 2022, http://www.guidecampania.com/dellaragione/articolo3/articolo.htm#99. [30]
31. R. Norton, *Mother Clap’s Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England, 1700–1830* (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Heretic Books, 1992). [31]
32. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. *1*, *An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). [32]
33. The profile, slightly edited, is from the website Africa Is a Country, https://africasacountry.com/2020/01/queering-pan-africanism. [33]
34. A. Jjuuko, “The Protection and Promotion of LGBTI Rights in the African Regional Human Rights System: Opportunities and Challenges,” in *Protecting the Human Rights of Sexual Minorities in Contemporary Africa*, ed. Sylvie Namwase and Adrian Jjuuko (Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press, 2017), https://www.pulp.up.ac.za/latest-publications/179-protecting-the-human-rights-of-sexual-minorities-in-contemporary-africa. [34]
35. “African LGBTI Manifesto/Declaration,” *Black Looks*, posted by Sokari, May 17, 2011, http://blacklooks.org/2011/05/african-lgbti-manifestodeclaration/. The manifesto is also printed in Sokari Ekine and Hakima Abbas, eds., *Queer African Reader* (Nairobi: Fahamu Books, an imprint of Pambazuka Press, 2013), 52–53 [35]
36. Ekine and Abbas, *Queer African Reader*. [36]
37. B. Wainaina, “Conversations with Baba,” TEDxEuston talk, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z5uAoBu9Epg&t=605s. [37]
38. Art Attack, “Same Love (remix),” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8EataOQvPII. [38]
39. H. Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018). [39]
40. M. Garvey, *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Or, Africa for the Africans*, comp. Amy Jacques Garvey (1923, 1925; repr., Dover, MA: Majority Press, 1986). [40]
41. B. Wainaina, “That name Baldwin, is black, African, ours,” Twitter, March 9, 2014, 6:42 p.m., https://twitter.com/BinyavangaW/status/442792599582035968; Binyavanga Wainaina, “The Baldwin who was a ‘gay icon of freedom,’” Twitter, March 25, 2014, 9:44 p.m., https://twitter.com/BinyavangaW/status/448636702379491329; Binyavanga Wainaina, “James Baldwin wrote new scriptures,” Twitter, February 6, 2014, 7:48 p.m., https://twitter.com/BinyavangaW/status/431590250788294656; “George Bush’s pastor has had more influence on the,” Twitter, January 24, 2014, 10:55 a.m., https://twitter.com/BinyavangaW/status/426745152778944512; Binyavanga Wainaina, “The Jesus of James Baldwin and Martin Luther King is a dead man in Africa,” Twitter, May 4, 2015, 3:13 a.m., https://twitter.com/BinyavangaW/status/595124119127097344. [41]

This page titled 2.9: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Define LGBTQ+ studies and queer theory, and explain why queer theory matters in the field of archaeology.
- Explain the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality in both the present and the ancient past.
- Define key terms such as *heteronormativity*, *gender performativity*, and *binary oppositions*, and explain how they influence interpretations of the past.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
- Discuss archaeology as a key subfield within LGBTQ+ anthropology.

3.1: Queer New World - Overview

3.2: The Constructedness of Sex

3.3: Abjection and Normativity

3.4: Research Resources

3.5: Glossary

3.6: Footnotes

This page titled 3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by James Aimers.

3.1: Queer New World - Overview

Introduction

The word *archaeology* is derived from the Greek words ***arkhaios,*** which means **"ancient,"** and ***logos,*** or **"study."** Archaeology is generally defined as the study of the human past using material evidence (i.e., physical things as diverse as pottery or pollen). In North America, archaeology is typically a subdiscipline of anthropology, along with cultural anthropology, linguistics, and bioanthropology. Archaeologists focus on the prehistoric, or preliterate, past, whereas historians study the literate past. These fields overlap, however, because historical records are sometimes used in archeology. The origins of archaeology are themselves archaeological because we know that ancient people across the world collected artifacts from periods that preceded them. For example, **the Aztecs of Mexico** collected objects from the earlier site of **Teotihuacan**, and officials in **the Chinese Song Empire** excavated, cataloged, and studied **ancient artifacts** from their own culture.

The current discipline of archaeology developed out of **antiquarianism,** an interest in ancient Rome, which has roots among Europeans as early as the fifteenth century but is most closely associated with the collection of ancient objects in the nineteenth century. These include **objects related to sex and sexuality,** many of which were placed in collections of erotica like the **Secretum at the British Museum** and, for objects from, in the Gabinetto Segreto of the Naples Archaeological Museum. Until relatively recently these sorts of collections were typically privately owned or restricted from public view, showing the discomfort that scholars and the public have had in addressing issues of gender and sexuality in open and systematic ways.

The use of physical evidence to reconstruct the past is challenging because things can have multiple meanings to different people or mean different things in different contexts. In 1917, the artist Marcel Duchamp placed an ordinary, mass-produced urinal in an art exhibit, and that new context changed its meaning from a functional, everyday object to a work of art. Similarly, cows are ordinary animals in North America and Europe, but in India they are sacred.

Thus, **to understand artifacts**, archaeologists must interpret them according to **the cultural contexts** the artifacts came from. This can be difficult because the context may be unknown (as in the case of looted artifacts), inadequately excavated (e.g., constraints of time or funding), or drastically changed by time (e.g., weather, erosion). Even when we have texts that relate to the artifacts, those texts may not address the issues with which we're concerned. For example, ancient Maya hieroglyphic writing describes politics and ritual but not sex and sexuality. We also cannot ask the people who made or used archaeological objects what they meant. Although we can ask their descendants, their cultures may have changed enough that the original meanings are lost. The use of objects to understand complex and culturally varied concepts like gender and sexuality is especially challenging

Queer Archaeology: Some Basics

View "Queer Archaeology: Some Basics," by James Aimers, a companion introduction to this chapter.



- What are some examples of categories and classifications in our study of the past that show how hard it is to be neutral?
- In Western culture, homosexual behavior didn't have a fixed definition or identity until the late 1800s. Why is it important to understand this type of context when studying ancient cultures and artifacts?

In this chapter, I identify some LGBTQ+ themes in the archaeology of Mesoamerica and the Andes. I show that many of these new interests and observations have been inspired by feminist and queer theory. Although some aspects of queer theory have become almost mainstream in archaeology, the topics of sex, gender, and sexuality remain challenging ones for archaeologists.

Queer Theory and Archaeology

Queer theory is often considered an aspect of critical theory with roots in **feminism**. It is counterhegemonic and challenges archaeological normativity of all sorts—most notably heteronormativity.[1] But critiques of queer theory are not limited to sexuality, and some people argue that queer theory is not a theory (or set of theories) that explains the world but rather a way of looking critically at normative assumptions about the world.[2]

Archaeological engagement with queer theory came mainly through the influence of feminism.[3] The growing influence of feminism in the twentieth century led to critiques of existing norms around gender, sex, and sexuality in many fields, and by the late 1970s these critiques began to inform archaeological studies. Nevertheless, many archaeological studies implicitly assumed that the norms and institutions that we take for granted today were present and important in the distant past. Thus, archaeologists often assumed that the Western sex and gender binary oppositions (male versus female and man versus woman) were normative across all cultures or that institutions such as the **nuclear family and monogamy** also applied to ancient cultures.[4]

During the 1980s and 1990s **feminist ideas** became mainstream in archaeology, as shown in the many works about and by women in those decades. An important development was the entry of queer theory into the archaeological mainstream in the first years of the 2000s with two seminal collections: a thematic issue of *World Archaeology* and the proceedings from a 2004 conference titled ***Que(e)rying Archaeology***.[5] Since then, archaeologists have increasingly investigated assumptions about sex, gender, and sexuality, and queer theory has been used to challenge normative assumptions of all sorts.

Although potentially any topic can be examined through a queer theory lens, the most influential uses of queer theory in archaeology have been in relation to gender, sex, and sexuality. This is in part because queer theory challenges essentialist and sociobiological ideas about these issues in popular discourse and in some scholarship. If we think of *queer* as being fundamentally disruptive, then a lot of early work that challenged fundamental assumptions could be called queer, even if those works were not labeled as such by their authors.[6] These studies express a queer emphasis on the "instability of the subject" and the **"fluidity of identity,"** as well as the inclusivity characteristic of queer theory.[7]

Queer theory has questioned universals, essentialisms, and especially, the categorizations we use in archaeology.[8] In archaeology, binary oppositions related to sex, gender, and sexuality like man versus woman and homosexual versus heterosexual have been the most heavily critiqued. **A "truly queer archaeology"** will question "received categories of present-day sexual politics and seek to develop archaeological methodologies that do not depend on these problematic sexual taxonomies."[9] My work with the classification of ancient Maya pottery reminds me that all classifications are created to answer particular questions and that not every question can be addressed with a single classification. So the idea that there is one, transhistorical, all-purpose classification of bodies or gender or sexuality is no more reasonable than the belief that one really great way of classifying pottery could answer all our questions.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What is the primary focus of archaeology as a discipline?
A) The study of ancient languages
B) The study of living cultures
C) The study of the human past using material evidence
D) The study of modern politics

2.How did feminist and queer theory influence archaeology in the late 20th and early 21st centuries?
A) By reinforcing traditional binary gender roles
B) By challenging normative assumptions about sex, gender, and sexuality
C) By focusing only on pottery classification
D) By ignoring issues of gender and sexuality

3. What is a key critique that queer theory brings to archaeological classification?
A) That binary oppositions like man/woman and homosexual/heterosexual are problematic
B) That all classifications are universally applicable
C) That classifications should only be based on written records
D) That essentialist views are necessary for understanding the past

4. Why is interpreting the meaning of artifacts challenging for archaeologists?
A) Artifacts are always found in perfect condition
B) Written records always provide clear explanations
C) Meanings can change across cultures and contexts, and original contexts may be unknown
D) Artifacts are only used for decorative purposes

5. What does a “truly queer archaeology” seek to do?
A) Reinforce present-day sexual categories
B) Focus only on the nuclear family
C) Question received categories and develop new methodologies not dependent on problematic taxonomies
D) Ignore issues of gender and sexuality

Discussion Questions

1. How does queer theory challenge traditional assumptions in archaeology about sex, gender, and sexuality? Give examples from the chapter.
2. Discuss the difficulties archaeologists face when interpreting artifacts related to gender and sexuality, especially when written records are absent or incomplete.
3. In what ways can the classification of artifacts, such as pottery, reflect or reinforce cultural assumptions about identity?
4. How have feminist and queer theories contributed to making archaeology more inclusive and critical of normative assumptions?
5. Reflect on the importance of context in interpreting archaeological finds. How might the meaning of an object change depending on its cultural or historical setting?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) The study of the human past using material evidence
2. B) By challenging normative assumptions about sex, gender, and sexuality
3. A) That binary oppositions like man/woman and homosexual/heterosexual are problematic
4. C) Meanings can change across cultures and contexts, and original contexts may be unknown
5. C) Question received categories and develop new methodologies not dependent on problematic taxonomies

---

This page titled 3.1: Queer New World - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.2: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology** by James Aimers is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

3.2: The Constructedness of Sex

One classification that most people probably consider unchallengeable is that of the two sexes, male and female. But about 2 percent of humans are born **intersexed,** and **Anne Fausto-Sterling** and others have drawn attention to the range of variability in the sexual characteristics of human bodies.[10] Biological sex is multifaceted, potentially designated in reference to chromosomes or DNA, hormones, breasts, genitals, reproductive abilities, or in archaeology, skeletal characteristics. As Fausto-Sterling notes, "Labeling someone a man or a woman is a social decision."[11]

These complexities have been acknowledged by **bioarchaeologists,** who study human remains. In a discussion of ancient Maya human remains, **Pamela Geller** remarks that "femaleness and maleness reside at opposite ends of a continuum with ambiguity situated in the middle. Thus, it would appear that a strict binary opposition of female and male is supplanted by a continuum of sexual difference."[12] Indeed, Rebecca Storey may have identified an intersex person in a royal Maya tomb at Copán, Honduras.[13]

Some suggest approaching sex in a similar way to race, as a social construct: "The ways in which race is described as a social construct may be translatable to sex: what we understand to be a biological sex is composed of a diverse set of variables that may not invariably pattern out into what we socially comprehend as male and female."[14] In a 2016 issue of the ***Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*** dedicated to challenging **"binary binds,"** the editors heralded recent attempts "to resist predetermining the types of persons we expect to see" in the archaeological record.[15] "Many scholars now approach sex and gender as a continuum . . . , emergent in practice. . . , and potentially variable throughout the life course."[16] Some archaeologists now prefer to see identity in general as fluid and changeable—that is, a phenomenon that is processual and not a taxonomy, or "a set of taxonomic specificities."[17]

Furthermore, we cannot assume that physical sex differences were as important to people in the past as they are to us and that they were given as much weight in identifying people. Even contemporary ideas about sex turn out to be, from the perspective of archaeology, relatively new. In his book ***Making Sex,*** **Thomas Laqueur** shows that perceptions of the sexed body changed radically from antiquity until the twentieth century.[18] Up until the eighteenth century, anatomical and physiological representations of male and female bodies in Western and Eastern medicine relied on a common, **androgynous body** with differently positioned but homologous reproductive organs in each sex, the vagina being an inverted and internalized penis and so forth. Physiological differences were explained by relative humoral balances, heat, or measures of **yin or yang.**[19]

Even when the physical differences between the sexes were recognized, they were not important until the end of the 1700s, when they became useful in arguments for or against the role of women in education and public life.[20] It bears repeating that classifications are not neutral—they are created in specific cultural contexts in relation to specific questions.

Queering Sex and Gender Binaries

The distinction between sex as biologically determined and gender as socially learned was popularized by **John Money** and **Anke Ehrhardt** and is now a standard view in academia and beyond.[21] But even the sex-gender binary has been problematized by queer theory. **Judith Butler** influentially argued that our biology is not a neutral base on which gender is culturally constructed.[22] As shown by **Laqueur** and others, even our bodies are culturally constructed in that they are understood in culturally specific ways.[23] According to Butler, "Perhaps this construct called 'sex' is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always already gender, with the consequence that the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all."[24]

Although some bioarchaeologists remind us that "sex has a material reality" and that the conceptual separation of sex from gender has been generally productive, others have followed Butler in arguing that our now-standard sex-gender model often reduces gender to sex and tends to create **normative and nonnormative** gender categories that risk being as simplistic as racial categories.[25]

For example, in studies of women buried with weapons, like the famous **Moche Señora de Cao burial in Peru,** normative approaches to sex and gender may lead to the creation of **"an exotic 'gender type'** . . . instead of simply **a woman**, probably taking part in war-like activities during her life."[26] A replica of Señora de Cao can be seen in figure 3.2. We don't expect to find women warriors, so we are surprised when we do, and this prompts us to treat them as anomalies in need of explanation. Taken at face value, however, imagery from the past often does not present what we might consider nonnormative gender expression as

nonnormative at all. One of the roles of the **Aztec goddess Xochiquetzal,** also known as **Itzpapalotl,** was as a **"primordial warrior,"** and she is depicted with warrior imagery.[27] In Maya art, women warriors are depicted similarly to their male counterparts. A female warrior **"occupies a position of authority on the central axis"** of a prominent relief at the Maya site of Chichen Itza, Mexico, "wearing a high-status feathered headdress and snake skirt and carrying weapons typical of an Itza warrior. . . . Clearly defined bare breasts signal that she is a woman."[28] Like male rulers, female rulers at several other Maya sites are depicted on carved stone stelae as warriors with subjugated captives—on which they literally stand (figure 3.3).[29]



Figure 3.2. A replica of Señora de Cao. (CC-BY-SA Manuel Gonzolez Olaechea y Franco.)

As early as 1990, some recommended we consider both sex and gender in terms of intensity or as existing on a spectrum, with some cultures allowing more freedom and flexibility in gender expression than others.[30] Evidence for **gender fluidity** has been cited by archaeologists for decades and is often interpreted as symbolic of power rather than deviance.[31] For example, **mixed-gender imagery** on figurines from the Gulf Coast of Mexico could be an expression of **supernatural power.**[32] In one case, a female figure wearing a high belt that is atypical for women "may be assuming a certain status or role, or even a level of power, that is usually, but not exclusively, associated with men."[33] A study of Oaxacan figurines from the Early Formative period (1400 BC–850 BC) suggests that "the lack of attention to genitalia on figurines tracks with observations from throughout Mesoamerican groups that primary sexual characteristics often are not the focus of gender differentiation and identity."[34]



Figure 3.3. Maya stela from Naranjo, Guatemala. (Public domain, Thomas Joyce.)

Back in 1977, the gender fluidity of deities was associated with cycles, such as the maize god and the moon god.[35] In this century, the major Aztec god Tezcatlipoca was found to have bisexual and transgender qualities (figure 3.4).[36] In studies of the so-called great goddess imagery on the **Tepantitla murals** at the huge central-Mexico city-state of Teotihuacan, researchers have suggested that the murals referred to a mixed-gender deity, and this fits a broader pattern in which binary gender is not clearly represented at the site (figure 3.5).[37] Analogies to historically known and living **Indigenous two-spirit people** have been used to explain cross-dressing or mixed-gender imagery in Maya art.[38] Male bloodletting from the penis arguably "conceptually transformed the male genitalia into a doubly potent agent of fertility, capable of shedding two life-giving fluids: semen and blood."[39]



Figure 3.4. A drawing of Tezcatlipoca, one of the deities described in the Codex Borgia. (Public domain.)



Figure 3.5. A reproduction of one of the murals depicting the Great Goddess of Teotihuacan. (CC0 O. Mustafin, National Museum of Archaeology, Mexico City.)

Images like Stela H at the Maya site of Copán, Honduras (figure 3.6), in which a man is depicted in a net skirt, have also been interpreted as female-associated characteristics expressing power.[40] The **use of powerful feminine imagery** by a man may be exemplified in the colonial United States by Edward Hyde, or Lord Cornbury (whose purported portrait is shown in figure 3.7), who as the governor of New York and New Jersey between 1701 and 1708, was Queen Anne's representative. When he was criticized for reportedly opening the assembly dressed in women's clothing, he is said to have answered, "You are very stupid not to see the propriety of it. In this place and particularly on this occasion I represent a woman and ought in all respects to represent her as faithfully as I can."[41]



Figure 3.6. Copán, Honduras, Stela H. (Public domain, Frederick Catherwood, Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas.)



Figure 3.7. The purported portrait of Lord Cornbury (1661–1723) dressed as a woman; there is no evidence about the identity of the sitter. (Public domain, Ecummenic.)

Read

Kristina Killgrove points out the mistakes that contemporary assumptions may lead to when interpreting the past in “Is That Skeleton Gay? The Problem with Projecting Modern Ideas onto the Past,” published in *Forbes*, April 8, 2017 (https://www.forbes.com/sites/kristinakillgrove/2017/04/08/is-that-skeleton-gay-the-problem-with-projecting-modern-ideas-onto-the-past).

- What does Killgrove want readers to take away from the discussion of the three examples of skeletons or burials that don’t fit within our understanding of gender and sexuality in the past?
- Killgrove highlights a remark by Geller: “Discoveries of decedents whose bodies have been identified as romantically entangled, compulsorily reproductive, or occupationally divided say more about our present state of socio-sexual affairs than they do about past interactions and intimacies.” What is said about our culture’s current views on same-sex relationships by the media coverage of the same-sex skeletons found together?

Colonial New Yorkers may have thought of Lord Cornbury as a trans person or cross-dresser, but Hyde’s own words suggest a less essentialized, more contextual identity. Many questions remain about the Lord Cornbury story, but it reminds us that trans behavior in other times and places may have symbolic resonance beyond simply deviance. Further complicating interpretation is a warning about projecting our notions of fixed, public identities—**including trans identities—on ancient Mesoamerica:** “Maya imaginations presented transsexuality as a strategy for understanding cosmic power. For other elements of transsexuality to fall completely outside of that context would have been unimaginable.”[42]

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. According to Anne Fausto-Sterling, what percentage of humans are born intersexed?
A) Less than 0.1%
B) About 2%
C) About 10%
D) About 20%

2. What does Pamela Geller suggest about the classification of femaleness and maleness in ancient Maya remains?
A) They are strictly binary
B) They are determined only by skeletal characteristics
C) They exist on a continuum with ambiguity in the middle
D) They are irrelevant to archaeology

3. What major argument does Judith Butler make about sex and gender?
A) Sex is purely biological and gender is cultural
B) Sex and gender are both culturally constructed and the distinction may not exist at all
C) Gender is more important than sex
D) Sex is always more important than gender

4. How did perceptions of the sexed body change from antiquity to the twentieth century, according to Thomas Laqueur?
A) They shifted from a common androgynous model to a strict male/female binary
B) They remained the same
C) They became less important in society
D) They focused only on external features

5. What is a risk of using normative approaches to sex and gender in archaeological studies, as seen in the example of the Señora de Cao?
A) Overlooking the presence of weapons in burials
B) Focusing only on male burials
C) Ignoring skeletal evidence
D) Creating exotic or anomalous gender types instead of recognizing diverse roles

Discussion Questions

1. How does the existence of intersex individuals challenge the traditional binary classification of sex in both contemporary society and archaeology?
2. In what ways do cultural contexts influence how physical sex differences are interpreted in the archaeological record?
3. Discuss Judith Butler's argument that sex is as culturally constructed as gender. How does this perspective affect the way we study ancient societies?
4. Why might normative approaches to sex and gender lead to the creation of "exotic" gender types in archaeological interpretation? Use examples from the chapter.
5. How can archaeologists avoid imposing modern binary or normative frameworks when interpreting evidence of sex, gender, and sexuality in the past?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) About 2%
2. C) They exist on a continuum with ambiguity in the middle
3. B) Sex and gender are both culturally constructed and the distinction may not exist at all
4. A) They shifted from a common androgynous model to a strict male/female binary
5. D) Creating exotic or anomalous gender types instead of recognizing diverse roles

---

This page titled 3.2: The Constructedness of Sex is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.2: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology** by James Aimers is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

3.3: Abjection and Normativity

How does the reevaluation of gender and sex relate to sexuality? The historian Michel Foucault influentially argues that sex and sexuality are embedded in discourses shaped by power.[43] More recently, the historian **David Halperin's book *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*** describes the problems inherent in applying our contemporary concept of sexuality to other places and times.[44] This attention to categorizations and binaries is a hallmark of queer theory because categorizations of people and their actions depend on ideas about what is normal and what is deviant.[45] In other words, culturally varied meanings of **abjection** and who is abject help define and maintain the normative. Yet there is good evidence that what we define as **abject sexualities** (e.g., homosexuality, transsexuality) would not have been considered so deviant in many places and times in prehistory.

For Mesoamerica, the "domain of the abject" involved concerns about being incompletely human or physically unusual (e.g., human-animal hybrids, dwarfs).[46] Intersex people (known as hermaphrodites in earlier times) fall in this context.[47] But the ancient Maya may not have been concerned so much with homosexual sex as with sex—or anything else—taken to excess.[48] The "sexuality of young men in Postclassic and Classic Maya society may itself have been more fluid than any normative heterosexual model would allow. In art, young men were routinely represented as the objects of the gaze of older men and adult women."[49] Carved stone reliefs at a possible public building for young men at the Maya site of San Diego depict "enema insertion, erratic (probably drunken) dances, disheveled hair, and what may be autoerotic asphyxiation,"[50] and many depictions are "with a decided undertone of homoeroticism."[51] Dichotomies like normal or deviant and man or woman implicitly define heterosexual sexuality as normal and same-sex desire as deviant. This often occurs without adequate consideration of how people in other times and places have framed sexuality differently. Our contemporary social norms lead us to believe that homosexuality and same-sex desire are deviant. However, people in other times and places may have **framed sexuality differently,** and in fact the contemporary Western focus on sexual practice as a fundamental aspect of social identity is itself historically unusual. Ingrid Fuglestvedt concludes that "there is nothing wrong with studying sexuality when this is relevant; what is argued is rather that the sex/gender paradigm insists on the enduring and absolute relevance of sexuality."[52]

Intersectionality, Performance, and Performativity

The diversity of gender in the ancient world has drawn attention to our assumptions about gender hierarchy—that is, the ranking of men above women. Gender complementarity **(sometimes called gender parallelism)** is an alternative to **gender hierarchy in Mesoamerica.**[53] However, both gender hierarchy and gender complementarity have been critiqued as binary oppositions that downplay variability and difference. "While these models have most certainly been useful in structuring our analyses, . . . they rely on binary understandings of the relationship between biological sex and gender and tend to obscure variability in ways we should not ignore."[54] This variability is captured by the concepts of **intersectionality and positionality** that are characteristic of third-wave feminism and queer approaches to gender, sex, and sexuality.[55] Both are related to the idea that people have multiple aspects to their identity (e.g., race, ethnicity, class) that they emphasize or downplay in different contexts and that take on different importance in different contexts.[56] Many societies take pains to gender individuals with objects, tasks, and food, yet we repeatedly see that gender is not as important in the very young and the very old and that gender is often most strongly marked when people are of reproductive age.[57] Similar criticisms can be made about the (often implicit) assumption that sexuality was as important in the creation of identity in the past as it is now. Fuglestvedt suggests that we consider a scale of intensity for societal interest in sex, gender, and sexuality.[58] In these terms, many contemporary people live in societies with unusually high-intensity attitudes to gender, sex, and sexuality.

For the Maya, "the data suggest not only that Maya gender ideologies may not have been founded on a belief that binary biological sexes translate into binary gendered identities, but also that other aspects of social identity such as age or class may have played a more prominent part in determining gender roles."[59] Ethnographic and colonial sources suggest that the aging moon may have changed gender over the course of the month—did a similar model apply to aging people? Lunar and related deities (e.g., the pulque god[60]) are typically bisexual and multigendered.[61] Likewise, Maya and Aztec carnivalesque gender blending occurred near the ends of temporal cycles.[62]

As noted previously, in Butler's writing even the sexed body is performed rather than existing as a pregiven: in a performative approach, "the body . . . gains legibility through cultural interaction rather than as an ontologically prior reality."[63] Gender and sexuality can be compared to style in that they are ways of doing as much as ways of being, an ongoing performance rather than

inborn, static states. “The repeated **stylizations of the body**—everyday acts and gestures—are themselves performatives, producing the gendered identity of which they are thought to be the expressions.”[64]

Examples of Intersectional Approaches to Ancient Identity

The deconstruction of received (often binary) categorizations, a focus on individuals and variation over groups and norms, and Butler’s concept of performativity have led to more contextual, localized, diachronic (changing over time) approaches. Some have called for more contextual, i**ntersectional, from-the-ground-up studies** in some cases focused on individuals, not groups, thus “effectively deconstructing gender as an ontological category.”[65] In this view, prehistoric identities do not rely on the notion of a core, stable self that remains unchanged throughout the life-course. . . . Instead, **identity is context-dependent and enacted or “embodied”** in ways that capture **the “lived experiences”** of past peoples.[66]

Because “we enact exclusionary practices on our data through the analytical categories we deploy to make the past known to us,” many scholars now advocate intersectional approaches that allow variation along more than one or two axes.[67] The following are some New World examples.

Gender, Sexuality, Age, and Occupation

A study of the early historical **Chumash of California** argues that undertakers were either men who engaged in homosexual acts or postmenopausal women. They were categorized together because their sexual activity did “not result in conception and birth.”[68] In this case, occupation, age, and reproductive potential intersected with gender and sexual behavior in a classification system that differs greatly from familiar contemporary ones.

Sexuality, Ethnicity, and Status

Like gender, “sexuality may be thought about, experienced and acted on differently according to age, class, ethnicity, physical ability, sexual orientation and preference, religion, and region.”[69] Recognition of this is apparent in the concept of **“ethnosexual conflict”** used in a study of Spanish colonialism “to refer to the clash between incompatible cultural beliefs and practices related to sexuality.”[70] **Pete Sigal** cites evidence for an institutionalized availability of “passives” (the *xochihuas* mentioned later) for elite men in precontact Aztec society. Sigal has also drawn broad comparisons between Greek and Maya pederasty in the training of elite boys.[71] “The discourse [‘language of Zuyua’] showed that nobles were allowed to engage in intergenerational erotic games that stressed the power of the elder noble over the younger.”[72]

Religion, Status, and Sexuality

The Moche of Peru (ca. AD 100–700) produced a huge number of sexually explicit pottery vessels that were often placed in high-status burials (figures 3.8 and 3.9). Researchers linked the sexual imagery *not* to sexual identity but to politics and power, including dependent relationships with dead ancestors.[73] One researcher has described “the religious use of male same-sex sexuality” in the Andes, and others have done the same for Mesoamerica.[74] For example, among the Aztecs, **the effeminate xochihuas** “provided warriors with a variety of services, including sex. At other times, the *xochihuas*, some of whom were housed in the temples, were available for sexual favors and other chores to priests and other members of the high nobility.”[75] Sigal asserts that “sodomy in the period immediately preceding the [Aztec] conquest was related to the gods, sacrifice, and ritual, and closely associated with disease and woe,”[76] and he notes that the ancient Maya “forcibly sodomized their gods in order to masculinize themselves and gain power from the gods.”[77] Indeed, Sigal concludes that concepts like the “transsexual penis” and “floating phallus” are “almost incomprehensible to a Western imagination. For the Maya, sexual desire and fantasy went beyond the field delineated by Freud and the sexologists. Sexual behavior did not exist as a discernible category of sexuality but rather as an element of ritual.”[78]



Figure 3.8. Phallic pottery vessel. (CC-BY-NC-SA Richard Mortel.)



Figure 3.9. Two Lovers pottery vessel. (CC-BY-NC-SA Richard Mortel.)

Read

Read the article "Moche Sex Pots: Reproduction and Temporality in Ancient South America," by Mary Weismantel in the September 2004 issue of *American Anthropologist* (http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/dcr...weismantel.pdf).

- When you look at the Moche phallic pottery vessel in figure 3.8, what do you see, and what do you think it means?
- How does factoring in general knowledge about Moche religion and politics alter our interpretation of the pottery vessel?
- What is an example of an object or imagery from the present time and culture that shows the intersection of religion, status, and sexuality?

Gender, Sexuality, and Colonialism

Gender and status were intimately linked in both Indigenous and colonial Latin America. Some Indigenous cultures (e.g., the Maya and Aztec) shared with the Spanish the idea that people conquered in war were gendered feminine, and sodomy was a metaphor for conquest: "Elites among the Maya considered passivity in males feminine and viewed the vanquished warrior as symbolically if not actually passive."[79] Nevertheless, many authors have argued that the **intersection of gender, sexuality, and status** intensified during the Spanish invasion and subsequent colonial period, leading to the increased oppression of women and Others of all sorts.



Figure 3.10. Indians being attacked by dogs; illustration from Les Grandes Voyages (1596) by Theodor de Bry (1528–1598). (CC-BY-SA Theodor de Bry.)

Europeans in the New World sought to eliminate—often brutally—expressions of gender and sexuality that did not correspond with their Inquisition-era ideas. An infamous print (figure 3.10) **depicts Vasco Núñez de Balboa,** a Spanish explorer, conquistador, and governor, as he "throws some Indians, who had committed the terrible sin of sodomy, to the dogs to be torn apart."[80] Indeed, one of the insidious legacies of colonialism is the widespread idea that Indigenous cultures have always been conservative and restrictive around issues of gender, sex, and sexuality when in many cases that conservatism was imposed on them during colonization. Archaeologists and our colleagues in cultural anthropology and history are showing instead that the many pre-Columbian cultures of the New World held diverse ideas about these issues and that this evidence must be understood on its own terms, not on ours.

Conclusion

Academics in many fields now challenge normative classifications of people and behavior. Just as anthropologists long ago abandoned terms like *savage* and the application of racial classifications, so in archaeology we are gradually abandoning the uncritical use of terms like *heterosexual* and *homosexual* and **ethnocentric assumptions about gender, sexuality, and their centrality to identity.**

Foucault wrote about the role of experts in medicine and science in the creation of normative categories.[81] Archaeologists are some of those experts, and we have become more self-critical about our interpretations of issues around sex, gender, and sexuality. The heteronormativity of museum dioramas that present a timeless view of the nuclear family has been criticized.[82] Even as recently as 2013 a study of seventy years of reconstructions of ancient life in *National Geographic* concluded that "women and women's work are significantly underrepresented and undervalued" and that a "vigorous archaeology of gender has had little impact on the magazine's imagined past."[83] Clearly, we have more to do. Archaeologists who engage with these issues are not just trying to dig up LGBTQ+ people; we are trying to **challenge normativity in all its forms.**

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. According to Michel Foucault, how are sex and sexuality embedded in society?
A) As purely biological facts
B) As universal categories across all cultures
C) In discourses shaped by power
D) As unchanging, static identities

2. What does the concept of intersectionality emphasize in the study of ancient identities?
A) That gender is the only important aspect of identity
B) That people have multiple, context-dependent aspects to their identity
C) That only age and occupation matter
D) That sexuality is always the most important factor

3. What is a key critique of applying contemporary concepts of sexuality to ancient societies, according to David Halperin?
A) It can lead to misunderstandings and misrepresentations
B) It helps clarify ancient practices
C) It is necessary for all historical analysis
D) It is always accurate

4. In Mesoamerican societies, what was often more important than binary gender or sexuality in determining social roles?
A) Only biological sex
B) Written laws
C) Modern sexual orientation
D) Age, class, and occupation

5. What does Judith Butler's concept of performativity suggest about gender and sexuality?
A) They are performed and produced through repeated acts and cultural interaction
B) They are fixed and inborn
C) They are determined solely by biology
D) They do not change over time

Discussion Questions

1. How does the concept of intersectionality help us better understand the diversity of gender and sexuality in ancient societies?
2. In what ways do power and cultural context shape what is considered "normal" or "deviant" sexuality, both in the past and today?
3. Discuss the challenges and risks of applying modern Western categories of sexuality and gender to ancient or non-Western societies.

4. How does the idea of performativity, as described by Judith Butler, change the way we interpret gender roles and identities in archaeological contexts?
5. What can the study of ritual, religion, and status in ancient societies teach us about the relationship between sexuality, power, and social structure?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) In discourses shaped by power
2. B) That people have multiple, context-dependent aspects to their identity
3. A) It can lead to misunderstandings and misrepresentations
4. D) Age, class, and occupation
5. A) They are performed and produced through repeated acts and cultural interaction

---

This page titled 3.3: Abjection and Normativity is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.2: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology** by James Aimers is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

3.4: Research Resources

Compiled by Rosalinda Linares

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about queer archaeology.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

"More Sex: Studying Sexuality and Gendered Roles in Archaeology," from Rosemary A. Joyce

Rosemary A. Joyce is professor of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, and a preeminent scholar in sex and sexuality in archaeology. Joseph Schuldenrein, in his podcast *Indiana Jones: Myth, Reality and 21st Century Archaeology*, interviewed Joyce (https://www.voiceamerica.com/episode/83272/more-sex-studying-sexuality-and-gendered-roles-in-archaeology). She discusses the evolution of research in the archaeology of gender and sex as a subdiscipline beginning in the 1980s, when archaeologists began to more directly explore and interrogate gender roles, labor, and societal structures of the past. In the latter half of the interview, Joyce describes the emergence of feminist and queer archaeology in the 1990s as a rejection of archaeological practices that naturalized gender and sex as heteronormative and binaristic. Joyce discusses many detailed examples from the Paleolithic, Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, medieval, and Mesoamerican time periods and up to modern ethnographies to illustrate the varied methods and interpretations used in the study of gender, sex, and sexuality in the archaeological record.

Queer Archaeology, from Chelsea Blackmore and Megan Springate

Chelsea Blackmore is assistant professor of anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and Megan Springate is a historical archaeologist who edited and contributed to *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History* for the National Park Foundation and the National Park Service. In this interview, on the podcast *Go Dig a Hole*, hosted by Christopher Sims (https://player.fm/series/go-dig-a-hole/queer-archaeology-episode-16), they provide a broader view of queer archaeology, including not only theory and site-based scholarship but also how queering the field is present in other types of professional work. Blackmore discusses definitions of queer archaeology in relation to queer theory and feminist theory, underscoring contributions by eminent figures in the field. Springate introduces the LGBTQ Heritage project within the National Park Service, which preserves important LGBTQ+ sites on the National Register of Historic Places of the National Historic Landmarks program. They describe what queering archaeology and building inclusive archaeology means to them in academic and professional spaces. They also give advice to early career archaeologists and undergraduates on how to acquire knowledge and skills in queer theory and archaeology.

SAA Queer Archaeology Interest Group

The first meeting of the Queer Archaeology Interest Group occurred at the eightieth annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) in 2015. The group focuses on queer experience in the field, and its interests lie in supporting professional archaeologists who identify as LGBTQ+. They advocate for establishing a network of scholars interested in sexuality studies and other forms of queer research; work to develop a support and mentorship program for LGBTQ+ archaeologists as a means to connect senior, junior, and student archaeologists; and facilitate the involvement of LGBTQ+ archaeologists in all aspects of the SAA. See https://www.saa.org/quick-nav/about-saa/interest-groups.

What Knowers Know Well: Why Feminism Matters to Archaeology, by Alison Wylie

Alison Wylie is a professor of philosophy and anthropology at the University of Washington and professor of philosophy at Durham University in the United Kingdom. In 2016, Wylie gave the Katz Distinguished Lecture in the Humanities as the opening keynote for the conference Feminism and Classics 7: Visions, held in Seattle, Washington. Wylie's work advocates for a further infusion of feminist theory into archaeology as a whole. In the speech, Wylie focuses on interrogating the rejection of feminist standpoint theory and the influence of feminist politics in some circles of gender archaeology research and argues that social constructivist analyses within archaeological methodologies bring richness to empirical study in a way that calls into question the notion of value-free research. Wylie introduces social constructionism and strategies and grades of constructionist analysis, talks about situated knowledge and its value to empirical research, and ends with feminist contributions and challenges to gender archaeology rooted in standpoint theory. See https://youtu.be/ucEM1t3Drek.

Deep Dive: Books and Articles

Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives: Sex, Gender, and Archaeology, by Rosemary A. Joyce

In this book, Rosemary Joyce explores the variety of ways in which social life has been organized by sex. She considers how ancient Greeks thought of men and women as different expressions of a single sexual potential and how Native American societies understood sexual identity. The book explains how archaeologists use the material remains of ancient cultures to learn about gender and sexuality. Joyce asks us to think about how these understandings might challenge us to think differently about our lives now (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008).

Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past, by Roberta Gilchrist

In this book, Roberta Gilchrist provides a thorough overview of the definitions, interests, and methods of gender archaeology and evaluates the ever-expanding role of gender studies in archaeology. Gilchrist draws from the previous decade of research, and thus this work represents the midpoint in the twenty-year span of interest in gender and queer archaeology in the twenty-first century. Gilchrist begins in the first chapter by situating growth in gender archaeology within the progression of feminism and continues in the next chapter to interrogate how archaeological knowledge is gendered. The following chapters consider the relationship between, on one hand, production and social processes of gender in the archaeology of labor and technology and, on the other, representations of gender identity, sexuality, and the body in art, space, and grave goods. The book concludes with a case study of a medieval English castle, putting into practice concepts discussed in the previous chapters (New York: Routledge, 2012).

Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica, by Rosemary A. Joyce

Rosemary Joyce, who has made significant contributions to the materiality and archaeology of gender, sex, and sexuality, invokes Judith Butler's theoretical work on gender performance to situate this volume on gender in Mesoamerica. Joyce analyzes material evidence and gender depictions and roles dating from the formative Mesoamerica, Classic and Postclassic Maya, and then the Aztec periods. In this important work on gender and archaeology, Joyce reexamines the material record to reveal the contrasts between European and Mesoamerican gender ideologies in order to find alternative ways of understanding our material past (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

How to Do the History of Male Homosexuality, by David M. Halperin

Halperin takes a social constructionist or historicist approach to human sexuality, stressing the contextual variation of sexuality across time and space. The book challenges the use of current, taken-for-granted ideas about sexuality in historical interpretation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

"Queer Archaeologies," edited by Thomas A. Dowson

In this 2000 issue of *World Archaeology*(volume 32, number 2), issue editor Thomas A. Dowson introduces queer archaeology as a challenge to the normative ideas and practices entrenched in current archaeology. This peer-reviewed journal was the first in the field of archaeology to devote an entire issue to defining and discussing queer archaeologies, and this issue is frequently cited as representative of the origins of queer studies in archaeology. Dowson is a pioneer in the subfield of queer archaeologies. The articles include an anonymous autobiographical statement on the influence of sex and sexuality on a practicing archaeologist, homophobia and women in archaeology, queer theory and its relation to the study of the material past, an exploration of autoarchaeology and neo-shamanism, and biotechnology as a site of queer archaeology. Notably, several articles focus on the

interpretation, or in some cases reinterpretation, of the material record as inclusive of same-sex relationships and the nonnormative. The issue as a whole gives the reader a rounded perspective of the shape of queer archaeology in the field at the end of the twentieth century.

"Sexuality Studies in Archaeology," by Barbara L. Voss

In this article, Voss offers a comprehensive review of the state of sexuality studies as of 2008. A well-known scholar who focuses on sexuality studies in archaeology, Voss examines five areas: reproduction management, sexual representations, sexual identities, prostitution, and the sexual politics of institutions. Of note is a section at the end of the article on queer archaeologies, where Voss draws a distinction between sexuality research in archaeology and applying queer theory to archaeology, because Voss affirms the increasing influence and possibilities of queer theory in archaeological methods regarding sexuality and its wider applications to social identity. The article appears in *Annual Review of Anthropology* (volume 37, number 1; https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.anthro.37.081407.085238).

"Towards an Inclusive Queer Archaeology," by Dawn M. Rutecki and Chelsea Blackmore

The authors explore the challenges and opportunities faced by LGBTQ+ archaeologists in this short introduction to a 2016 special issue of *SAA Archaeological Record* (volume 16, number 1; http://onlinedigeditions.com/publication/?i=287180) from the Society for American Archaeology.

This page titled 3.4: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.2: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology** by James Aimers is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

3.5: Glossary

abjection. The state of being cast off. Poststructural explorations find the term's use inherently disturbing to conventional identity and cultural concepts. One who is abject has been rejected.

Andes. The longest continental mountain range in the world, forming a continuous highland along the western edge of South America.

antiquarianism. The study of history with particular attention to ancient artifacts and archaeological and historical sites.

binary oppositions. Words and concepts that are considered to be direct opposites, such as man and woman, male and female.

bioanthropology. A scientific discipline concerned with the biological and behavioral aspects of human beings, their extinct hominin ancestors, and related nonhuman primates, particularly from an evolutionary perspective.

bioarchaeologists. Those who study human remains in archaeological sites. First coined by British archaeologist Grahame Clark in 1972 as a reference to zooarchaeology, the study of animal bones from archaeological sites.

counterhegemonic. A confrontation or opposition to a status quo or hegemonic power and its legitimacy in politics, but also appears in other spheres of life, such as history, media, and music.

critical theory. The reflective assessment and critique of society and culture by applying knowledge from the social sciences and the humanities to reveal and challenge power structures. Critical theory has origins in sociology and also in literary criticism.

ethnocentric. A term used in social sciences and anthropology to describe the act of judging another culture by the values and standards of one's own culture in the belief that one's culture is superior, especially with respect to language, behavior, customs, and religion.

feminism. A range of social movements, political movements, and ideologies that share a common goal: to define, establish, and achieve the political, economic, personal, and social equality of the sexes.

gender complementarity. Men and women (and other genders, if they are recognized) play similarly important roles but in different areas of social life. Gender complementarity more accurately describes gender relations than gender hierarchy in some times and places.

gender fluidity. Cultural ideas about gender frequently imply that one's gender identity is fixed and unchanging. Gender fluidity describes situations in which a person's gender identity may change throughout the life cycle or in different contexts.

gender hierarchy. How genders are ranked. Men are typically ranked higher than women, having more power, prestige, and so on.

gender parallelism. Men and women (and other genders, if culturally recognized) have similar levels of power and prestige but in different areas of social life. Often used interchangeably with gender complementarity and as an alternative to gender hierarchy in some times and places (e.g., in the Inca empire).

heteronormativity. The belief that heterosexuality, predicated on the gender binary, is the norm or default sexual orientation.

intersectionality. Social identities, such as race, class, and gender, that overlap or intersect and the related systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination.

looted artifact. An artifact that has been removed from its original archaeological context, usually illegally, by nonarchaeologists who do not record contextual information. Looted artifacts are often sold on the art market away from their place of origin. Archaeologists despise looting because an artifact without context is much less informative about the culture that produced it than an artifact with contextual information.

Mesoamerica. An archaeological region defined by precontact cultural traits such as a distinctive calendar system, maize agriculture, and state-level political organization. It extended from northern Mexico through Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and northern Costa Rica. Within this region pre-Columbian societies flourished before the Spanish colonization of the Americas.

normativity. Normativity is the phenomenon in human societies of designating some actions or outcomes as good or desirable or permissible and others as bad or undesirable or impermissible.

performative. A linguistics term referring to utterances that do not just describe the world but change it (e.g., “I pronounce you husband and wife”).

performativity. Popularized by the scholar Judith Butler in gender studies, the term highlights the idea that gender is not a given but must be continually demonstrated through word, action, dress, and so on. The concept derives from the linguistics term *performative*.

positionality. The contexts that make up an individual’s identity, such as race, class, gender, and sexuality, and how these affect the person’s view of the world.

processual. The methodological study of cultural change and variability in archaeology.

taxonomy. The practice and science of classification of things or concepts, including the principles that underlie such classification.

xochihuas. Effeminate men who had a range of institutional roles in Aztec society.

This page titled 3.5: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.2: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology** by James Aimers is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

3.6: Footnotes

1. B. L. Voss, “Sexuality Studies in Archaeology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37 (2008): 317–336. See also this volume’s chapter 1. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-1
2. E.g., A. Praetzellis, “Queer Theory,” in *Archaeological Theory in a Nutshell* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2015), chap. 7. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-2
3. J. McLaughlin, M. E. Casey, and D. Richardson, “Introduction: At the Intersections of Feminist and Queer Debates,” in *Intersections between Feminist and Queer Theory*, ed. D. Richardson, J. McLaughlin, and M. E. Casey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1–18. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-3
4. A. C. Roosevelt, “Gender in Human Evolution: Sociobiology Revisited and Revised,” in *In Pursuit of Gender: Worldwide Archaeological Approaches*, ed. S. M. Nelson and M. Rosen-Ayalon (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 355–376. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-4
5. T. A. Dowson, “Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction,” in Queer Archaeologies,” *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 161–165; S. Terendy and N. Lyons, eds., *Que(e)rying Archaeology: Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Annual Chacmool Conference* (Calgary, AB: Archaeological Association, University of Calgary, 2009). 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-5
6. E.g., C. F. Klein, “None of the Above: Gender Ambiguity in Nahua Ideology,” in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, ed. C. F. Klein and J. Quilter (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 183–253; I. Silverblatt, “Andean Women in the Inca Empire,” *Feminist Studies* 4, no. 3 (1978): 37–61; I. Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); I. Silverblatt, “Lessons of Gender and Ethnohistory in Mesoamerica,” *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 4 (1995): 639–650. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-6
7. T. D. Bulger and R. A. Joyce, “Archaeology of Embodied Subjectivities,” in *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, ed. D. Bolger (New York: Wiley and Sons, 2013), 68–85. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-7
8. For universals, see e.g., P. L. Geller, “Identity and Difference: Complicating Gender in Archaeology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009): 65; and for categorization, see C. Blackmore, “How to Queer the Past Without Sex: Queer Theory, Feminisms and the Archaeology of Identity,” *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 7, no. 12 (2011): 79. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-8
9. B. L. Voss, “Looking for Gender, Finding Sexuality: A Queer Politic of Archaeology, Fifteen Years Later,” in Terendy and Lyons, *Que(e)rying Archaeology*, 34. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-9
10. E.g., A. Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000). 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-10
11. Fausto-Sterling, 7. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-11
12. P. L. Geller, “Skeletal Analysis and Theoretical Complications,” *World Archaeology* 37 (2005): 598. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-12
13. R. Storey, “Health and Lifestyle (before and after Death) among the Copán Elite,” in *Copán: The History of an Ancient Maya Kingdom*, ed. E. W. Andrews and W. L. Fash (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2005), 315–344. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-13
14. E. M. Perry and J. M. Potter, “Materiality and Social Change in the Practice of Feminist Anthropology,” in *Feminist Anthropology: Past Present and Future*, ed. P. L. Geller and M. K. Stockett (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 118. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-14
15. L. Ghisleni, A. M. Jordan, and E. Fioccoprile, “Introduction to ‘Binary Binds’: Deconstructing Sex and Gender Dichotomies in Archaeological Practice,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23, no. 3 (2016): 779. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-15
16. Ghisleni, Jordan, and Fioccoprile, 771. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-16

17. L. Meskell and R. W. Preucel, “Identities,” in *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, ed. L. Meskell and R. W. Preucel (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 122. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-17
18. T. W. Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990). 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-18
19. R. A. Nye, “Sexuality,” in *A Companion to Gender History*, ed. T. A. Meade and M. E. Wiesner (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 16. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-19
20. R. Gilchrist, “Experiencing Gender: Identity, Sexuality and the Body,” *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London: Routledge, 1999), 55. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-20
21. J. Money and A. A. Ehrhardt, *Man and Woman, Boy and Girl: Differentiation and Dimorphism of Gender Identity from Conception to Maturity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972). See also A. Oakley, *Sex, Gender, and Society* (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1972); and R. J. Stoller, *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity* (New York: Science House, 1968). 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-21
22. J. Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990); J. Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993). 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-22
23. Laqueur, *Making Sex*. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-23
24. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 10. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-24
25. J. Sofaer, *The Body as Material Culture: A Theoretical Osteoarchaeology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 97. Butler’s followers include I. Fuglestvedt, “Declaration on Behalf of an Archaeology of *Sexe*,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 21, no. 1 (2014): 52; R. Schmidt, “The Contribution of Gender to Personal Identity in the Southern Scandinavian Mesolithic,” in *The Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities: Beyond Identification*, ed. E. Casella and C. Fowler (New York: Springer, 2004), 79–108; and T. Ardren, “Studies of Gender in the Prehispanic Americas,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 16 (2008): 1. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-25
26. Fuglestvedt, “Declaration on Behalf of an Archaeology of *Sexe*,” 58. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-26
27. G. G. McCafferty and S. D. McCafferty, “The Metamorphosis of Xochiquetzal,” in *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. T. L. Sweely (New York: Routledge, 1999), 117. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-27
28. L. H. Wren, K. Spencer, and T. Nygard, “To Face or to Flee from the Foe: Women in Warfare at Chichen Itza,” in *Landscapes of the Itza: Archaeology and Art History at Chichen Itza and Neighboring Sites*, ed. L. H. Wren, C. Kristan-Graham, T. Nygard, and K. Spencer (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2018), 260–261. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-28
29. K. Reese-Taylor, P. Mathews, J. Guernsey, and M. Fritzler, “Warrior Queens among the Ancient Maya,” in *Blood and Beauty: Organized Violence in the Art and Archaeology of Mesoamerica and Central America*, ed. H. Orr and R. Koontz (Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2009), 39–72. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-29
30. J. Nordbladh and T. Yates, “This Perfect Body, This Virgin Text,” in *Archaeology after Structuralism: Post-structuralism and the Practice of Archaeology*, ed. I. Bapty and T. Yates (New York: Routledge, 1990), 222–239. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-30
31. For an overview, see E. M. Brumfiel, “The Archaeology of Gender in Mesoamerica: Moving beyond Gender Complementarity,” in *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, ed. D. Bolger (Malden, MA: John Wiley, 2013), 574–575. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-31
32. M. G. Looper, “Women-Men (and Men-Women): Classic Maya Rulers and the Third Gender,” in *Ancient Maya Women*, ed. T. Ardren (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2001), 171–202; B. J. A. Follensbee, “Unsexed Images, Gender-Neutral Costume,

and Gender-Ambiguous Costume in Formative Period Gulf Coast Cultures," in *Wearing Culture: Dress and Regalia in Early Mesoamerica and Central America*, ed. H. S. Orr and M. G. Looper (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014), 226. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-32

33. Follensbee, "Unsexed Images," 217. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-33
34. J. P. Blomster, "The Naked and the Ornamental: Embodiment and Fluid Identities in Early Formative Oaxaca," in *Wearing Culture: Dress and Regalia in Early Mesoamerica and Central America*, ed. H. S. Orr and M. G. Looper (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014), 107. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-34
35. E. Hunt, *The Transformation of the Hummingbird* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 95–109; for an expansion of this research, see K. Bassie-Sweet, "Corn Deities and the Male/Female Principle," in *Ancient Maya Gender Identity and Relations*, ed. L. S. Gustafson and A. M. Trevelyan (Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 2002), 169–190; and S. Milbrath, "Gender and the Roles of Lunar Deities in Postclassic Central Mexico and Their Correlations with the Maya Area," *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 39 (1995): 45–93. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-35
36. Klein, "None of the Above," 219–221. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-36
37. Milbrath, "Gender and the Roles of Lunar Deities in Postclassic Central Mexico and Their Correlations with the Maya Area"; E. C. Mandell, "A New Analysis of the Gender Attribution of the 'Great Goddess' of Teotihuacan," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 26, no. 1 (2015): 43. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-37
38. F. K. Reilly, "Female and Male: The Ideology of Balance and Renewal in Elite Costuming among the Ancient Maya," in Gustafson and Trevelyan, *Ancient Maya Gender Identity and Relations*, 319–328; Looper, "Women-Men (and Men-Women)." 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-38
39. A. J. Stone, "Sacrifice and Sexuality: Some Structural Relationships in Classic Maya Art," in *The Role of Gender in Pre-Columbian Art and Architecture*, ed. V. E. Miller (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988), 75–76. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-39
40. R. A. Joyce, "Dimensiones Simbolicas del Traje en Monumentos Clasicos Mayas: La Construccion del Genero a Traves del Vestido," in *La Indumentaria y El Tejido Mayas a Traves del Tiempo*, Monograph 8, ed. L. Asturias and D. Fernandez (Guatemala City, Guatemala: Museo Ixchel del Traje Indigena, 1992). Rosemary A. Joyce, "The Construction of Gender in Classic Maya Monuments," in *Gender and Archaeology*, ed. R. P. Wright (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 166–195. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-40
41. P. U. Bonomi, *The Lord Cornbury Scandal: The Politics of Reputation in British America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 15. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-41
42. P. Sigal, "Gendered Power, the Hybrid Self, and Homosexual Desire in Late Colonial Yucatan," in *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*, ed. P. Sigal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 115. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-42
43. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction* (London: Allen Lane, 1978). 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-43
44. D. M. Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-44
45. See B. L. Voss, "Feminisms, Queer Theories, and the Archaeological Study of Past Sexualities," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 184. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-45
46. E. M. Perry and R. A. Joyce, "Interdisciplinary Applications: Providing a Past for 'Bodies That Matter': Judith Butler's Impact on the Archaeology of Gender," *International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies* 6, nos. 1–2 (2001): 74. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-46
47. R. A. Joyce, "Performance and Inscription: Human Nature in Prehispanic Mesoamerica," in *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica*, ed. R. Joyce (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 191. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-47

48. P. Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins: The Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 224. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-48
49. R. A. Joyce, "Gender and Mesoamerican Archaeology," in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, ed. S. M. Nelson (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006), 800. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-49
50. J. J. Aimers, "The Sexual Colonization of the Ancient Maya," *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 11 (2014): 157. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-50
51. S. D. Houston and T. Inomata, *The Classic Maya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 55. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-51
52. Fuglestvedt, "Declaration on Behalf of an Archaeology of *Sexe*," 69. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-52
53. S. D. McCafferty, and G. G. McCafferty, "Powerful Women and the Myth of Male Dominance in Aztec Society," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 7 (1988): 45–59. For gender parallelism, see Rosemary A. Joyce, "Archaeology of Gender in Mesoamerican Societies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Mesoamerican Archaeology*, ed. D. L. Nichols and C. A. Pool (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 663–672. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-53
54. M. K. Stockett, "On the Importance of Difference: Re-envisioning Sex and Gender in Ancient Mesoamerica," *World Archaeology* 37, no. 4 (2005): 568. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-54
55. Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past Without Sex," 77; Voss, "Looking for Gender, Finding Sexuality." 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-55
56. Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past Without Sex," 77. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-56
57. R. Gilchrist, "Archaeology and the Life Course: A Time and Age for Gender," in *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, ed. L. Meskell and R. W. Preucel (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 142–160. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-57
58. Fuglestvedt, "Declaration on Behalf of an Archaeology of *Sexe*," 66; Fuglestvedt drew on Schmidt, "The Contribution of Gender to Personal Identity." 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-58
59. Stockett, "On the Importance of Difference," 571–572. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-59
60. Pulque is a lightly fermented beverage made from the agave plant. It was a common pre-Columbian beverage that also had ritual importance. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-60
61. Milbrath, "Gender and the Roles of Lunar Deities," 46. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-61
62. Klein, "None of the Above," 195. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-62
63. Ghisleni, Jordan, and Fioccoprile, "Introduction to 'Binary Binds,'" 770. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-63
64. Alberti, "Queer Prehistory," 95. See also Joyce, "Performance and Inscription." 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-64
65. Gilchrist, "Experiencing Gender," 73. See also L. Meskell, "Re-Em(bed)ding Sex: Domesticity, Sexuality, and Ritual in New Kingdom Egypt," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 253–262; and Meskell and Preucel, "Identities." 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-65
66. Alberti, "Queer Prehistory," 94. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-66
67. Ghisleni, Jordan, and Fioccoprile, "Introduction to 'Binary Binds,'" 777. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-67
68. S. E. Hollimon, "The Third Gender in Native California: Two-Spirit Undertakers among the Chumash and Their Neighbors," in *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica*, ed. C. Claassen and R. A. Joyce (Philadelphia: University of

Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 183. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-68

69. C. A. Vance, ed., *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality* (Boston, MA: Routledge, 1984), 17. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-69
70. For the study of Spanish colonialism, see B. L. Voss, "Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire," *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 196; and for ethnosexual conflict, see J. Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-70
71. Sigal, "Gendered Power," 104, 108. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-71
72. Sigal, 109. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-72
73. For sexual imagery linked to politics and power, see M. Weismantel, "Moche Sex Pots: Reproduction and Temporality in Ancient South America," *American Anthropologist* 106, no. 3 (2004): 495–505; J. M. Gero, "Sex Pots of Ancient Peru: Post-gender Reflections," in *Combining the Past and the Present: Archaeological Perspectives on Society*, ed. R. Haaland, T. Oestigaard, N. Anfinset, and T. Saetersdal (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), 3–22; and S. Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006). See also Voss, "Sexuality Studies in Archaeology," 322. 2.02: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology#return-footnote-66-73
74. M. J. Horswell, "Toward an Andean Theory of Ritual Same-Sex Sexuality and Third-Gender Subjectivity," in *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*, ed. P. Sigal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 43.

This page titled 3.6: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **2.2: Chapter 3 - Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology** by James Aimers is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Explain the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality.
  - Summarize the history of nonnormative genders and sexualities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identity, as well as queer identity and activism.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
  - Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
  - Describe several examples of LGBTQ+ activism, particularly in relation to other struggles for civil rights.
- Identify key approaches used in LGBTQ+ studies, including the study of LGBTQ+ history.
  - Define key terms relevant to particular methods of interpreting LGBTQ+ people and issues, such as *history* and *primary sources*.
- Describe the relationship between LGBTQ+ history, political activism, and LGBTQ+ studies.
  - Summarize the personal, theoretical, and political differences of the homophile, gay liberation, radical feminism, LGBTQ+ rights, and queer movements.

4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
4.5: Research Resources
4.6: Glossary
4.7: Footnotes

This page titled 4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Clark A. Pomerleau.

4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview

Introduction

Political organizing by oppressed Americans in the 1970s helped create lesbian, gay, bisexual or pansexual, trans, and queer history as a field of study. Why would people's struggles for rights and freedom include wanting to be represented in historical accounts? Inclusive histories reflect the diversity of people in the United States, expose **institutional discrimination** against minorities, and outline their contributions toward the American democratic experiment. Like women's history, LGBTQ+ history has developed through **four stages** that Gerda Lerner first identified: **compensation, contributions, revision, and social construction.**[1] LGBTQ+ historians first *compensated* for heterosexism and cissexism by finding LGBTQ+ people to reinsert into historical narratives, then determined how **LGBTQ+ people *contributed* to history.** As they analyzed primary sources, they slowly *revised* historical narratives through testing generalizations and periodization against evidence found by and about LGBTQ+ people. Finally, the field understood that sexual orientation and gender themselves are ***social constructions*.**

By the mid-1970s **Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel had founded the Lesbian Herstory Archive** (figure 4.1), collecting evidence of lesbian existence for the public, and **Jonathan Ned Katz** published a thick book of primary sources, ***Gay American History***.[2] Stages one and two included uncovering the gender identity or sexual orientation of known figures like civil rights leaders **Pauli Murray and Bayard Rustin.** For stages two and three, scholars have debated how best to tell LGBTQ+ history—what counts as a first, who and what historians should emphasize, what places to highlight. Stage-four scholars stopped declaring that anyone who wrote intimately about someone of the same gender was "gay" or "lesbian" (why not bisexual?) and instead questioned how time-bound those terms are and debated how to identify people from time periods before society widely considered sexual orientation an identity.



Figure 4.1. At the 2007 LGBT Pride March in New York, people hold a banner representing Lesbian Herstory Archives. (CC-BY Istolethetv.)

This chapter takes the approach that LGBTQ+ history hinges on how concepts of sexuality and gender have changed to produce today's identities, how queer Americans have formed community, and how these minority groups have forged movements using **different tactics to gain rights and freedoms** amid resistance and backlash. The chapter synthesizes formative, respected scholarship and includes some primary sources and recent research. It discusses the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality; how LGBTQ+ intersects with other structures of inequality that social institutions have enforced; and how LGBTQ+ people have struggled for social justice despite resistance and setbacks.

Ideas about sexuality and gender have changed historically. This basic premise is one of the ways that we know that sex, gender, and sexuality are social constructs—that is, they are ideas that emerge from society and are changed through social action. Queer Americans have formed different types of communities in different historical eras, and LGBTQ+ people have struggled for social justice. The political struggles of LGBTQ+ people intersect with and have been influenced by other struggles for **social justice, like civil rights and women's rights.**

Colonial America through the Late 1800s

Colonial Europeans established norms of marital reproduction and a sexual double standard within gender roles, which rendered what fell outside these two ideals unacceptable.[3] The Europeans'

encounters with nearly **six hundred indigenous nations** and all the ways these societies constructed gender and allowed varied sexual practices **challenged European essentialist beliefs.** Europeans tended to believe their Christian God created two fixed genders through sex assignment, set gender-divided duties, and made reproduction the purpose of sex. Thus, sex acts for purposes other than reproduction were signs of sin rather than any fixed identity. Yet European and, later, North American records give evidence that **over 130 tribes** recognized some individuals as women whom Europeans considered male or acknowledged some persons as men whom Europeans sexed female.[4]

The Spaniard Pedro Fages, for example, reported from his 1770 California expedition, "I have submitted substantial evidence that those Indian men who, both here and farther inland, are observed in the dress, clothing and character of women—there being two or three such in each village—pass as sodomites by profession. . . . They are called ***joyas,*** and are held in great esteem."[5] Colonizers' descriptions forced what later became known as two-spirit people into inadequate Western models, such as calling the *joyas* men and sodomites.[6] White settlers gradually amassed power through irregular warfare to impose their norms by murdering and dispossessing civilians. An indirect effect was queering indigenous genders by labeling variation sinful, criminal, and subject to punishment.[7]

The intersections of race and sexuality are foundational to colonial history. Consolidation of English power included writing white supremacy into **Virginia law.** By the 1690s colonialists divided people into categories of white, Negro, mulatto, and Indian and decreed enslaved status heritable through the mother. Many colonies enacted laws against interracial sexual relationships, but judicial systems prosecuted enslaved Black, free Black, and sometimes poor white people and not the plantation owners, ensuring that slaveholders' power included the ability to rape without legal consequences.[8] Meanwhile, church and colonial laws drew on the **dominant universalizing view of sexuality** as simply behavior and not a basis for majority and minority social identities. Legal statutes deemed **sodomy** (oral or anal sex) unnatural, a sin and a crime.[9]

An English servant's case illustrates how class also intersected with gender and sexuality in colonial America. **Thomasine Hall** lived as a girl, woman, and man before migrating to Virginia in 1627 as a male indentured servant, Thomas. There Hall's sewing skills and sporadic dress in women's clothes led neighbor women to question Hall's gender. A group of women physically examined Hall three times. Amid rumors that Hall fornicated with a serving woman, the General Court assessed Hall's gender. Examiners declared Hall had male genitalia. Hall's response according to the court records was "hee had not the use of the mans parte" and "I have a peece of an hole [vulva]."[10] After townswomen refused the official ruling that Hall was female, the court decreed Hall must wear a combination of men's and women's clothing. We will never know whether Hall was intersex or what to call Hall's sexual desire. Evidence suggests that, like other colonists, Hall enjoyed sex for pleasure outside of marriage. Anglo society was more bothered by fluidity than hybridity in wanting to fix Hall in place as both woman and man.[11]

Gender, racial, and class hierarchies established by the eighteenth century all helped shape twentieth-century LGBTQ+ organizing, but first people had to start forming communities based on their same-sex relationships.

Passionless Women, Romantic Friendships, and Vanguard Communities

From the American Revolution through the Civil War, **defining sex as acts rather than as the basis for social identity continued.** New gender norms, however, affected attitudes toward same-gender attraction. Americans in the early republic rejected previous colonial-era views of women as sexual beings. Instead, in the late 1700s, society considered Protestant, middle-class women less lustful and more spiritually moral than men. Idealizing women as passionless and sexually self-controlled compared with men's "natural" sex drive constrained women's public (though not private) behavior. Women reformers, whose organizing started in churches, asserted that society needed women's input because of their Christian virtues.[12] The perception that women's and men's temperaments and desires were distinctly different facilitated wide acceptance of **emotionally intense same-gender relationships alongside traditional marriage.**[13] Occasionally, women who could support themselves lived together in so-called **Boston marriages.** Contemporaries were more likely to attribute a sexual component to **romantic friendships** between men, like the poet **Walt Whitman's with Peter Doyle,** than to women's relationships because of society's continued belief that a penis was necessary for sex.[14]

Industrialization through the 1800s also played a role in forming communities based on sexual orientation. As industries spread, more people migrated to larger urban centers for factory and related jobs and into places for raw production that had extreme gender imbalances. Despite the prevalent view that **same-sex affection was behavior anyone might show, rather than an identity, communities based on same-sex attraction formed.** By the late 1800s, New York City had developed a **subculture with identity** terms like fairy for effeminate working-class men and *queer* for gender normative men who loved men.[15] **New Orleans was another hub**. An array of woman-woman relationships also existed, usually divided by class and race. Lesbians sometimes patronized bars, dance halls, and other public spaces where queer men congregated in the early 1900s.[16] Police from Los Angeles to New York might arrest women wearing pants and sporting short hair on charges of masquerading as men.[17] Same-sex relationships also occurred among men doing the physical labor that produced resources for industrial production—mining in California, Pacific Northwest logging, Seattle dock work, and railroad labor transporting goods—despite anti-sodomy laws that penalized these behaviors.[18]

How Sexology Pathologized Identity and Led to Solidifying the Straight State

Near the same time that communities developed self-definitions, European **sexology** repackaged marital reproduction and widespread views on sin and crime in the language of medical science. These sexologists articulated the concepts of "heterosexuality" and "homosexuality".[19] The earliest sexologists **campaigned against sodomy laws** by asserting that same-sex attraction constituted a form of benign variation among humans—that is, harmless identities differing from those focused on reproducing. Most sexologists, though, argued same-sex attraction correlated with gender transgression as a pathological identity.[20] Newspapers had recurring **exposés on working-class women passing as men for work and freedom.** By 1892 the pathology model played a role in a Memphis insanity inquisition. This case exposed the plans of two women, whom relatives had thought to be romantic friends, to marry each other by having one assume a male identity. But when family members broke up this middle-class relationship, the distraught "masculine" half of the couple murdered her lover, and the defense lawyer her father hired used sexology to argue insanity.[21]

With the emergence of sexology, gender nonnormativity and same-sex attraction were now mental illness, in addition to being violations of religious ideas about sin and criminal laws. Although queer communities continued to spread, society's validation of romantic friendships declined, and antivice campaigns arose by the 1920s and punished queer public expression. After Prohibition ended, federal and state officials enacted laws to control alcoholic beverages, to police respectability in bars. State agents held authority to revoke alcohol licenses if bar owners allowed the presence of undesirables like prostitutes, gamblers, gays, or lesbians (terms in the popular culture by the 1920s), who according to these laws, made establishments disorderly.[22] From the 1930s through the 1960s police freely busted bar patrons on suspicion of homosexuality.[23]

During World War II the military spread the normalization of heterosexuality and negative perceptions of "the homosexual." Psychologists convinced military officials that homosexuality was a mental disorder that threatened morale and discipline. As eighteen million men moved through draft boards and induction stations, staffers asked **questions designed to exclude gay men from service.** Such questions heightened recognition that homosexuality existed even while pathologizing it. Officials feared that straight men would claim to be gay to avoid the draft; to deter this, they labeled anyone rejected for homosexuality as a "sexual psychopath" and gave employers the right to review draft records. Women's auxiliary units started in World War II, but because **criminal law usually ignored lesbian sex acts,** the military did not similarly screen women recruits. Gay service members caught having sex or suspected of it faced humiliating expulsion after systematic inquisitions, which left several thousand men and dozens of women with undesirable discharges on their records.[24]

Gay and lesbian communities proliferated during and after the war, especially in cities with a military presence.[25] During the Cold War, federal, state, and local authorities redoubled efforts to achieve a straight state, including congressional laws and a presidential executive order against employing homosexuals in federal jobs.[26] Recent scholars have argued that the 1950s **McCarthy Red Scare** most victimized gay men and lesbians.[27] **George Harris** was among thousands fired. When the Central Intelligence Agency did a background check, they asked people from his Mississippi hometown about his sexual orientation. Suddenly jobless and homeless, Harris got a ride to Texas. He met Jack Evans soon afterward at a Dallas gay bar. As they dated, fell in love, and then lived together, they steered clear of bars to avoid arrest, and—**fifty-nine years later—they became the first gay couple to marry legally in Dallas County**.[28]

Watch A Couple In Their 80s Get Married In Dallas County's First Same-Sex Ceremony

George Harris and Jack Evans are married in Dallas June 26, 2015, in this video. They were both in their eighties, having lived together for fifty-five years.



- Describe what you witness in the video. What do you think is the relationship between the videographer and the couple? What terms, items, or actions featured in the video are you unfamiliar with?
- Given the history you learned in this chapter, why was this occasion so publicized and celebrated?
- Conduct a bit more research on George and Jack; how did their lives together reflect larger historical events from the 1960s to 2015?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What is one reason why oppressed Americans in the 1970s wanted to be represented in historical accounts?
A) To erase evidence of discrimination
B) To reflect the diversity of people in the United States and expose institutional discrimination
C) To focus only on political leader
D) To avoid discussing social construction

2. What are the four stages of LGBTQ+ history development, as adapted from Gerda Lerner's model?
A) discovery, activism, revision, celebration
B) exclusion, inclusion, resistance, equality
C) protest, legislation, acceptance, normalization
D) compensation, contributions, revision, social construction

3. What was the primary purpose of the Lesbian Herstory Archive founded by Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel?
A) To collect evidence of lesbian existence for the public
B) To campaign for marriage equality
C) To publish fiction about lesbians
D) To organize political protests

4. What is a key question debated by stage-four LGBTQ+ historians?
A) How to define marriage in the 21st century
B) How to increase funding for archives
C) Whether to include women's history in LGBTQ+ history
D) How to identify people from time periods before sexual orientation was widely considered an identity

5. What is a major shift that occurred in stage four of LGBTQ+ history scholarship?
A) Declaring all historical figures with same-gender relationships as gay or lesbian
B) Focusing only on legal history

C) Questioning the time-bound nature of terms like “gay” and “lesbian” and how to identify people from earlier periods
D) Ignoring primary sources

Discussion Questions

1. Why is it important for minority groups, such as LGBTQ+ people, to be represented in historical narratives? What impact does this have on society?
2. How do the four stages of LGBTQ+ history development help us understand the evolution of the field? Can you think of examples for each stage?
3. What are the challenges historians face when trying to identify the sexual orientation or gender identity of people from the past?
4. How does the concept of social construction influence the way we interpret historical evidence about sexuality and gender?
5. In what ways do archives and collections, like the Lesbian Herstory Archive, contribute to the preservation and understanding of LGBTQ+ history?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) To reflect the diversity of people in the United States and expose institutional discrimination
2. D) compensation, contributions, revision, social construction
3. A) To collect evidence of lesbian existence for the public
4. D) How to identify people from time periods before sexual orientation was widely considered an identity
5. C) Questioning the time-bound nature of terms like “gay” and “lesbian” and how to identify people from earlier periods

---

This page titled 4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **3.1: Chapter 4- U.S. LGBTQ+ History** by Clark A. Pomerleau is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation

Civil Rights in the United States - 1950s - 1970s

In the face of Cold War hostility and McCarthyism, gay and lesbian communities further institutionalized and began organizing **a homophile movement** for civil rights. **Los Angeles gay men formed the Mattachine Society in 1951.** Its founders, **Harry Hay, Bob Hull, and Chuck Rowland,** had organizing experience as U.S. Communist Party members. They structured Mattachine into secret cells to survive government infiltration.[29] The founders blended Marxist theory—that injustice and oppression were deeply embedded in societal structures—with inspiring tactics from the **African American civil rights movement.** They argued that repressive norms based in heterosexuality left homosexuals "'largely unaware' that they in fact constituted 'a social minority imprisoned within a dominant culture.'" The founders sought to **mobilize a large gay constituency through meetings** and by **creating homophile journals** to produce a "new pride—a pride in belonging, a pride in participating in the cultural growth and the social achievements of . . . the homosexual minority."[30]

Soon Mattachine grew to include many politically mainstream members who were anticommunist. The founders stepped down in favor of leaders who argued that the mostly white, middle-class, gay members were the same as heterosexual citizens, aside from the private sphere of love. They focused on gaining allies among heterosexual psychologists, clergymen, and public officials. Meanwhile, **in San Francisco, Del Martin, Phillis Lyons, and their group, Daughters of Bilitis, also "were fighting the church, the couch, and the courts" for equality.** Like the more male-run *Mattachine Review* and *One* magazine, **Daughters of Bilitis's journal, *The Ladder*(figure 4.2),** consistently assured lesbians of their worth as respectable middle-class people deserving treatment equal to heterosexuals.[31] Chapters of both **organizations spread to the East Coast and Midwest,** forming **a web of advocates for homosexual civil rights** by the mid-1960s who published, lobbied, and picketed the White House and city governments for equality.



Figure 4.2. October 1957 cover of The Ladder. (Public domain, Women and Social Movements.)

By the 1960s, various social movements were developing tactics to fight discrimination and inequality. **Black civil rights legal work** and direct action produced **court-ordered desegregation, antidiscrimination law,** and **voting rights,** although centuries of housing segregation, education, and job discrimination continued to racialize poverty. Frustrations rose in poor communities of color over police brutality and the dearth of economic opportunities. In **1965, gay and lesbian street youth organized in San Francisco.** They and trans women often gathered at **Compton's Cafeteria,** one of few places where they could meet. When Compton's management called the police to deter drag queens' and trans women's patronage, a riot erupted. The next night, trans hustlers and street people picketed Compton's and protested police brutality. Although the protest did not end abuse, a new collective militant queer resistance pushed the city to address queer and trans people's rights as citizens.[32]

Four years later **the Stonewall rebellion** broke out after a New York City police raid. Stonewall Inn was a Mafia-run dive that blackmailed gay Wall Street patrons and used those funds to pay off police. In return, police gave the Stonewall advance warning of raids. Raids targeted those in full drag and trans sex workers like Sylvia Rivera. But raids could also ruin the lives of white, Black, and Latinx gay and lesbian customers; **newspaper exposure** often led to their being fired from jobs or evicted from housing. **On June 28, 1969,** there was no tip-off for the police raid. **Trans and lesbian patrons resisted**—refusing to produce identification or to follow a female officer to the bathroom to verify their sex for arrest. They also objected to officers groping them.[33] A growing crowd outside spontaneously responded to police violence by hurling coins and cans at officers, who retreated into the bar. Rioting resumed a second and third night. **The gay poet Allen Ginsberg** heard slogans being chanted and crowed,

“Gay power! Isn’t that great! We’re one of the largest minorities in the country—10 percent, you know. It’s about time we did something to assert ourselves.”[34]

The Stonewall rebellion also did not stop police raids, but mainstream and gay coverage and leafleting spurred the **creation of gay organizing** that was more militant than previous homophile groups. **The Gay Liberation Front** sought to combine freedom from homophobia with a broader political platform that denounced racism and opposed capitalism. From the Gay Liberation Front arose the **Gay Activists Alliance** and its “zaps,” or surprise public confrontations with politicians to force them to acknowledge gay and lesbian rights.[35] **Gay liberationists like Carl Wittman** drew on past New Left antiwar student activism and the women’s liberation movement. **Wittman’s “Refugees from Amerika: A Gay Manifesto” (1970)** rails against homophobia, imploring gays to free themselves by coming out while also acknowledging it will be too dangerous for some. Wittman was attuned to which linked sexism and homophobia. Lesbian feminists emphasized women’s autonomy and well-being rather than identification as mothers, wives, and daughters who indirectly gained from what benefited men. Wittman deemed male chauvinism antigay and urged gay men to stop being sexist. Rather than mimic straight society, gay liberation should reject gender roles and marriage and should embrace queens as having gutsily stood out.[36]

Gay liberationists continued the fight to overturn homophobia in religion, psychology, and law. Gay Catholics formed Dignity in 1969.[37] The Unitarian Universalist Association urged an end to legal and social expressions of antigay discrimination in 1970, and the United Church of Christ ordained the first openly gay person in 1972. Episcopalians started Integrity in 1974. Mainstream Protestant denominations like the Presbyterian Church (USA), United Methodist Church, and Lutheran Church in America endorsed decriminalization but still disapproved of homosexuality. Fundamentalist evangelicals became increasingly vocal among denominations opposed to same-sex relationships and gender nonconformity. They began conservative religious organizing in response to progressive changes, propelling to celebrity status some ministers on the right such as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and Jim and Tammy Bakker. Some LGBTQ+ Christians flocked to the **Pentecostal minister Rev. Troy Perry.** He founded the **Metropolitan Community Church** denomination from a house-based service in 1968. Meanwhile, gay Jews in Los Angeles created the first gay synagogue in 1972.[38] Gay-friendly or gay-run houses of worship proliferated over the decade, but the majority of LGBTQ+ Americans faced discrimination in unwelcoming religious congregations.



Figure 4.3. A Gay Liberation Front logo. (CC-0.)

In addition to trying to integrate religious spaces, gay liberationists demonstrated for the **removal of homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association list of mental disorders.** Activists and gay counselors knew people were not sick for being queer. They used the research findings of their ally, the psychologist **Evelyn Hooker;** she had demonstrated, on the basis of personality tests she had conducted since 1957, that gay men were equally stable as heterosexual men and sometimes showed more resilience.[39] **In 1973 the association voted unanimously to define homosexuality in its diagnostic manual as “one form of sexual behavior, like other forms of sexual behavior which are not by themselves psychiatric disorders.”**[40] This was a major win on the long road to discrediting claims that homosexuality was a mental illness and the conversion therapies designed to “cure” homosexuals. However, in 1980 the American Psychiatric Association’s third manual introduced “gender identity disorder of childhood” and “transsexualism” as disorders, indicating it preserved a concern about variety in gendered behavior, which sustained forced conversion programs for children and adolescents without increasing access to medical services that some trans adults wanted.[41]

Politically, in the 1970s efforts to gain equal rights ordinances and to **elect lesbian and gay politicians became fruitful**. **Elaine Noble** joined the **Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1974,** and **Harvey Milk won a seat in the San Francisco Board**

of Supervisors election in 1977.[42] The conservative campaign of Anita Bryant that overturned Florida's Miami-Dade County gay rights ordinance in 1977 galvanized conservatives on the Christian right and gay activists nationwide against or for, respectively, extending equal rights regardless of sexual orientation. The next year activists managed to prevent California from passing an initiative that would have barred gay teachers from working in public schools. But cities with antigay campaigns experienced increased violence against gay and lesbian people and their businesses, centers, and churches, culminating in the murder of Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone by a former board of supervisors member and ex-policeman, Dan White, in 1978. White was convicted of manslaughter and served five years.[43]

Amid the volatile cultural battles of the 1970s, there were some victories. By the end of the decade, activists had decriminalized themselves in just under half the nation by overturning twenty-two state sodomy statutes, had countered antigay city initiatives, and had convinced the Democratic Party to include a plank against sexual orientation–based discrimination in its 1980 platform.[44] They would have to wait until 2003 for the Supreme Court decision on *Lawrence v. Texas* to strike down sodomy laws nationwide.[45]

The 1970s also saw a cultural renaissance of LGBTQ+ institution building and cultural productions through publishing and music. More Americans came out despite the real hazards of family rejection, violence, and legal discrimination. **Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson** survived such dangers to start **Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) in 1970.** STAR, the first organization led by trans women of color, created the first homeless queer youth and sex worker shelter in North America. By recognizing links among homophobia, transphobia, racism, and classism, STAR filled needs other early gay liberation groups were not considering. More often gays and lesbians **organized safe spaces** through bars, gay baths, bookstores, discos, sports leagues, and musical ensembles.[46] As the 1970s continued, feminist lesbians of color took the lead in advocating for "the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking."[47] This important way of analyzing the world would become known as **intersectionality.**

Billy Porter Gives A Brief History of Queer Political Action

Billy Porter provides a brief history of queer political actions that predate the Stonewall rebellion. (https://youtu.be/XoXH-Yqwyb0).



- What surprised you about this video? What did not surprise you? What LGBTQ+ organization or historical event described in this video was new to you? Conduct some more research to better understand that organization's or event's goals and accomplishments.
- What LGBTQ+ organizations or movements are active now, and how are they similar to or different from the movements discussed earlier

- What surprised you about this video? What did not surprise you? What LGBTQ+ organization or historical event described in this video was new to you? Conduct some more research to better understand that organization's or event's goals and accomplishments.

- What LGBTQ+ organizations or movements are active now, and how are they similar to or different from the movements discussed earlier?

Responding to AIDS

In the 1980s, the emergence of a deadly epidemic **marked a crossroads for LGBTQ+ activism and institution building.** A 1981 newsletter from the Centers for Disease Control reported five Los Angeles gay men had contracted an unusual pneumonia typically found in immune-compromised people. Then the *New York Times* stated that a rare, aggressive skin cancer had struck forty-one recently healthy homosexuals.[48] By late 1982, related immunosuppression cases existed among infants, women, heterosexual men, intravenous drug users, and hemophiliacs. The mortality rate of the original patients was 100 percent. Panic spread as media, many government officials, and the gay community asked what linked the affected gay men. Connecting a deadly disease, ultimately called acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) to gay male sexuality provided a new rationale for discriminatory laws and harassment as the political power of the Christian Right continued to ascend.[49]

In response to AIDS, LGBTQ+ Americans organized new institutions and created new methods to get needed resources, which furthered lively debates over political tactics. Because the health care system failed to address the epidemic's causes and consequences, New York City gay men founded **Gay Men's Health Crisis in 1982.** It became a model for AIDS service organizations that offered information and support to prevent or treat the disease.[50] Lesbians contributed experience from the women's health movement, where they had countered male-dominated medicine with their own research and support networks. **Black Panther**–sponsored free breakfasts and community health clinics became a model for AIDS service organizations.[51] By 1983 the group People With AIDS had mobilized nationally to demand control over decisions about their care and to draw attention to scapegoating that resulted in job loss and refusal of hospital treatment. They released **"The Denver Principles,"** which asserted their responsibility to use "low-risk sexual behaviors" without denying their right to "satisfying sexual and emotional lives."[52] The gay community split on whether to blame casual sex with multiple partners for the crisis and how to contain the spread of the disease. As city public health officials sought to shut down bathhouses and bars that had spaces for sex, some gay activists agreed with the precaution, but others saw the campaign as more antigay harassment. Those opposed to closures argued that instead of driving gay sex further underground, public sites like bathhouses should become **education centers for safer sex practices.** Meeting spaces were places where the community organized efficiently to respond to AIDS.[53]

A major contributor to the AIDS epidemic was willful **neglect by the federal government.** For the first five years of the epidemic, President Ronald Reagan remained silent about it. In 1986 he and governors from both parties proposed cutting government spending on AIDS. That year the Supreme Court ruled in *Bowers v. Hardwick* that gay adults did not have constitutional privacy rights that would protect them from prosecution for private, consensual sex.[54] The Justice Department announced that federal law allowed employment discrimination based on HIV/AIDS status. When Reagan spoke briefly at the Third International Conference on AIDS in 1987 in favor of testing, over twenty thousand of the thirty-six thousand Americans diagnosed with AIDS had died. Congress prohibited using federal funds for AIDS education that condoned same-sex behavior but mandated testing of federal prisoners and immigrants to bar entry to those with HIV.[55]

This spurred high-impact radical organizing. **Larry Kramer and cofounders formed the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) in 1987.** It further publicized the New York City slogan "Silence = Death" in demonstrations. ACT UP dramatically disrupted Wall Street, the Food and Drug Administration, the Centers for Disease Control, and Saint Patrick's Cathedral to protest the high cost of AZT (the first drug treatment) and the appointment of a loudly homophobic Catholic cardinal to the Presidential HIV Commission. ACT UP chapters spread to other cities; the groups became known for their insistence on action and their reclaiming of the **term *queer***.[56] **Keith Haring's graffiti art** spread the message. **Cleve Jones** created a memorial for people lost to AIDS, inviting loved ones to create three-by-six-foot panels for the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt (figure 4.4). During the second March on Washington in October 1987, volunteers laid out 1,920 panels on the National Mall.[57]

In tandem with responses to AIDS, often-overlooked portions of LGBTQ+ Americans organized. Trans people were disproportionately poor owing to job discrimination and devastating budget cuts to AIDS programs, welfare, and health programs. For-profit centers sold medical procedures for gender transition at high costs. Bisexuals started forming social and then political rights groups, including the **National Bisexual Liberation Group in 1972** based in New York City, San Francisco's Bisexual Center in 1976, and the **national BiPOL in San Francisco in 1983.** When the 1987 March on Washington organizers would not include "bi" or "trans" in the march's title or list of demands, both constituencies argued that the category "gay and lesbian" was

not inclusive.[58] New trans groups arose with transnational scope, including FTM International (advocating for the female-to-male trans community) and **International Foundation for Gender Education,** along with periodicals like ***Metamorphosis*** **and** ***Tapestry*****.**[59]



Figure 4.4. The AIDS Memorial Quilt. (Public domain, National Institutes of Health.)

Conclusion

With the development of intersectional theories and activism, gay, lesbian, and bi Americans who also held other minority statuses founded organizations in the 1970s and throughout the 1980s. Gay American Indians was founded in San Francisco in 1975, and in 1987 the group joined American Indian Gays and Lesbians. **Conferences of the American Indian Gays and Lesbians** produced the consensus that ***two spirit*** **was the preferred term for gender-expansive Natives.**[60] The National Rainbow Society of the Deaf (1977) grew from its Florida origins to hold annual conventions around the country as Rainbow Alliance of the Deaf (1982) and to become a force for advocacy. The national Asian Pacific Lesbian Network was founded when organizing for the 1987 march. African American gays and lesbians created religious community with Unity Fellowship Church (1985) and secular groups. When gay men formed the National Association of Black and White Men Together (1981), with local affiliates across the country, they ushered in a new form of interracial organizing. Some queer people of color joined with white gays and lesbians for antidiscrimination and AIDS work and criticized white-dominated queer communities for their racism. Queer people of color worked with other people of color for civil rights, poverty issues, and anti-imperialism while objecting to those communities' homophobia, sexism, and transphobia. Queer people of color needed their own queer groups by race as respites from coalition work.[61]

Listen

In a 1989 *Making Gay History* interview (https://go.geneseo.edu/larrykramer), ACT UP founder Larry Kramer describes being a student at Yale University in the 1950s, before the Stonewall rebellion, and then how he tried to organize gay men to fight the AIDS crisis in the 1980s.

- What were some of the challenges that Kramer had to overcome in his lifetime, whether at college or in the fight against AIDS?
- Queer theory emerged during a very turbulent period in U.S. history, with AIDS decimating gay male communities. The anger at the apathy of the U.S. government, in the face of tens of thousands of men dying, drove the radical activism of ACT UP. Describe some of the tactics they used. What do you think of them?
- In the interview, Kramer says there had been "a lot of change and no change" between when he was in college in the 1950s and the late 1980s. What do you think he meant by that? If he were interviewed today, do you think he'd say the same thing, and why?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. How did the Mattachine Society's founders' backgrounds in the U.S. Communist Party influence the organization's early structure and tactics?
A) They adopted secret cell structures and emphasized collective action against systemic oppression.
B) They focused on religious outreach and public rallies.

C) They prioritized assimilation into mainstream society.
D) They avoided any political ideology in their organizing.

2. What was a key ideological shift that occurred as the Mattachine Society grew and new leadership took over?
A) The organization became more radical and confrontational.
B) The focus shifted to emphasizing similarities with heterosexual citizens and seeking respectability.
C) The group began to reject all forms of public protest.
D) The organization dissolved due to internal conflict.

3. In what ways did the Daughters of Bilitis' approach to lesbian rights differ from that of the Mattachine Society?
A) They focused exclusively on legal reform.
B) They were primarily a social club with no political agenda.
C) They avoided publishing any journals or magazines.
D) They emphasized respectability and middle-class values while also challenging the church, psychiatry, and the courts.

4. How did the homophile movement's strategy of seeking allies among heterosexual professionals (psychologists, clergy, officials) reflect broader trends in mid-20th-century civil rights organizing?
A) It mirrored the confrontational tactics of the Black Power movement.
B) It rejected all forms of institutional engagement.
C) It sought legitimacy and social change through engagement with mainstream institutions.
D) It focused solely on underground activism

5. What was a significant limitation of the early homophile movement's focus on respectability and assimilation?
A) It led to immediate legal equality for all LGBTQ+ people.
B) It often centered the experiences of white, middle-class gays and lesbians, marginalizing others within the community.
C) It resulted in the movement's complete collapse.
D) It was universally embraced by all LGBTQ+ activists.

Discussion Questions

1. Analyze the impact of Cold War politics and McCarthyism on the strategies and internal dynamics of early homophile organizations like the Mattachine Society. How did external threats shape internal debates about radicalism versus respectability?
2. Compare and contrast the approaches of the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis in their pursuit of civil rights. How did gender, class, and respectability politics influence their tactics and public messaging?
3. Discuss the benefits and drawbacks of the homophile movement's strategy of seeking allies among mainstream professionals (psychologists, clergy, public officials). How did this approach both advance and limit the movement's goals?
4. In what ways did the early homophile movement's emphasis on assimilation and respectability contribute to the marginalization of more radical voices and intersectional identities within the LGBTQ+ community?
5. Reflect on the legacy of the homophile movement in shaping later LGBTQ+ activism, particularly the shift toward more confrontational and intersectional strategies in the post-Stonewall era. What lessons can contemporary activists draw from this history?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. A) They adopted secret cell structures and emphasized collective action against systemic oppression.
2. B) The focus shifted to emphasizing similarities with heterosexual citizens and seeking respectability.
3. D) They emphasized respectability and middle-class values while also challenging the church, psychiatry, and the courts.
4. C) It sought legitimacy and social change through engagement with mainstream institutions
5. B) It often centered the experiences of white, middle-class gays and lesbians, marginalizing others within the community.

This page titled 4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **3.1: Chapter 4- U.S. LGBTQ+ History** by Clark A. Pomerleau is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals

Don't Ask, Don't Tell

Beginning in the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s, new drug therapies prolonged the lives of people living with AIDS. Although radical, multicommunity AIDS activism continued, work for **mainstream legal protections and rights dominated LGBTQ+ activism.** LGBTQ+ Americans and supporters sought inclusion in the military, the passage of antidiscrimination laws, and marriage equality. After a campaign promise to end military exclusion, President Bill Clinton responded to pushback from military leaders with a compromise. He supported a congressional law that instructed LGBTQ+ service members to remain closeted and military officials not to pursue people for discharge (figure 4.5). Ironically, **this "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy** increased discharges of gay service members and continued violence against them until its **repeal by President Barack Obama in 2010 ended discrimination** based on sexual orientation (but not gender identity).[62] President Clinton was more effective with his executive order to end antigay discrimination in federal government in 1998 than with his military policy.[63]

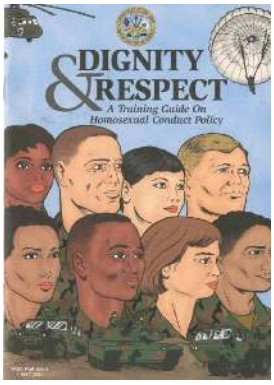


Figure 4.5. Cover of a "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" pamphlet. (Public domain, United States Army.)

Violence against LGBTQ+ Americans continued, including the rural murders of Brandon Teena and then Matthew Shepard. Both murders gained so much media coverage that they eventually became movies. Outrage against antigay violence and prejudice led New York ACT UP members to form **Queer Nation** in 1990 and inspired groups like the **Pink Panthers (1990)** and **Lesbian Avengers (1992)**. Their direct actions to liberate sexuality and gender from heteronormativity were defiantly queer. A particularly controversial tactic was exposing the **closeted homosexuality of antigay politicians and pundits**. New federal hate-crime tracking confirmed the scope of anti-LGBTQ+ violence, indicating that over 10 percent of violent crimes motivated by bias against the victim's identity were based on sexual orientation, putting that category behind only race and religion. Congressional passage of the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act (1994) included gay bashing as a federal crime to ensure fairer trials.[64]

Read

Read *Dignity & Respect: A Training Guide on Homosexual Conduct Policy*, a pamphlet published by the U.S. Army in 2001 that explains to soldiers the new homosexual conduct policy that would become known as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (https://archive.org/details/DignityRespectADepartmentOfDefenseTrainingGuideOnHomosexualConductPolicy).

- Does this pamphlet help you better understand the army's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy? Why or why not?
- According to the pamphlet, the army's goal was to fairly enforce this new policy, to promote unit cohesiveness and readiness. Do you think this pamphlet would have helped achieve that goal?
- What is or isn't in the policy that might explain why harassment and violence against gay service members continued while it was in effect?

State legislatures and popular ballots featured both **antidiscrimination and antigay measures,** creating grassroots organizing for and against protecting LGBTQ+ Americans from being fired or excluded from jobs, housing, and public accommodations. Cultural conservatives lamented the gradually increasing acceptance of LGBTQ+ people as **celebrity musicians and television and film stars slowly started to come out** and weathered backlash to continue their careers. Meanwhile, the Hawaii state supreme court win *Baehr v. Miike* temporarily legalized same-sex marriage there in 1996.[65] National LGBTQ+ organizations pushed to extend

marriage equality nationwide. Over the next decade states split on whether to ban or legalize marriage equality. Popular support steadily grew in the first years of the 2000s, reaching 60 percent in 2015 when the Supreme Court ruled in ***Obergefell v. Hodges* that the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees same-sex couples the right to marry** (figure 4.6).[66]

Groups that centered young, trans, poor, and minority people warned in the early 2000s that hate-crime legislation and nondiscrimination laws connected to it would further hurt the most marginalized Americans. Dean Spade cautioned that sentences mandatorily extended for hate crimes strengthened "the criminal punishment system" that targets poor (and trans) people of color.[67] Likewise, some feminist and queer activists opposed the costly push for marriage equality because it supported only heteronormative relationships.[68] **Paula Ettelbrick,** among the first, argued in 1989 against endorsing one family form instead of destigmatizing unconventional relationships and sexual expression. **Lisa Duggan** has argued for broad coalitions to gain universal benefits instead of tying needs like health coverage to employment and marriage.[69]



Figure 4.6. The White House is illuminated in rainbow colors on the night of the Supreme Court *Obergefell* ruling June 26, 2015. (CC BY-SA Ted Eytan.)

Conclusion

LGBTQ+ history in the United States has witnessed profound transformations in meanings, the social construction of identities, and how LGBTQ+ people have used collective action to fight for rights and equality. For centuries laws touted marriage as the place for reproductive sex but allowed some men sex for pleasure across race and class. When sex was considered simply a form of behavior and society believed women and men were fundamentally different, same-gender intimacy that was not obviously sodomy was deemed unremarkable. But as sexologists categorized sexuality into normal or pathological identities, psychology and medical science joined the church and state as key social institutions that demonized LGBTQ+ people. Communities of gay and bisexual men, lesbian and bisexual women, and trans people multiplied in the 1950s despite heightened repression, and a portion of these minorities organized for equal rights. Even the HIV/AIDS epidemic, blamed on and falsely identified with gays, could not stop LGBTQ+ organizing. **Activists further developed radical tactics from the 1970s to call for liberation from heteronormativity.** Legal gains have been arduously won, but foundational power imbalances based on race, class, gender, ability, and citizenship persist. Nonetheless, both legal and cultural changes continue to transform society.

Profile: Institutionalizing Sexuality: Sexology, Psychoanalysis, and the Law (Jennifer Miller and Clark A. Pomerleau)

Sexology, Civil Rights, and Criminalization

European scientists and social scientists developed the **social science known as sexology** to understand human sexuality. They used biology, medicine, psychology, and anthropology to support beliefs that privileged binary gender identities (man or woman) and reproductive sex while trying to account for **gender and sexual diversity.** What was at stake for the men who created sexology varied: some felt same-sex attraction, some were sympathetic to those who did, others opposed same-sex behaviors. Their findings became arguments for and against criminalizing same-sex behavior. This profile's history of sexology prioritizes primary sources to consider how sexologists explained diversity in gender and sexuality and how the field's spokespersons shifted from an initial focus on social justice to creating oppressive, pathologizing diagnoses. Knowing this history helps us understand sexology's long-reaching implications as a method by which people worldwide have been taught about queer and trans people.

The earliest form of sexology combatted legal discrimination. **The German lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs** (figure 4.7) drew on **Plato's *Symposium*** for his 1860s theory that male-male love was biologically inborn and therefore natural.[70] Ulrichs used the term urning for a man who desired men and believed the urning's desire reflected an internal female psyche. After telling his family he was an urning, Ulrichs—freed from his secret—lobbied to repeal sodomy laws. He maintained that consenting adult men who

were not being publicly indecent had a civil right to express their love without state persecution. Ulrichs hoped to influence national legal reform as German states unified, so he published "Araxes: Appeal for the Liberation of the Urning's Nature from Penal Law. To the Imperial Assemblies of North Germany and Austria" in 1870.[71] The next year, Germany's assembly refused change and retained a sodomy law in the new law code. Paragraph 175 of the German Imperial Penal Code stated, "Unnatural vice committed by two persons of the male sex or by people with animals is to be punished by imprisonment; the verdict may also include the loss of civil rights."[72] Germany would not decriminalize homosexuality until 1969.



Figure 4.7. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. (Public domain.)

Although his argument was unsuccessful, Ulrich's work influenced other sexologists and became part of a growing field. His contemporary, the Austro-Hungarian human rights journalist **Karl-Maria Kertbeny,** coined the words ***heterosexual* and *homosexual* in 1868** as two forms of strong sex drive apart from those that pursued reproductive goals. Out of compassion for a friend who killed himself after being blackmailed for same-sex attraction, Kertbeny argued that sodomy laws violated human rights.[73] The German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing adopted Kertbeny's terminology and Ulrichs's view that men who loved men had womanly desire (figure 4.8). Krafft-Ebing, however, considered anything outside reproductive sex to be an inferior, immoral deviation, which he called degeneracy. His *Psychopathia Sexualis*, *Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Legal Study* (1894) provided an elaborate taxonomy of "pathological manifestations of the sexual life." The taxonomy included sexualizing an object (fetishism), sexually enjoying pain (masochism, which Krafft-Ebing considered natural for women), and sexually enjoying inflicting pain (sadism, which Krafft-Ebing considered natural for men). Krafft-Ebing claimed same-sex attraction was usually innate but could sometimes be produced as a result of exposure to other forms of "sexual deviance" like masturbation.[74] Like Ulrichs and Kertbeny, Krafft-Ebing hoped to influence jurisprudence with psychological claims, but to him, "The laws of all civilized nations punish those who commit perverse sex acts. Inasmuch as the preservation of chastity and morals is one of the most important reasons for the existence of the commonwealth, the state cannot be too careful, as a protector of morality, in the struggle against sensuality."[75] Sexology's language has continued to aid the power to police sexuality legally and has contributed to critiques of that power.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What was a major unintended consequence of the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy implemented during the Clinton administration?
A) It immediately ended discrimination against LGBTQ+ service members.
B) It increased discharges and violence against gay service members despite its intent to protect them.
C) It legalized same-sex marriage in the military.
D) It was universally supported by LGBTQ+ activists.

2. How did the passage of the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act (1994) impact the legal treatment of anti-LGBTQ+ violence?
A) It eliminated all hate crimes in the United States.
B) It only applied to crimes based on race and religion.
C) It ensured that crimes motivated by sexual orientation bias were federally recognized and punished more severely.
D) It was opposed by all LGBTQ+ organizations

3. What was a key criticism of hate-crime legislation and nondiscrimination laws from some trans and minority activists in the early 2000s?

A) They further empowered the criminal punishment system, disproportionately harming marginalized groups.
B) They were too lenient on offenders.
C) They were universally effective in reducing violence.
D) They focused too much on marriage equality.

4. Why did some feminist and queer activists oppose the mainstream push for marriage equality in the 2000s?
A) They believed it would lead to the end of all discrimination.
B) They were against any legal reforms.
C) They wanted to ban all forms of marriage.
D) They argued it reinforced heteronormative family structures and neglected other forms of relationships.

5. What was the significance of the Supreme Court's decision in Obergefell v. Hodges (2015)?
A) It guaranteed same-sex couples the right to marry under the Fourteenth Amendment.
B) It banned same-sex marriage nationwide.
C) It overturned hate-crime legislation.
D) It repealed "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."

Complex and Analytical Discussion Questions

1. Analyze the tension between mainstream legal reforms (such as marriage equality and hate-crime laws) and the needs of the most marginalized groups within the LGBTQ+ community. How have these reforms both advanced and limited the broader movement for justice?
2. Discuss the role of direct action groups like ACT UP, Queer Nation, and the Lesbian Avengers in shaping the direction and tactics of LGBTQ+ activism in the 1990s and 2000s. How did their approaches differ from those of national organizations focused on legal reform?
3. Evaluate the impact of media coverage of anti-LGBTQ+ violence (e.g., the murders of Brandon Teena and Matthew Shepard) on public opinion, policy, and the priorities of LGBTQ+ activism.
4. How did the language and frameworks developed by 19th-century sexologists like Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Krafft-Ebing continue to influence legal and medical approaches to sexuality in the late 20th and early 21st centuries?
5. In what ways did the intersection of celebrity culture, media representation, and grassroots activism contribute to the growing acceptance of LGBTQ+ people in American society during the 1990s and 2000s? What limitations or challenges remained despite this progress?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) It increased discharges and violence against gay service members despite its intent to protect them.
2. C) It ensured that crimes motivated by sexual orientation bias were federally recognized and punished more severely.
3. A) They further empowered the criminal punishment system, disproportionately harming marginalized groups.
4. D) They argued it reinforced heteronormative family structures and neglected other forms of relationships.
5. A) It guaranteed same-sex couples the right to marry under the Fourteenth Amendment.

This page titled 4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Clark A. Pomerleau.

- **3.1: Chapter 4- U.S. LGBTQ+ History** by Clark A. Pomerleau is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.
- **3.1: Chapter 4- U.S. LGBTQ+ History** by Clark A. Pomerleau is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

This page titled 4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science

Archives of Desire: Early studies on Sexuality

Both in Germany and in England, sexologists used widespread eugenics beliefs of their day that the body revealed behavioral tendencies. Reformers hoped that ascribing innate, unchangeable status to sexuality would secure rights, but eugenics was an imperialist science that justified racial, class, and sexual hierarchies.[76]

Magnus Hirschfeld, a German physician who experienced same-sex attraction, asserted that anatomy indicated sexual desires: "Hermaphroditic features significantly make the diagnosis of homosexuality easier."[77] **Hirschfeld advocated for homosexual rights from 1896 through 1935,** arguing in *The Homosexuality of Men and Women* (1914) that homosexuals' "urnish" nature contributed creativity and philanthropy to society and gave homosexuals "equal understanding to both sexes."[78] In addition to publishing books, Hirschfeld started the **Scientific Humanitarian Committee in Germany in 1897.** The committee's goals were "**(1)** to win legislative bodies to the position of abolishing the antigay paragraph of the German penal code, Paragraph 175; **(2)** enlightening public opinion on homosexuality; **(3)** 'interesting the homosexual himself in the struggle for his rights.'"[79] **Hirschfeld amassed an archive of same-sex research and literature that the Nazi state destroyed in 1933.**

Hirschfeld's British contemporaries **Havelock Ellis** (figure 4.9) and **John Addington Symonds** published ***Sexual Inversion* in 1897.** It was based on their interpretation of cross-cultural examples of same-sex attraction and varied sexual expression. This English medical textbook claimed inversion was an involuntary physiological abnormality usually "due to the accidental absence of the natural objects of sexual attraction" or, more rarely, was inborn.[80] Ellis's case studies highlighted perceived abnormalities in subjects' bodies, especially females. **According to Ellis, whether acquired or inborn, inversion should not be criminalized, because it could not be helped.** Symonds was at the forefront of homosexual rights activism in England, where, until 1866, homosexuality was punishable by death. In Symonds's life and through 1967, British law still criminalized homosexual behavior.



Figure 4.9. Havelock Ellis. (Public domain, Smithsonian Institution.)

In the following generation of activists, **Edward Carpenter used anthropology to appeal to exceptionalism,** seeing intimacy between men as a way to overcome society's class differences.[81] Carpenter advocated on behalf of homosexuals like himself and for women's rights, vegetarianism, and socialism. **The idea of camaraderie (as he read the meaning of the American poet Walt Whitman) was central to his work and activism.** In 1914, Carpenter published *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*, where he used "intermediate" to describe nonheteronormative genders and sexualities among peoples in tribal and ancient societies. **By challenging terms like *invert* or *uranian*, he argued that nonheteronormative genders and sexualities were natural benefits to individuals and society.**[82]

Although the notion that homosexual men were effeminate and lesbian women were masculine was an enduring stereotype that sexology promoted, some sexologists started to untangle gender from sexuality. Hirschfeld asserted that homosexuals had cross-gender traits, but he was the first to study cross-dressing men and women and found that most of them were heterosexual. As a result, his 1910 ***The Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross-Dress*** understood cross-dressing for sexual pleasure as separate from homosexuality.[83] Noting that a difference between gender expression and sexual desire was an important contribution to the field. **Iwan Bloch** (figure 4.10), **another German psychiatrist-sexologist who advocated for the repeal of Paragraph 175,** challenged the popular idea that homosexuality was related to the presence of opposite-sex characteristics and was one of the first scholars to attack the popular notion of sexual degeneracy found in the work of Krafft-Ebing.[84] His anthropological and historical evidence of same-sex behavior existing around the world argued that **it should be understood as naturally occurring difference.**

After more than a century, **the ideas of Ulrichs, Kertbeny, Krafft-Ebing, Ellis and Symonds, Carpenter, Hirschfeld, and Bloch continue to influence** how gender and sexuality are interpreted. Sexology described homosexuality in myriad ways: (1) an innate condition theorists interpreted as degenerate or benign, (2) a learned behavior resulting from sexual excess, trauma, or no access to the preferred sex object, (3) something that should not or should be criminalized, and (4) an individual liberty or a social problem. The ideas and terminology that sexologists developed continue to provide the contradictory framework through which arguments about sexuality are made.



Figure 4.10. Iwan Bloch. (Public domain.)

Psychoanalysis: Distorted Understandings of Human Sexuality and Desire

Psychoanalysts distinguished themselves from other sexologists because they understood becoming gendered and developing sexuality as developmental human processes that required mental, emotional labor rather than as simply happening naturally to the body. The most famous proponent of psychoanalysis was Sigmund Freud, whose 1905 ***Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*** responded to prior sexologists.[85] His classification system for inverts identified **"absolute inverts"** as individuals who had a sexual interest in their own sex exclusively, **"amphigenic inverts"** as individuals with a sexual interest in women and men, and **"contingent inverts"** as individuals who preferred the opposite sex but who would have sex with someone of the same sex on the basis of availability.[86] Freud rejected the idea that homosexuality was an immoral condition or that sexuality was innate. He considered people to be innately desiring beings whose desire was shaped by society's proscriptions about what sexualities were acceptable and preferred. Nonetheless, he also considered the highest form of sexual development to be reproductive heterosexuality featuring active males and passive females.

According to Freud, all but the most sexually repressed people incorporated perversions into their sexual routines. **He defined perversions as acts outside reproduction such as touching and kissing.** Freud created a multistage explanation for how people achieved adult heterosexuality or got diverted into other forms of desire. He claimed that all infants start with unfocused sexuality. Young children focused their desire on their mother. An **Oedipal crisis,** which ended infatuation with the mother, was the next stage to move children toward forming the gender roles and opposite-gender desire that was normative in Freud's time. Freud attributed a girl's rejection of her mother in favor of her father to the girl realizing she "lacked" a penis and being drawn to her father who had one. A boy moved from actively desiring his mother to passively identifying with his father because of **castration anxiety.** A boy's realization that not everyone had a penis prompted anxiety that he could lose his. The boy's recognition of adult male status and possessiveness led to fear that the father would castrate him if he acted on desire for the mother but also anticipation that the boy would gain that adult male status later in life.[87] This early Oedipal crisis generally would be repressed and unable to enter into conscious thought, as girls converted their penis envy into desire to have a baby and boys grew into men who desired sex with women. Confining repressed feelings to the unconscious, however, would leave people in denial of their own motives and reasons for their actions, making it hard for them to understand why they were heterosexual or interested in "perversions." **Freud's theory of the unconscious also made it difficult to prove his claims, but Freudianism became wildly popular in the mid-twentieth-century United States.**[88]

Legacies: Activism, and the Fight Against Stigma

Sexology and the law were two key social institutions that produced the category of "the homosexual" as a form of social identity. Gradually, as people accessed sexology texts and terms from the 1860s through the 1940s, they internalized this new form of identity, which then became a key component of their sense of self. When self-identified homosexual men and women

internalized sexual orientation as part of identity they often had to grapple with how sexology and psychoanalysis explicitly or implicitly positioned homosexuality as somehow inferior to reproductive heterosexuality.

Both sexology and psychoanalysis presented stereotypes about gender expression, immaturity, and excess that circulated in society. By the 1940s, psychologists in Europe, the United States, and the imperially influenced world used Freudian psychoanalysis to rationalize treatments that conformed women to passive homemaking roles and the medicalization of homosexuality as a disorder (until 1973 in the United States). **Feminists and then gay liberationists began to attack the incestuous overtones of Freudian theory and its disparaging references to women as anatomically and emotionally inferior. The French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir's 1949 *The Second Sex*,** the American feminist journalist **Betty Friedan's 1963 *The Feminine Mystique*** (figure 4.11), and American feminist books from **1970 like Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*** and **Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex*** all sought to debunk Freud in **the name of women's liberation.**[89] **Gay liberationists built on this feminist foundation to draw the homosexual rights activism** that had emerged in the late 1800s away from rhetorical reliance on a sexology or psychoanalysis framework while still working to challenge the criminalization of same-sex love.



Figure 4.11. Betty Friedan. (Public domain, Fred Palumbo.)

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Which belief did sexologists in Germany and England often link sexuality to?
A) Democracy
B) Eugenics
C) Romanticism
D) Industrialization

2. Magnus Hirschfeld was best known for:
A) advocating for vegetarianism.
B) writing *Sexual Inversion.*
C) founding the Scientific Humanitarian Committee.
D) Supporting Freud's psychoanalysis.

3. What was the main goal of Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee?
A) to promote socialism
B) to support psychoanalysis
C) encourage vegetarianism
D) repeal Paragraph 175 and educate/enlighten public opinion

4. Which English sexologists published *Sexual Inversion* in 1897?
A) Ellis and Symonds
B) Freud and Bloch
C) Carpenter and Hirschfeld
D) Krafft-Ebing and Ulrichs

5. Edward Carpenter used anthropology to argue that intimacy between men could:
A) reinforce class hierarchies.
B) promote eugenics.
C) Overcome class differences
D) Support psychoanalysis

6. Hirschfeld's 1910 work *The Transvestites* was significant because it:
A) linked cross-dressing directly to homosexuality.
B) distinguished cross-dressing from homosexuality.
C) promoted eugenics.
D) advocated for Freud's theories.

7. Iwan Bloch challenged which popular idea?
A) That homosexuality was linked to opposite-sex traits
B) That Freud's psychoanalysis was valid
C) That vegetarianism was necessary
D) That homosexuality was always innate

8. Freud's psychoanalysis differed from sexology because it:
A) focused on anatomy.
B) saw sexuality as a developmental process shaped by society.
C) promoted eugenics.
D) advocated socialism.

9. Which feminist thinkers and writers directly challenged Freud's portrayal of women as inferior?
A) Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Kate Millett, Shulamith Firestone
B) Virginia Woolf, Emily Dickinson, Sylvia Plath, Adrienne Rich
C) Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Angela Davis, bell hooks
D) Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Taylor, Susan B. Anthony, Sojourner Truth

10. Which feminist and liberationist works directly challenged Freud's theories and their impact on women?
A) *The Communist Manifesto* and *Das Kapital*
B) *Civil Disobedience* and *Walden*
C) *The Second Sex*, *The Feminine Mystique*, *Sexual Politics*, and *The Dialectic of Sex*
D) *On Liberty* and *The Subjection of Women*

Discussion Questions

1. How did the use of eugenics by early sexologists both advance and limit the struggle for LGBTQ+ rights?
2. In what ways did Magnus Hirschfeld's activism and scholarship challenge prevailing stereotypes, and how did his work influence later movements?
3. How did Freud's psychoanalytic approach to sexuality differ from sexologists like Ellis and Carpenter, and what contradictions did it introduce?
4. What role did anthropology and cross-cultural examples play in reshaping ideas about sexuality and gender in this period?
5. How do the contradictory frameworks established by sexologists and psychoanalysts continue to shape modern debates about sexuality, gender, and rights?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) Eugenics
2. C) founding the Scientific Humanitarian Committee.
3. D) repeal Paragraph 175 and educate/enlighten public opinion
4. A) Ellis and Symonds
5. C) Overcome class differences
6. B) distinguished cross-dressing from homosexuality.

7. A) That homosexuality was linked to opposite-sex traits
8. B) saw sexuality as a developmental process shaped by society.
9. A) Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Kate Millett, Shulamith Firestone
10. C) *The Second Sex*, *The Feminine Mystique*, *Sexual Politics*, and *The Dialectic of Sex*

This page titled 4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

4.5: Research Resources

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about LGBTQ+ history.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

ACT UP Oral History Project

The ACT UP Oral History Project (http://actuporalhistory.org/) interviews surviving members of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), New York. The project includes almost two hundred interviews, with five-minute clips and full-text transcriptions of each interview available on the website. This is a critical primary source for understanding the impact of AIDS on the LGBTQ+ community.

Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender History

The Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender History (http://clgbthistory.org/) is an affiliate organization of the American Historical Association and holds annual meetings in conjunction with the association's conference. The committee was founded in 1979 to promote the study of LGBTQ+ populations in the past and present. Its website features a collection of syllabi from LGBTQ+ history courses (national and international), citations for dissertations focused on LGBTQ+ history, and other resources.

Digital Transgender Archive

The Digital Transgender Archive (https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net) provides an online repository of digitized historical materials, originally digital materials, and information on archival holdings throughout the world. Based at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, the archive is an international collaboration among more than fifty colleges, universities, nonprofit organizations, public libraries, and private collections. This collection serves as a critical resource for researchers who need access to materials on transgender history and culture.

Diverse Sexuality and Gender Section

The Diverse Sexuality and Gender Section of the Society of American Archivists promotes the preservation and research use of records documenting LGBTQ+ history (https://www2.archivists.org/groups/diverse-sexuality-and-gender-section).

Lesbian Herstory Archives

The Lesbian Herstory Archives, in New York City, is home to the world's largest collection of materials by and about lesbians and their communities. The Herstories project digitizes and makes available online some of the Herstory Archives' audio and video interviews (https://lesbianherstoryarchives.org). Among the important items in this collection are audio recordings of speeches and readings by Audre Lorde; audio interviews from the *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold* project, which documents a lesbian community in Buffalo, New York; and video interviews from the Daughters of Bilitis Video Project. This resource makes available invaluable primary sources on the history of lesbian life in the United States.

LGBTQ+ Archives, Libraries, Research Centers, and Special Collections

Karla Strand, Gender and Women's Studies Librarian at the University of Wisconsin, compiled a list of links to and information about LGBTQ+ library and archival resources. Although most of these are physical locations, many also have a digital presence, with either portions of their collections digitized or other materials freely available, such as curriculum documents and lesson plans that center on LGBTQ+ studies and history. See https://www.library.wisc.edu/gwslibrarian/bibliographies/lgbtq-studies/lgbtq-archives-united-states/.

ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives

The University of Southern California Digital Library makes some items from the ONE Archives collection available online (https://digitallibrary.usc.edu/CS.aspx?VP3=CMS3&VF=Home). Founded in 1952, the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives is the oldest active LGBTQ+ organization in the United States and the largest repository of LGBTQ+ materials in the world. The digital collection encompasses over six thousand artifacts, including photographs, flyers, letters, periodicals, audio recordings, advertisements, and other materials, mostly from the 1960s to mid-1990s.

OutHistory

Founded in 2008 by Jonathan Ned Katz (author of *Gay American History*), the website OutHistory (http://outhistory.org/) tells the stories of LGBTQ+ individuals, from the 1600s to present. Visitors can browse entries by time period, location, and subject or search among a collection of documents from the LGBTQ+ movement. The site also includes timelines, oral histories, curated bibliographies, and other materials that make it a rich source for both research and teaching.

Washington Blade Archive

Established in 1969, the *Washington Blade* is one of the oldest LGBTQ+ publications in the United States. Beginning as a monthly publication and eventually transitioning to a weekly publication, the *Blade* covers current events from an LGBTQ+ perspective and the social and political progress of the gay rights movement (https://www.washingtonblade.com). The digital archive (https://www.washingtonblade.com/archives/) from the Washington, D.C., Public Library encompasses issues from 1969 to 1989, with other issues to be added. The current publication is updated online daily and includes local, national, and world LGBTQ+ news.

Deep Dive: Books and Film

After Stonewall: From the Riots to the Millennium, directed by John Scagliotti

This 1999 sequel to the award-winning *Before Stonewall*, *After Stonewall* chronicles LGBTQ+ history in the United States from 1969 through the end of the twentieth century. It includes interviews with prominent LGBTQ+ figures, including Dorothy Allison, Armistead Maupin, Barney Frank, and Barbara Gittings. The film also examines how the AIDS crisis affected and changed the gay rights movement. *After Stonewall* won Outstanding Documentary Feature at the 1999 Outfest Los Angeles and was nominated for a GLAAD Media Award in 2000 (New York: First Run Features).

And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic, by Randy Shilts

Shilts, a former reporter for the *Advocate* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, broke new ground with his incisive exploration of the AIDS crisis as it ensnared the United States in the latter part of the twentieth century. This award-winning volume, which serves as the basis for the film of the same name, lays out the missteps of the federal government in not addressing the crisis and the response from the gay community. It is required reading for anyone who wants to understand the impact of the AIDS crisis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Before Stonewall: The Making of a Gay and Lesbian Community, directed by Greta Schiller and Robert Rosenberg

Originally released in 1984, *Before Stonewall* was restored in 2019 in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion. It chronicles LGBTQ+ history in the United States from the early twentieth century up until the Stonewall rebellion in 1969. The film uses archival footage and interviews with LGBTQ+ activists, writers, and historians, including Allen Ginsberg, Audre Lorde, Barbara Gittings, and Martin Duberman. *Before Stonewall* is a vital documentation of LGBTQ+ life in the United

States before the watershed moments in the gay rights movement. The film won an Emmy Award in 1987 for Best Historical/Cultural Program and Best Research (New York: First Run Features).

Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement, by Marcia M. Gallo

Gallo chronicles the history of the Daughters of Bilitis, a San Francisco–based organization committed to lesbian visibility and empowerment that emerged in the Cold War era. Through interviews with several dozen former members of the Daughters of Bilitis, Gallo preserves a critical piece of lesbian history and the history of the larger LGBTQ+ community (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2006).

Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A., by Jonathan Ned Katz

Katz's work encompasses a broad view of gay and lesbian history in the United States, from the sixteenth century through the 1970s. It covers U.S. history from the earliest European settlers and Native Americans to contemporary times. The book includes reprints of rare documents representing over four hundred years of oppression, conflict, and struggle experienced by the gay and lesbian community (New York: Meridian, 1992).

The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle, by Lillian Faderman

This extensive history of the LGBTQ+ rights movement in the United States covers the 1950s through 2010s. Faderman's lengthy volume, which was honored as a Stonewall Honor Book in Non-Fiction, is based on thorough research and interviews with more than 150 individuals who were part of the LGBTQ+ rights movement (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2015).

Not Straight, Not White: Black Gay Men from the March on Washington to the AIDS Crisis, by Kevin Mumford

This volume examines the history of Black gay men from the 1950s through the 1990s in the United States. It covers the lives of both famous and little-known Black gay activists, including James Baldwin, Bayard Rustin, Joseph Beam, and Brother Grant-Michael Fitzgerald. Mumford additionally analyzes how social movements inspired and marginalized Black gay men, and he draws on an extensive archive of newspapers, pornography, and film, as well as government documents and personal papers, to support his arguments (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

Our Gay History in 50 States, by Zaylore Stout

Created as an educational resource for ages fifteen and up, this book tells the story of queer U.S. history, state by state. It covers significant people, places, and events and highlights struggles, successes, and contributions of the LGBTQ+ community in all fifty states (Minneapolis, MN: Inflection Point Media, 2019).

Queer Brown Voices: Personal Narratives of Latina/o LGBT Activism, edited by Uriel Quesada, Letitia Gomez, and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz

This volume breaks ground in chronicling LGBTQ+ activism in the Latinx community in the 1970s through the 1990s. The experiences of fourteen activists from the United States and Puerto Rico are presented in essays and oral histories, offering a new perspective on the history of LGBTQ+ mobilization and activism within the Latinx community. Activists profiled in the book detail their work in LGBTQ+ organizations and discuss the impacts of racism and discrimination in the larger LGBTQ+ community (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015).

Stonewall: The Definitive Story of the LGBTQ Rights Uprising That Changed America, by Martin Duberman

Originally published in 1993, Martin Duberman's history of the Stonewall rebellion remains a definitive account of the landmark event in the gay rights movement. Through interviews with several who were present at Stonewall, Duberman describes the transformational event and its impact on U.S. gay rights history. A Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History at the City University of New York and author of multiple works on gay history, Duberman is a leading scholar in the field, and *Stonewall* is a scholarly yet accessible work that chronicles an important period in history (New York: Penguin Random House, 2019).

The Times of Harvey Milk, directed by Robert Epstein

Harvey Milk was the first openly gay politician in California when he was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. This 1984 film documents Milk's rise from a neighborhood activist to his work on the board of supervisors and his assassination in

November 1978 at San Francisco's city hall. In 2012, the film was deemed culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant by the Library of Congress and selected for preservation in the National Film Registry (New York: New Yorker Films, 1984).

Transgender History: The Roots of Today's Revolution, by Susan Stryker

Stryker's concise history of transgender life and activism in the United States is essential reading for those who want to understand the history of this community. A renowned researcher and professor of gender and women's studies at the University of Arizona, Stryker in this volume covers U.S. transgender history from the mid-twentieth century to today. She highlights major texts and speeches in transgender history and provides brief biographies of key figures in the transgender community (New York: Seal Press, 2017)

This page titled 4.5: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

4.6: Glossary

anti-imperialism. A term used in a variety of contexts, usually by nationalist movements that want to secede from a larger polity (usually in the form of an empire but also in a multiethnic sovereign state) or as a specific theory opposed to capitalism in Marxist–Leninist discourse, derived from Vladimir Lenin's work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

castration anxiety. A feature of Sigmund Freud's theory of the Oedipal crisis whereby a boy realizes that not everyone has a penis, which prompts anxiety that he could lose his. The boy's recognition of adult male status and possessiveness leads to fear that the father would castrate him if he acted on his desire for the mother and to anticipation of gaining that status later in life.

degeneracy. Behavior that deviates from the norm and that society considers immoral, inferior, pathological, and—in relation to evolutionary theory—a retreat from progress.

Edward Carpenter. British activist who advocated on behalf of homosexuals like himself and for women's rights, vegetarianism, and socialism. His 1914 *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk* describes nonheteronormative genders and sexualities among peoples in tribal and ancient societies as naturally benefiting individuals and society.

essentialist. The view that every entity has a set of attributes that are necessary to its identity and function.

fairy. A term from 1800s New York applied to effeminate working-class men.

hate-crime legislation. State and federal laws intended to protect against hate crimes (also known as bias crimes) motivated by enmity or animus against a protected class of persons. Although state laws vary, current statutes permit federal prosecution of hate crimes committed on the basis of a person's protected characteristics of race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, and disability.

Havelock Ellis. The British physician who coauthored *Sexual Inversion* in 1897. The medical textbook claimed inversion was an involuntary physiological abnormality of the body on the basis of the authors' interpretation of cross-cultural examples. Ellis argued that inversion should not be criminalized because it could not be helped.

heteronormativity. The belief that heterosexuality, predicated on the gender binary, is the norm or default sexual orientation.

homophile movement. Coined by the German astrologist, author, and psychoanalyst Karl-Günther Heimsoth in his 1924 doctoral dissertation "Hetero- und Homophilie," *homophile* was in common use in the 1950s and 1960s by homosexual organizations and publications; the groups of this period are now known collectively as the homophile movement.

intersectionality. Refers to an analytic framework used to understand how social identities, including race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability, intersect to influence the discrimination or privilege an individual faces within society. The term was coined by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw.

inversion. An early theory of homosexuality developed by Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds that suggested same-sex desire was influenced by inborn psychic identification with femininity for men and masculinity for women.

Iwan Bloch. A German psychiatrist-sexologist who advocated repeal of Paragraph 175 and challenged the popular idea that homosexuality was a degeneracy related to the presence of opposite-sex characteristics. His anthropological and historical evidence argued that because same-sex behavior existed around the world, it should be understood as naturally occurring difference.

John Addington Symonds. The British literary critic and historian who coauthored *Sexual Inversion* in 1897. Symonds was at the forefront of homosexual rights activism in England, where, until 1866, homosexuality was punishable by death. In Symonds's life and through 1967, British law still criminalized homosexual behavior.

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. The German lawyer in sexology who theorized that male desire for men existed because such men had a female psyche (mind, soul, spirit) and who argued that consensual adult love was a human right.

Karl-Maria Kertbeny. The Austro-Hungarian human rights journalist and sexologist who coined the words *heterosexual* and *homosexual* in 1868 as two forms of strong sex drive apart from reproductive goals. Initially both terms included an idea of excessive behavior.

Magnus Hirschfeld. A German physician who advocated for homosexual rights from 1896 through 1935 in his publications, by forming the Scientific Humanitarian Committee in 1897 and by creating a private sexology research institute in 1919 in Germany.

nondiscrimination laws. Also called antidiscrimination laws; refers to legislation designed to prevent discrimination against particular groups of people.

norms. Collective representations of acceptable group conduct as well as individual perceptions of particular group conduct.

Oedipal crisis. A stage in Sigmund Freud's theory that follows the stages of infants' unfocused sexuality and infants' focus on their mother as the object of desire. Freud posited that both girls and boys passed through an Oedipal crisis when they came to want a penis. Freud attributed a girl's rejection of her mother in favor of her father to the girl's realization that she did not have a penis, being drawn to her father who did. In Freud's formulation, a boy moved from an active desire for his mother to a passive identification with his father as a result of castration anxiety.

pansexual. The sexual, romantic, or emotional attraction toward people regardless of their sex or gender identity.

Paragraph 175 of the German Imperial Penal Code. A German anti-sodomy law in effect from 1871 to 1969 that spurred activism for its repeal.

passing. In the context of gender, this refers to someone, typically either a transgender person or cross-dresser, who is perceived as the gender they wish to present as.

perversions. A term various sexologists used regarding sexual behaviors and attractions that were not specifically about reproductive sexuality. Sigmund Freud included as perversions any acts outside of reproduction such as touching and kissing but did so without the condemning attitude, such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing had.

queer. Pertaining to a person or group that does not fall within the gender binary or heterosexuality.

Richard von Krafft-Ebing. A German psychiatrist-sexologist who theorized that anything outside reproductive sex was inferior and immoral deviation. He produced a book categorizing deviance and argued in favor of anti-sodomy laws.

romantic friendships. Also called passionate friendships or affectionate friendships, very close but typically nonsexual relationships between friends, often involving a degree of physical closeness beyond what is common in contemporary Western societies.

same-gender attraction. Attraction between members of the same gender.

sex assignment. The identification of an infant's sex at birth.

sexology. The scientific study of human sexuality, including human sexual interests, behaviors, and functions.

Sigmund Freud. An Austrian founder of psychoanalysis famous for his developmental theory that all individuals pass through mental-emotional stages (including the Oedipal crisis) that end with achieving heterosexuality or being diverted to other forms of desire. Freud rejected the ideas that homosexuality was an immoral, criminal condition or that sexuality was innate. He considered people to be innately desiring beings whose desire society directed by prescribing what sexualities were acceptable and preferred.

social construction. A theory of knowledge in sociology and communication theory that examines the development of jointly constructed understandings of the world that form the basis for shared assumptions about reality.

sodomites. People who engage in nonreproductive sex acts, especially anal or oral sex.

sodomy. Anal or oral sex.

two-spirit people. A modern umbrella term used by some Indigenous North Americans to describe Native people in their communities who fulfill a traditional third-gender (or other gender variant) ceremonial role in their cultures.

urning. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs's term from Plato's *Symposium* for his 1860s theory that male-male love was biologically inborn and reflected one partner having an internal "female psyche."

Media Attributions

- Figure 4.1. © Istolethetv is licensed under a CC BY (Attribution) license
- Figure 4.2. is licensed under a Public Domain license
- Figure 4.3. is licensed under a CC0 (Creative Commons Zero) license
- Figure 4.4. is licensed under a Public Domain license

- Figure 4.5. is licensed under a Public Domain license
- Figure 4.6. © Ted Eytan is licensed under a CC BY-SA (Attribution ShareAlike) license
- Figure 4.7. is licensed under a Public Domain license
- Figure 4.9. © Smithsonian Institution from United States is licensed under a Public Domain license
- Figure 4.10. is licensed under a Public Domain license
- Figure 4.11. © Fred Palumbo is licensed under a Public Domain license

---

1. G. Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges," *Feminist Studies* 3 (1975): 5–14. [1]
2. J. Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976). [2]
3. C. H. Dayton, "Consensual Sex: The Eighteenth-Century Double Standard," in *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 157–229. [3]
4. W. Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 5. [4]
5. D. P. Fages, *An Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, trans. H. I. Priestly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 33. [5]
6. S.-E. Jacobs, W. K. Thomas, and S. Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 4; S. Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), xiii. [6]
7. R. Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous People's History of the United States* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2014), 57–60, 81–100, 108–110, 136–139, 144–151; R. C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 155–167; A. Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1996). [7]
8. R. H. Cleves, *Charity and Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); S. V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); W. W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, 1619–1792* (Charlottesville: Jamestown Foundation / University Press of Virginia, 1969); M. Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); M. Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). [8]
9. E. K. Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). [9]
10. M. B. Norton, "An Indentured Servant Identifies as 'Both Man and Woeman': Jamestown, 1629," in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 8th ed., ed. L. K. Kerber, J. S. De Hart, C. H. Dayton, and J. T.-C. Wu (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 37. [10]
11. K. Brown, "'Changed . . . into the Fashion of a Man': The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Settlement," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6 (1995): 171–193. [11]
12. N. F. Cott, "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850," *Signs* 4 (Winter 1978):219–236; K. Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). [12]
13. K. V. Hansen, "'No Kisses Is Like Youres': An Erotic Friendship between Two African-American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Gender and History* 7 (August 1995): 153–182; C. Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1–29. [13]
14. M. G. Murray, "Pete the Great: A Biography of Peter Doyle," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 12 (Summer 1994):1–51. [14]
15. G. Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 13–14, 33–45. [15]
16. K. Coyle and N. Van Dyke, "Sex, Smashing, and Storyville in Turn-of-the-Century New Orleans: Reexamining the Continuum of Lesbian Sexuality," in *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, ed. J. Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 56–72. [16]
17. L. Faderman and S. Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 23–24. [17]
18. G. L. Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 16; P.Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

2003); N. A. Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); S. L. Johnson, “Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush” (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000). [18]

19. J. N. Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). [19]
20. G. Chauncey, “From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: The Changing Medical Conceptualization of Female ‘Deviance,’” in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. K. Peiss and C. Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 87–117; L. Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); S. Somerville, “Scientific Racism and the Invention of the Homosexual Body,” in *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Anthology*, ed. B. Beemyn and M. Eliason (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 241–262. [20]
21. L. Duggan, “The Trials of Alice Mitchell: Sensationalism, Sexology, and the Lesbian Subject in Turn-of-the-Century America, *Signs* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1993): 795–798. [21]
22. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 16–17; B. Zimmerman, ed., *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 2003), 776–777. [22]
23. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 336–337. [23]
24. A. Bérubé, *Coming Out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press,1990), 2, 20–21, 28–29, 201, 227, 228. [24]
25. Bérubé, *Coming Out under Fire*; Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 49, 69–81, 111–116; D. Buring, “Softball and Alcohol: The Limits of Lesbian Community in Memphis from the 1940s through the 1960s,” in J. Howard, *Carryin’ On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, 203–223; J. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 73, 87; E. L. Kennedy and M. D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993); M. Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); J. T. Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life, 1948–1968* (New York: Westview Press, 1997); M. Stein, *City of Brotherly and Sisterly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004). [25]
26. M. Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*; C. R. Leslie, “Creating Criminals: The Injuries Inflicted by ‘Unenforced’ Sodomy Laws,” *Harvard Civil Rights–Civil Liberties Law Review* 35 (2000): 103–181; G. B.Lewis, “Lifting the Ban on Gays in the Civil Service: Federal Policy toward Gay and Lesbian Employees since the Cold War,” *Public Administration Review* 57, no. 5 (1997): 387–395. [26]
27. K. L. Groves, *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida’s Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); D. K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). [27]
28. K. S. Wisely, “‘When We Go to Deal with City Hall, We Put on a Shirt and Tie’: Gay Rights Movement Done the Dallas Way, 1965–2003” (PhD diss., University of North Texas, Denton, 2018). [28]
29. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 59–64. [29]
30. D’Emilio, 63, 65; ellipsis in the original; see also C. Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: 1940–1996* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 123. [30]
31. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 87; M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2006), 178. [31]
32. V. Silverman and S. Stryker, dirs., *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria* (San Francisco, CA: Frameline, 2005); S. Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal, 2008). [32]
33. D. Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2004), 68, 80, 96–103, 124–125, 141, 156; M. Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Plume Books, 1993), 181–193. [33]
34. L. Truscott IV, “Gay Power Comes to Sheridan Square,” *Village Voice*, July 3, 1969, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/exhibitions/sw25/voice_19690703_truscott.html. [34]
35. Carter, *Stonewall*, 245–246. [35]
36. C. Wittman, “A Gay Manifesto,” in *We Are Everywhere: A Historical Sourcebook of Gay and Lesbian Politics*, ed. M. Blasius and S. Phelan (New York: Routledge, 1997), 380–384; K. Jay and A. Young, *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation* (New York: New York University Press, 1992); C. A. Pomerleau, “Empowering Members, Not Overpowering Them: The National

Organization for Women, Calls for Lesbian Inclusion, and California Influence, 1960s–1980s," *Journal of Homosexuality* 57, no. 7 (2010): 842–861. [36]
37. "DignityUSA History," DignityUSA, accessed April 11, 2021, http://www.dignityusa.org/history. [37]
38. E. Eaklor, *Queer America: A People's GLBT History of the United States* (New York: New Press, 2008), 136. [38]
39. H. L. Minton, *Departing from Deviance: A History of Homosexual Rights and Emancipatory Science in America*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 219–236. [39]
40. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 150–151. [40]
41. American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: APA, 1980), s.vv. "gender identity disorder of childhood," "transsexualism." [41]
42. M. Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 133. [42]
43. Stein, 140–141. [43]
44. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 167, 182. [44]
45. Lawrence v. Texas, 539 U.S. 558 (2003). [45]
46. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 132–136. [46]
47. Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, ed. Z. Eisenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), 210. [47]
48. L. K. Altman, "Rare Cancer Seen in 41 Homosexuals," *New York Times*, July 3, 1981. Also see J.-M. Andriote, *Victory Deferred: How AIDS Changed Gay Life in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 49; R. Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1987), 37, 54–66. [48]
49. M. Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2011), 225; Eaklor, *Queer America*, 176; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 143–144. [49]
50. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 177; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 155. [50]
51. Bronski, *Queer History of the United States*, 229; Eaklor, *Queer America*, 180. [51]
52. Advisory Committee of the People with AIDS, "The Denver Principles," 1983, accessed April 11, 2021, http://www.actupny.org/documents/Denver.html. [52]
53. Bronski, *Queer History of the United States*, 228. [53]
54. Bowers v. Hardwick, 478 U.S. 186 (1986). [54]
55. Bronski, *Queer History of the United States*, 231; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 157. [55]
56. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 177; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 158–163. [56]
57. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 177–178. [57]
58. M. Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1991); M. Garber, *Vice Versa: Bisexuality and Eroticism of Everyday Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995); C. Queen, *Exhibitionism for the Shy: Show Off, Dress Up and Talk Hot* (New York: Down There Press, 1995); C. Queen, *Real Live Nude Girl: Chronicles of Sex-Positive Culture* (New York: Cleis Press, 1997); C. Queen and L. Schimel, *PoMoSexuals: Challenging Assumptions about Gender and Sexuality* (New York: Cleis Press, 1997). [58]
59. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 152, 181. [59]
60. Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 152. [60]
61. Stein, 153–154. [61]
62. 10 U.S.C. § 654; H.R. 2965, S. 4023. [62]
63. Exec. Order No. 13,087, 1998. [63]
64. H.R. 3355, Pub. L. 103–322. [64]
65. Baehr v. Miike 910 P.2d 112 (1996). [65]
66. Obergefell v. Hodges, 576 U.S. ___ (2015). [66]
67. D. Spade, *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Sylvia Rivera Law Project, "SRLP Announces Non-support of the Gender Employment Non-discrimination Act," *SRLP News*, April 6, 2009, https://srlp.org/genda/. [67]
68. G. Chauncey, *Why Marriage? The History Shaping Today's Debate over Gay Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); L. Duggan, "Beyond Marriage: Democracy, Equality, and Kinship for a New Century," *S&F Online* 10, nos. 1–2 (Fall 2011–Spring 2012), http://sfonline.barnard.edu/a-new-qu...a-new-century/; M. Warner, *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life* (New York: Free Press, 1999). [68]

69. P. Ettelbrick, “Since When Is Marriage a Path to Liberation?,” *Out/Look: National Lesbian and Gay Quarterly* 6 (1989): 14–16, https://www.nationalists.org/library/misc/marriage-path-to-liberation.html. [69]
70. J. N. Katz, “Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and the U.S.,” *Outhistory.org*, updated July 1, 2020,http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/...s/katz-ulrichs. [70]
71. K. H. Ulrichs, “‘Araxes’ (1870),” in *We Are Everywhere: A Historical Sourcebook of Gay and Lesbian Politics*, ed. M. Blasius and S. Phelan (New York: Routledge, 1997), 63–64. [71]
72. “Paragraph 175 of the German Imperial Penal Code (1871),” in Blasius and Phelan, *We Are Everywhere*, 63. [72]
73. Katz, *Invention of Heterosexuality*, 52–54. [73]
74. R. von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis, with Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Medico-legal Study*, trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (F. A. Davis, 1894), https://archive.org/details/sexualinstinctcon00krafuoft. [74]
75. Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 400. [75]
76. Somerville, “Scientific Racism and the Invention of the Homosexual Body.” [76]
77. M. Hirschfeld, “Selections from *The Transvestites*: The Erotic Drive to Cross-Dress,” in *The Transgender Studies Reader*, ed. S. Stryker and S. Whittle (New York: Routledge, 2006), 149. [77]
78. M. Hirschfeld, *Homosexuality of Men and Women* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2000). [78]
79. J. Lauritsen and D. Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864–1935* (rev. ed.; Ojai, CA: Times Change Press, 1995), 8. [79]
80. H. Ellis, *Sexual Inversion* (London: University Press, 1897). [80]
81. J. Miller, “The Outcast Redeemer,” *Politics and Culture*, no. 2 (May 24, 2010), https://politicsandculture.org/2010/05/24/the-outcast-redeemer-2/. [81]
82. E. Carpenter, “The Intermediate Sex,” in Blasius and Phelan, *We Are Everywhere*, 114–131. [82]
83. Hirschfeld, “Selections from *The Transvestites*.” [83]
84. I. Bloch, *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of All Races in All Ages, Ancient and Modern, Oriental and Occidental, Primitive and Civilized* (New York: AMS Press, 1933). [84]
85. S. Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000). [85]
86. Freud, 2–3. [86]
87. S. Freud, “The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex,” in *The Freud Reader*, ed. P. Gay (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 661–665. [87]
88. Freud, 305. [88]
89. S. de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1949); B. Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963); K. Millett, *Sexual Politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970); S. Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 1970). [89]

definition

About the author

name: Clark A. Pomerleau

Clark A. Pomerleau is associate professor in the University of North Texas History Department who also serves on the women’s and gender studies and LGBTQ+ studies advisory boards. His book *Califia Women: Feminist Education against Sexism, Classism, and Racism* (2013) and scholarly ess

ays historicize feminist diversity education, feminist views on sexuality, and trans-inclusive praxis. He also writes poetry about queer aesthetic, transformative agency, memory, place, and nature. His first full-length poetry book is *Every Day, They Became Part of Him* (forthcoming). He published his chapbook *Better Living through Cats* in 2021.

This page titled 4.6: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

4.7: Footnotes

1. G. Lerner, “Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges,” *Feminist Studies* 3 (1975): 5–14. [1]
2. J. Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976). [2]
3. C. H. Dayton, “Consensual Sex: The Eighteenth-Century Double Standard,” in *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 157–229. [3]
4. W. Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 5. [4]
5. D. P. Fages, *An Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, trans. H. I. Priestly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 33. [5]
6. S.-E. Jacobs, W. K. Thomas, and S. Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 4; S. Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), xiii. [6]
7. R. Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous People’s History of the United States* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2014), 57–60, 81–100, 108–110, 136–139, 144–151; R. C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 155–167; A. Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1996). [7]
8. R. H. Cleves, *Charity and Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); S. V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); W. W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, 1619–1792* (Charlottesville: Jamestown Foundation / University Press of Virginia, 1969); M. Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); M. Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). [8]
9. E. K. Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). [9]
10. M. B. Norton, “An Indentured Servant Identifies as ‘Both Man and Woeman’: Jamestown, 1629,” in *Women’s America: Refocusing the Past*, 8th ed., ed. L. K. Kerber, J. S. De Hart, C. H. Dayton, and J. T.-C. Wu (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 37. [10]
11. K. Brown, “‘Changed . . . into the Fashion of a Man’: The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Settlement,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6 (1995): 171–193. [11]
12. N. F. Cott, “Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850,” *Signs* 4 (Winter 1978):219–236; K. Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). [12]
13. K. V. Hansen, “‘No Kisses Is Like Youres’: An Erotic Friendship between Two African-American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Gender and History* 7 (August 1995): 153–182; C. Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1–29. [13]
14. M. G. Murray, “Pete the Great: A Biography of Peter Doyle,” *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 12 (Summer 1994):1–51. [14]
15. G. Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 13–14, 33–45. [15]
16. K. Coyle and N. Van Dyke, “Sex, Smashing, and Storyville in Turn-of-the-Century New Orleans: Reexamining the Continuum of Lesbian Sexuality,” in *Carryin’ On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, ed. J. Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 56–72. [16]
17. L. Faderman and S. Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 23–24. [17]
18. G. L. Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 16; P.Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); N. A. Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); S. L. Johnson, “Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush” (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000). [18]
19. J. N. Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). [19]
20. G. Chauncey, “From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: The Changing Medical Conceptualization of Female ‘Deviance,’” in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. K. Peiss and C. Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 87–117; L. Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); S.

Somerville, “Scientific Racism and the Invention of the Homosexual Body,” in *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Anthology*, ed. B. Beemyn and M. Eliason (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 241–262. [20]

21. L. Duggan, “The Trials of Alice Mitchell: Sensationalism, Sexology, and the Lesbian Subject in Turn-of-the-Century America, *Signs* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1993): 795–798. [21]
22. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 16–17; B. Zimmerman, ed., *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 2003), 776–777. [22]
23. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 336–337. [23]
24. A. Bérubé, *Coming Out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press,1990), 2, 20–21, 28–29, 201, 227, 228. [24]
25. Bérubé, *Coming Out under Fire*; Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 49, 69–81, 111–116; D. Buring, “Softball and Alcohol: The Limits of Lesbian Community in Memphis from the 1940s through the 1960s,” in J. Howard, *Carryin’ On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, 203–223; J. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 73, 87; E. L. Kennedy and M. D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993); M. Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); J. T. Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life, 1948–1968* (New York: Westview Press, 1997); M. Stein, *City of Brotherly and Sisterly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004). [25]
26. M. Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*; C. R. Leslie, “Creating Criminals: The Injuries Inflicted by ‘Unenforced’ Sodomy Laws,” *Harvard Civil Rights–Civil Liberties Law Review* 35 (2000): 103–181; G. B.Lewis, “Lifting the Ban on Gays in the Civil Service: Federal Policy toward Gay and Lesbian Employees since the Cold War,” *Public Administration Review* 57, no. 5 (1997): 387–395. [26]
27. K. L. Groves, *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida’s Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); D. K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). [27]
28. K. S. Wisely, “‘When We Go to Deal with City Hall, We Put on a Shirt and Tie’: Gay Rights Movement Done the Dallas Way, 1965–2003” (PhD diss., University of North Texas, Denton, 2018). [28]
29. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 59–64. [29]
30. D’Emilio, 63, 65; ellipsis in the original; see also C. Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: 1940–1996* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 123. [30]
31. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 87; M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2006), 178. [31]
32. V. Silverman and S. Stryker, dirs., *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria* (San Francisco, CA: Frameline, 2005); S. Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal, 2008). [32]
33. D. Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2004), 68, 80, 96–103, 124–125, 141, 156; M. Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Plume Books, 1993), 181–193. [33]
34. L. Truscott IV, “Gay Power Comes to Sheridan Square,” *Village Voice*, July 3, 1969, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/exhibitions/sw25/voice_19690703_truscott.html. [34]
35. Carter, *Stonewall*, 245–246. [35]
36. C. Wittman, “A Gay Manifesto,” in *We Are Everywhere: A Historical Sourcebook of Gay and Lesbian Politics*, ed. M. Blasius and S. Phelan (New York: Routledge, 1997), 380–384; K. Jay and A. Young, *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation* (New York: New York University Press, 1992); C. A. Pomerleau, “Empowering Members, Not Overpowering Them: The National Organization for Women, Calls for Lesbian Inclusion, and California Influence, 1960s–1980s,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 57, no. 7 (2010): 842–861. [36]
37. “DignityUSA History,” DignityUSA, accessed April 11, 2021, http://www.dignityusa.org/history. [37]
38. E. Eaklor, *Queer America: A People’s GLBT History of the United States* (New York: New Press, 2008), 136. [38]
39. H. L. Minton, *Departing from Deviance: A History of Homosexual Rights and Emancipatory Science in America*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 219–236. [39]
40. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 150–151. [40]

41. American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: APA, 1980), s.vv. “gender identity disorder of childhood,” “transsexualism.” [41]
42. M. Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 133. [42]
43. Stein, 140–141. [43]
44. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 167, 182. [44]
45. Lawrence v. Texas, 539 U.S. 558 (2003). [45]
46. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 132–136. [46]
47. Combahee River Collective, “A Black Feminist Statement,” in *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, ed. Z. Eisenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), 210. [47]
48. L. K. Altman, “Rare Cancer Seen in 41 Homosexuals,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1981. Also see J.-M. Andriote, *Victory Deferred: How AIDS Changed Gay Life in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 49; R. Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1987), 37, 54–66. [48]
49. M. Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2011), 225; Eaklor, *Queer America*, 176; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 143–144. [49]
50. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 177; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 155. [50]
51. Bronski, *Queer History of the United States*, 229; Eaklor, *Queer America*, 180. [51]
52. Advisory Committee of the People with AIDS, “The Denver Principles,” 1983, accessed April 11, 2021, http://www.actupny.org/documents/Denver.html. [52]
53. Bronski, *Queer History of the United States*, 228. [53]
54. Bowers v. Hardwick, 478 U.S. 186 (1986). [54]
55. Bronski, *Queer History of the United States*, 231; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 157. [55]
56. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 177; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 158–163. [56]
57. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 177–178. [57]
58. M. Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1991); M. Garber, *Vice Versa: Bisexuality and Eroticism of Everyday Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995); C. Queen, *Exhibitionism for the Shy: Show Off, Dress Up and Talk Hot* (New York: Down There Press, 1995); C. Queen, *Real Live Nude Girl: Chronicles of Sex-Positive Culture* (New York: Cleis Press, 1997); C. Queen and L. Schimel, *PoMoSexuals: Challenging Assumptions about Gender and Sexuality* (New York: Cleis Press, 1997). [58]
59. Eaklor, *Queer America*, 152, 181. [59]
60. Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 152. [60]
61. Stein, 153–154. [61]
62. 10 U.S.C. § 654; H.R. 2965, S. 4023. [62]
63. Exec. Order No. 13,087, 1998. [63]
64. H.R. 3355, Pub. L. 103–322. [64]
65. Baehr v. Miike 910 P.2d 112 (1996). [65]
66. Obergefell v. Hodges, 576 U.S. ___ (2015). [66]
67. D. Spade, *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Sylvia Rivera Law Project, “SRLP Announces Non-support of the Gender Employment Non-discrimination Act,” *SRLP News*, April 6, 2009, https://srlp.org/genda/. [67]
68. G. Chauncey, *Why Marriage? The History Shaping Today’s Debate over Gay Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); L. Duggan, “Beyond Marriage: Democracy, Equality, and Kinship for a New Century,” *S&F Online* 10, nos. 1–2 (Fall 2011–Spring 2012), http://sfonline.barnard.edu/a-new-qu...a-new-century/; M. Warner, *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life* (New York: Free Press, 1999). [68]
69. P. Ettelbrick, “Since When Is Marriage a Path to Liberation?,” *Out/Look: National Lesbian and Gay Quarterly* 6 (1989): 14–16, https://www.nationalists.org/library/misc/marriage-path-to-liberation.html. [69]
70. J. N. Katz, “Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and the U.S.,” *Outhistory.org*, updated July 1, 2020,http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/...s/katz-ulrichs. [70]
71. K. H. Ulrichs, “‘Araxes’ (1870),” in *We Are Everywhere: A Historical Sourcebook of Gay and Lesbian Politics*, ed. M. Blasius and S. Phelan (New York: Routledge, 1997), 63–64. [71]
72. “Paragraph 175 of the German Imperial Penal Code (1871),” in Blasius and Phelan, *We Are Everywhere*, 63. [72]

73. Katz, *Invention of Heterosexuality*, 52–54. [73]
74. R. von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis, with Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Medico-legal Study*, trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (F. A. Davis, 1894), https://archive.org/details/sexualinstinctcon00krafuoft. [74]
75. Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 400. [75]
76. Somerville, "Scientific Racism and the Invention of the Homosexual Body." [76]
77. M. Hirschfeld, "Selections from *The Transvestites*: The Erotic Drive to Cross-Dress," in *The Transgender Studies Reader*, ed. S. Stryker and S. Whittle (New York: Routledge, 2006), 149. [77]
78. M. Hirschfeld, *Homosexuality of Men and Women* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2000). [78]
79. J. Lauritsen and D. Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864–1935* (rev. ed.; Ojai, CA: Times Change Press, 1995), 8. [79]
80. H. Ellis, *Sexual Inversion* (London: University Press, 1897). [80]
81. J. Miller, "The Outcast Redeemer," *Politics and Culture*, no. 2 (May 24, 2010), https://politicsandculture.org/2010/05/24/the-outcast-redeemer-2/. [81]
82. E. Carpenter, "The Intermediate Sex," in Blasius and Phelan, *We Are Everywhere*, 114–131. [82]
83. Hirschfeld, "Selections from *The Transvestites*." [83]
84. I. Bloch, *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of All Races in All Ages, Ancient and Modern, Oriental and Occidental, Primitive and Civilized* (New York: AMS Press, 1933). [84]
85. S. Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000). [85]
86. Freud, 2–3. [86]
87. S. Freud, "The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex," in *The Freud Reader*, ed. P. Gay (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 661–665. [87]
88. Freud, 305. [88]
89. S. de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1949); B. Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963); K. Millett, *Sexual Politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970); S. Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 1970). [89]

This page titled 4.7: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

5: LGBTQ+ Legal History

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
- Recognize that progress faces resistance and does not follow a linear path.
- Identify key approaches within LGBTQ+ studies, and discuss at least the legal history approach in detail.

5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview

5.2: Marriage Equality

5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates

5.4: Research Resources

5.5: Glossary and Footnotes

5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles

"Unnamed" by Jami Mathewson is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0. Two men marry, surrounded by wedding party, in New Orleans, LA on November 11, 2017.

This page titled 5: LGBTQ+ Legal History is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dara J. Silberstein.

5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview

Introduction

Historians often face the difficult task of determining how and when to tell the story of certain events, ideas, or people. This is no less true in telling the history of **LGBTQ+ law in the United States.** It may be surprising to many, but LGBTQ+ laws have a long, storied past and have existed as long as the United States itself. Laws enacted at local and state levels have long been used to regulate acceptable sex and gender norms. For example, in ***Arresting Dress*, Clare Sears** writes about the nineteenth-century San Francisco **laws that outlawed cross-dressing.**[1] These laws and resistance to them tell important stories about how LGBTQ+ practices were regulated. This chapter focuses on some of the key legal doctrines that have been crucial in determining the overall landscape of LGBTQ+ rights in the **United States and the Supreme Court's interpretation of the U.S. Constitution** and its application to **protecting members of LGBTQ+ communities.**

Throughout this chapter it is important to remember that our system of constitutional law is premised on the rights enumerated in the federal constitution being natural rights—that is, rights that are inalienable and preexist our government. What this means is that the **Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution,** does not grant any rights. Rather, each amendment represents a mandate for the government to not interfere with individual rights or to not prevent others from doing so. For example, the First Amendment right to free speech does not mean that the government has to give you the means to speak, but it cannot interfere with your inalienable right to do so.[2] **Crucial to any claim to protected rights is that one must be recognized as human.** As anyone who is familiar with U.S. history knows, enslaved African and African Americans were deemed to be chattel (property) and not human, which served to deny them protections as enumerated by these rights. In addition, women, particularly married women, were not recognized as independent citizens and also lacked many of the Constitution's enumerated rights. Though this egregious thinking would begin to be overturned in the latter half of the nineteenth century, keep it in mind as we survey the rights that eventually applied to members of the LGBTQ+ communities.

Ironically, sexuality, so basic to the human experience, was never mentioned in the original federal constitution or by **James Madison, the principal architect of the Bill of Rights.** This chapter provides an understanding of the constitutionally based issues that have influenced recent outcomes of the protected rights of LGBTQ+ communities. We begin with a closer look at the tenets that paved the way for recognition of sexual rights. Next we examine the process that eventually led the Supreme Court to extend these rights to include lesbian and gay sexualities. After that extension, the next large hurdle confronting the Court was the question of marriage equality. Finally, we briefly consider recent issues before the Court that go beyond sexual rights but strike at core understandings of LGBTQ+ equality.

Explore

The Supreme Court website (https://www.supremecourt.gov/) has more information about the Supreme Court, how it works, and its history and traditions.

- Find a case discussed in this chapter, and read or listen to the oral arguments presented for the case. Do these materials help you understand the case better?
- How does the Supreme Court work, and what are some of its traditions?
- Read about the court and constitutional interpretation; why is the Supreme Court considered a unique institution by world standards? What role does the U.S. Constitution play in this history?

Sexual Rights and the Constitution

The U.S. Constitution approved by the delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention did not include the protection of rights that were enumerated in the ten constitutional amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, that were eventually ratified in 1791. These amendments included guarantees such as the **right to free speech, the right to due process, and the right to a speedy trial.**[3] What was not enumerated or made explicit was a **right to sexual liberty.** How, then, would **"we the people"** come to expect the **Constitution to protect such rights,** particularly with respect to same-sex sexualities? An answer to this question begins with the Ninth Amendment's statement that "the enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." The inclusion of this amendment makes clear that the rights explicitly stated were not

exclusive of those that were unenumerated and those that could not be anticipated. As the authors of ***Sexual Rights in America*** write, "As the guardian of fundamental rights unanticipated or underappreciated two centuries past, the Ninth Amendment transforms the Constitution from a static record of our forebears' political and moral understandings into a dynamic and evolving expression of our basic rights."[4] To be clear, the Ninth Amendment was not intended to protect the rights of all. As noted earlier, rights were explicitly denied to the enslaved Africans and African Americans who were considered to be not human but chattel, "the name given to things which in law are deemed personal property."[5] Nor was the full range of rights available to women, particularly married women, who essentially merged their individuality into that of their husbands under the law of coverture. This meant that women were not only denied the vote but, when married, could not sign contracts or conduct other business independent from their husbands.[6]

Nevertheless, the inclusion of the Ninth Amendment in the Bill of Rights provides a basis for protecting those rights considered to **be natural and thus fundamental to liberty.** As some have argued, this includes basic sexual rights, although the range and extent of these rights remains a source of great division among legal scholars and advocates.[7] This was precisely the point made by Justice Arthur Goldberg in his concurring opinion in ***Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965),** in which the Supreme Court found that a **married couple** had the **fundamental right to privacy within marriage.**[8] Arguing that the Ninth Amendment provided a constitutional basis for recognizing this fundamental right, Goldberg stated, To hold that a right so basic and fundamental and so deep-rooted in our society as the right of privacy in marriage may be infringed because that right is not guaranteed in so many words by the first eight amendments to the Constitution is to ignore the Ninth Amendment, and to give it no effect whatsoever. [9]Despite what might appear to be an easy way to expand on the rights protected by the Ninth Amendment, the court has rarely addressed its meaning or expanded the list of unenumerated rights it might imply.

The amendment that would provide the **basis for sexual rights was the Fourteenth Amendment,** one of the three amendments ratified in the post–Civil War period, which states in part, **No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;** nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.[10]One interesting point to consider is that this amendment was ratified in response to the scourge of slavery's system of racism. Under the Fourteenth Amendment, states could no longer deny some of its residents, particularly formerly enslaved people, **their rights protected by the federal constitution.** The least influential clause, the privileges and immunities clause, was significantly limited in scope by the Supreme Court in the *Slaughter-House Cases* (1873).[11] However, the equal protection and due process clauses have played significant roles in the development of sexual rights. **The Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause** does not specify what liberties it is meant to protect. The Court answered this question in ***Palko v. Connecticut* (1937).**[12] Writing for the Supreme Court, Justice Benjamin Cardozo found that this clause protected only those liberties that were "of the very essence of a scheme of ordered liberty."[13] As a result of this decision, the liberties protected by the Bill of Rights were gradually applied to the states as well.

Privacy as a Fundamental Right

The *Griswold* case, in which the Supreme Court was asked to rule on whether a married couple had a right to birth control, took the *Palko* decision further and looked at whether such a right emanated from **those enumerated within the Bill of Rights.** In his *Griswold* majority opinion, Justice William Douglas wrote that "specific guarantees in the Bill of Rights have penumbras, formed by emanations from those guarantees that help give them life and substance." He noted that a number of these guarantees create **"zones of privacy"** that suggest the framers certainly understood the existence of a fundamental right to privacy. Once this fundamental right was recognized, Douglas aptly applied it to intimate decisions between married couples.[14] As is well known, this fundamental right to privacy became the basis for Justice Harry Blackmun's majority opinion in ***Roe v. Wade* (1973)**, which found that Texas did not have enough of an interest in interfering with a woman's fundamental right to privacy in choosing whether to have an abortion during the first trimester.[15] The trimester-based right to privacy was altered by the court's subsequent decision in ***Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992),** so that the question of the state's interest in preventing women from exercising their fundamental right to privacy came to be measured against fetal viability: the more viable, the more the state had an interest in protecting the fetus.[16] Some have suggested that the *Casey* decision limited the fundamental quality of women's right to privacy and is indicative of the Court's willingness to limit the liberties protected under this Fourteenth Amendment right. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court's decisions in the reproductive rights cases created the legal doctrine of the fundamental right to privacy that would eventually become useful in expanding the sexual rights extended to lesbian, gays, and bisexuals.

The Supreme Court first considered whether the right to privacy applied to same-sex sexuality in ***Bowers v. Hardwick*.**[17] In this decision, made in 1986 as the AIDS epidemic was ravaging members of LGBTQ+ communities, the Supreme Court demonstrated that it was unwilling to extend the fundamental right to privacy protections to gay men. The *Bowers* case arose from a challenge to Georgia's laws criminalizing sodomy. A remarkable fact in *Bowers* was that the acts in question occurred in the privacy of **Michael Hardwick's bedroom.** An Atlanta police officer went to serve what turned out to be an invalid arrest warrant on Hardwick for his failure to appear in court on a citation for alleged public drinking. Hardwick's roommate allowed the officer to enter, whereupon he opened the bedroom door to find Hardwick and another man having sex. The officer arrested both men, charging them with homosexual sodomy, a felony under Georgia law.[18] From a legal advocacy perspective, this made the fact pattern in *Bowers* ideal to challenge Georgia's sodomy law under the fundamental right to privacy. However, writing for the court, Justice Byron White did not find constitutional protection for homosexual sodomy. White noted the court's previous review of fundamental rights surrounding heterosexual reproductive rights and found that homosexual sodomy was not "implicit in the concept of ordered liberty," such that "neither liberty nor justice would exist if they were sacrificed." He also dismissed the idea that the right to engage in homosexual sodomy was "deeply rooted in this Nation's history and tradition."[19] This idea, that somehow homosexuality was not a part of U.S. history, inspired historians to produce a range of scholarship that would become i**nstrumental in the Court's decision to overturn *Bowers*.**

It took the Court seventeen years to overturn its *Bowers* decision, during which several states continued to criminalize same-sex sexuality. It is notable, however, that in terms of the history of overturned precedents this period was brief. For instance, the court's seminal ***Brown v. Board of Education* decision,** ending race-based segregation in education, was issued nearly sixty years after the separate-but-equal doctrine was set forth in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, allowing states to impose legally sanctioned racial segregation.[20] The *Bowers* decision, however, held sway in the midst of the AIDS crisis and fostered an environment in which untold numbers of gay men would forgo early medical intervention in addressing the virus for fear of facing criminal charges.[21]

By 2003 the cultural landscape had shifted enough for the court to reconsider the question of the fundamental right to privacy protections afforded to homosexual sex in the case of *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003).[22] Writing for the majority, Justice Anthony Kennedy noted that the facts in *Lawrence* were similar to *Bowers* in that Lawrence and Garner were arrested for committing sodomy in the privacy of John Lawrence's home when a police officer entered in response to a call about a weapons disturbance.[23] The law in Texas criminalized homosexual but not heterosexual sodomy. While advocates offered equal protection arguments in addition to the Fourteenth's due process protection of the fundamental right to privacy, Justice Kennedy wrote that the case "should be resolved by determining whether the petitioners were free as adults to engage in the private conduct in the exercise of their liberty under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution."[24] Kennedy wrote that the sodomy laws sought to control behavior that was within the liberty of persons to choose without being punished as criminals. . . . It suffices for us to acknowledge that adults may choose to enter upon this relationship in the confines of their homes and their own private lives and still retain their dignity as free persons. When sexuality finds overt expression in intimate conduct with another person, the conduct can be but one element in a personal bond that is more enduring. **The liberty protected by the Constitution** allows homosexual persons the right to make this choice.[25] Kennedy's opinion specifically challenged the historical framework previously set forth in *Bowers* and, in so doing, established the rootedness of homosexual **intimacy as a liberty protected by the fundamental right to privacy.** It is noteworthy that Kennedy did not embrace the equal protection clause in his decision, noting that "were we to hold the statute invalid under the Equal Protection Clause some might question whether a prohibition would be valid if drawn differently, say, to prohibit the conduct both between same-sex and different-sex participants."[26] Kennedy did acknowledge that decriminalizing homosexual sodomy would lead to destigmatizing homosexuality itself, removing an unequal burden previously placed on homosexuals for their sexual intimacies.

Visit

Oyez (pronounced "Oh-yay") is a multimedia archive devoted to making Supreme Court decisions available to all. It is a collaboration between Cornell's Legal Information Institute, Justia, and Chicago-Kent College of Law.

- Visit the web page for the Supreme Court's decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick*. (https://www.oyez.org/cases/1985/85-140) Listen to the oral argument; what surprised you the most about this exchange?
- Visit the web page for the Supreme Court's decision in *Lawrence v. Texas*. (https://www.oyez.org/cases/2002/02-102) Listen to the oral argument for *Lawrence*; how does it compare with the oral arguments made in *Bowers v. Hardwick*?

One cannot overstate the impact of the *Lawrence* decision on the lives of LGB people whose intimate practices finally had protection as a fundamental liberty. That being said, some question the dependency of this liberty on a fundamental right to privacy because this emphasis on private sexual activities runs counter to practices within homosexual communities.[27] They suggest that for gay men cruising and sex in public spaces has been an important, integral part of their identities. Within this context, the private sex that the fundamental right is based on is viewed as assimilationist because it continues to marginalize homosexuals or even outright erase components of their sexualities.[28]

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What was the legal significance of the Supreme Court's decision in Bowers v. Hardwick (1986)?
A) It decriminalized same-sex sexual activity nationwide.
B) It refused to extend the fundamental right to privacy to same-sex sexual conduct, upholding sodomy laws.
C) It established marriage equality.
D) It overturned all state sodomy laws.

2. How did the facts of the Bowers v. Hardwick case make it an ideal challenge to Georgia's sodomy law?
A) The acts occurred in a public place.
B) The case involved only heterosexual couples.
C) The acts occurred in the privacy of Hardwick's bedroom, highlighting the issue of privacy rights.
D) The arrest was for public drinking.

3. What was a major consequence of the Bowers decision for the LGBTQ+ community during the AIDS crisis?
A) It fostered an environment of fear, causing many to avoid seeking medical help.
B) It encouraged early medical intervention.
C) It legalized same-sex marriage.
D) It led to the immediate repeal of sodomy laws.

4. What constitutional argument did Justice Kennedy use in Lawrence v. Texas (2003) to overturn Bowers?
A) The First Amendment right to free speech.
B) The Ninth Amendment.
C) The Equal Protection Clause.
D) The Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment protecting liberty and privacy.

5. How did the Lawrence v. Texas decision change the legal landscape for LGBTQ+ rights in the United States?
A) It affirmed the right of adults to engage in private, consensual sexual conduct, decriminalizing same-sex sexual activity.
B) It upheld the criminalization of same-sex sexual activity.
C) It banned same-sex marriage.
D) It limited the right to privacy.

Discussion Questions

1. Analyze the reasoning used by the Supreme Court in Bowers v. Hardwick. How did the Court's interpretation of history and tradition influence its decision, and what were the broader social consequences?
2. Discuss the significance of the shift from Bowers v. Hardwick to Lawrence v. Texas. What social, cultural, and legal changes made this reversal possible within just seventeen years?
3. How did the criminalization of same-sex sexual activity under sodomy laws impact the health, safety, and civil rights of LGBTQ+ individuals during the AIDS crisis?
4. In what ways did the Supreme Court's evolving interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment's Due Process Clause expand the scope of privacy and liberty rights for marginalized groups?
5. Reflect on the role of legal advocacy and historical scholarship in overturning precedents like Bowers. How do legal arguments and historical narratives interact to shape constitutional rights?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) It refused to extend the fundamental right to privacy to same-sex sexual conduct, upholding sodomy laws.
2. C) The acts occurred in the privacy of Hardwick's bedroom, highlighting the issue of privacy rights.
3. A) It fostered an environment of fear, causing many to avoid seeking medical help.
4. D) The Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment protecting liberty and privacy.
5. A) It affirmed the right of adults to engage in private, consensual sexual conduct, decriminalizing same-sex sexual activity.

This page titled 5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **3.2: Chapter 5- LGBTQ+ Legal History** by Dara J. Silberstein is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

5.2: Marriage Equality

Same-Sex Marriage

Having achieved the **decriminalization of homosexuality** in *Lawrence*, the question of the legal status of **same-sex marriage became a focus of LGBTQ+ activism**. This was due, in part, to the increase in anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment that resulted from the notion that the *Lawrence* decision had gone too far in normalizing homosexuality. Justice Antonin Scalia iterated this concern when he noted that after the court's ruling, limiting marriage to heterosexuals was on "pretty shaky grounds."[29] The focus on marriage equality was also due to LGB couples being denied basic protections during the AIDS epidemic, ranging from partners being denied input into medical decision-making to the eviction of surviving partners from their apartments.[30]

As advocates conducted a state-by-state effort to gain marriage equality, **Hawaii became the first state** in which its court ruled on the issue. In the 1996 case of *Baehr v. Miike* (originally known as *Baehr v. Lewin* when it was brought to court in 1993), the Hawaii Supreme Court ruled that same-sex marriage was legal given the state constitution's equal rights amendment.[31] However, the impact of this decision was curtailed by the state legislature in 1998 when, after a statewide referendum, it amended the state constitution to define marriage to be legal only for opposite-sex couples. This constitutional change reflected the federal **Defense of Marriage Act of 1996 (DOMA),** which defined marriage as a "legal union between one man and one woman as husband and wife, and the word 'spouse' refers only to a person of the opposite sex who is a husband or a wife."[32] During the ensuing period, several states took up the question of whether state laws would allow or ban same-sex marriage. In 2004 Massachusetts became the first state to legalize same-sex marriage. By the time the U.S. Supreme Court addressed the question of **same-sex marriage in *United States v. Windsor***, thirty-seven states had legalized same-sex marriage.[33]

Same-sex marriage was not wholly embraced within LGBTQ+ communities. Some, like the LGBTQ+ attorney **Paula Ettelbrick,** argued that marriage was a patriarchal institution that would not liberate lesbians and gay men but would "force our assimilation into the mainstream and undermine the goals of gay liberation."[34] Others maintained that same-sex marriage was misdirecting the LGBTQ+ movement's attention away from more important efforts, including the kind of legal reform that would overturn laws targeting LGBTQ+ people.[35] Despite these objections, the main LGBTQ+ advocacy groups focused the bulk of their efforts on achieving marriage **equality for same-sex couples.** The widespread disagreement between state laws and DOMA finally led the Supreme Court to address same-sex marriage in *Windsor* in 2013. That case involved the surviving partner of a same-sex marriage, Edith Windsor, who sought a refund from the Internal Revenue Service for taxes she was forced to pay on the estate of her spouse, Thea Spyer. Normally, spouses were exempt from paying taxes on their partner's estate, but the IRS determined that irrespective of whether Windsor's marriage was legal under New York state law, DOMA meant that it was not legal under federal law. Writing for the majority, **Justice Kennedy** concluded that DOMA's "principal effect is to identify a subset of state-sanctioned marriages and make them unequal." He therefore **declared DOMA as a violation of equal protection.**[36]

***Windsor* was a significant victory for same-sex marriage proponents because it declared DOMA unconstitutional.** However, the question of whether states were allowed to prohibit same-sex marriages within their jurisdictions would not be resolved until **2015,** two years after the *Windsor* decision, in the case of *Obergefell v. Hodges* (figure 5.5). Again writing for the majority, **Justice Kennedy found** that there was no justification for making a distinction between same-sex and opposite-sex marriages: **"The limitation of marriage to opposite-sex couples may long have seemed natural and just, but its inconsistency with the central meaning of the fundamental right to marry is now manifest."**[37] Kennedy looked at the fundamental nature of marriage itself and determined that four guiding principles warranted constitutional protection for same-sex couples. First, he noted that the Court consistently found that the personal decision to marry was inherent to the idea of individual liberty. Second, Kennedy acknowledged that the Court had previously determined marriage to be a union unlike any other and that went to the heart of individual liberty. Third, he found that "by giving recognition and legal structure to their parents' relationship, marriage allows children 'to understand the integrity and closeness of their own family and its concord with other families in their community and in their daily lives.'" Fourth, Kennedy stated that "this Court's cases and the Nation's traditions make clear that marriage is a keystone of our social order."[38]



Figure **5.2.1**: A woman holds two signs, "Be on the right side of history" and "Live is a family value". The image is from a demonstration that took place outside of the United States Supreme Court Building on the opening day of the Obergefell Vs Hodges hearing. ("Be On The Right Side of History Love Is A Family Value" by Jordan Uhl is licensed under CC BY 2.0 / is a derivative from the original work)

Through this analysis Kennedy found that the fundamental right for same-sex couples to marry was protected by the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause. He went further to note that there was a **synergy between this clause and the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.** He wrote, "The Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clause are connected in a profound way, though they set forth independent principles. . . . In any particular case one Clause may be thought to capture the essence of the right in a more accurate and comprehensive way, even as the two Clauses may converge in the identification and definition of the right."[39] The legal scholar Lawrence Tribe has argued that, by linking equal protection to due process, Kennedy gives centrality and meaning to the legal doctrine of **"equal dignity."**[40] Tribe suggests that equal dignity means all individuals deserve personal autonomy and freedom to define their own identity or existence. However, Kennedy's focus on the tradition and sanctity of marriage in our social order enveloped the issue of LGBTQ+ rights under the cover of conservative notions of family values.[41] Certainly, intimacy plays a significant role in the way many LGBTQ+ people live their lives, but as others have suggested, this alone is not the sole basis for what it means to be queer.

Explore

Lambda Legal is the oldest and largest national legal organization devoted to fighting for the civil rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transgender people, and people living with HIV. They engage in litigation, education, and policy work. Visit the Lambda Legal website (https://www.lambdalegal.org/about-us), and learn about the history of Lambda Legal (https://www.lambdalegal.org/about-us/history).

- Describe how the history of Lambda Legal reflects the broader struggle for LGBTQ+ liberation; what key issues are being litigated, and what were key watershed moments?
- What is the history of the legal fight for marriage equality, at both the state and the national levels?
- What range of work does Lambda Legal engage in? Pick one particular focus; what is a recent court decision relevant to that area of work?

LGBTQ+ and Equality

Before its *Obergefell* decision, the Supreme Court confronted the question of whether the equal protection clause protected against discrimination toward LGBTQ+ people. In 1996 the Court heard the case of ***Romer v. Evans,*** in which it was faced with the decision of whether Colorado's Amendment 2 violated the equal protection clause. Amendment 2 was adopted in response to several municipal laws that banned discrimination in housing, employment, education, and public accommodation against LGBTQ+ people. The amendment prohibited any law designed to protect the status of people on the basis of their "homosexual, lesbian or bisexual orientation, conduct, practices or relationships."[42] The state essentially argued that Amendment 2 did nothing more than put LGBTQ+ people on the same footing as all other Colorado residents who weren't afforded the specific protections of the various laws within the state. However, in a decision authored by Justice Kennedy, the Court found that **Amendment 2 violated the equal protection clause and was unconstitutional.** Kennedy explained, The Fourteenth Amendment's promise that no person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws must co exist [*sic*] with the practical necessity that most legislation classifies for one purpose or another, with resulting disadvantage to various groups or persons. . . . We have attempted to reconcile the principle with the reality by stating that, if a law neither burdens a fundamental right nor targets a suspect class, we will uphold the legislative classification so long as it bears a rational relation to some legitimate end. . . . Amendment 2 fails, indeed defies, even this conventional inquiry.[43]

Kennedy found that Amendment 2's exclusion of LGBTQ+ people from receiving legal protections already afforded to others failed to have a rational relationship to a legitimate governmental purpose, and as a result, it violated the minimal standard of review for equal protection cases.[44] This outcome was significant, especially coming after the *Bowers* decision, but it did not offer the kind of more rigid review given to laws that discriminate on the basis of race or gender. Some suggest that Kennedy's use of the rational basis test meant that laws targeting LGBTQ+ people for unequal treatment might survive because legislation that could be rationalized would not violate the equal protection clause.[45] For instance, in the case of ***Boy Scouts of America v. Dale*** (2000) the court found that the Boy Scouts of America could revoke the adult membership of James Dale, who was a former Eagle Scout and assistant scoutmaster at the time of his ouster. The Boy Scouts claimed that their freedom of expressive association rights would be violated if forced to include Dale, who was a known homosexual and gay rights activist. Writing for the majority, **Chief Justice William Rehnquist found,**

We are not, as we must not be, guided by our views of whether the Boy Scouts' teachings with respect to homosexual conduct are right or wrong; public or judicial disapproval of a tenet of an organization's expression does not justify the State's effort to compel the organization to accept members where such acceptance would derogate from the organization's expressive message.[46]

Rehnquist's opinion read much more into the **"expressive" association** than was evidenced by the Boy Scouts' mission, oath, and handbook. Indeed, none of the written records Rehnquist relied on explicitly mentioned how the values the organization purportedly espoused were directly challenged by the inclusion of Dale. This case has not been overturned, although the Boy Scouts themselves have, in recent years, opened their doors to gay men and lesbians.

If a heightened review of LGBTQ+ equal protection had been implemented in the case of ***Masterpiece Cakeshop, Ltd. v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission*** **(2018),** that might have influenced its outcome. In that case the Court was faced with the question of whether a Colorado baker's religious freedom protected his right to *not* make a wedding cake for a same-sex wedding (figure 5.6). The couple in this case brought a complaint to **Colorado's Civil Rights Commission,** which found in their favor, citing the state's antidiscrimination law. **Justice Kennedy wrote for the court, "While it is unexceptional that Colorado law can protect gay persons in acquiring products and services on the same terms and conditions as are offered to other members of the public, the law must be applied in a manner that is neutral toward religion."**[47] However, this case was narrowly decided in that the Court's ruling was not so much about religious freedom as it was about the obvious hostility toward the baker's religious beliefs as expressed by the state's civil rights commission. In this way the Court left open the door of whether religious freedom protections outweigh the right for **LGBTQ+ people to live free from discrimination.** As the **NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund** amicus brief argued, allowing religious beliefs to serve as a basis for discrimination puts in jeopardy groups like African Americans who historically endured discrimination because of the religious beliefs held by some that whites were naturally superior to nonwhites.[48] Applying heightened scrutiny to laws and acts that discriminate against LGBTQ+ people might tip the balance of such cases in favor of equal protection over religious freedom in the future. The previous cases look at issues related to the Constitution's protection against sexuality discrimination. The Court decided in 2020 that legal protections extend to those who are gender nonconforming. In ***Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia,*** the Court held that gay and gender-nonconforming people are protected by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which bars employers from discriminating against employees on the basis of sex, race, national origin, and religion.[49]

Indeed, the United States has a long history of discriminating against gender-nonconforming people. Several cities, including San Francisco and New York, had laws that criminalized those who wore clothing not deemed appropriate to their sex.[50] Today, discrimination against gender-nonconforming people is fairly common. New York allows individuals to change their gender on their driver's licenses and other official documents, but few other states do. As is often discussed, the grouping of gender-nonconforming people under the LGBTQ+ umbrella has often meant specific gender-based issues are overshadowed by those that are sexuality based. Nevertheless, in the case of ***Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*** **(1989),** the Court determined that sex stereotyping was a form of prohibited sex discrimination, which might open the door for greater protections for those who are gender nonconforming. In that case, Ann Hopkins was denied partnership in an accounting firm because several of the review partners found that she was not feminine enough. The Court found that this was a form of sex stereotyping, which it defined as **"a person's nonconformity to social or other expectations of that person's gender."**[51] In its conclusion the Court found that the sex-based actions would be permissible if the employer could prove that Hopkins would not have been promoted in any event, but it was unable to do so in the subsequent court hearings. Though this precedent provides some hope to those advocating on behalf of

LGBTQ+ people, it remains to be seen whether the Court will go so far as to afford protections against workplace discrimination in a way that expands the current scope of its previous decisions and current federal laws.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What was the main legal effect of the Supreme Court's decision in United States v. Windsor (2013)?
A) It legalized same-sex marriage nationwide.
B) It declared the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) unconstitutional, requiring federal recognition of state-sanctioned same-sex marriages.
C) It banned same-sex marriage in all states.
D) It overturned Obergefell v. Hodges.

2. In Obergefell v. Hodges (2015), which constitutional principles did Justice Kennedy link to justify marriage equality?
A) The First Amendment and the Commerce Clause
B) The Ninth Amendment and the Supremacy Clause
C) The Tenth Amendment and the Establishment Clause
D) The Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment

3. What was the Supreme Court's reasoning in Romer v. Evans (1996) regarding Colorado's Amendment 2?
A) It was a legitimate exercise of state power.
B) It was protected by religious freedom.
C) It failed even rational basis review and violated the Equal Protection Clause by singling out LGBTQ+ people for exclusion from legal protections.
D) It was required by federal law.

4. What unresolved issue did the Masterpiece Cakeshop, Ltd. v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission (2018) decision leave open?
A) Whether religious freedom can justify discrimination against LGBTQ+ people in providing goods and services.
B) Whether states could ban same-sex marriage.
C) Whether Title VII protects gender-nonconforming people.
D) Whether DOMA was constitutional.

5. What did the Supreme Court decide in Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia (2020)?
A) Title VII does not protect LGBTQ+ employees.
B) States can ban same-sex marriage.
C) Title VII protects gay and gender-nonconforming people from employment discrimination.
D) Religious freedom always outweighs anti-discrimination laws.

Discussion Questions

1. Analyze how the Supreme Court's reasoning in Windsor and Obergefell built upon earlier equal protection and due process precedents. How did the Court's understanding of "equal dignity" shape the outcome?
2. Discuss the significance of the rational basis review in Romer v. Evans. How did this standard both advance and limit the protection of LGBTQ+ rights under the Equal Protection Clause?
3. The Masterpiece Cakeshop decision was narrowly focused on the state's treatment of religious beliefs. What are the broader implications for future cases involving conflicts between religious freedom and anti-discrimination protections for LGBTQ+ people?
4. How did the Bostock v. Clayton County decision expand the scope of Title VII protections? In what ways does this decision reflect ongoing challenges for gender-nonconforming individuals in the workplace and beyond?
5. Consider the critiques within the LGBTQ+ community regarding the focus on marriage equality. How might the emphasis on marriage and "equal dignity" both advance and constrain the broader goals of LGBTQ+ activism, especially for those whose needs are not addressed by marriage rights?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) It declared the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) unconstitutional, requiring federal recognition of state-sanctioned same-sex marriages.
2. D) The Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment
3. C) It failed even rational basis review and violated the Equal Protection Clause by singling out LGBTQ+ people for exclusion from legal protections.
4. A) Whether religious freedom can justify discrimination against LGBTQ+ people in providing goods and services.
5. C) Title VII protects gay and gender-nonconforming people from employment discrimination.

This page titled 5.2: Marriage Equality is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **3.2: Chapter 5- LGBTQ+ Legal History** by Dara J. Silberstein is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates

On June 12, 2016, forty-nine people were killed and fifty-three wounded in the **Pulse nightclub** shooting in Orlando, Florida. It was the deadliest single-person mass shooting and the largest documented anti-LGBTQ+ attack in U.S. history. Attacking a gay nightclub on Latin night resulted in over 90 percent of the victims being Latinx and the majority being LGBTQ+ identified. This act focused on an iconic public space that provided LGBTQ+ adults an opportunity to explore and claim their sexual and gender identities. The violence at Pulse echoed the 1973 **UpStairs Lounge** arson attack in New Orleans that killed thirty-two people. These mass killings are part of a broader picture of violence that LGBTQ+ people experience, from the disproportionate killings of transgender women of color to domestic violence and bullying in schools. There are different perspectives within the LGBTQ+ community about responses to hate-motivated violence. These debates concern whether the use of punitive measures through the criminal legal system supports or harms the LGBTQ+ community and whether more radical approaches are needed to address the root causes of anti-LGBTQ+ violence. This profile explores hate crimes as both a legal category and a broader social phenomenon.

What Are Hate Crimes?

Anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes have had a simultaneously spectacular and invisible role in U.S. society. Today, hate crimes are defined as criminal acts motivated by bias toward victims' real or perceived identity groups.[52] Hate crimes are informal social control mechanisms used in stratified societies as part of what **Barbara Perry calls a "contemporary arsenal of oppression" f**or policing identity boundaries.[53] Hate crimes occur within social dynamics of oppression, in which **othered groups are vulnerable** to systemic violence, pushing marginalized groups further into the political and social edges of society. It is theorized that hate crimes are driven by conflicts over cultural, political, and economic resources; bias and hostility toward relatively powerless groups; and the failure of authorities to address hate in society.[54] Since the colonial period, violence against members of the LGBTQ+ community has been documented in the Western Hemisphere. Colonists drew on an interpretation of Judeo-Christian theology that viewed nonprocreative sex and gender nonconformity as sinful. Thus, violence toward people who did not conform to the colonists' gender and sexual norms, along with social exclusion, was viewed as permissible.[55]

With the advent of sexual identities such as the "homosexual" in the late 1800s, anti-sodomy and related laws became increasingly used to target LGBTQ+ people in North America and Europe during the twentieth century. These same laws were also imposed on indigenous peoples throughout the world as a result of colonialism. Yet incidents such as the **1960s Compton's Cafeteria riot and Stonewall rebellion** demonstrated that LGBTQ+ people, particularly trans women of color, were no longer willing to tolerate police harassment that resulted in arrests and violence because of who they were (figure 5.7).[56] **As the modern LGBTQ+ rights movement emerged,** activists challenged the idea that they deserved to be targeted for violence because of their identities. Despite the long history of bias-based crimes, it took centuries for this to become understood and labeled as hate crimes.[57]

Prejudicial cultural norms perpetuate otherness, promoting prejudice and normalizing and rewarding hate, as well as punishing those who respect and embrace difference.[58] Cultures of hate identify marginalized groups as enemies through dehumanization and perpetuate group violence.[59] Perpetrators' actions thus reflect an understanding and navigation of overarching social structures that separate the othered from the accepted. In the case of anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes, heterosexism is an oppressive ideology that rejects, degrades, and others **"any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship or community."** It provides a complementary bias to cissexism, the oppressive ideology that denigrates transgender, gender nonbinary, **genderqueer, and gender-nonconforming people.**[60] Anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes are based in a view of the LGBTQ+ community as a suitable target for violence.[61] Such crimes are often identified as hate based by such factors as that "the perpetrator [was] making homophobic comments; that the incident had occurred in or near a gay-identified venue; that the victim had a 'hunch' that the incident was homophobic; that the victim was holding hands with their same-sex partner in public, or other contextual clues."[62] Importantly, anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes intersect with hate crimes against gender, racial and ethnic, and other marginalized people.[63]

State-enacted or state-sanctioned violence against LGBTQ+ people has not been deemed a form of hate crime, though it draws on hatred toward a group of people. The hate-crime framework has focused largely on the acts of private individuals rather than addressing larger institutionalized forms of hate-motivated violence such as forced conversion therapy or abuse within the criminal and military systems. One estimate attributes almost one-quarter of hate crimes to police officers.[64] Anti-LGBTQ+ violence committed by police officers undermines LGBTQ+ victims' willingness to report crimes, particularly after experiencing police

violence firsthand or having communal knowledge that police officers may not view LGBTQ+ victims as deserving of appropriate services. Even when victims are willing to take the risk of reporting a hate crime, they can be unsuccessful. For example, despite a Minnesota state law requiring police to note in initial reports any victims' belief that they have experienced a bias-motivated incident, responding officers fulfilled less than half of hate-crime filing requests between 1996 and 2000.[65] Because of bias, lack of training, and limited application, significant underreporting of sexual orientation and gender-motivated hate crimes at the state and federal levels occurs.

Criminalizing Hate

The Enforcement Act of 1871, also known as the **Ku Klux Klan Act, addressed rampant anti-Black violence and marked the first effort at the federal level to criminalize hate crimes.**[66] However, the Supreme Court's United States v. Harris decision in 1883 greatly weakened the act and the ability of the federal government to intervene when states refused to prosecute hate crimes.[67] In the wake of the mid-twentieth-century civil rights movement and violence against activists, the 1968 Civil Rights Law covering federally protected activities was signed into law. It gave federal authorities the power to investigate and prosecute crimes motivated by actual or perceived race, color, religion, or national origin while a victim was engaged in a federally protected activity —for example, voting, accessing a public accommodation such as a hotel or restaurant, or attending school. The categories of identity named by the law were the key social categories of concern during this period and followed the language of the **Civil Rights Act** of 1964. However, the law excluded sex, reflecting an unwillingness to address gender-based discrimination fully rather than piecemeal through laws such as **Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972.**

In 1978, California enacted the first state law enhancing penalties for murders based on prejudice against the protected statuses of race, religion, color, and national origin. State lawmakers took the lead in developing explicit hate-crime laws, and federal legislators followed suit in the mid-1980s.[68] The emergent LGBTQ+ movement gained traction in the 1980s as the HIV/AIDS epidemic, its toll on the community, and intolerance toward its victims galvanized activists. For example, New York's Anti-Violence Project (AVP) was founded in 1980 to respond to violent attacks against gay men in the Chelsea neighborhood. A major concern for these groups was the lack of documentation of such crimes; without evidence that these incidents were part of a broader picture of violence, it was difficult to push efforts to address hate crimes. As a lead member of the **National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, AVP has coordinated many hate-violence reports since the late 1990s.**[69] Such groups also have pushed for governmental efforts to collect data and criminalize hate crimes.

In 1985, U.S. Representative **John Conyers proposed the Hate Crime Statistics Act** to ensure the federal collection and publishing annually of statistics on crimes motivated by racial, ethnic, or religious prejudice.[70] It took five years for the Hate Crimes Statistics Act to become law, in 1990, and it did so only after sexual orientation was explicitly excluded from the legislation. The text of the law emphasizes that nothing in the act (1) "creates a cause of action or a right to bring an action, including an action based on discrimination due to sexual orientation" and (2) "shall be construed, nor shall any funds appropriated to carry out the purpose of the Act be used, to promote or encourage homosexuality."[71] Congress took great pains to emphasize that the legislation did not prevent discrimination against LGBTQ+ people nor did it support that community. The law reinforces that **Congress was not treating sexual orientation as it did other social identities that were already protected under civil rights laws.** The law resulted in the Federal Bureau of Investigation collecting data from local and state authorities about hate crimes, but there are major challenges to collecting accurate data. Police are not consistently trained at the local and state levels to address anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes, and there continues to be stigma and risk associated with identifying as LGBTQ+ to such authorities. Reporting practices thus vary dramatically across contexts, but the law has assisted antiviolence groups in gaining official data to document violence.

The 1998 beating and torture death of college student Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyoming, became a rallying point to address hate crimes more fully in the late 1990s. His murder received substantial **media coverage and inspired political action** as well as artistic works. As an affluent, white, gay young man, Shepard became a symbol of antigay violence. His attackers were accused of attacking him because of antigay bias but were not charged with committing a hate crime because Wyoming had no laws that covered anti-LGBTQ+ crimes. The attention to his death contrasted with the lesser attention given to Brandon Teena's sexual assault and murder, which was immortalized in the film ***Boys Don't Cry*** **(1999),** and to the untold number of murders of **trans women, particularly women of color.**[72] Although the particularities of the case have been debated, Shepard's murder became iconic and served as a means of challenging U.S. lawmakers and society at large to address hate-motivated violence. **The Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr., Hate Crimes Prevention Act was passed by the U.S. House of Representatives on October 8,**

2009, and the U.S. Senate on October 22, 2009.[73] James Byrd Jr., a Black man, was attacked, chained to a truck, and dragged to his death for over two miles in Jasper, Texas. Both crimes received national attention, and there was public outrage that neither Texas nor Wyoming could enhance the punishment for these bias-motivated murders.[74] The act expanded protections to victims of bias crimes that were "motivated by the actual or perceived gender, disability, sexual orientation, or gender identity of any person," becoming the first federal criminal prosecution statute addressing sexual orientation and gender-identity-based hate crimes.[75] It also increased the punishment for hate-crime perpetrators and allows the Department of Justice to assist in investigations and prosecutions of these crimes. On October 28, 2009, in advance of signing the act into law, President Barack Obama stated, "We must stand against crimes that are meant not only to break bones, but to break spirits, not only to inflict harm, but to inflict fear." His words emphasized the broader social context of hate crimes, experienced as attacks on marginalized communities.[76]

Federal laws address constitutional rights violations, but states have—or don't have—their own specific hate-crime laws.[77] Today, there are a wide range of laws regarding hate-crime protections across states, and they vary regarding protected groups, criminal or civil approaches, crimes covered, complete or limited data collection, and law enforcement training.[78] As of 2019, nineteen states did not have any LGBT hate-crime laws, and twelve states had laws that covered sexual orientation but did not address gender identity and expression. Twenty states included both sexual orientation and gender identity in their hate-crime laws.[79] The majority of these laws were created in the first years of the 2000s, gender identity and expression were included in following years.

Debating Hate-Crime Laws

The arguments supporting hate-crime laws note that offenders' acts promote the unequal treatment of not only individuals but also the broader communities that victims belong to, cause long-term psychological consequences for victims, and violate victims' ability to freely express themselves.[80] The creation of laws serves to "form a consensus about the rights of stigmatized groups to be protected from hateful speech and physical violence."[81] This approach, however, centers on the perpetrator perspective and avoids a structural approach to oppression that acknowledges the numerous forms of bias and the overarching perpetuation of bias in society. **Many scholars have criticized the term *hate crime* for its erasure of the broader structures that support hate violence and instead placing the blame for such acts solely on individuals assumed to be pathological and acting out of emotion.**[82] Moreover, hate-crime laws primarily function at the symbolic level; crimes are reported at low rates, and statutes are not applied to such crimes by authorities.[83] Such **laws focus not on prevention of crimes but rather on punitive measures** to punish particular crimes.

With the existing high incarceration rates of LGBTQ+ people as well as people of color, hate-crime laws support rather than challenge mass incarceration.[84] Some activists argue for efforts to "build community relationships and infrastructure to support the healing and transformation of people who have been impacted by interpersonal and intergenerational violence; [and efforts to] join with movements addressing root causes of queer and trans premature death, including police violence, imprisonment, poverty, immigration policies, and lack of healthcare and housing."[85] No universal consensus about the role of hate-crime laws in furthering the acceptance and inclusion of LGBTQ+ people in American society currently exists (figure 5.8). For many people such laws carry with them an emphasis on the value of their lives and help further their sense of belonging. Others, particularly LGBTQ+ activists engaged in broader social justice struggles, argue that such laws shore up a broken criminal justice system that is predicated on a violent logic that cannot truly benefit the LGBTQ+ community.



Figure 5.8. A map of state policy tallies for hate-crime laws. (Courtesy of the Movement Advancement Project.)

Key Questions

- Historically, the U.S. Constitution protected the rights of only certain groups of people. Why and how were married women, enslaved Africans, and sexual minorities deprived of rights that others enjoyed? How did LGBTQ+ people struggle to gain those rights?
- What is an example of a legal victory in the struggle for LGBTQ+ equality that was later challenged? What historical and cultural events led to overcoming that challenge?
- What was the basis for the expectation that the U.S. Constitution protected a right to sexual liberty, particularly with respect to same-sex sexualities? What role did the Ninth Amendment play in that process and in the idea of a fundamental right to privacy?
- How was the Supreme Court decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick* a setback for LGBTQ+ equality before the law? What was the response of LGBTQ+ activists and academics to the decision? What Supreme Court decision overturned *Bowers*?
- How does legal history contribute to our understanding of the struggle for LGBTQ+ rights in the United States? What role did marriage equality play in that struggle, and what advances and setbacks did activists encounter during that struggle?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What made the Pulse nightclub shooting in Orlando, Florida, historically significant?
A) It was the first attack on an LGBTQ+ venue in the United States.
B) It was the deadliest single-person mass shooting and the largest anti-LGBTQ+ attack in U.S. history.
C) It resulted in new federal gun laws.
D) It was unrelated to LGBTQ+ identity.

2. What percentage of the Pulse nightclub victims were Latinx and LGBTQ+ identified?
A) Less than 50%
B) About 25%
C) Over 90%
D) None

3. According to Barbara Perry, what role do hate crimes play in society?
A) They are informal social control mechanisms used to police identity boundaries in stratified societies.
B) They are random acts of violence.
C) They are always prosecuted as federal crimes.
D) They only affect individuals, not communities.

4. What is a key debate within the LGBTQ+ community regarding responses to hate-motivated violence?
A) Whether punitive measures through the criminal legal system support or harm the LGBTQ+ community
B) Whether to ignore hate crimes
C) Whether to focus only on marriage equality
D) Whether to increase police presence in LGBTQ+ spaces

5. What historical event is echoed by the Pulse nightclub shooting in terms of anti-LGBTQ+ violence in public spaces?
A) The Stonewall rebellion
B) The Obergefell v. Hodges decision
C) The Compton's Cafeteria riot
D) The UpStairs Lounge arson attack in New Orleans

Discussion Questions

1. Analyze the social and cultural significance of the Pulse nightclub shooting for both the LGBTQ+ and Latinx communities. How did this event shape public discourse on hate crimes and intersectionality?
2. Discuss the historical continuity of anti-LGBTQ+ violence from the colonial period to the present. How have legal, religious, and social norms contributed to the persistence of such violence?
3. Evaluate the effectiveness and limitations of hate-crime laws as a response to anti-LGBTQ+ violence. What alternative or complementary strategies might better address the root causes of such violence?

4. How do hate crimes function as mechanisms of social control and boundary enforcement in stratified societies? Use examples from both the Pulse shooting and earlier incidents like the UpStairs Lounge arson.
5. Consider the debates within the LGBTQ+ community about the use of punitive criminal justice responses to hate crimes. What are the arguments for and against relying on the criminal legal system, and what might a more transformative approach look like?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) It was the deadliest single-person mass shooting and the largest anti-LGBTQ+ attack in U.S. history.
2. C) Over 90%
3. A) They are informal social control mechanisms used to police identity boundaries in stratified societies.
4. A) Whether punitive measures through the criminal legal system support or harm the LGBTQ+ community
5. D) The UpStairs Lounge arson attack in New Orleans

This page titled 5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **3.2: Chapter 5- LGBTQ+ Legal History** by Dara J. Silberstein is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

5.4: Research Resources

Compiled by Rachel Wexelbaum.

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about LGBTQ+ legal history.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then, locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

Anti-Violence Project

The Anti-Violence Project of New York City (https://avp.org/) works to end violence against LGBTQ+ and HIV-affected communities. It offers free counseling, performs advocacy and community organizing, and provides legal support and education. Visit its Twitter profile, https://twitter.com/antiviolence.

"Gay and Lesbian Immigrants," by Robert B. Ridinger

This overview of the laws that have regulated LGBTQ+ immigration to the United States also provides a reading list (https://immigrationequality.org).

"Gay Marriage Timeline: History of the Same-Sex Marriage Debate," by ProCon.org

Designed for students writing persuasive essays and issue papers, ProCon.org provides an extensive timeline of events related to same-sex marriage legislation around the world cited from news articles and other resources. See https://gaymarriage.procon.org/gay-marriage-timeline/.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Resources in Law and Public Policy, by Stephanie Anayah

This extensive, frequently updated subject guide lists the many types of media, digital and physical, from the Williams Institute Reading Room. Resources include domestic and international laws and public policies affecting LGBTQ+ individuals and communities. The guide has links to libraries, archives, and organizations that can provide more information on these topics. See the table of contents at https://libguides.law.ucla.edu/williamsreadingroom.

National Center for Transgender Equality

Founded in 2003 by trans activists, the National Center for Transgender Equality advocates for policy change to advance transgender equality. Its website (https://transequality.org/) includes information about transgender people and issues they face, a resource that explains transgender people's rights, and a series of self-help guides. It has several "action centers" where you can join the battle for transgender rights.

"Trans Rights and Bathroom Access Laws," by Jey Ehrenhalt

This resource, written in 2018, outlines the rise and fall of "bathroom bills" in K–12 schools and other public spaces in different states from 2016 to 2018. It also explains why bathrooms matter to trans people, and it provides links to other resources for trans and LGBQ+ students. See https://www.tolerance.org/magazine/transgender-bathroom-laws-history.

“A Very Brief History of LGBTQ Parenting,” by Dana Rudolph

A historical narrative of LGBTQ+ parenting in the United States from World War II to 2017, complete with links to news articles about laws and court cases. See https://www.familyequality.org/2017/10/20/a-very-brief-history-of-lgbtq-parenting/.

This page titled 5.4: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **3.2: Chapter 5- LGBTQ+ Legal History** by Dara J. Silberstein is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

5.5: Glossary and Footnotes

Glossary

Anti-Violence Project (AVP). A national organization dedicated to reducing violence and its impacts on LGBTQ+ individuals in the United States.

assimilationist. A political approach that focuses on fixing the system from within, trying hard to fit into the status quo; integrating.

Bill of Rights. The first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution containing specific guarantees of personal freedoms and rights, clear limitations on the government's power in judicial and other proceedings, and explicit declarations that all powers not specifically granted to the U.S. Congress by the Constitution are reserved for the states or the people.

chattel. Property that is movable; in terms of slavery, people are treated as the personal property of the person who claims to own them and are bought and sold as commodities.

Compton's Cafeteria riot. The Compton's Cafeteria riot occurred in August 1966 in the Tenderloin district of San Francisco. The incident was one of the first riots concerning LGBTQ+ people in U.S. history, preceding the more famous 1969 Stonewall rebellion in New York City. It marked the beginning of transgender activism in San Francisco.

coverture. A legal doctrine whereby, upon marriage, a woman's legal rights and obligations are subsumed by those of her husband.

Defense of Marriage Act of 1996. A U.S. federal law passed by the 104th Congress and signed into law by President Bill Clinton, defining marriage for federal purposes as the union of one man and one woman. The law allowed states to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages granted under the laws of other states. However, the provisions were ruled unconstitutional or left effectively unenforceable by Supreme Court decisions in the cases of *United States v. Windsor* (2013) and *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015).

Enforcement Act of 1871. An act of the U.S. Congress that empowered the president to suspend the writ of habeas corpus to combat the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist organizations. Also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act.

federally protected activities. The portion of Section 245 of Title 18 that makes it unlawful to willfully injure, intimidate, or interfere with any person, or to attempt to do so, by force or threat of force, because of that other person's race, color, religion, or national origin and because of their activity as a student at a public school or college, participant in a state or local government program, job applicant, juror, traveler, or patron of a public place.

Fourteenth Amendment. Adopted on July 9, 1868, as one of the Reconstruction Amendments, this amendment to the U.S. Constitution addresses citizenship rights and equal protection of the laws and is one of the most litigated parts of the Constitution.

Ninth Amendment. A part of the Bill of Rights, this amendment addresses rights, retained by the people, that are not specifically enumerated in the Constitution.

Stonewall rebellion. A series of spontaneous, violent demonstrations by members of the LGBT community against a police raid that began in the early morning hours of June 28, 1969, at the Stonewall Inn in the Greenwich Village neighborhood of Manhattan, New York City.

United States v. Harris. In this case, also known as the Ku Klux Case, the U.S. Supreme Court held that it was unconstitutional for the federal government to penalize crimes such as assault and murder. It declared that the local governments have the power to penalize these crimes.

Footnotes

1. C. Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-1
2. C. Mackinnon, *Only Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-2
3. U.S. Const. amends. I, V, and VI. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-3

4. P. Abramson, S. D. Pinkerton, and M. Huppin, *Sexual Rights in America: The Ninth Amendment and the Pursuit of Happiness* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 2. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-4
5. The Law Dictionary, s.v. "What Is Chattel," accessed March 14, 2022, https://thelawdictionary.org/chattel/. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-5
6. The Law Dictionary, s.v. "What Is Coverture," accessed March 14, 2022, https://thelawdictionary.org/coverture/. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-6
7. Abramson, Pinkerton, and Huppin, *Sexual Rights in America*. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-7
8. Griswold v. Connecticut, 381 U.S. 479 (1965). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-8
9. *Griswold*, 381 U.S. at 492. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-9
10. U.S. Const. amend. XVI. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-10
11. *Slaughter-House Cases*, 83 U.S. 36 (1873). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-11
12. Palko v. Connecticut, 302 U.S. 319, 325 (1937). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-12
13. *Palko*, 302 U.S. at 325. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-13
14. *Griswold*, 381 U.S. at 484, 486. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-14
15. Roe v. Wade, 410 U.S. 113 (1973). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-15
16. Planned Parenthood v. Casey, 505 U.S. 833 (1992). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-16
17. Bowers v. Hardwick, 478 U.S. 186 (1986). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-17
18. W. N. Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861–2003* (New York: Penguin, 2008), 232–234. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-18
19. *Bowers* 478 U.S. at 192 (quoting) *Palko* 302 U.S. at 326. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-19
20. Brown v. Board of Education 347 U.S. 483 (1954); Plessy v. Ferguson 163 U.S. 537 (1896); *Bowers*, 478 U.S. at 192 (quoting) *Griswold*, 381 U.S. at 506. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-20
21. S. McGuigan, "The AIDS Dilemma: Public Health v. Criminal Law," *Law and Inequality: A Journal of Theory and Practice* 4, no. 3 (1986): 545–577. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-21
22. Several have advocated for the case being known as Lawrence and Garner v. Texas because Tyrone Garner was a copetitioner on the case and a man of color, and not including his name continues the practice of erasing people of color from history. M. Spindelman, "Tyrone Garner's *Lawrence v. Texas*," *Michigan Law Review* 111, no. 6 (2013), https://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1074&context=mlr. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-22
23. Lawrence v. Texas, 539 U.S. 558 (2003). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-23
24. *Lawrence*, 539 U.S. 564. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-24
25. *Lawrence*, 539 U.S. 567. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-25
26. *Lawrence*, 539 U.S. 575. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-26
27. D. Bell, J. Binnie, R. Holiday, R. Longhurst, and R. Peace, *Pleasure Zones: Bodies, Cities, Spaces* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011). See also "Getting Rid of Sodomy Laws: History and Strategy That Led to the Lawrence Decision," ACLU, accessed April 21, 2021, https://www.aclu.org/other/getting-rid-sodomy-laws-history-and-strategy-led-lawrence-decision. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-27
28. J. E. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-28
29. *Lawrence*, 539 U.S. 601. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-29
30. J. D'Emilio, "Will the Courts Set Us Free? Reflections on the Campaign for Same-Sex Marriage," in *The Politics of Same-Sex Marriage*, ed. C. Wilcox and C. A. Rimmerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 39–64. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-30
31. Baehr v. Miike 910 P.2d 112 (1996); Baehr v. Lewin 74 Haw. 530, 852 P.2d 44 (1993). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-31
32. Defense of Marriage Act, H.R. 3396, 104th Cong. (1996), § 3. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-32
33. United States v. Windsor, 570 U.S. 744 (2013); W. N. Eskridge, "How Government Unintentionally Influences Culture (the Case of Same-Sex Marriage)," *Northwestern University Law Review* 102 (2008): 495–498. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-33

34. P. Ettelbrick, “Since When Is Marriage a Path to Liberation?,” *Out/Look: National Lesbian and Gay Quarterly* 6 (1989): 14. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-34
35. L. Duggan, “Beyond Marriage: Democracy, Equality, and Kinship for a New Century,” *Scholar and Feminist Online* 10, nos. 1–2 (Fall 2011–Spring 2012), https://sfonline.barnard.edu/a-new-queer-agenda/beyond-marriage-democracy-equality-and-kinship-for-a-new-century/. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-35
36. Obergefell v. Hodges, 576 U.S. 644 at 646 (quoting) U.S. v. Windsor, 570 U.S. 744 at 759. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-36
37. *Obergefell*, 576 U.S. at 659. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-37
38. *Obergefell*, 576 U.S. at 672. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-38
39. *Obergefell*, 576 U.S. at 681. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-39
40. L. H. Tribe, “Equal Dignity: Speaking Its Name,” *Harvard Law Review Forum* 129 (2015): 16–32. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-40
41. E. J. Baia, “Akin to Madmen: A Queer Critique of the Gay Rights Cases,” *Virginia Law Review* 104 (2018): 1021–1063. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-41
42. Romer v. Evans, 517 U.S. 620 (1996). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-42
43. *Romer*, 517 U.S. at 631–632. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-43
44. *Romer*, 517 U.S. at 635. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-44
45. J. B. Smith, “The Flaws of Rational Basis with Bite: Why the Supreme Court Should Acknowledge Its Application of Heightened Scrutiny to Classifications Based on Sexual Orientation,” *Fordham Law Review* 73 (2005): 2769–2814. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-45
46. Boy Scouts of America v. Dale, 530 U.S. 640, 661 (2000). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-46
47. Masterpiece Cakeshop, Ltd. v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission, 584 U.S. 2 (2018). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-47
48. S. Ifill, “Symposium: The First Amendment Protects Speech and Religion, Not Discrimination in Public Spaces,” *SCOTUSblog*, June 5, 2018, https://www.scotusblog.com/2018/06/symposium-the-first-amendment-protects-speech-and-religion-not-discrimination-in-public-spaces/. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-48
49. Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia, No. 17-1618 (2020). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-49
50. Sears, *Arresting Dress*3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-50
51. Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins, 490 U.S. 228, 251 (1989). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-51
52. R. Blazak, “Isn’t Every Crime a Hate Crime? The Case for Hate Crime Laws,” *Sociology Compass* 5, no. 4 (2011): 245. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-52
53. B. Perry, “The Sociology of Hate: Theoretical Approaches,” *Hate Crimes*, vol. 1, *Understanding and Defining Hate Crime*, ed. B. Perry et al. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2009), 56. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-53
54. C. Turpin-Petrosino, “Historical Lessons: What’s Past May Be Prologue,” in *Hate Crimes*, vol. 2, ed. B. Perry et al. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2009), 34. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-54
55. See chapter 3. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-55
56. S. Levin, “Compton’s Cafeteria Riot: A Historic Act of Trans Resistance, Three Years before Stonewall,” *Guardian*, June 21, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/jun/21/stonewall-san-francisco-riot-tenderloin-neighborhood-trans-women; Meredith Worthen, “The Stonewall Inn: The People, Place and Lasting Significance of ‘Where Pride Began,’” in *Biography*, June 21, 2017; updated June 26, 2020, https://www.biography.com/news/stonewall-riots-history-leaders. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-56
57. Turpin-Petrosino, “Historical Lessons.” 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-57
58. J. Levin and G. Rabrenovic, “Hate as Cultural Justification for Violence,” in Perry et al., *Hate Crimes*, 1:41–53; B. Perry, “Where Do We Go from Here? Researching Hate Crime,” *Internet Journal of Criminology* 3 (2003): 45–47. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-58
59. Levin and Rabrenovic, “Hate as Cultural Justification for Violence”; Perry, “The Sociology of Hate.” 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-59
60. G. M. Herek, “The Social Context of Hate Crimes: Notes on Cultural Heterosexism,” in *Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence against Lesbians and Gay Men*, ed. Gregory M. Herek and Kevin T. Berrill (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1992), 89. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-60

61. Perry, “The Sociology of Hate”; H. J. Alden and K. F. Parker, “Gender Role Ideology, Homophobia and Hate Crime: Linking Attitudes to Macro-Level Anti-gay and Lesbian Hate Crimes,” *Deviant Behavior* 26 (2005): 321–343; D. P. Green, L. H. McFalls, and J. K. Smith, “Hate Crime: An Emergent Research Agenda,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 27, no. 1 (2001): 479–504; Herek, “The Social Context of Hate Crimes.” 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-61
62. N. Chakraborti and J. Garland, *Hate Crime: Impact, Causes and Responses* (London: Sage, 2009), 57–58. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-62
63. E. Dunbar, “Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation in Hate Crime Victimization: Identity Politics or Identity Risk?,” *Violence and Victims* 21, no. 3 (2006): 323–327. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-63
64. K. T. Berrill, “Anti-gay Violence and Victimization in the United States: An Overview,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 5, no. 3 (1990): 274–294. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-64
65. K. B. Wolff and C. L. Cokely, “‘To Protect and to Serve?’: An Exploration of Police Conduct in Relation to the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Community,” *Sexuality and Culture* 11, no. 2 (2007): 15. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-65
66. J. Lurie and S. P. Chase, *The Chase Court: Justices, Rulings, and Legacy* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 140. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-66
67. United States v. Harris, 106 U.S. 629 (1883). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-67
68. V. Jenness and R. Grattet, *Making Hate a Crime: From Social Movement to Law Enforcement* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-68
69. “Reports: Hate Violence Reports,” Anti-Violence Project, accessed December 29, 2021, https://avp.org/reports/. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-69
70. Perry, “Where Do We Go from Here?”; *Hate Crimes Statistics Act:Hearing before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, 99th Cong., 1st sess. (1985), https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/jmd/legacy/2013/09/06/hear-137-1985.pdf. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-70
71. Hate Crime Statistics Act, H.R.1048, 101st Cong. (1989–1990), https://www.congress.gov/bill/101st-congress/house-bill/1048/text. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-71
72. For an incomplete list of such murders, see Wikipedia, s.v. “List of People Killed for Being Transgender,” last modified April 18, 2021, 07:00, https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_unlawfully_killed_transgender_people. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-72
73. A. L. Bessel, “Preventing Hate Crimes Without Restricting Constitutionally Protected Speech: Evaluating the Impact of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act on First Amendment Free Speech Rights,” *Journal of Public Law and Policy* 31 (2010): 735–775. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-73
74. B. A. McPhail, “Hating Hate: Policy Implications of Hate Crime Legislation,” *Social Service Review* 74, no. 4 (2000): 635–653. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-74
75. Department of Justice, “The Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr., Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009,” updated October 18, 2018, http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/crm/matthewshepard.php. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-75
76. Office of the Press Secretary, White House, “Remarks by the President at Reception Commemorating the Enactment of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act,” press release, October 28, 2009, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-reception-commemorating-enactment-matthew-shepard-and-james-byrd-. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-76
77. J. Levin and J. McDevitt, *Hate Crimes Revisited: American’s War against Those Who Are Different* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-77
78. M. Shively, *Study of Literature and Legislation on Hate Crime in America* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 2005), ii, https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/210300.pdf. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-78
79. Movement Advancement Project, “Equality Maps: Hate Crime Laws,” accessed April 22, 2021, https://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/hate_crime_laws. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-79
80. R. J. Cramer, A. Kehn, C. R. Pennington, H. J. Wechsler, J. W. Clark III, and J. Nagle, “An Examination of Sexual Orientation- and Transgender-Based Hate Crimes in the Post-Matthew Shepard Era,” *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 19, no. 3 (2013): 355–368; Bessel, “Preventing Hate Crimes”; J. Glaser, “Intergroup Bias and Inequity: Legitimizing Beliefs and Policy

Attitudes," *Social Justice Research* 18 (2005): 257–282; M. Sullaway, "Psychological Perspectives on Hate Crime Laws," *Psychology, Public Policy, and the Law* 10 (2004): 250–292. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-80

81. J. Spade and C. Willse, "Confronting the Limits of Gay Hate Crimes Activism: A Radical Critique," *Chicano-Latino Law Review* 21 (2000): 41. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-81
82. L. Ray and D. Smith, "Racist Offenders and the Politics of 'Hate Crime,'" *Law and Critique* 12 (2001): 203–221; G. Mason, "Body Maps: Envisaging Homophobia, Violence and Safety," *Social and Legal Studies* 10, no. 1 (2001): 23–44; Perry, "Where Do We Go from Here?"; F. M. Lawrence, *Punishing Hate: Bias Crimes under American Law* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-82
83. McPhail, "Hating Hate," 637, 645. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-83
84. I. Meyer, A. Flores, L. Stemple, A. Romero, B. Wilson, and J. Herman, "Incarceration Rates and Traits of Sexual Minorities in the United States: National Inmate Survey, 2011–2012," *American Journal of Public Health* 107, no. 2 (2017): 267–273; Center for American Progress and Movement Advancement Project, "Unjust: How the Broken Criminal Justice System Fails LGBT People of Color," https://www.lgbtmap.org/file/lgbt-criminal-justice-poc.pdf. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-84
85. M. Bassichis, A. Lee, and D. Spade, "Building an Abolitionist Trans and Queer Movement with Everything We've Got," in *Captive Gender: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex*, ed. E. Stanley and N. Smith (Baltimore: AK Press, 2011), 17. 3.02: Chapter 5- LGBTQ Legal History#return-footnote-91-85

This page titled 5.5: Glossary and Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **3.2: Chapter 5- LGBTQ+ Legal History** by Dara J. Silberstein is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles

***Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex*, edited by Eric A. Stanley and Nat Smith**

This was the first book to address the legal challenges of incarcerated transgender and genderqueer people in the prison-industrial complex. Its second edition contains a foreword by CeCe McDonald and an essay by Chelsea Manning (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2015).

***Creating Change: Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights*, edited by John D'Emilio, William B. Turner, and Urvashi Vaid**

Documenting the history and impact of the gay and lesbian movement since Stonewall, this volume is edited by two pioneers in LGBT studies (D'Emilio and Turner) and a pioneer in LGBT public policy and activism (Vaid) (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

***Evolution of Government Policy towards Homosexuality in the US Military: The Rise and Fall of DADT*, edited by David A. Levy and James E. Parco**

Originally published as a special issue of the *Journal of Homosexuality*, this book reviews the history, culture, attitudes, and impacts of policy evolution from the mid-twentieth century to the early twenty-first century by tracing the rise and fall of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) (New York: Routledge, 2014).

***From the Closet to the Courtroom: Five LGBT Rights Lawsuits That Have Changed Our Nation*, by Carlos A. Ball and Michael Bronski**

Carlos A. Ball, a national LGBTQ+ rights expert, and Michael Bronski, an award-winning LGBTQ+ studies Harvard professor, provide a play-by-play account of the five pivotal LGBTQ+ rights lawsuits that overturned sodomy laws, legalized same-sex marriage, allowed gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military, and challenged harassment in educational environments and discrimination on the athletic field. Each case is explored in its sociohistorical context and the implications of each court decision discussed. It is the fourth book in the Queer Ideas/Queer Actions series (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2010).

***HIV Criminalization in the United States: A Sourcebook on State and Federal HIV Criminal Law and Practice*, from the Center for HIV Law and Policy**

This sourcebook outlines punitive laws, policies, and cases affecting those living with HIV and other infectious diseases in U.S. states, the military, federal prisons, and U.S. territories. Frequently updated, the most recent version is at https://www.hivlawandpolicy.org/sourcebook.

"Homosexuals and the Death Penalty in Colonial America," by Louis Crompton

This 1976 article from the *Journal of Homosexuality* (volume 1, number 3; https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/englishfacpubs/60/) is the first documentation of "sodomites" in colonial America and the laws based on Catholic and Protestant teachings to mark and punish them. The references and appendix will prove valuable to history and law students.

***Judging the Epidemic: A Judicial Handbook on HIV, Human Rights and the Law*, from Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS**

This 2013 handbook covers the science and medicine of HIV; legal decisions that promote human rights in the context of HIV; criminal law and HIV disclosure, exposure, or transmission; sexual assault; drug laws and harm reduction and the rights of people who use drugs; women's rights with respect to family and property law; HIV treatment and health care; human rights; and the criminalization of high-risk populations. It includes multiple international court cases and primary source documents (https://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/201305_Judging-epidemic_en_0.pdf.

***The Legal Status of Intersex Persons*, edited by Jens M. Scherpe, Anatol Dutta, and Tobias Helms**

This comprehensive interdisciplinary volume covers all legal aspects of intersex people. Contributions include medical, psychological, and theological perspectives and national legal perspectives from Australia, Sweden, India, the Netherlands, France, Colombia, the United States, Malta, and Germany (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2018).

***Protection of Sexual Minorities since Stonewall: Progress and Stalemate in Developed and Developing Countries*, edited by Phil C. W. Chan**

Previously published as a special double issue of *The International Journal of Human Rights*, this book examines the legal successes and challenges in countries on five continents concerning LGBTQ+ civil rights locally and internationally (New York: Routledge, 2010).

***Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States*, by Joey L. Mogul, Andrea J. Ritchie, and Kay Whitlock**

Winner of the 2011 PASS (Prevention for a Safer Society) Award from the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the authors discuss the criminal legal system from a queer perspective, in which LGBTQ+ people are "suspects," defendants, prisoners, and victims. The essays in this book argue that the policing of sexual orientation and gender reinforces racial and gender inequalities, as well as LGBTQ+ criminal stereotypes. The book is one of the Queer Ideas/Queer Action series. For an interview with the authors about the book, a free chapter, and additional LGBTQ+ criminal justice resources, visit https://clags.org/articles/uncovering-queer-injustice/ (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2012).

***Queer Mobilizations: LGBT Activists Confront the Law, edited by Scott Barclay, Mary Bernstein*, and Anna-Maria Marshall**

Essays depict the LGBTQ+ civil rights movement and its impact on politics and organizing, legal studies, and public policy (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

***The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*, by Margot Canaday**

The award-winning Princeton University history professor Margot Canaday uses materials from the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration to show the progression of federal enforcement of sexual norms in immigration, the military, and welfare in the twentieth century that has rendered LGBTQ+ individuals as second-class citizens to this day (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

***Transgender Employment Experiences: Gendered Perceptions and the Law*, by Kyla Bender-Baird**

Worker protections under the federal Civil Rights Act do not always apply for transgender people. From Bender-Baird's interviews of twenty transgender people and analysis of legal case studies of employment discrimination, she recommends federal protections for gender expression in all policy decisions and legislative efforts and a multistep approach for tackling gender-based workplace discrimination for transgender employees. Students in management and human resource management, LGBTQ+ studies, and gender and women's studies will find this book useful (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011).

***Transgender Rights*, edited by Paisley Currah, Richard M. Juang, and Shannon Price Minter**

Three decades of the transgender rights movement is captured in this compact but well-researched volume. Legal scholars, policy experts, transgender activists and advocates analyze and evaluate the successes, challenges, and opportunities for future mobilization and legal battles (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

This page titled 5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **3.2: Chapter 5- LGBTQ+ Legal History** by Dara J. Silberstein is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Describe the connections between identities and embodied experiences.
- Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
- Explain how different understandings of sexuality and gender affect self- and community-understanding of LGBTQ+ people.

6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview

6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice

6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples

6.4: Research Resources

6.5: Glossary

6.6: Footnotes

A memorial to victims of the Pulse nightclub shooting in front the Stonewall Inn in New York City. On June 12, 2016, a terrorist had shot and killed 49 people and wounded 53 more in a mass shooting at Pulse, a gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, USA.

This page titled 6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Sean G. Massey, Sarah R. Young, Ann Merriwether, & Ann Merriwether.

6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview

Introduction

In the decades since the 1969 Stonewall rebellion provided a symbolic turning point in the critical and community consciousness of LGBTQ+ people, a great many things have changed: a number of states have passed antidiscrimination and hate-crime legislation, openly **LGBTQ+ people have been elected to public office,** and marriage equality has become law in the United States and in many countries around the world. Representations of LGBTQ+ people have expanded because of community organizing, including activism in response to the AIDS epidemic, increasing popular interest in LGBTQ+ lives, the proliferation and widespread use of the internet and social media, and the emergence of an LGBTQ+ consumer market. National rights organizations focused on LGBTQ+ lives have become more visible and have **piqued the interest of social scientists and educators.**

However, these years have also witnessed ongoing anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice, discrimination, and violence. According to findings from the survey "Discrimination in America: Experiences and Views of LGBTQ Americans," a majority of LGBTQ+ people have at some point been the target of homophobic slurs and negative comments about their sexuality and gender identity, and most have been threatened or harassed or have experienced violence at some point because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.[1] This chapter is an overview of the prevalence and trends of anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice in the United States and the attempts to define and measure it. The chapter describes what is known about the nature, origins, and consequences of this prejudice and reviews the variables that have been found to increase or reduce its impact on the lives of LGBTQ+ people. The chapter discusses the resistance and **resilience shown by the LGBTQ+ community** in response to anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice and discrimination.

Prejudice and Discrimination

In his book ***The Nature of Prejudice*** **(1954), the psychologist Gordon Allport** describes prejudice as "antipathy based on **faulty and inflexible generalization.** It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group or an individual of that group."[2] Put simply, prejudice is felt when someone holds a negative view of a person without having any reason or experience that justifies that negative view. Discrimination occurs when someone **acts on prejudice** by harming or disadvantaging a person or group or when someone favors their own group at the expense of the other group.[3] Prejudice toward LGBTQ+ people has been found to result in discrimination, including anti-LGBTQ+ violence, bullying and harassment in schools, employment discrimination against LGBTQ+ people, and limited access to health care and other social goods.

Violence against LGBTQ+ People

In 1998, **Gwendolyn Ann Smith** (figure 6.1) established November 20 as **Trans Day of Remembrance** as a time to speak the names of all the transgender individuals who were killed in antitrans violence over the previous year. In 2016, according to the **National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs,** 1,036 incidents of LGBTQ+ hate violence were reported by survivors. Of those targeted by this violence, 47 percent identified as gay, 17 percent as lesbian, 14 percent as heterosexual, 8 percent as queer, and 8 percent as bisexual. Over half those targeted in these incidents identified as transgender, and 61 percent identified as a person of color. That same year, 77 hate-violence-related homicides against LGBTQ+ and HIV-affected people were reported. Of these homicides, 49 occurred during the Pulse nightclub shooting in Orlando, Florida. Even without considering the Pulse shootings, 2016 saw a 17 percent increase in anti-LGBTQ+ homicides from 2015. Of these homicides, 79 percent of the victims were people of color, and 68 percent were transgender or gender nonconforming.[4]



Figure 6.1. Gwendolyn Ann Smith. (CC-BY-SA Levesc12.)

This violence isn't isolated to a particular part of the county. The Anti-Defamation League has tracked the incidence of hate crimes across the country and provides an interactive map showing hate crimes involving both sexual orientation and gender identity. A quick glance at the map shows hate crimes against LGBTQ+ folks happen everywhere, in all fifty states.[5] Unfortunately, these statistics are likely an underrepresentation of the crimes that actually occur. Many victims of hate crimes are hesitant to come forward—because of fear of retaliation if they do; fear of being outed to family, friends, and coworkers; or the belief that coming forward won't result in positive change.[6]

Bullying, Teasing, and Harassment

Anti-LGBT prejudice also affects LGBTQ+ youth in schools and online. The harassment, bullying, and victimization they experience contributes to lower self-esteem, poorer academic performance, and increased truancy among LGBTQ+ youth. In addition, it leads to feeling less connected to school and having lower achievement goals, and it correlates with higher levels of depression, more suicidal thoughts and attempts, increased substance use, and more sexual risk-taking.[7]

Some states have passed laws **to protect LGBTQ+ students from this harassment, bullying, and violence in their schools.** One example is New York State's **Dignity for All Students Act of 2012.** The goal was to provide students with school environments that are free from discrimination and harassment based on gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, or gender identity.[8] The legislation provides guidelines for students, teachers, and schools, and it institutes a zero-tolerance policy regarding bullying in schools (see chapter 9). Unfortunately, many schools have failed to implement key components of the act, lack staff with adequate knowledge about its requirements, or have failed to adequately track and report incidents of harassment and bullying that fall within the guidelines.[9]

Another resource for LGBTQ+ youth is the **It Gets Better Project, founded in 2010 by Dan Savage** and his partner, **Terry Miller.** This nonprofit organization attempts to "**uplift, empower, and connect lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer . . . youth around the globe"** by educating about the negative effects of bullying and harassment and working to build self-esteem for LGBTQ+ youth.[10]

Employment Discrimination

Anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice can also lead to employment discrimination. According to the **"Discrimination in America" survey** of LGBTQ+ Americans, 20 percent of respondents reported experiencing employment discrimination when applying for a job and in terms of compensation and promotions.[11] These results are even worse for LGBTQ+ people of color. Starting in the 1980s and continuing into the twenty-first century, some states passed employment nondiscrimination laws that offered some protections for LGBTQ+ people, although many of these laws applied only to sexual orientation, leaving out protections for gender expression and identity.

Legislative efforts at the federal level to provide protections against discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity and expression were largely unsuccessful. **The Employment Non-discrimination Act,** a bill that would protect lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people from employment discrimination, was introduced in Congress every year from 1994 to 2013. The bill came close to passing on at least one occasion, but the inclusion of transgender rights created divisions among both supporters and opponents. Moreover, as support for the bill increased, so too did the claims that these protections would violate the religious freedom of those who see homosexuality as a sin, resulting in the addition of religious-exemption language in versions of the bill. These exemptions concern many longtime advocates for LGBTQ+ rights, who argue that they effectively allow religious organizations to discriminate against LGBTQ+ individuals. Some groups, like ***Lambda Legal***, have even pulled their support for the legislation for this reason.

From 2015 on, LGBTQ+ rights advocates moved to support the Equality Act, a bill with a range of broader protections than the proposed Employment Non-discrimination Act, including protections related to gender identity. **The Equality Act would prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity** not only in employment but also in housing, public accommodations, public education, federal funding, credit, and jury service. However, this bill was referred to committee and never passed. In the absence of federal legislation, LGBTQ+ activists continued to press for justice through the courts. In June of 2020, the U.S. Supreme Court issued **the *Bostock v. Clayton County* ruling,** which determined that discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity was a form of sex discrimination and was a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[12] The Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination in employment based on sex, race, color, national origin, and religion. According to the legal

advocacy group Lambda Legal, this ruling "swept away all the contrary precedent and protected all LGBT workers nationwide."[13] It remains to be seen whether this decision will survive scrutiny of future, possibly more conservative, courts.

Access to Health Care

Prejudice can also have a negative impact on the quality of and access to health care for LGBTQ+ people. This can happen in several ways. The first way relates to access to employment, because a frequent benefit of employment is access to health insurance. Some states have passed laws that protect LGBTQ+ people from health insurance discrimination, which can result in denial of certain services or coverage altogether. According to the **Movement Advancement Project, as of 2021** sixteen states offer protections for both sexual orientation and gender identity; twenty-four states prohibit transgender exclusions in health insurance coverage; six states offer health insurance protections for only gender identity, and twenty-eight states offer no protections for LGBTQ+ health insurance.[14]

Explore

The Movement Advancement Project has a map of laws and policies related to LGBTQ+ equality (https://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-map...s_and_policies). Choose a state or territory, yours or another you are familiar with or interested in. Review first the state's equality profile, including the quick facts about the state's LGBTQ+ population, and then the range of issues identified on the website and the corresponding laws.

- What key issues lack supportive policies and laws or have negative laws?
- What key issues are covered by supportive policies and laws in this state?
- Are any local laws relevant to these issues?
- How does this state compare with the country as a whole or to other states?
- Have you had a personal experience in relation to one of these issues or laws?

Beyond access to health care, prejudice can also affect the quality of health care a person receives. For example, in a 2017 survey conducted by the Center for American Progress, 8 percent of gay, lesbian, and bisexual respondents reported being denied service by a doctor or health care provider; 7 percent reported that doctors had refused to recognize their family, such as a child or same-sex partner; 9 percent reported that providers had used abusive language; and 7 percent experienced unwanted physical contact by a doctor or health care provider. A significantly larger percentage of transgender respondents reported being denied service (29 percent), had doctors refuse to provide care related to gender transition (12 percent), were **intentionally misgendered by a doctor** (23 percent), experienced abusive language (21 percent), or had unwanted physical contact (29 percent).[15]

Efforts to reform the views and practices of the psychological and medical communities have a long history and are an ongoing project (see chapters 4 and 7). For example, the **American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from the list of mental illnesses documented in its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* in 1973,** and the **American Psychological Association has taken a affirmative stance toward LGBTQ+ people since 1975.** Additionally, the American Academy of Pediatricians published a statement in 2013 saying that LGB adolescents need health care that is "teen-friendly and welcoming to sexual minority youth."[16] Nevertheless some mental and physical health practitioners still believe that homosexuality is a disorder, as do some members of the general public.[17]

Public Opinion Polls

According to U.S. public opinion polls from the last few decades, attitudes toward gay men and lesbians have become progressively more favorable. Although attitudes toward transgender individuals have not been surveyed for the same amount of time, results from the **2017 Global Attitudes toward Transgender People survey** suggest that a majority of Americans hold positive opinions toward transgender people. Questions that reflect egalitarianism tend to reveal more dramatic pro-LGBTQ+ shifts and suggest that the majority of U.S. residents see gay men and lesbians as deserving of equal and fair (egalitarian) treatment and are generally opposed to discrimination in employment, education, and housing. For example, in 1976, when Gallup asked respondents how they felt about protecting "homosexuals" against employment discrimination in general, only a small majority (56 percent) supported protections, but when they asked again in 2008, the percentage supporting protections increased to 89 percent. Similarly, when Gallup asked respondents in 1979 if they thought homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal, only 43 percent said they should be legal. When a similar question was asked in 2018, 75 percent said yes, these

relations should be legal, and only 23 percent said no. And when asked in 1973 if "it was wrong for same-sex adults to have sexual relationships," 70 percent said it was always wrong. However, in 2018 that number dropped to 31 percent.[18]

Although the overall pro-LGBTQ+ direction of these public opinion polls since the 1970s is undeniable, they should still be viewed with some caution. **Public opinion is not entirely stable from year to year,** shifting in an affirming direction for one or two years, then falling back, reflecting shifts in the cultural and political landscapes. In addition, the variety of factors that shape public opinion can result in inconsistent or ambivalent viewpoints. Although egalitarianism continues to have a favorable influence on heterosexuals' overall evaluations of LGBTQ+ people, many anti-LGBTQ+ values, negative stereotypes, and ego-defensive reactions continue to exert a negative influence. For example, participants' responses to questions about their comfort in "employing homosexuals" can vary significantly depending on whether the question focuses on the fair treatment of LGBTQ+ people or the moral acceptance of homosexuality.[19] Similarly, attitudes can vary on the basis of the job's potential for influencing beliefs and the social values of others (e.g., clergy are defenders of morality, elementary school teachers shape the development of children, and service members may symbolize U.S. strength). Finally, the duties associated with the job may trigger antigay stereotypes (e.g., the belief that gay men are all pedophiles and therefore shouldn't be around children).

Visit

Gallup shows historical support of LGBTQ+ rights in public opinion polls over the course of time. (https://news.gallup.com/poll/1651/ga...an-rights.aspx)

- The first graph depicts the historical trend for answers to a question about same-sex marriage. What does it tell us about public opinion in the U.S. over the years?
- Two different questions focus on whether lesbian and gay sexual relations should be legal, and whether lesbian and gay sexual relations are morally acceptable or morally wrong. Compare the two charts; why might the results be different?
- Did anything in answers to the poll over the years surprise you? What was the topic, and why were you surprised?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. What are some negative outcomes for LGBTQ+ youth who experience bullying and harassment in schools?
A) Higher self-esteem and better academic performance
B) Increased truancy and higher levels of depression
C) Greater connection to school and higher achievement goals
D) Decreased substance use and fewer suicidal thoughts

2. What was the main goal of New York State's Dignity for All Students Act of 2012?
A) To provide free lunches to all students
B) To ensure school environments free from discrimination and harassment
C) To increase standardized testing
D) To promote religious education in schools

3. Which of the following is a reason why the Dignity for All Students Act has not been fully effective in some schools?
A) Lack of funding for sports programs
B) Failure to implement key components and lack of staff knowledge
C) Too many extracurricular activities
D) Overcrowded classrooms

4. What is the purpose of the It Gets Better Project?
A) To provide scholarships for LGBTQ+ students
B) To uplift, empower, and connect LGBTQ+ youth and educate about bullying
C) To organize sports tournaments
D) To promote standardized testing

5. According to public opinion polls, how have attitudes toward gay men and lesbians changed since the 1970s?

A) They have become less favorable.

B) They have remained the same.

C) They have become progressively more favorable.

D) There are no data on this topic.

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think bullying and harassment have such a strong impact on the mental health and academic performance of LGBTQ+ youth?
2. What are some ways schools can better implement anti-bullying laws and policies to protect LGBTQ+ students?
3. How might public opinion about LGBTQ+ rights influence the experiences of LGBTQ+ youth in schools?
4. Why do you think there is sometimes a gap between support for fair treatment of LGBTQ+ people and moral acceptance of homosexuality?
5. In what ways can organizations like the It Gets Better Project help change the school environment for LGBTQ+ students?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) Increased truancy and higher levels of depression
2. B) To ensure school environments free from discrimination and harassment
3. B) Failure to implement key components and lack of staff knowledge
4. B) To uplift, empower, and connect LGBTQ+ youth and educate about bullyin
5. C) They have become progressively more favorable.

This page titled 6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.1: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People** by Ann Merriwether is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice

Homophobia

The clinical psychologist George Weinberg is credited with coining the term homophobia.[20] He defined homophobia as the "dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals" and suggested that it was a consequence of several factors, including religion, fear of being homosexual, repressed envy of the freedom from tradition that gay people seem to have, a threat to values, and fear of death.[21] According to Weinberg, some heterosexuals seek symbolic immortality through their children. Their belief that gay people don't want or can't have children, and are thereby rejecting this route to immortality, leads to existential anxiety or fear of death. In his highly influential book *Society and the Healthy Homosexual* (published in 1972), as well as in later interviews, he acknowledged the influence of the gay liberation movement on his thinking.[22] Essays that eventually became chapters of *Society and the Healthy Homosexual* were published in *Gay*, a gay liberationist magazine edited by the gay liberation pioneers Jack Nichols and Lige Clarke. Positioning himself solidly within gay liberationist philosophy, Weinberg suggested that he "would never consider a patient healthy unless he had overcome his prejudice of homosexuality."[23] The psychoanalyst Wainwright Churchill was also influential to scholarly thinking about sexual prejudice at the time. In his book *Homosexual Behavior among Males* (1967), he describes "homoerotophobia," a concept similar to homophobia, as the psychological consequence of living in an "erotophobic" society, or one that is afraid of the erotic.[24]

After Weinberg introduced a word for homophobia, research into the study of attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people expanded considerably. Kenneth Smith conducted the first-ever study attempting to measure heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men. His work questioned the nature of the homophobic individual. Smith's homophobia scale, or H scale, was an attempt to measure heterosexuals' "negative or fearful responding to homosexuality." Smith found that homophobic people were more "status conscious, authoritarian, and sexually rigid" than nonhomophobic people and concluded that homophobic people may not see homosexuals as belonging to a legitimate minority group that is deserving of rights.[25] Most of the items in the H scale were ego-defensive in nature, assessing participants' levels of discomfort with being near a homosexual. Items like "It would be upsetting for me to find out I was alone with a homosexual," "I find the thought of homosexual acts disgusting," and "If a homosexual sat next to me on a bus I would get nervous" all imply an aversive and affective response possibly due to repressed fear.[26]

Heterosexism and Heteronormativity

According to the **lesbian feminist writer and theorist Adrienne Rich** (figure 6.3), compulsory heterosexuality—the assumption that everyone is heterosexual and that heterosexuality is natural for men and women—is maintained and **reinforced by the patriarchy**.[27] This social and political system of male dominance is reinforced by heterosexism, which Gregory Herek describes as "an ideological system that denies and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community."[28] What results is **heteronormativity, an attitude and practice that centers the world around heterosexuality, privileging only that which conforms to the norms, practices, and institutions of heterosexuality.**[29] Queer theory expands on the implications of heteronormativity. Combined, heterosexism and heteronormativity shape the world in which LGBTQ+ people live, creating an everyday environment where they are ignored, invalidated, and sometimes punished for not living up to the standards of heterosexuality.



Figure 6.3. Audre Lorde (left), Meridel Le Sueur (center), and Adrienne Rich (right). (CC-BY K. Kendall.)

Many of the traditional milestones of everyday life are influenced by **heterosexism and heteronormativity.** Think about gender roles and their corresponding attitudes and behaviors, body image, gendered attire and comportment, as well as developmental milestones such as dating, marriage, career, and parenthood. All these norms and events are influenced by heterosexism and a corresponding set of heteronormative sexual scripts. These scripts are mental constructions, shaped by culture, that guide individual understanding of relationships and sexual situations.[30] As LGBTQ+ people attempt to navigate these standards and expectations, they frequently encounter challenges to their well-being. It is also important to point out that, although the challenges are intense, many are able to meet these challenges successfully.

Heterosexism and heteronormativity have cast LGBTQ+ individuals as morally vacuous, criminal threats, and mentally ill. Social sanctions existed in most institutions, denying LGBTQ+ people access to faith communities, education institutions, and even families. Discrimination in employment was the norm, resulting in the need for LGBTQ+ people to deny or dissemble in places of employment, when seeking housing, or in public. And although the U.S. Supreme Court has determined that **LGBTQ+ people cannot be discriminated against in employment,** efforts are underway to limit the scope of this ruling through the pursuit of religious exemptions. Same-sex marriages were not recognized in the United States until 2015, and that change occurred through the courts and not through legislation. In addition, marriage equality continues to be challenged, with legislative and judicial efforts to limit the extent to which same-sex unions must be recognized as valid. The rights of LGBTQ+ people to become or remain parents to children has also seen progress but remains under siege. For example, in 2018, Oklahoma governor Mary Fallin signed a bill that allows private adoption agencies to discriminate against LGBTQ+ couples, allowing them to refuse to place children in LGBTQ+ families if it "would violate the agency's written religious or moral convictions or policies."[31]

Microaggressions

Not all acts of discrimination are overt and easily identified, either by the person who is targeted or by witnesses. The mental health of people who are marginalized because of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality can also be affected by microaggressions —"brief, daily assaults on minority individuals, which can be social or environmental, verbal or nonverbal, as well as intentional or unintentional."[32] Because microaggressions are slight, somewhat indirect, and sometimes dismissible, they can be pernicious and difficult to address directly.

Microaggressions have been found to negatively affect mental health, likelihood of accessing health care, and satisfaction with a workplace or educational setting. There are different kinds of microaggressions. Microassaults occur when someone makes a joke or makes a stereotypical generalization about a person based on their group membership. **Microinsults refer to rude and insensitive words and behavior that devalue or demean someone's group.** Finally, microinvalidations take place when someone is excluded because of their group or because their experience as the member of a group is invalidated.[33]

LGBTQ+ Minority Stress

Although most people deal effectively with the stress of everyday life, sometimes negative life events can be so severe (what psychologists call major life stressors) or continue for so long (chronic stressors) that they can negatively affect mental and physical health. Members of racial, sexual, and other minority groups who experience stressors as a result of prejudice and discrimination experience what **psychologists call minority stress.**[34]

LGBTQ+ minority stress extends beyond the regular stress of everyday life or the stress that comes from unexpected life events. It is particularly related to **the external experiences that LGBTQ+ people** encounter going through life in a heterosexist world, such as discrimination, anti-LGBTQ+ violence, and microaggressions. Research on minority stress also explores the implication of those stressors on LGBTQ+ peoples' sense of self and psychological well-being, such as self-esteem, depression, and guilt. Research documents how anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice produces negative stressors such as isolation, lack of family acceptance, ostracization by peers, lack of resources and opportunities in schools, less attention from teachers, and less validation of LGBTQ+ peoples' lives.[35] These stressors add up and negatively affect the mental and physical health of LGBTQ+ people.

Internalized Homophobia and Heterosexism

Because most LGBTQ+ people grow up in environments that are to some degree heterosexist, most are also likely to **internalize some of the anti-LGBTQ+ messages they encounter along the way.** This internalized homophobia can have mental health consequences, and addressing it is considered an important step in the coming out process. Variables such as community connectedness have been found to help in addressing internalized homophobia. A survey of 1,093 transgender individuals found

that stigma relating to participants' gender identity and expression contributed to their psychological distress, and that trans community and **social support helped moderate the distress.** A survey of 484 LGB adults found that **parental support** of a child's authentic self was associated with lower internalized homophobia and shame as well as **better overall psychological health in adults.**[36]

Modern and Aversive Prejudice

New conceptualizations and approaches in the measurement of racism (e.g., symbolic prejudice, modern prejudice, and aversive prejudice) and attitudes toward women (e.g., ambivalent sexism) were introduced in the 1980s and 1990s. These approaches explained that, as it became more socially unacceptable to express prejudice, those old-fashioned forms didn't disappear entirely but went underground and were replaced by more subtle or indirect forms of prejudice. Similarly, in the face of growing social acceptance of LGBTQ+ people, anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice is also often expressed subtly, indirectly, and in ways that avoid direct social condemnation. For example, a study of attitudes toward LGBTQ+ parenting found that people who score high on a measure of modern anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice will evaluate the parenting of same-sex and opposite-sex parents similarly when **both sets of parents are engaged in the same *positive* parenting behaviors.** However, when both sets of parents engage in the same *negative* parenting behaviors (e.g., losing their temper, slapping their child's hand, and yelling), those same participants will evaluate the parenting of the same-sex couple more negatively than the opposite-sex parents, suggesting that condemnation of the parents' negative conduct provides a subtle and socially acceptable way to express existing anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice.[37]

Predicting Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice

Anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice has been found to highly correlate with other variables, including age, education, location, religiosity, political party and ideology, and sexual conservatism. Personality has also been found to correlate with anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice. People who score higher on measures of **right-wing authoritarianism** tend to be more deferential to authority figures, see the world in moral absolutes, and be punitive toward those who transgress social norms. These people also tend to hold more negative attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people. In addition, gender and gender-role beliefs have been found to predict attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people. People who support more traditional gender roles and traditional values concerning sexual behavior and family structure tend to express more anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice. Similar correlates have been tied to antitrans attitudes.[38]

Similarly, a national probability sample of heterosexual adults found that more negative attitudes toward transgender people were associated with authoritarianism, political conservatism, religiosity (only for women), rigid views about gender, and lack of contact with transgender people. They also noted that participants' attitudes toward transgender people were more negative than their attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people.[39]

The contact hypothesis is the idea that **contact between groups can improve group relations and reduce prejudice;** it was introduced by Allport in 1954. Allport argued that this contact needed to take place in particular situational contexts in which the groups have equal status, that the groups share a **set of common goals, are working cooperatively, and have the opportunity to develop emotional connections and empathy.**[40] Allport also suggested that there should be support for cooperation and acceptance from authorities or powers that be; the contact must counter the negative beliefs about the group with information that is frequent, consistent, and can be generalized; and the contact should discourage rationalizing the new information as being a special case or subtype of the group.[41] Although prejudice and the threat of discrimination can reduce the possibility of contact between heterosexuals and members of the LGBTQ+ community, heterosexuals with more contact with LGBTQ+ people have been found to hold more favorable attitudes.[42]



Figure 6.4. Cologne, Germany, Pride Parade, 2014. (CC-BY-SA Cephoto.)

The Benefits and Risks of Coming Out

The gay liberation movement of the 1970s advocated for coming out as an LGB person as an important strategy of political change and personal fulfillment. This concept is illustrated in this now famous 1978 quote by the late **San Francisco supervisor, and hero of the LGBTQ+ rights movement, Harvey Milk (figure 6.5).** Every gay person must come out. As difficult as it is, you must tell your immediate family. You must tell your relatives. You must tell your friends if indeed they are your friends. You must tell your neighbors. You must tell the people you work with. You must tell the people in the stores you shop in. Once they realize that we are indeed their children, that we are indeed everywhere, every myth, every lie, every innuendo will be destroyed once and all. And once you do, you will feel so much better.[43]

The benefit and buffering effects of coming out have been well established in the literature. Ilan Meyer's LGBTQ+ minority stress model connects minority identification with positive outcomes in terms of coping and having access to the social support resources necessary to address minority stress. The model also highlights how minority identification is related to minority stressors within the individual such as expectations of rejection, concealment, and internalized homophobia. In addition, identification and community connectedness can increase visibility, which may increase vulnerability to things like employment discrimination, harassment, and violence.[44]



Figure 6.5. Harvey Milk at Gay Pride San Jose, 1978. (CC-BY-SA Ted Sahl, Kat Fitzgerald, Patrick Phonsakwa, Lawrence McCrorey, Darryl Pelletier.)

Historians and other social scientists have also suggested that the increased visibility of LGBTQ+ people was a critical element in the formation of LGBTQ+ communities and the progress of the LGBTQ+ rights movements. The contact hypothesis, Harvey Milk's rallying cry of **"Come on out!"** and research that highlights the importance of role models and positive representatives in various forms of media all suggest that coming out and increasing the visibility of LGBTQ+ people is an important and often positive strategy for improving social attitudes. As we stated earlier in this chapter, increased visibility does come with risks. However, positive contact between heterosexuals and LGBTQ+ people has been found to result not only in positive attitude change but also in the possibility of increasing the dominant group's identification with the marginalized group, **creating the possibility of allyship—the mobilization of heterosexuals to work toward change benefiting the LGBTQ+ community.** As intergroup and interpersonal contact, as well as subsequent social networks, continues to expand into the virtual world through online communities, social networking, and hookup and dating apps, these forms of social interaction will likely continue to shape beliefs about and attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people, create new contexts for minority stress, and expand possibilities for social support and the resources available to LGBTQ+ people.[45]

Harvey Milk's Radical Vision of Equality

A TED-Ed lesson, by Lillian Faderman, "Harvey Milk's Radical Vision of Equality," introduces Milk and his life (https://www.ted.com/talks/lillian_fa...on_of_equality).

Visit the SFO Museum's virtual exhibition about Harvey Milk (https://www.sfomuseum.org/exhibition...messenger-hope).

- What was the historical context within which Harvey Milk advocated coming out to family, friends, neighbors, and others?
- What are the hallmarks of Milk's political philosophy?

- How does the research discussed in this chapter help us understand why Milk was right in believing that coming out was important for gay rights?

Conclusion

Although progress in LGBTQ+ rights has been made and attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people have changed in the last few decades, the implications of anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice and discrimination remain serious. It is critical that efforts to change these attitudes continue and that LGBTQ+ affirmative social scientists, educators, and practitioners continue to develop a robust knowledge base to guide these efforts. In addition, a related literature highlights the strength and resilience found in the LGBTQ+ community, even in the face of this adversity.

LGBTQ+ historians and anthropologists like **George Chauncey, John D'Emilio, Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline Davis, and Susan Stryker** have helped make visible the courage and perseverance of LGBTQ+ individuals and communities who faced legal risks, social stigma, overt discrimination, and violence across the twentieth century.[46] These are the voices and struggles of a resilient community: **the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis,** which organized and built networks of LGBTQ+ people in the shadow of McCarthyism and anti-homosexual witch hunts; the transwomen and transmen, drag queens, queer youth of color, street hustlers, butch dykes, and gay men who took a stand at **the Stonewall Inn;** the LGBTQ+ people who, amid unimaginable death and sadness brought about by the AIDS epidemic, built organizations, took care of each other, acted up, and fought back against government disdain and neglect; and the people with AIDS, many in the midst of the ravages of the disease, who still found meaning in helping others. These stories of resilience aren't meant to minimize the dangers or potential for harm. **In the words of Harvey Milk,** they are simply stories of hope: **"Hope for a better world, hope for a better tomorrow, hope for a better place to come to if the pressures at home are too great. Hope that all will be alright . . . and you and you and you, you have to give people hope."**[47]

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Harvey Milk, what is the main reason every gay person should come out?
A) To increase their income
B) To destroy myths and lies about LGBTQ+ people
C) To avoid discrimination
D) To become famous

2. What is one personal benefit of coming out, as supported by research?
A) Increased risk of discrimination
B) Higher self-esteem and better mental health
C) Decreased access to social support
D) Lower academic achievement

3. What is the contact hypothesis?
A) The idea that positive contact between groups reduces prejudice.
B) The idea that only LGBTQ+ people can change attitudes.
C) The belief that coming out is always safe.
D) The theory that online communities are harmful.

4. What is a potential risk of increased LGBTQ+ visibility?
A) Decreased community support
B) Fewer allies
C) Lower self-esteem
D) Increased vulnerability to discrimination and harassment

5. How can coming out contribute to political and social change?
A) By making LGBTQ+ people less visible

B) By encouraging secrecy
C) By humanizing LGBTQ+ people and inspiring allyship
D) By reducing social networks

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think Harvey Milk believed coming out was so important for both individuals and the LGBTQ+ community as a whole?
2. What are some ways that coming out can both help and potentially harm an LGBTQ+ person?
3. How does the contact hypothesis help explain changes in public attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people?
4. In what ways has the internet and social media changed the experience of coming out and building LGBTQ+ community?
5. What can allies do to support LGBTQ+ people who are considering coming out or who have recently come out?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) To destroy myths and lies about LGBTQ+ people
2. B) Higher self-esteem and better mental health
3. A) The idea that positive contact between groups reduces prejudice.
4. D) Increased vulnerability to discrimination and harassment
5. C) By humanizing LGBTQ+ people and inspiring allyship

This page titled 6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.1: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People** by Ann Merriwether is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples

Sexual minority individuals continue to experience prejudice and discrimination as a result of the social stigma that most societies place on sexual behavior and sexual identities outside heteronormative ideals. This stigma persists across many domains of life, including education and the workplace, but is arguably most pronounced in the domain of intimacy and romantic relationships. In this profile, I provide an overview of several studies my colleagues and I have conducted aimed at understanding how sexual minority individuals and members of same-sex relationships experience stigma in the context of their intimate relationships. I demonstrate how experiences of stigma can lead to negative outcomes for members of same-sex relationships in terms of their mental health and in the quality of their relationships. This research illustrates how theories of minority stress can be used to understand how social stigma can be detrimental to the health and relationships of sexual minority individuals and same-sex couples.

The Minority Stress Model

The minority stress model, as proposed by **Ilan Meyer,** attempts to explain why sexual minority individuals, on average, **experience higher rates of mental health problems relative to their straight peers.** Noting that these inequalities in mental health are not likely to be caused by sexual orientation itself, the minority stress model contends that the reason for poorer mental health outcomes among sexual minority populations lies in sexual minority individuals having a disadvantaged status in society relative to their straight peers. This disadvantaged social status is created by the stigma that societies place on same-sex sexual behavior and sexual minority identities, which does not apply to straight individuals given the **privileging of heterosexuality as normative.**[48]

As a result of this disadvantaged social status, sexual minority individuals are exposed to social stress that straight individuals are not. Social stressors include being fired from your job because you are lesbian (i.e., prejudice), being called names because you are bisexual (i.e., harassment), being socially avoided because you are gay (i.e., everyday discrimination), having to worry about when it is safe to disclose your sexual orientation **(i.e., stigma concealment),** and thinking you are not valued as a person as much as others are because of your sexual orientation (i.e., internalized stigma). These are all examples of social stress that sexual minorities experience that their straight peers do not. As a result of excess exposure to these and other forms of minority stress, sexual minorities are more likely to experience mental health problems like elevated rates of depression, anxiety, substance use, and suicidal ideation. Thus, the minority stress model contends that sexual minority individuals experience higher rates of mental health problems than their straight peers because of excess exposure to social stress stemming from their **stigmatized and disadvantaged social status.**[49]

Stigma and Minority Stress in Same-Sex Relationships

As of 2020, same-sex marriage is either performed or recognized in thirty-two countries throughout the world, and attitudes toward homosexuality and same-sex marriage are dramatically improved according to opinion polls in most Western countries.[50] However, it is important to recognize that the vast majority of countries across the globe do not legally recognize same-sex couples, and in some countries same-sex sexual behavior continues to be criminalized. Even in countries with equal marriage laws, many same-sex couples experience stigma and discrimination from coworkers, peers, and family. Thus, the **domain of intimacy** and romantic relationships remains a significant part of sexual minority individuals' lives in which they continue to experience social stigma.

Minority Stress as a Barrier to Achieving Relationship Goals

To understand how experiences of minority stress in the relational domain might explain inequalities in mental health between sexual minority individuals and their straight peers, my colleagues and I conducted a survey of 431 lesbian, gay, and bisexual (55 percent) individuals and straight-identified (45 percent) individuals living in the United States and Canada. We specifically wanted to examine the extent to which participants felt stress related to experiencing barriers to achieving their goals in romantic relationships (e.g., getting married, buying a house, planning to have children, moving in together) compared with other areas such as the workplace and education. Participants were asked to complete the **Personal Project Inventory** on the goals they were pursuing across these life domains and the intensity of perceived barriers to the achievement of these goals, which served as our measure of stress. We also asked participants to complete previously validated measures of depression and psychological well-being.[51]

We found that sexual minority individuals reported significantly more depressive symptoms and lower levels of psychological well-being than their straight peers. Sexual minorities also reported more barriers to goal pursuit than straight participants. People who reported more stress in the form of frustrated goal pursuit scored significantly poorer on mental health and well-being outcomes, and their inclusion in models attenuated sexual orientation differences in mental health. Importantly, when we held constant the differences in the stress related to frustrated goal pursuit, differences between sexual minorities and straight individuals in mental health and well-being were much less pronounced. Thus, our research demonstrates that this frustrated goal pursuit is the critical factor explaining sexual minority differences in mental health and well-being. These barriers to relationship projects came from **interpersonal sources, like family, friends, and neighbors.**

These findings suggest that stigma in intimacy and relationships may prevent sexual minorities from achieving their goals for intimacy and relationships and in doing so contributes to mental health inequalities observed between sexual minority and straight individuals. These findings have relevance to the changing social context regarding marriage equality. Interpersonal attitudes may affect the everyday relationship activities of sexual minority individuals in ways that are detrimental to their health and well-being.

The Persistence of Minority Stress in a Post–marriage Equality Context

To examine whether minority stress continues to affect the mental health of same-sex couples in the United States after access to equal marriage became available, my colleagues and I examined the degree to which the perception of unequal recognition—as a minority stressor—explained variation in mental health above and **beyond legal relationship recognition.** We predicted that members of same-sex couples with legal marital status would report more positive mental health outcomes compared with members of same-sex couples who were not legally married. We also predicted that perceiving the social climate as not affording equal recognition to same-sex couples would be related to worse mental health for members of same-sex couples, regardless of legal marital status. **Dyadic data** from both members of 106 same-sex couples—diverse in terms of couple gender, length of relationship, location in the United States, and race/ethnicity—were collected and analyzed. The survey contained measures of legal marital status, perceived unequal social recognition, and mental health outcomes (e.g., depressive symptoms, nonspecific psychological distress, and problematic drinking behavior).[52]

The results demonstrated that **perceived unequal relationship** recognition predicted poorer mental health, whether or not members of same-sex couples were in a legally recognized relationship. Focusing on potential differences in mental health by levels of legal relationship recognition, the study found that members of same-sex couples recognized as registered domestic partners or civil unions, but not as legal marriages, demonstrated significantly lower levels of mental health compared with those with legal marriages and those with no legal relationship status. Those who were **legally married reported the most positive mental health outcomes** but were not statistically distinguishable from those with no legal recognition for their relationship.

These findings illustrate a consistent and robust pattern of associations with multiple indicators of mental health, suggesting that the degree to which members of same-sex couples perceive their relationship to have unequal recognition is a meaningful factor underlying mental health outcomes. In other words, although **institutionalized forms of discrimination,** such as unequal access to legal marriage, have documented associations with mental health in sexual minority populations, the lived experience of perceived inequality likely represents a more proximal form of minority stress. This form of minority stress is one that potentially exists as shared lived experience at the couple level "and may even persist in contexts where structural stigma has been reduced or eliminated."[53] These findings also highlight how equal access to legal marriage is an important social change but is not sufficient to eliminate long-standing social stigma as a risk for mental health problems faced by sexual minority individuals and members of same-sex couples. The constantly shifting social and policy climate facing sexual minorities and same-sex couples continues to warrant attention from social scientists, public health scholars, and policy makers in light of its potential impact on mental health.

Resilience and Resistance to Minority Stress in Same-Sex Relationships

It is important to qualify that the research findings discussed up to this point pertain to groups of sexual minority individuals and same-sex couples and reflect the average experience of the participants. **Not all sexual minority individuals and members of same-sex couples experience minority stress** and not all who do are affected by it in the same way. In fact, many sexual minority individuals and members of same-sex couples live healthy lives in rewarding relationships. Recognizing this variability in individual experience highlights how sexual minority individuals and **members of same-sex relationships are resilient** in the face of minority stress.

An example of this resilience can be seen in a study of the meaning-making processes same-sex couples use in negotiating minority stress in their relationships.[54] To explore how members of same-sex couples potentially exercise resilience in the face of minority stress, I asked ninety-nine people in same-sex relationships to write about their relational high points, low points, decisions, and goals, as well as their experiences of stigma directly related to their relationships. Narrative analysis of these stories revealed that participants had several psychological strategies for making meaning of their experiences of stigma. Some strategies emphasized a negative, delimiting, and contaminating effect of stigma on relationships, as is commonly found in existing research. However, other strategies emphasized how stigma can be made sense of in ways **that allow individuals to overcome its negative effects.**

For example, some same-sex couples who participated in this research **constructed meanings of stigma-related stressors as challenges that reaffirmed their commitment to and bond with their partners.** Others saw stigma as providing an opportunity to redefine notions of commitment and relational legitimacy. These narrative strategies for making meaning of stigma-related stressors represent more than simply coping strategies for minority stress. They represent attempts to reclaim experiences of being stigmatized in ways that allow individuals to resist and even thrive in the face of social stigma. Thus, through individual and group-level **meaning-making processes of minority stressors, social stigma can, indirectly, result in positive outcomes for sexual minorities' well-being and same-sex relationships.**

Summary

My colleagues and I have conducted studies that collectively demonstrate how social stigma can affect the health and relationships of sexual minority individuals and same-sex couples. These are by no means the only studies on this topic.[55] It is my hope that the details of these studies illustrate the potential utility of minority stress theory to highlight that the continued stigmatization of same-sex couples, even in areas that have progressive laws and policies, puts sexual minority individuals and same-sex couples at risk for negative health and relationship outcomes. This research has been useful for efforts to change laws and policies to be more inclusive of same-sex couples' rights and to eliminate discrimination against same-sex couples, efforts that are by no means complete and will continue for years to come. However, research on minority stress can also be useful in **informing the work of community health workers, counselors, and clinicians working with sexual minority communities** to help them cope with, overcome, and resist the potential negative impact of social stigma.[56]

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. According to the minority stress model, why do sexual minority individuals experience higher rates of mental health problems than their straight peers?

A) Because of their sexual orientation itself
B) Due to excess exposure to social stress from stigma and discrimination
C) Because they have fewer friends
D) Due to lack of education

2. Which of the following is an example of a social stressor faced by sexual minorities?

A) Winning an award at work
B) Traveling abroad
C) Getting a promotion
D) Being called names because of sexual orientation

3. What did research find about the relationship between barriers to relationship goals and mental health among sexual minorities?

A) More barriers to relationship goals were linked to poorer mental health and well-being.
B) Barriers had no effect on mental health.
C) Barriers improved mental health.
D) Only financial barriers mattered.

4. After marriage equality, what factor still predicted poorer mental health for same-sex couples?

A) Legal marital status only
B) Age of the couple

C) Perceived unequal social recognition
D) Number of children

5. How do some same-sex couples demonstrate resilience in the face of minority stress?
A) By ignoring their experiences
B) By using meaning-making strategies that turn stigma into opportunities for growth and commitment
C) By moving to another country
D) By ending their relationships

Discussion Questions

1. How does the minority stress model help explain mental health disparities between sexual minorities and straight individuals?
2. In what ways can social stigma nd prejudice affect the relationship goals and well-being of same-sex couples?
3. Why might legal recognition of same-sex marriage not be enough to eliminate mental health disparities for same-sex couples?
4. What are some examples of resilience and resistance that same-sex couples use to cope with minority stress and how can research on minority stress inform the work of counselors, clinicians, and policymakers working with sexual minority communities?
5. How does the history of research on homophobia and prejudice against LGBTQ+ people relate to political struggles for LGBTQ+ equality?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) Due to excess exposure to social stress from stigma and discrimination
2. D) Being called names because of sexual orientation
3. A) More barriers to relationship goals were linked to poorer mental health and well-being.
4. C) Perceived unequal social recognition
5. B) By using meaning-making strategies that turn stigma into opportunities for growth and commitment

---

This page titled 6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.1: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People** by Ann Merriwether is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

6.4: Research Resources

Compiled by Jessica Szempruch and Rachel Wexelbaum

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about discrimination, prejudice, and minority stress as it affects LGBTQ+ people.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

Discrimination in America: Experiences and Views of LGBTQ Americans

Discrimination in America is a series developed by National Public Radio, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and the Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health and based on a 2017 survey of 3,453 adults living in the United States. The survey captured the wide range of personal experiences that Americans have had with discrimination based on age, race, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, and other factors. Data and analysis of the data from this report are authoritative evidence for research papers or other research projects about discrimination. View the report at https://cdn1.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/94/2017/11/NPR-RWJF-HSPH-Discrimination-LGBTQ-Final-Report.pdf.

Equaldex

Equaldex (https://www.equaldex.com/) is a collaborative knowledge base, similar to Wikipedia, for LGBTQ+ rights around the world. Information maps provide legal status of LGBTQ+ discrimination, homosexual activity, marriage, changing gender, adoption, employment, housing, military service, age of consent, donating blood, and conversion therapy in every country around the world. One can review each map, locate a country-specific map, or compare two or more different regions. This extremely useful resource for basic, up-to-date information about LGBTQ+ laws in any country includes a growing list of LGBTQ+ advocacy organizations from around the world.

Equality Maps, from the Movement Advancement Project

The Movement Advancement Project (MAP) is an independent, nonprofit organization that provides research reports and data to organizations, journalists, and lawmakers fighting for equal rights. MAP's LGBTQ+ equality maps (http://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps) display LGBTQ+ policies and laws in the United States. Researchers can click on a state to review research, laws, and data on nondiscrimination laws; religious exemptions; relationship and parental recognition of LGBTQ+ youth; health care for LGBTQ+ people; criminal justice systems and LGBTQ+ people; and the corrections to identity documents that are allowed.

Human Rights Campaign

Founded in 1980, the Human Rights Campaign is the best-known LGBTQ+ political advocacy group in the United States. Its website (https://www.hrc.org/) includes annual reports of the group's activities, articles focused on sixteen LGBTQ+ advocacy topics, a link to professional resources developed by the allied Human Rights Foundation, and information on how to get involved with the Human Rights Campaign to promote particular issues.

Lambda Legal

Lambda Legal (https://www.lambdalegal.org/) is a national organization committed to achieving full recognition of the civil rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transgender people, and those with HIV through impact litigation, education, and public policy

work.

National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs

This national coalition of local programs, affiliate organizations, and individuals works to prevent, respond to, and end all forms of violence against and within LGBTQ+ communities. The coalition (https://avp.org/ncavp/) is coordinated by the Anti-Violence Project, founded in New York City in 1980.

OutRight International

OutRight International is a leading international LGBTQ+ human rights organization focused on LGBTQ+ rights advocacy around the world. It fights for legal equality, freedom of assembly, privacy, personal security, online safety, and transgender and nonbinary rights. Its representatives work with the United Nations, nongovernmental organizations, and local and national LGBTQ+ support organizations to advance its work (https://outrightinternational.org/how-we-work). The "Where We Work" page has a link to a global overview of legal and societal situations of LGBTQ+ people.

Sylvia Rivera Law Project

The Sylvia Rivera Law Project (https://srlp.org/) works to guarantee that all people are free to self-determine gender identity and expression, regardless of income or race and without facing harassment, discrimination, or violence. The project provides legal help, training, and advocacy tools.

Deep Dive: Books and Film

Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex, edited by Eric A. Stanley and Nat Smith

The first book to address trans people, and the intersection of race and gender identity, in the prison-industrial complex contains twenty-six chapters contributed by trans people who are currently incarcerated, academics, legal experts, and activists. They present clear evidence that the criminal justice system discriminates against, penalizes, and endangers transgender and nonbinary people through unequal, unsafe incarceration practices. The "Tools/Resources" section provides talking points and organizing strategies to abolish the prison-industrial complex. It was a Lambda Literary Award finalist and winner of the CLAGS Sylvia Rivera Award for Transgender Studies. Originally published in 2011, the 2015 edition of this book includes a foreword by CeCe McDonald (Oakland, CA: AK Press).

Intersexuality and the Law: Why Sex Matters, by Julie A. Greenberg

Internationally acclaimed LGBTQ+ rights lawyer Julie A. Greenberg provides a thorough survey of discrimination against intersex people, which often begins at birth; the state and federal laws that affect their rights; and how legal institutions can collaborate with disability rights advocates, feminist groups, LGBTQ+ organizations, and other groups to fight intersex discrimination in health care, marriage rights, employment, and other environments. The book won the 2013 Bullough Award, presented by the Foundation for the Scientific Study of Sexuality (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

The Nature of Prejudice, by Gordon Allport

Published in 1954, this book was the first landmark study on the origins of prejudice and discrimination. The twenty-fifth anniversary edition is unabridged and goes into great detail about how prejudice and discrimination become institutionalized. A frequently cited theoretical work applicable to all nations and cultures, it has provided the foundations for future studies on the topic (New York: Perseus Books, 1979).

Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches, by Audre Lorde

Fifteen essays and speeches from the poet-philosopher Audre Lorde about the way women—particularly Black women and women of color—build resilience and overcome racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, and class discrimination are gathered in this volume. First published in 1984, the 2007 edition includes a foreword written by world-famous Black community activist and Lorde scholar Cheryl Clarke. This classic collection is a frequently cited, foundational resource that built theories of Black feminism, postcolonial feminism, LGBTQ+ studies, and critical psychology (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press).

That's So Gay! Microaggressions and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community, by Kevin Nadal

Each chapter in this review of the scholarly literature on microaggressions and prejudice shown toward LGBTQ+ people includes case examples with corresponding analysis and discussion questions. The book also includes guidance and best practices for students, educators, mental health practitioners, health care workers, and organizational leaders who want to build welcoming, inclusive spaces (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2013).

This page titled 6.4: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.1: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People** by Ann Merriwether is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

6.5: Glossary

allyship. Building a supportive relationship with a marginalized or mistreated group of people that one is not a part of, an effort that continues even when that relationship threatens one's comfort, status, or relationships with one's group.

attitudes. The positive and negative emotions, beliefs, and behaviors that a person holds or exhibits toward another person, group, object, or event.

aversive prejudice. A theory of prejudice, originally proposed in the 1980s in the context of aversive racism, that suggests that negative attitudes toward marginalized groups are sometimes manifested indirectly through feelings of discomfort and the avoidance of members of those groups.

coming out. Also known as coming out of the closet; a process in the lives of LGBTQ+ people of disclosing one's sexual orientation or gender identity to others.

compulsory heterosexuality. An idea, proposed by the feminist writer and scholar Adrienne Rich in 1980, that patriarchy and heteronormativity cause society to assume and mandate heterosexuality in everyone.

contact hypothesis. A theory, introduced by the psychologist Gordon Allport in the 1950s, suggesting that, under the right conditions, prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination can be reduced or eliminated by encouraging interaction between members of the majority and the minority groups.

Dignity for All Students Act. A law in New York State passed in 2010 that seeks to eliminate discrimination and bullying (based on race, physical size, national origin, ethnicity, religion, ability, sexual orientation, gender identity, and sex) in schools through education, modification of district codes of conduct, and the mandated collection and reporting of incident data.

disadvantaged social status. A lower place within the social hierarchy of a society, often defined by a lower level of power, lower social value, and exclusion from full and equal access to material and symbolic forms of citizenship.

discrimination. The unjust or prejudicial treatment of an individual or group based on their actual or perceived membership in a particular group or class of people (e.g., race, gender identity, or sexual orientation).

egalitarianism. The political philosophy of believing in the equality of all and in the elimination of inequality.

ego-defensive reaction. A response to another person or group that is motivated by the unconscious need to avoid disturbing or threatening thoughts, such as feelings of guilt.

hate crimes. Crimes, such as assault, bullying, harassment, vandalism, and abuse, that are motivated by prejudice toward a certain group and that in some jurisdictions incur harsher penalties.

heteronormativity. A societal belief that makes heterosexuality the default and assumes that everyone is heterosexual until proven otherwise; a belief normalizing heterosexuality and othering any other identity or experience apart from heterosexuality.

heterosexism. An attitude and belief based on the idea that everyone is heterosexual or that heterosexuality is the only acceptable sexual orientation.

homophobia. Negative or hostile attitudes toward people who identify as, or are perceived to be, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer. *Biphobia* and *transphobia* are also used to describe negative or hostile attitudes toward people who identify, or are perceived to be, bisexual or transgender.

internalized homophobia. The acceptance or incorporation of anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice or stereotypes by LGBTQ+ people.

microaggressions. Common verbal, behavioral, or environmental insults, indignities, and slights that cause harm by communicating, intentionally or unintentionally, hostility and prejudice toward members of a marginalized group.

minority stress. Social stress resulting from being a member of a social group or having a social identity that is stigmatized by society.

modern prejudice. Prejudice that is expressed toward an individual through subtle discriminatory behaviors, denial that ongoing discrimination against that group continues, or the suggestion that the marginalized group is trying to advance too far, too fast.

patriarchy. A society, or belief system, that favors or privileges men at the expense of women, in which men hold most of the power and control most of the wealth, and in which women are marginalized.

prejudice. Negative emotions, beliefs, or behaviors toward an individual, based on the person's group membership and not based on prior knowledge or experience with that individual.

public opinion polls. Surveys to measure the views, attitudes, or opinions of the general public on topics, issues, or social problems.

resilience. An individual's ability to recover, or bounce back, from a stressful or traumatic experience.

resistance. The effort of a social group or social movement to challenge or struggle against another group, policy, or government that is oppressing them.

right-wing authoritarianism. A personality characteristic of individuals who easily submit and defer to leaders, or authority figures, they perceive as strong and legitimate; they tend to adhere to social norms and hold negative attitudes toward anyone who challenges those norms, and they support the use of force to preserve norms and bring social order.

same-sex relationships. Sexual or romantic relationships involving two partners who share the sex assigned at birth and gender identity.

sexual minority individuals. People who have sexual identities that are not straight, including but not limited to lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, and pansexual.

social stress. Stress that emanates from a person's relationships with other people, other communities, and the general social environment.

symbolic prejudice. A subtle and indirect form of prejudice toward a group that can manifest as the rejection of the policies and initiatives that are designed to help that group achieve equality while also expressing support for the equality of that group.

This page titled 6.5: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.1: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People** by Ann Merriwether is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

6.6: Footnotes

1. NPR, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health, “Discrimination in America: Experiences and Views of LGBTQ Americans,” 2017, https://cdn1.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/94/2017/11/NPR-RWJF-HSPH-Discrimination-LGBTQ-Final-Report.pdf. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-1
2. G. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (New York: Addison Wesley, 1954), 9. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-2
3. J. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, and V. Esses, “Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical Overview,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping andDiscrimination*, ed. J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, and P. Glick (London: SAGE, 2010), 3–28, http://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/54590_dovido,_chapter_1.pdf. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-3
4. National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and HIV-Affected Hate Violence in 2016* (New York: NCAVP, 2016). 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-4
5. “ADL Hate Crime Map,” n.d., https://www.adl.org/adl-hate-crime-map. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-5
6. F. S. Pezzella, M. D. Fetzer, and T. Keller, “The Dark Figure of Hate Crime Underreporting,” *American Behavioral Scientist*, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218823844; M. M. Wilson, “Hate Crime Victimization, 2004–2012: Statistical Tables,” 2014, http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=4883. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-6
7. For lower self-esteem, etc., see J. G. Kosciw, N. A. Palmer, R. M. Kull, and E. A. Greytak, “The Effect of Negative School Climate on Academic Outcomes for LGBT Youth and the Role of In-School Supports,” *Journal of School Violence* 12, no. 1 (2013): 45–63; for feeling less connection, see J. Pearson, C. Muller, and L. Wilkinson, “Adolescent Same-Sex Attraction and Academic Outcomes: The Role of School Attachment and Engagement,” *Social Problems* 54 (2007): 523–542; and for mental health, see R. B. Toomey, C. Ryan, R. M. Diaz, N. A. Card, and S. T. Russell, “Gender-Nonconforming Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth: School Victimization and Young Adult Psychosocial Adjustment,” *Developmental Psychology* 46 (2010): 1580–1589. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-7
8. New York State Department of Education, “The Dignity Act,” updated July 20, 2020, http://www.p12.nysed.gov/dignityact/. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-8
9. New York State Comptroller, “Some NY Schools Not Reporting Bullying or Harassment,” news release, October 13, 2017, https://www.osc.state.ny.us/press/releases/oct17/101317.htm. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-9
10. It Gets Better Project (website), accessed April 24, 2021, https://itgetsbetter.org. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-10
11. NPR et al., “Discrimination in America.” 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-11
12. Bostock v. Clayton County, 590 U.S. ___ (2020). 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-12
13. Lambda Legal, “Bostock v. Clayton County, GA / Zarda v. Altitude Express / RG & GR Harris Funeral Homes Inc v. EEOC,” accessed November 21, 2021, https://www.lambdalegal.org/in-court/cases/bostock-zarda-harris. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-13
14. Movement Advancement Project, “Equality Maps: Healthcare Laws and Policies,” accessed April 24, 2021, https://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/healthcare_laws_and_policies. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-14
15. S. A. Mirza and C. Rooney, “Discrimination Prevents LGBTQ People from Accessing Health Care,” Center for American Progress, January 18, 2018, https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/lgbt/news/2018/01/18/445130/discrimination-prevents-lgbtq-people-accessing-health-care/. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-15

16. For removal of homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association list of mental illnesses, see R. Bayer. *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry: The Politics of Diagnosis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); for the American Psychological Association LGBTQ+ stance, see American Psychological Association, *Sexual Orientation and Homosexuality* (Washington, DC: APA, 2008), https://www.apa.org/topics/lgbt/orientation; and for the American Academy of Pediatricians statement, see Committee on Adolescence, "Policy Statement: Office-Based Care for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Questioning Youth," *Pediatrics* 132, no. 1 (2013): 198–203. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-16
17. Institutes of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Patients: Building a Foundation for a Better Understanding* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2011). 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-17
18. For attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and survey answers about employment discrimination, see Gallup, "Gay and Lesbian Rights," accessed April 24, 2021, https://news.gallup.com/poll/1651/gay-lesbian-rights.aspx; for attitudes toward transgender people, see W. Luhur, T. N. T. Brown, and A. Flores, *Public Opinion of Transgender Rights in the US* (Los Angeles, CA: Williams Institute, 2017), https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/research/public-opinion-trans-rights-us/. Note that in the 1970s, at the time of the survey, *homosexual* was widely used to describe gay and lesbian people. However, because of its origins in medical and psychiatric discourse, it is today considered by many to be offensive. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-18
19. Gallup, "Gay and Lesbian Rights." 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-19
20. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1991), s.v. "homophobia." 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-20
21. G. Weinberg, *Society and the Healthy Homosexual* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 4. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-21
22. R. Ayyar, "George Weinberg: Love Is Conspiratorial, Deviant, and Magical," *GayToday*, November 1, 2002, http://gaytoday.com/interview/110102in.asp. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-22
23. Weinberg, *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*, 1. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-23
24. W. Churchill, *Homosexual Behavior among Males: A Cross-Cultural and Cross-Species Investigation* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967). 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-24
25. K. T. Smith, "Homophobia: A Tentative Personality Profile," *Psychological Reports* 29 (1971): 1089, 1093. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-25
26. Smith, 1094. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-26
27. A. Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5 (1980): 631–660. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-27
28. G. M. Herek, "The Context of Anti-gay Violence: Notes on Cultural and Psychological Heterosexism," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 5, no. 3 (1990): 316. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-28
29. C. J. Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queen: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?," in *Black Queer Studies*, ed. E. P. Johnson and M. G. Henderson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); M. Warner, "Introduction: Fear of a Queer Planet" *Social Text* 29 (1991): 3–17, http://www.jstor.org/stable/466295. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-29
30. J. H. Gagnon, "The Explicit and Implicit Use of the Scripting Perspective in Sex Research," *Annual Review of Sex Research* 1, no. 1 (1990): 1–43; W. Simon and J. H. Gagnon, "Sexual Scripts," in *Culture, Society and Sexuality*, ed. R. Parker and P. Aggleton (New York: Routledge, 1984), 31–40. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-30
31. J. Fortin, "Oklahoma Passes Adoption Law That L.G.B.T. Groups Call Discriminatory," *New York Times*, May 12, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/12/us/oklahoma-gay-adoption-bill.html. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-31
32. K. F. Balsam, Y. Molina, B. Beadnell, J. Simoni, and K. Walters, "Measuring Multiple Minority Stress: The LGBT People of Color Microaggressions Scale," *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 17, no. 2 (2011): 163,

https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023244. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-32

33. D. W. Sue, C. M. Capodilupo, G. C. Torino, J. M. Bucceri, A. M. B. Holder, K. L. Nadal, and M. Esquilin, "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice," *American Psychologist* 62, no. 4 (2007): 271–286. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-33
34. For general negative life events, see B. P. Dohrenwend, *Adversity, Stress, and Psychopathology* (New York: Oxford University Press); and B. P. Dohrenwend, "The Role of Adversity and Stress in Psychopathology: Some Evidence and Its Implications for Theory and Research," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 41 (2000): 1–19; and for minority stress, see I. H. Meyer, "Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations: Conceptual Issues and Research Evidence," *Psychological Bulletin* 129, no. 5 (2003): 674–697. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-34
35. S. G. Massey, "Valued Differences or Benevolent Stereotypes? Exploring the Influence of Positive Beliefs on Anti-gay and Anti-lesbian Attitudes," *Psychology and Sexuality* 1, no. 2 (2010): 115–130. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-35
36. For internalized homophobia, see I. H. Meyer and L. Dean, "Internalized Homophobia, Intimacy, and Sexual Behavior among Gay and Bisexual Men," in *Stigma and Sexual Orientation: Understanding Prejudice against Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1998), 160–186; for community connectedness, see D. M. Frost and I. H. Meyer, "Measuring Community Connectedness among Diverse Sexual Minority Populations," *Journal of Sex Research* 49, no. 1 (2012): 36–49; for the transgender survey, see W. O. Bockting, M. H. Miner, R. E. S. Romine, A. Hamilton, and E. Coleman, "Stigma, Mental Health, and Resilience in an Online Sample of the US Transgender Population," *American Journal of Public Health* 103, no. 5 (2013): 943–951; and for the survey of LGB adults, see N. Legate, N. Weinstein, W. S. Ryan, C. R. DeHaan, and R. M. Ryan, "Parental Autonomy Support Predicts Lower Internalized Homophobia and Better Psychological Health Indirectly through Lower Shame in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Adults," *Stigma and Health* 4, no. 4 (2019): 367–376. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-36
37. For aversive racism, see S. L. Gaertner and J. F. Dovidio, "The Aversive Form of Racism," in *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*, ed. J. F. Dovidio and S. L. Gaertner (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1986), 61–89; for new conceptualizations and approaches, see S. L. Gaertner and J. F. Dovidio, "The Subtlety of White Racism, Arousal, and Helping Behavior," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 35, no. 10 (1977): 691–707; P. Glick and S. T. Fiske, "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70, no. 3 (1996): 491–512; I. Katz and R. G. Hass, "Racial Ambivalence and American Value Conflict: Correlational and Priming Studies of Dual Cognitive Structures," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 55 (1988): 893–905; J. B. McConahay, "Modern Racism, Ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale," *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism* (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1986); D. O. Sears, "Symbolic Racism," in *Eliminating Racism: Profiles in Controversy*, ed. I. Katz and S. Taylor (New York: Plenum Press, 1988); J. K. Swim, K. J. Aikin, W. S. Hall, and B. A. Hunter, "Sexism and Racism: Old-Fashioned and Modern Prejudices," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68, no. 2 (1995): 199–214; and F. Tougas, R. Brown, A. M. Beaton, and S. Joly, "Neosexism: Plus ça change, plus c'est pareil," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 21, no. 8 (1995): 842–849; and for attitudes on LGBTQ+ parenting, see S. G. Massey, A. Merriwether, and J. Garcia, "Modern Prejudice and Same-Sex Parenting: Shifting Judgments in Positive and Negative Parenting Situations," *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 9, no. 2 (2013) 129–151. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-37
38. For anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice correlations and predicted attitudes toward LGBTQ+ people, see G. M. Herek, "Confronting Sexual Stigma and Prejudice: Theory and Practice," *Journal of Social Issues* 63, no. 4 (2007): 905–925; for right-wing authoritarianism scores, see B. E. Whitley and S. E. Lee, "The Relationship of Authoritarianism and Related Constructs to Attitudes toward Homosexuality," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 30, no. 1 (2000): 144–170; for supporters of traditional gender roles and values, see G. Herek and K. A. McLemore, "Sexual Prejudice," *Annual Review of Psychology* 64 (2013): 309–333; M. P. Callahan and T. K. Vescio, "Core American Values and the Structure of Antigay Prejudice," *Journal of Homosexuality* 58 (2011): 248–262; and M. B. Goodman and B. Moradi, "Attitudes and Behaviors toward Lesbian and Gay Persons: Critical Correlates and Mediated Relations," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 55 (2008): 371–384; and for antitrans attitudes, see A. T. Norton and G. M. Herek, "Heterosexuals' Attitudes toward Transgender People: Findings from a National Probability Sample of US Adults," *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 68, nos. 11–12 (2013): 738–753. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-38

39. Norton and Herek, "Heterosexuals' Attitudes toward Transgender People." 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-39
40. T. Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory," *Annual Review of Psychology* 49 (1998): 65–85; P. Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1990). 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-40
41. Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory"; M. Rothbart and O. P. John, "Social Categorization and Behavioral Episodes: A Cognitive Analysis of the Effects of Intergroup Contact," *Journal of Social Issues* 41, no. 3 (1985): 81–104. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-41
42. T. F. Pettigrew and L. R. Tropp, "A Meta-analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90 (2006): 751–783; Herek and McLemore, "Sexual Prejudice." 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-42
43. J. Capehart, "From Harvey Milk to 58 Percent," *Washington Post*, March 18, 2013, https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/wp/2013/03/18/from-harvey-milk-to-58-percent/. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-43
44. For the beneficial effects of coming out, see Michael J. Stirratt, I. H. Meyer, S. C. Ouellette, and M. A. Gara, "Measuring Identity Multiplicity and Intersectionality: Hierarchical Classes Analysis (HICLAS) of Sexual, Racial, and Gender Identities," *Self and Identity* 7, no. 1 (2007): 89–111; V. C. Cass, "Homosexual Identity Formation: Testing a Theoretical Model," *Journal of Sex Research* 20, no. 2 (1984): 143–167; and R. R. Troiden, "The Formation of Homosexual Identities," in *Gay and Lesbian Youth*, ed. G. Herdt (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989), 43–73; and for the LGBTQ+ minority stress model, see Meyer, "Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations." 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-44
45. For formation of LGBTQ+ rights movements, see J. D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); and G. Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); for the contact hypothesis, see G. M. Herek and J. P. Capitanio, "'Some of My Best Friends': Intergroup Contact, Concealable Stigma, and Heterosexuals' Attitudes toward Gay Men and Lesbians," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 22, no. 4 (1996): 412–424; and Allport, *Nature of Prejudice*; for Harvey Milk, see R. Shiltz, *The Mayor of Castro Street* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); for role models and positive representatives in media, see GLAAD, *GLAAD Media Reference Guide*, 10th ed. (New York: GLAAD, 2016), https://www.glaad.org/reference; S. L. Craig, L. McInroy, L. T. McCready, and R. Alaggia, "Media: A Catalyst for Resilience in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth," *Journal of LGBT Youth* 12, no. 3 (2015): 254–275; and B. Forenza, "Exploring the Affirmative Role of Gay Icons in Coming Out," *Psychology of Popular Media Culture* 6, no. 4 (2017): 338–347; for improving social attitudes, see M. Levina, C. R. Waldo, L. F. Fitzgerald, "We're Here, We're Queer, We're on TV: The Effects of Visual Media on Heterosexuals' Attitudes toward Gay Men and Lesbians," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 30, no. 4 (2000): 738–758; and for allyship, see N. K. Reimer, J. C. Becker, A. Benz, O. Christ, K. Dhont, U. Klocke, S. Neji, et al., "Intergroup Contact and Social Change: Implications of Negative and Positive Contact for Collective Action in Advantaged and Disadvantaged Groups," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 43, no. 1 (2017): 121–136, https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167216676478. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-45
46. Chauncey, *Gay New York*; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*; E. L. Kennedy and M. D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993); S. Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008). 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-46
47. H. Milk, "The Hope Speech," June 25, 1978, https://www.speech.almeida.co.uk/harvey-milk. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-47
48. Meyer, "Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations." 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-48
49. For social stress, see I. H. Meyer, S. Schwartz, and D. M. Frost, "Social Patterning of Stress and Coping: Does Disadvantaged Social Statuses Confer More Stress and Fewer Coping Resources?," *Social Science and Medicine* 67, no. 3 (2008): 368–379; and for minority stress, see Meyer, "Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations." 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-49

50. P. M. Ayoub and J. Garretson, “Getting the Message Out: Media Context and Global Changes in Attitudes toward Homosexuality,” *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 8 (2017): 1055–1085; T. Fetner, “US Attitudes toward Lesbian and Gay People Are Better than Ever,” *Contexts* 15, no. 2 (2016): 20–27. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-50
51. D. M. Frost and A. J. LeBlanc, “Nonevent Stress Contributes to Mental Health Disparities Based on Sexual Orientation: Evidence from a Personal Projects Analysis,” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 84 (2014): 557–566. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-51
52. A. J. LeBlanc, D. M. Frost, and K. Bowen, “Legal Marriage, Unequal Recognition, and Mental Health among Same-Sex Couples,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 80, no. 2 (2018): 397–408. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-52
53. LeBlanc, Frost, and Bowen, “Legal Marriage, Unequal Recognition, and Mental Health among Same-Sex Couples,” 405; for minority stress, see Meyer, “Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations.” 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-53
54. D. M. Frost, “Stigma and Intimacy in Same-Sex Relationships: A Narrative Approach,” *Journal of Family Psychology* 25, no. 1 (2011): 1–10. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-54
55. For a review, see S. S. Rostosky and E. D. Riggle, “Same-Sex Relationships and Minority Stress,” *Current Opinion in Psychology* 13 (2017): 29–38; and for a meta-analysis, see D. M. Doyle and L. Molix, “Social Stigma and Sexual Minorities’ Romantic Relationship Functioning: A Meta-analytic Review,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 41, no. 10 (2015): 1363–1381. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-55
56. I. H. Meyer and D. M. Frost, “Minority Stress and the Health of Sexual Minorities,” in *Handbook of Psychology and Sexual Orientation*, ed. C. J. Patterson and A. R. D’Augelli (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 252–266. 4.01: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ People#return-footnote-100-56

This page titled 6.6: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.1: Chapter 6- Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People** by Ann Merriwether is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Summarize the history of nonnormative genders and sexualities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identity, as well as queer identity and activism.
- Describe the connections between identities and embodied experiences.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
- Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.

7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview

7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care

7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients

7.4: Health Care Providers

7.5: Research Resources

7.6: Glossary

7.7: Footnotes

7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription

"Anna Weingart You Are Not Alone Texas Capitol 2024" by LGBTAdvocateTX is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0.

Anna Weingart, American LGBT rights activist and nonprofit founder, holding a sign that reads "You are not alone" in a blurred background outside the Texas State Capitol. Photo taken in 2014.

This page titled 7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Thomas Lawrence Long, Christine Rodriguez, Marianne Snyder, Ryan J. Watson, & Ryan J. Watson.

7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview

Introduction

The health and wellness of LGBTQ+ and other sexual minority people in the United States is influenced by many factors: access to health care and health insurance; ability for open self-disclosure with a **queer-affirming health professional;** knowledge about the unique health challenges of LGBTQ+ people, including disease prevention and health promotion; and a sense of self-efficacy about their health, or the confidence that they know how to live a healthy life, along with the intention, necessary knowledge, and resources to do so. According to the Institute of Medicine of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, LGBTQ+ health can be understood through four lenses:

- **Minority stress model**—chronic stress that sexual and gender minorities routinely experience can contribute to physical and mental health problems.
- **Life-course perspective**—events at each stage of life influence subsequent stages, with LGBTQ+ people being particularly vulnerable in adolescence and young adulthood.
- **Intersectionality perspective**—an individual's multiple identities and the ways they interact may compromise health so that gender and sexual identity may be complicated, for example, by racial or ethnic identity or economic status. Health disparities are already amplified among racial and ethnic minority populations, which queer sexual orientation is likely to intensify further.
- **Social ecology**—individuals are surrounded by spheres of influence and support, including families, friends, communities, and society, that shape self-efficacy and health.[1]

In this chapter we keep in mind these four overlapping dimensions while exploring the following topics:

- LGBTQ+ people and the history and culture of medicine.
- Vulnerabilities of LGBTQ+ people across the lifespan and across intersectional identities (including race and ethnicity).
- Transgender people's health.
- Guidelines for being a smart patient and health care consumer.

History and Culture of Medicine and LGBTQ+ People

LGBTQ+ people often have complicated relationships with medicine, and these relationships have histories that extend back to the 1800s. The philosopher Michel Foucault famously (and controversially) suggested that queer sexualities in the ancient and medieval worlds were judged in an exclusively **legal** or **religious category** but that in the **1800s sexualities became medicalized.** [2] From this perspective, in historical terms, LGBTQ+ people in Western society went from being criminal or immoral to being mentally ill.

Viewed as a pathology rather than just a moral failing or legal violation, queer sexuality became the object of medicine's study: What is its cause, and if it is a pathology or disease, how might it be cured? This moment occurred in the second half of the 1800s when medical research and practice had absorbed enormous cultural power and authority through its first modern groundbreaking discoveries, including the development of germ theory, surgical antisepsis, and anesthesia. All things seemed possible to medicine.

Developing Terminology

The term **homosexual** appears to have been coined by the Austro-Hungarian journalist **Karl-Maria Kertbeny** (1824–1882) (figure 7.1) in an 1869 pamphlet criticizing a German anti-sodomy law.[3] The term was taken up by the psychiatrist **Richard von Krafft-Ebing** (1840–1902) in his *Psychopathia Sexualis* [Mental illnesses related to sex] (1886).[4] The term entered English through a translation of Krafft-Ebing's work and through the advocacy writing of **John Addington Symonds** and **Havelock Ellis** in England. The term bisexual, in contrast, had been used in botany since the 1700s to denote plants with both male and female anatomy (also referred to as hermaphrodite), but was adapted in the late 1800s to denote a person with roughly equivalent attraction to men and women. The **term intersex,** used as a synonym for homosexual, was adapted in the early twentieth century from biology, where it indicated the possession of both female and male anatomical features, and it is now the term frequently used by people born with ambiguous genitalia.



Figure 7.1. Karl-Maria Kertbeny. (Public domain.)

Theories of Sexual Variation

These attempts to name this unique species of human beings and diagnose what they viewed as sexual pathology, or disease, led physicians, sexologists, and psychiatrists to a search for causality and treatment. **David F. Greenberg** identifies five explanatory categories that emerged over time: homosexuality as innate, degeneracy theory, Darwinian theory, psychoanalytic theory, and behaviorism.[5]

Nineteenth-century advances in embryology and genetics may have influenced what had often been an assumption since Greco-Roman antiquity that sexuality was innate, leading to a theory of the **third sex,** which was also encouraged by movements for social tolerance and legal reform. In contrast, proponents of degeneracy theory viewed homosexuality and bisexuality as akin to criminality, alcoholism, and drug addiction. Degeneracy suggests that the gene pool had become exhausted as a result of modern life or personal vice and indulgence inherited from a previous generation. Similarly, the application of Darwinian theory evaluated people and behavior, characterizing homosexual and bisexual people as evolutionary throwbacks, akin to "primitive" peoples whom Europeans had colonized throughout the world and whose sexual mores were at odds with Western notions of morality.

Perhaps no theories of sexual identity have been more influential than psychoanalytic theory and behaviorism. Although various psychodynamic theories were espoused in the late 1800s and early 1900s, Sigmund Freud, often called the father of modern psychoanalysis, postulated that infants are "polymorphous perverse," deriving pleasure from many parts of their body and regardless of gender. The function of society, for Freud, was to channel pleasure into an acceptable, productive heterosexuality. However, traumas or inner conflicts could arrest a child's psychosexual development or cause a young adult to regress into homosexuality (for example, an overly attentive mother and distant father for boys). The role of psychotherapy was to expose the trauma or conflict and allow growth toward heterosexuality to resume. Nonetheless, Freud was less inclined to view homosexuality as a sickness than as a form of psychosexual immaturity. Behaviorism, in contrast, has been inclined to view sexual orientation generally as a learned behavior, which means that homosexuality can be unlearned.[6] Whereas psychoanalytic theory prefers talk therapy, behaviorism has tended to employ rewards and punishments to "reprogram" sexual behavior, including electroshocks and hormone injections. So-called **gay conversion therapy,** the subject of increasing legal rejection by states today, has a decades-old history.

Emerging Self-Care

Throughout the twentieth century the medical establishment in the United States generally considered queer sexualities as mental illnesses. However, early descriptive research by **Alfred Kinsey** and his colleagues disclosed both a surprising number of self-identified LGB persons and a fluid spectrum of human sexual response. What they called a **"heterosexual-homosexual rating scale" i**dentified a range from **exclusively heterosexual (0)** to **equally heterosexual and homosexual (3)**, otherwise known as bisexual, to **exclusively homosexual (6).** This scale was applied to each individual according to the participants' sexual behavior and psychic reactions—that is, thoughts, feelings, and fantasies.[7]

It is no wonder, then, that by the 1960s and the emergence of the gay rights movement, many LGBTQ+ people had come to distrust the medical establishment. Health care providers often either exhibited hostility or acknowledged ignorance about the **unique health concerns of LGBTQ+ people.**[8] Many gay men and lesbians in particular had come to reject the notion of their sexual orientation as a pathology and had begun to seek the rare health care providers who were **affirming of their sexualities.** Feminists and the women's movement had shown how this might be done with health collectives, like the one in **Boston that produced the**

book *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, part of a movement in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s for homegrown self-published self-help books.[9] One groundbreaking book for queer people included chapters on alcohol safety, venereal diseases (now called sexually transmitted infections), and other health topics, many of which had been previously published in local queer newspapers and magazines.[10] In major urban areas, health clinics for LGBTQ+ people formed to serve this vulnerable population.[11]

When the first published reports of an infectious epidemic that would come to be called acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) appeared in 1981, queer communities were wary of uncertain medical explanations and advice, aware of the stigmatization of their sexualities that was now exacerbated by AIDS, but also more prepared for community organizing around health concerns. Grassroots organizations at least in large or midsize metropolitan areas—like **New York's GMHC (Gay Men's Health Crisis)** and **Tidewater AIDS Crisis Taskforce of Norfolk,** Virginia—advocated, educated, and cared for people infected with HIV. Chapters of the **AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP)** blossomed in cities, particularly New York and San Francisco, bringing direct-action demonstrations against government and medical inaction. AIDS activists changed the ways that the U.S. medical establishment conducted research and delivered care by insisting on the participation of people living with AIDS in decisions about drug approvals and treatment.[12]

Read

The Wellcome Collection is a free museum and library that aims to challenge how we all think and feel about health. Its article "The Shocking 'Treatment' to Make Lesbians Straight" (https://wellcomecollection.org/artic...WjZhAAACUAOpV2) describes the efforts of two researchers to uncover whether and how women were treated for lesbianism in England in the 1960s and 1970s.

- What were some of the challenges that the authors faced in conducting their research?
- How did the beliefs of the health care community at the time affect the treatments designed to "cure" their patients?
- A former patient pointed out that "[lesbians] were being tested against heteronormative ideas of sexual attraction—a significant flaw!" What did she mean by this?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. According to the Institute of Medicine, which of the following is NOT one of the four lenses for understanding LGBTQ+ health?
A) Minority stress model
B) Life-course perspective
C) Intersectionality perspective
D) Economic productivity model

2. What does the minority stress model suggest about the health of sexual and gender minorities?
A) They experience better health due to strong communities.
B) Chronic stress from prejudice can contribute to physical and mental health problems.
C) They have no unique health challenges.
D) They are less likely to seek health care.

3. What is the main idea of the life-course perspective in LGBTQ+ health?
A) Only childhood events matter.
B) Health is only determined by genetics.
C) Events at each stage of life influence later stages, with particular vulnerability in adolescence and young adulthood.
D) Health is unrelated to life events.

4. What does the intersectionality perspective emphasize in LGBTQ+ health?
A) Multiple identities (such as race, gender, and economic status) interact and can intensify health disparities.
B) Only sexual identity matters.

C) Health is only affected by age.
D) Intersectionality is not relevant to health.

5. According to Michel Foucault, how did the perception of queer sexualities change in the 1800s?
A) They were always seen as healthy.
B) They shifted from being judged legally or religiously to being medicalized as mental illness.
C) They were celebrated in society.
D) They were ignored by the medical community.

Discussion Questions

1. How do the four lenses (minority stress, life-course, intersectionality, social ecology) help us understand the unique health challenges faced by LGBTQ+ people?
2. In what ways has the medicalization of queer sexualities shaped the relationship between LGBTQ+ communities and health care providers?
3. Why might adolescence and young adulthood be especially vulnerable periods for LGBTQ+ individuals in terms of health and wellness?
4. How can understanding intersectionality improve health care for LGBTQ+ people with multiple marginalized identities?
5. What steps can health care professionals take to build trust and provide affirming care for LGBTQ+ patients today?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. D) Economic productivity model
2. B) Chronic stress from prejudice can contribute to physical and mental health problems.
3. C) Events at each stage of life influence later stages, with particular vulnerability in adolescence and young adulthood.
4. A) Multiple identities (such as race, gender, and economic status) interact and can intensify health disparities.
5. B) They shifted from being judged legally or religiously to being medicalized as mental illness.

This page titled 7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.2: Chapter 7- LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness** by Christine Rodriguez is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care

The celebrity of **Christine Jorgensen** (figure 7.2), who began her physical transition from **male to female in the early 1950s** and who led a bold public life as a writer, lecturer, and entertainer, brought the **transgender experience to wide attention.**[13] Beginning in 1965, **Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore** was the first American medical school to study and perform what was called **sex reassignment surgery (now more aptly known as gender-affirming surgery),** or in popular parlance, sex change operations. However, despite this pioneering role, the Johns Hopkins clinic ended the practice in 1978, **in part because of flawed transphobic follow-up research.** Only recently has it resumed its transgender and gender-affirming care.[14] In the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century, almost forty thousand patients sought transgender care, with 11 percent of them seeking gender-affirming surgery and an increasing percentage using health insurance rather than out-of-pocket payments as had been typical in the past.[15]



Figure 7.2. Christine Jorgensen. (Public domain, Maurice Seymour.)

Medicine's relationship to LGBTQ+ people has been complicated enough over the last century and a half, but considering a person's place in the human lifespan and intersectional identities makes it even more so. We explore these considerations next.

Vulnerabilities across the Lifespan and across Intersectional Identities

Decades of research have indicated that LGBTQ+ populations face a disproportionate burden of health problems and stigma, including higher levels of depression, lower self-esteem, compromised academic achievement, and more substance use.[16] These disparities are documented across the lifespan, from childhood to young adulthood and even into late adulthood.[17] Researchers have identified minority stress, or sexuality- and gender-related stressors, as the mechanism through which these health problems can be explained.[18]

Minority Stress Model

Being a marginalized or minority person in a society produces personal and group stress, sometimes invisible but always with both psychological and physiological effects. The Institute of Medicine report proposed the minority stress model as a strong framework to understand health disparities among LGBTQ+ populations. In particular, the report highlights how minority stress has been found to **affect the day-to-day lives and health of LGBTQ+ individuals** across the lifespan.[19] This minority stress can be distal (e.g., victimization from others because of a sexual minority identity) or proximal (e.g., concealment of sexual identity, internalized homophobia). Therefore, strategies to promote health and well-being should consider multiple types of stressors.

Intersecting Identities

In addition to minority stress, the Institute of Medicine recommended **a focus on intersectionality as an imperative consideration** for researchers, clinicians, and other stakeholders invested in LGBTQ+ health.[20] Intersectionality at its broadest meaning proposes that race, ethnicity, ability status, and other oppressed identities can amplify LGBTQ+ health issues.[21] In addition to being aware how oppressed and intersecting identities can compound health outcomes, researchers are increasingly measuring and considering all **demographic characteristics among LGBTQ+ youth** to better understand how **multiple identities (e.g., being Black, gay, and residing in the U.S. South)** might be related to the holistic LGBTQ+ experience. For example, a study collected data from 17,112 LGBTQ+ youth across the United States and documented twenty-six distinct sexual and gender identities.[22] Additionally, youth who were transgender and nonbinary were more likely than cisgender youth to identify with **an "emerging sexual identity label," such as pansexual** (figure 7.3). These patterns also differed by **ethnoracial identity,** suggesting that youth of color are using different terms, compared with their white counterparts, to describe their sexual attractions

and gender identities. The next step is to better understand how intersecting identities may be uniquely associated with health outcomes, given that a large focus of research has focused on disease prevention and health promotion among LGBTQ+ populations. The Institute of Medicine also points out that LGBTQ+ couples and their children are less likely to have adequate health insurance, which is usually provided through employers, especially when they are unemployed or underemployed.[23]



Figure 7.3. The pansexual pride flag. (Public domain, kiwineko14.)

Disease Prevention and Health Promotion

Recent research on health disparities finds that the gap in disparities between some LGBTQ+ and heterosexual youth continues to grow across a number of outcomes.[24] Emerging research has moved beyond documenting these disparities to examining the risk and protective factors that may help prevent disease and promote health among LGBTQ+ people.

With respect to LGBTQ+ youth, research has consistently documented family and parent support to be the strongest buffer against negative health experiences, **above and beyond other support systems.** In addition to families, a number of other support systems are known to protect against negative health (and thus disease later in life), **such as school-based clubs, supportive peers, and supportive policies and laws.**[25] The protective role of these support systems extends into young adulthood and across a lifespan, but the magnitude by which certain supports (e.g., school peers) affect LGBTQ+ health may change.

Among older LGBTQ+ adults, there has been a strong focus on sexually transmitted disease and HIV prevention. Given HIV's disproportionate burdens on the LGBTQ+ community, and in particular the disproportionate impact on African American men who have sex with men, research funding and attention have focused on reducing this stark disparity (figure 7.4). Medical advancements in preventing HIV have proliferated in the recent past, and one method in particular, **pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP),** has been the focus of many studies. However, a vexing dilemma exists: although there is a drug that can prevent HIV infection, why aren't more men who have sex with men (and LGBTQ+ individuals) taking the drug? After all, Tony Kirby and Michelle Thornber-Dunwell find that the rates of HIV acquisition in the United States are still high and similar to the rates in other countries. Researchers continue to consider how stigma, a history of medical mistrust, and other factors might thwart the uptake of lifesaving drugs that prevent HIV among LGBTQ+ populations.[26]

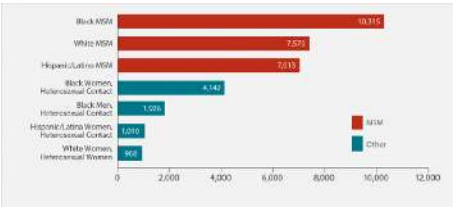


Figure 7.4. Diagnoses of HIV infection in the United States and dependent areas, 2015. Subpopulations representing 2 percent or less of HIV diagnoses are not reflected in this chart. MSM = men who have sex with men. (Public domain, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.)

See table 7.1 for a summary of the critical health concerns over the life course.

Table 7.1 Health concerns across the lifespan

Life stage	Health concerns
Adolescence	HIV infection, particularly among Black or Latino men who have sex with men; depression, suicidal ideation, suicide attempts; smoking, alcohol, substance use; homelessness; violence, bullying, harassment
Early to middle adulthood	Mood and anxiety disorders; using preventive health resources less frequently; smoking, alcohol, substance use
Later adulthood	Long-term hormone use among transgender people; HIV infection; stigma, discrimination, violence in health care institutions (e.g., nursing homes). The research literature also suggests that older LGBTQ+ adults may possess a high degree of resilience, having weathered the difficulties of adolescence and earlier adulthood

Source: Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People: Building a Foundation for Better Understanding* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2011).

A long history of health professionals' insensitivity or even hostility to LGBTQ+ people, as described in the beginning of this chapter, continues to have real-life consequences. Disparities are particularly evident among transgender people, who are a uniquely vulnerable population and whose health and wellness concerns we discuss next.

Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Health Care

The transgender and gender-nonconforming community has suffered, often in silence. Numerous studies have depicted the barriers these patients face with respect to health care, which include mistreatment by health care providers and providers' discomfort or inexperience regarding patient's health care needs, as well as patients' lack of adequate insurance coverage for health care services.[27] Owing to these barriers, transgender and gender-nonconforming patients are often left to navigate health care on their own.

For example, the National Center for Transgender Equality reported that 33 percent of respondents who had seen a health care provider in the preceding year suffered at least one negative experience related to being transgender, and 23 percent of respondents did not even seek a medical provider when they needed one for fear of being mistreated. Additionally, a staggering 39 percent of respondents experienced psychological distress, and 40 percent have attempted suicide in their lifetimes, which is nearly nine times the 4.6 percent rate of the general population.[28] Seeking routine or preventive physical and mental health care, let alone transition-related services for those who seek to transition, is difficult.

Incidence and Prevalence

Several attempts have been made to determine how many Americans identify as transgender.[29] A 2016 estimate postulates that 0.6 percent of the population, or 1.4 million Americans, are transgender.[30] However, the gender construct is complex, and more rigorous epidemiological studies are needed on a global scale to delineate the incidence (percentage of the population) and prevalence (total number of people) of this experience. Historically, transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals have been marginalized, and the disparities discussed earlier in this chapter may instill a sense of fear within the community, thus leading to greater difficulty in obtaining an accurate estimate. Additionally, cultural differences among societies shape the behavioral expressions of gender identities, **masking gender dysphoria**.[31] For instance, certain cultures may revere and consider as sacred such gender-nonbinary behaviors, leading to less stigmatization.[32]

Watch Angelica Ross Explains the History of the Word Transgender

In a video in the InQueery series, Angelica Ross maps out the history of the word *transgender*, tracing its origins from the words *transvestite* and *transsexual* to the contemporary term *transgender*. (https://www.them.us/video/watch/ange...rd-transgender).



- Why is understanding the difference between sex and gender important when learning about the history of the word *transgender*?
- What different identities fall under the transgender umbrella? Why is there debate about whether some identities do or do not belong?
- What information was new or surprising to you in the video? How does it affect your understanding of transgender needs in health care?

Moreover, as the literature suggests, the prevalence of gender dysphoria is unknown. There has been great controversy within the transgender and gender-nonconforming community regarding this diagnosis because in earlier years the phenomenon was deemed psychopathological.[33] On the one hand, gender nonconformity refers to "the extent to which a person's gender identity, expression, or role differs from the cultural norms that designate for people of a particular sex."[34] On the other hand, gender dysphoria, **first described by N. M. Fisk in 1974, is the "discomfort or distress that is caused by a discrepancy or incongruence with a person's gender identity and that very same person's sex that was assigned at birth."**[35] Therefore, not every transgender and gender-nonconforming individual experiences gender dysphoria. As a result, the World Professional Association of Transgender Health released a statement in 2010 that urged the depsychopathologization of gender nonconformity worldwide.[36] The goal of the health care professional is thus to assist transgender and gender-nonconforming patients who suffer from gender dysphoria by **affirming their gender identity** and collaboratively investigating the array of options that are at their disposal for expression of their gender identity.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Who was Christine Jorgensen and why is she significant in transgender history?
A) The first American to undergo gender-affirming surgery and a public figure who brought attention to transgender experiences
B) The founder of the first LGBTQ+ health clinic
C) A psychologist who developed the minority stress model
D) The first openly gay politician in the U.S.

2. What is the minority stress model?
A) A theory that only economic status affects health
B) A framework explaining that chronic stress from being a minority leads to health disparities
C) A model for health insurance coverage
D) A method for measuring academic achievement

3. What does intersectionality mean in the context of LGBTQ+ health?
A) Only sexual identity matters for health
B) Multiple oppressed identities (race, gender, ability, etc.) can amplify health issues
C) Intersectionality is not relevant to health
D) It refers to the intersection of two roads

4. According to research, what percentage of transgender people have attempted suicide in their lifetimes?

A) 4.6%

B) 10%

C) 40%

D) 75%

5. What is a major barrier to health care for transgender and gender-nonconforming people?

A) Too many health care providers

B) Lack of interest in health care

C) Overabundance of insurance options

D) Mistreatment and lack of provider experience, as well as inadequate insurance coverage

Discussion Questions

1. How did Christine Jorgensen's public life help change perceptions of transgender people in the United States?
2. In what ways does the minority stress model help us understand health disparities among LGBTQ+ populations?
3. Why is it important to consider intersectionality when studying the health of LGBTQ+ individuals?
4. What are some specific challenges transgender and gender-nonconforming people face when seeking health care?
5. How might cultural differences influence the experiences and visibility of transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals around the world

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. A) The first American to undergo gender-affirming surgery and a public figure who brought attention to transgender experiences
2. B) A framework explaining that chronic stress from being a minority leads to health disparities
3. B) Multiple oppressed identities (race, gender, ability, etc.) can amplify health issues
4. C) 40%
5. D) Mistreatment and lack of provider experience, as well as inadequate insurance coverage

---

This page titled 7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.2: Chapter 7- LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness** by Christine Rodriguez is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients

An array of therapeutic options must be considered when collaboratively working with transgender and gender-nonconforming patients. Transition, for those who seek it, does not follow a linear model but is, rather, an individualized process based on the patient's specific needs. Interventions and their sequence differ from person to person. A **collaborative approach** between the health care professional and patient is of the utmost importance. Additionally, a multidisciplinary approach, one that encompasses primary care providers, mental health clinicians, surgeons, and speech pathologists, results in the best outcomes. The following lists therapeutic options that a transgender and gender-nonconforming patient may undertake:

- ***Changing gender expression or role,*** whether living full-time or part-time in the gender expression that aligns with the current gender identity. This may involve chest binding to create a flat chest contour, padding of the hips and buttocks, genital tucking, wearing gaff underwear, or wearing a prosthesis.
- ***Changing a name and gender marker*** on identity documents.
- ***Seeking psychotherapy*** to understand and investigate the constructs of gender, such as gender identity, gender role, gender attribution, and gender expression. Psychotherapy may also address the positive or negative impacts of such feelings as stigma and address internalized transphobia, if present.
- ***Undergoing gender-affirming hormone therapy*** to either feminize or masculinize the patient's body.
- ***Choosing gender-affirming surgeries*** to alter primary or secondary sex characteristics.
- ***Finding peer-support groups and community*** *organizations* that provide social support, as well as advocacy.
- *Attending speech or voice and communication therapy* that facilitates comfort with gender identity or expression and ameliorates the stress associated with developing verbal and nonverbal behaviors or cues when interacting with others.
- *Removing hair* through laser treatments, electrolysis, waxing, epilating, or shaving.

The options may seem overwhelming to review, but it is the goal of the health care professional to assist the patient through the journey, regardless of what therapeutic options the patient ultimately chooses. Access to those services requires that the transgender person live in an area where they are available and have adequate health insurance, which is usually provided by employers. Transgender people, particularly trans people of color, however, are less likely to be employed than cisgender LGB people, thus are often deprived of the health insurance that they need.

Criteria for Gender-Affirming Hormone Therapy

Gender-affirming hormone therapy consists of the administration of exogenous endocrine agents to elicit feminizing or masculinizing changes. While some transgender and gender-nonconforming patients may seek maximum changes, others may be content with a more androgynous presentation. The fluidity of this construct should not be minimized, because hormonal therapy must be individualized on the basis of a patient's goals and thorough understanding of the risks and benefits of medications and an in-depth review of a patient's other existing medical conditions. Furthermore, initiation of hormonal therapy may be undertaken after a **psychosocial assessment** has been conducted and informed consent has been obtained by a qualified health professional. . . . The criteria for gender-affirming hormone therapy are as follows:

1. **Persistent, well-documented gender dysphoria;**
2. **Capacity to make a fully informed decision and to consent for treatment;**
3. **Age of majority in a given country . . . ;**
4. **If significant medical or mental health concerns are present, they must be reasonably well-controlled.**[37]

Common agents used for feminization regimens are estrogen and antiandrogens, and the common agent used for masculinization regimens is testosterone. Progestins are controversial in feminizing regimens, and clinicians can cite only anecdotal evidence for the hormone's use in full breast development. A clinical comparison of feminizing regimens with and without the use of progestins found that these agents did not enhance breast growth or reduce serum levels of free testosterone.[38] Additionally, progestins' adverse effects outweigh their benefits because depression, weight gain, and lipid changes have been seen with these agents.[39] However, progestins do play a role in masculinizing regimens and when used in early stages of hormonal therapy assist in the cessation of menses.

Physical Effects of Gender-Affirming Hormone Therapy

A thorough discussion regarding the physical effects of gender-affirming hormone therapy between the health care professional and the patient is warranted. Using endocrine agents to achieve congruency with a patient's gender identity will induce physical changes, which may be reversible or irreversible. Most physical changes occur within two years, with several studies estimating the process to span five years. The length of time attributed to such changes is unique to each individual. Tables 7.2 and 7.3 outline the estimated effects and the course of such changes.

Table 7.2 Effects of gender-affirming hormone therapy with masculinizing agents

Effect	Onset (months)
Acne	1–6
Facial and body hair growth	6–12
Scalp hair loss	6–12
Increased muscle mass	6–12
Fat redistribution	1–6
Cessation of menses	1–6
Clitoral enlargement	1–6
Vaginal atrophy	1–6
Deepening of voice	6–12

Table 7.3 Effects of gender-affirming hormone therapy with feminizing agents

Effect	Onset (months)
Softening of the skin	3–6
Decreased libido	1–3
Decreased spontaneous erections	1–3
Decreased muscle mass	3–6
Decreased testicular volume	6–12
Decreased terminal hair growth	6–12
Breast growth	3–6
Fat redistribution	3–6
Voice changes	None

Because of the masculinizing or feminizing effects of endocrine agents used in transitioning, the coming out process for someone who identifies as transgender or gender nonconforming may be challenging and may differ from the coming out process of LGB individuals. LGB individuals may keep their sexual orientation concealed, but the effects of hormonal agents on the transgender person are noticeable to others. Transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals may have to come out during social interactions, unless they wish to relocate to a new area, where they may choose not to disclose their transgender identity, often referred to in the community **as "living stealth."**

The coming out process may seem daunting to endure and may encompass numerous challenges. Those lacking support or who have been "mistreated, harassed, marginalized, defined by surgical status, or repeatedly asked probing personal questions may . . . [experience] significant distress."[40] Additionally, the persistent and chronic nature of these microaggressions have led some researchers to apply the minority stress model to transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals.[41] Such experiences create a potential for increase in the rate of certain health care conditions, such as clinical depression and anxiety and their somatization, or conversion to physical symptoms.[42] Transgender people, like all other LGBTQ+ people, need to learn how to become informed consumers of health care services and make informed choices about their physical and mental well-being. The next section explains how to become such a knowledgeable patient.

Care to the Trans* and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient

A video from the Montgomery College, Maryland, nursing program provides a case study that focuses on culturally competent health care for trans and gender-nonconforming people. It captures many of the challenges that a trans patient might face during initial interactions with staff and providers at a health care clinic. Access the full video transcript.



- What challenges does Joe face in terms of accessing health care?
- What are some of the mistakes made by staff at the health care clinic?
- How does Nurse Rachel address those mistakes, both in that initial visit to the clinic and afterward?

Being a Smart Patient and Health Care Consumer

As noted throughout this chapter, LGBTQ+ individuals encounter more discrimination in health care compared with the heterosexual population. While some evidence shows that negative experiences for some LGBTQ+ persons are decreasing, discrimination continues. Lack of health care provider education in culturally inclusive LGBTQ+ communication and care is frequently noted as a contributing factor for health professionals' discrimination. The shortage of educated practitioners and amount of practitioner bias have caused many LGBTQ+ persons to either delay or avoid seeking health care services. A primary reason attributed for this delay or avoidance is that LGBTQ+ individuals often feel invisible to their providers and have experienced discrimination in previous encounters.[43]

Other factors also contribute to the negative health care experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals. A provider whose value system, religious beliefs, and political party affiliation are hostile to LGBTQ+ people may have difficulty providing the respectful and affirming care that LGBTQ+ persons are entitled to. For LGBTQ+ people to receive respectful and culturally inclusive, patient-centered care from their providers, they must take it on themselves to be informed health care consumers, practice self-advocacy, and shop wisely for providers who are LGBTQ+ affirming. Self-advocacy is essential to optimizing access to quality health services.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What is a primary reason many LGBTQ+ individuals delay or avoid seeking health care?
A) Feeling invisible to providers and past experiences of discrimination
B) Lack of transportation
C) High cost of health insurance
D) Limited access to medications

2. Which of the following is a recommended strategy for LGBTQ+ individuals to receive better health care?
A) Avoid discussing their identity
B) Only use emergency services
C) Practice self-advocacy and seek LGBTQ+-affirming providers
D) Rely solely on online health information

3. What is a common barrier to respectful care for LGBTQ+ patients?
A) Overcrowded hospitals
B) Excessive paperwork
C) Too many health care options
D) Providers' lack of education in culturally inclusive LGBTQ+ care

4. Why might the coming out process be especially challenging for transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals?
A) They have more health insurance
B) Hormonal and physical changes are often visible to others
C) They do not need to see health care providers
D) They always have supportive families

5. What can persistent microaggressions in health care settings lead to for transgender and gender-nonconforming people?
A) Increased rates of clinical depression, anxiety, and physical symptoms
B) Improved mental health
C) Higher income
D) Better access to care

Discussion Questions

1. What are some ways health care providers can make their practices more welcoming and affirming for LGBTQ+ patients?
2. How does provider bias or lack of education impact the health outcomes of LGBTQ+ individuals?
3. Why is self-advocacy especially important for LGBTQ+ people in health care settings?
4. In what ways does the coming out process differ for transgender and gender-nonconforming people compared to LGB individuals?
5. What steps can be taken at the community or policy level to reduce discrimination and improve health care access for LGBTQ+ populations?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. A) Feeling invisible to providers and past experiences of discrimination
2. C) Practice self-advocacy and seek LGBTQ+-affirming providers
3. D) Providers' lack of education in culturally inclusive LGBTQ+ care
4. B) Hormonal and physical changes are often visible to others
5. A) Increased rates of clinical depression, anxiety, and physical symptoms

---

This page titled 7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.2: Chapter 7- LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness** by Christine Rodriguez is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

7.4: Health Care Providers

The teaching of medical and nursing students about health issues unique to the LGBTQ+ population is inconsistent among education programs for health care providers. An emerging body of research finds a **need for more education to better meet the requirements of LGBTQ+ patients.** In one study, for example, U.S. medical schools were found to provide only an **average of five hours of LGBTQ+ education throughout the curriculum**. Baccalaureate nursing programs in another study spent only an average of a little over two hours teaching content about LGBTQ+ health topics. Less is known about the extent to which other health provider education programs cover this content. During a health care clinical experience, LGBTQ+ individuals often encounter **health care providers who lack a basic understanding of LGBTQ+ cultures, terminology, and culturally inclusive care.**[44]

Locating a health care facility that affirms LGBTQ+ people can be difficult but is not impossible. Some national organizations provide resources for LGBTQ+ persons and health care providers. For example, the Human Rights Campaign, the largest national LGBTQ+ civil rights organization with over three million members, has a benchmarking tool, **the Healthcare Equality Index, to recognize the health care facilities with policies and procedures for equity and inclusion of LGBTQ+ patients, visitors, and employees.** Health care facilities evaluated by the index are available in its directory. An agency must reapply every year to demonstrate that it meets the current standards outlined by the Human Rights Campaign.[45]

Another organization, GLMA (Gay and Lesbian Medical Association), advances health care equality for LGBTQ+ people and has an extensive directory of health care providers across the United States that are LGBTQ+ affirming. The GLMA published guidelines that offer recommendations for practitioners to consider when caring for LGBTQ+ clients. The National LGBT Health Education Center, a program of the Fenway Institute, also has excellent resources to help educate providers.[46] Both organizations provide valuable resources and are worth mentioning to a provider who lacks sufficient knowledge to provide **culturally inclusive care for LGBTQ+ persons.** Organizations and coalitions that support LGBTQ+ health are listed in table 7.4. All provide free publications and resources for the LGBTQ+ person and health care providers.

Table 7.4 LGBTQ+ education and advocacy organizations

Organization	URL
GLMA Health Professionals Advancing LGBTQ Equality	http://www.glma.org/
Association of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Addiction Professionals and Their Allies	http://www.nalgap.org/
World Professional Association for Transgender Health	https://www.wpath.org/
Center of Excellence for Transgender Health	http://transhealth.ucsf.edu/
National LGBT Cancer Network	https://cancer-network.org/
Trevor Project	https://www.thetrevorproject.org/
CenterLink: Community of LGBT Centers	https://www.lgbtcenters.org/
Fenway Health	https://fenwayhealth.org/the-fenway-institute/
Howard Brown Health	https://howardbrown.org/
Los Angeles LGBT Center	https://lalgbtcenter.org/
Mazzoni Center LGBTQ Health and Well-Being	https://www.mazzonicenter.org/
Callen-Lorde	https://callen-lorde.org/
LGBT Health Link	https://www.lgbthealthlink.org/

Informed Health Care Consumers

When navigating a system in which not all providers understand or practice care that includes LGBTQ+ people, LGBTQ+ individuals need to know what **questions to ask when visiting their provider.** Although it is important to be true to yourself and disclose your sexual identity to your provider so you can receive the most holistic care possible, not all LGBTQ+ persons feel comfortable disclosing this information, particularly to a new health care provider with whom they have not yet established a trusting relationship. **The Institute of Medicine** has recommended including sexual orientation and gender identity data in electronic health records so that more health care facilities will ask patients for this information.[47] Ultimately, however, LGBTQ+ persons must decide for themselves **when and to whom to disclose their LGBTQ+ identity.**

Before visiting a provider, consider calling the office to ask if they provide inclusive care for LGBTQ+ patients. Bring a friend or partner to the visit for support if you are uncomfortable meeting with the health care provider. Health care providers must adhere to laws, policies, and ethical codes to keep your information private. Although a health care provider may ask about sexual orientation and gender identity, LGBTQ+ persons also have the right to request that the provider not enter their **sexual orientation and gender identity into the medical record.**

Paying Attention to Special Health Issues

Providers must understand health care issues common in the LGBTQ+ population and explore whether their patients have any of these risk factors. **GLMA** has created **ten resource sheets for LGBTQ+ persons,** each one addressing one of the top health concerns to discuss with a health care provider. Although not all these health issues apply to every person, it is essential to be aware that these health topics are more common among LGBTQ+ people. Several health topics are relevant to all LGBTQ+ groups, and others pertain more to one group. For example, research has identified that depression, tobacco and alcohol use, sexually transmitted diseases (including human papillomavirus and HIV/AIDS), and certain cancers are greater health risks in the LGBTQ+ population. Moreover, the risk of **illicit use of injectable silicone** is a more significant concern among **transgender women.** Other health issues are more common within certain groups, such as breast and gynecological cancers among lesbians and **male-to-female transgender persons.** In addition to the risk of HIV/AIDS among men who have sex with men, they also have a higher incidence of and mortality from prostate, anal, and colon cancer.[48]

Minimizing risk factors for these acute and chronic illnesses is essential to maintaining health. **The LGBT Health Link is a network for health equity** and offers very practical advice for things that LGBTQ+ people can do to improve their wellness. Recommendations include how to search for insurance options, **practice preventive care, seek mental health support, adopt a healthier lifestyle, and practice safer sex.**[49] The resources provided in this section support LGBTQ+ individuals to advocate for themselves when seeking health care services, particularly from providers who are not well educated about LGBTQ+ health issues or who do not demonstrate **culturally inclusive and affirming behaviors.** Although health care providers are responsible for establishing a trusting relationship with their patients, this does not consistently occur in every health care setting. When a health care provider demonstrates genuine concern and respect for an LGBTQ+ individual in a practice not restricted to a fifteen-minute office visit, then there is greater opportunity for individualized, holistic, patient-centered care. Becoming a smarter LGBTQ+ health consumer requires being aware of the community's complex history with medicine, understanding the unique health issues involved, and recognizing health risks and changes that occur over the course of life.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. On average, how many hours do U.S. medical schools devote to LGBTQ+ health education in their curriculum?

A) Less than 1 hour

B) 20 hours

C) About 5 hours

D) 50 hours

2. Which organization publishes the Healthcare Equality Index to benchmark health care facilities for LGBTQ+ inclusion?

A) American Medical Association

B) Human Rights Campaign

C) Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
D) World Health Organization

3. What is a common challenge LGBTQ+ individuals face when seeking health care?
A) Too many providers to choose from
B) Overly long office visits
C) Excessive insurance coverage
D) Providers lacking basic understanding of LGBTQ+ cultures and terminology

4. What is the main purpose of the GLMA directory?
A) To provide a list of LGBTQ+-affirming health care providers
B) To list all hospitals in the U.S.
C) To offer legal advice
D) To sell health insurance

5. Why must health care facilities reapply each year to the Healthcare Equality Index?
A) To pay annual dues
B) To update their insurance policies
C) To demonstrate they meet current standards for LGBTQ+ equity and inclusion
D) To renew their medical licenses

Discussion Questions

1. Why would it be important for a health care professional to understand a patient's identity from an intersectional perspective?
2. How has LGBTQ+ activism influenced health care systems and medical practice?
3. What steps can LGBTQ+ individuals take to find affirming and inclusive health care providers?
4. Why would it be important for a health care professional to understand a patient's identity from an intersectional perspective?
5. What additional changes would you recommend to health care education programs to better serve LGBTQ+ communities?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) About 5 hours
2. B) Human Rights Campaign
3. D) Providers lacking basic understanding of LGBTQ+ cultures and terminology
4. A) To provide a list of LGBTQ+-affirming health care providers
5. C) To demonstrate they meet current standards for LGBTQ+ equity and inclusion

---

This page titled 7.4: Health Care Providers is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.2: Chapter 7- LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness** by Christine Rodriguez is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

7.5: Research Resources

Compiled by Stephen Stratton

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about LGBTQ+ health and wellness.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then, create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

"Accessing Sexual Health Information Online: Use, Motivations, and Consequences for Youth with Different Sexual Orientations," by Kimberly J. Mitchell, Michele L. Ybarra, Josephine D. Korchmaros, and Joseph G. Kosciw

Nearly 80 percent of LGBTQ+ youth in an extensive 2014 survey published in *Health Education Research* (volume 29; https://doi.org/10.1093/her/cyt071) said they seek sexual information online, compared with less than 20 percent for their heterosexual counterparts. Discussions about how youth use the information and accuracy of the information received add to the article's value.

Agenda 2030 for LGBTI Health and Well-Being, by the Global Forum on MSM and HIV and OutRight Action International

Agenda 2030 is the United Nations global effort on sustainability, including health and preventive education. The Global Forum on MSM and OutRight Action International wrote an excellent report in 2017 of how countries and governments can meet these 2030 goals through specific attention to LGBTQ+ people and their needs while addressing the marginalization they face based on sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and sex characteristics. See https://msmgf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Agenda-2030-for-LGBTI-Health_July-2017.pdf.

"Health Care for Lesbians and Bisexual Women," by Committee on Health Care for Underserved Women

This well-written opinion from practitioners, written in 2012 and reaffirmed in 2021, on gynecologic issues for women who have sex with women covers recommendations for the standards of care for women seeking care in physician's offices, from mental health considerations to social concerns. It is the standard all ob-gyn physicians need to adhere to for their sexual and gender minority patients. See https://www.acog.org/Clinical-Guidance-and-Publications/Committee-Opinions/Committee-on-Health-Care-for-Underserved-Women/Health-Care-for-Lesbians-and-Bisexual-Women.

"HIV/AIDS," from World Health Organization

The World Health Organization (WHO) is the United Nations organization concerned with public health issues worldwide and is both a health monitoring and data collection agency. Its "HIV/AIDS" web page (https://www.who.int/hiv/en/) provides HIV and AIDS information, and data sets, maps, reports, and charts available on the website highlight the work individual countries are doing to increase access to HIV medications and their prevention efforts.

"Improving the Health Care of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) People: Understanding and Eliminating Health Disparities," by Kevin L. Ard and Harvey J. Makadon

This brief 2012 report covers the disparities in health services and outcomes seen in the LGBTQ+ community, as well as specific areas of concern in the population. It provides basic education for understanding LGBTQ+ communities and specific concerns within those populations, discusses differences in health care among LGBTQ+ people of color, and lists steps for clinicians and

health care providers to take to provide culturally competent care. The report is cited by numerous authors and used as a reference link from many governmental websites about LGBTQ+ health care. See https://www.lgbthealtheducation.org/wp-content/uploads/Improving-the-Health-of-LGBT-People.pdf.

"Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Health Services in the United States: Origins, Evolution, and Contemporary Landscape," by Alexander J. Martos, Patrick A. Wilson, and Ilan H. Meyer

Covering the history of community-based health services within the LGBTQ+ community, this article provides insight into the future success or failure of such clinics, which have played a huge role in the field of LGBTQ+ health. The 2017 article in *PLoS One* (volume 12, number 7; https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0180544) was funded as part of a long-term study from the National Institutes of Health, the U.S. government's primary biomedical and public health agency.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health, from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention provides a website highlighting health issues among the LGBTQ+ populations (https://www.cdc.gov/lgbthealth/). It links to publications, statistics, data sets, and news from a wide variety of journals, government agencies, and other sources. The CDC is the preeminent U.S. government agency on illness and health.

LGBT Mental Health Syllabus, from Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

This educational website (http://www.aglp.org/gap/) is for people training in psychology and psychiatry and a source of information for any mental health trainee or practitioner on issues surrounding service to LGBTQ+ individuals. It includes a history of treatment of LGBTQ+ people and primers on transgender and intersex patients.

National LGBT Health Education Center, from Fenway Institute

This website (https://www.lgbthealtheducation.org/) provides free access to numerous publications highlighting health care concerns and issues of the LGBTQ+ population for health care organizations and service providers. Translations of their publications in Spanish and other languages are also available. The Fenway Institute is the world's largest LGBTQ+ health care, research, and education organization.

"Sexual and Gender Minority Health: What We Know and What Needs to Be Done," by Kenneth H. Mayer, Judith B. Bradford, Harvey J. Makadon, Ron Stall, Hilary Goldhammer, and Stewart Landers

This 2008 article in the *American Journal of Public Health* (volume 98, number 6; https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/abs/10.2105/AJPH.2007.127811) offers a strong summary of known disparities in health outcomes in the LGBTQ+ health field, research into specific health topics, and a discussion of what directions LGBTQ+ health care needs to move in to meet the needs of clients. The authors, well-known experts in LGBTQ+ health care, are among the authors of the *Fenway Guide to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and TransgenderHealth*.

State-Sponsored Homophobia, from International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association

This annual report on the laws criminalizing gender and sexuality around the world also has articles focusing on particular countries and regions. Data sets used to generate the report can be accessed at the report's website (https://ilga.org/state-sponsored-homophobia-report). The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association is the world's foremost LGBTQ+ metaorganization and holds special consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

This page titled 7.5: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.2: Chapter 7- LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness** by Christine Rodriguez is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

7.6: Glossary

bisexual. Romantic attraction, sexual attraction, or sexual behavior toward both males and females or toward more than one sex or gender.

degeneracy. Also known as degeneration theory; nineteenth-century theory that homosexuality and bisexuality were akin to criminality, alcoholism, and drug addiction.

gender-affirming hormone therapy. Hormone therapy in which sex hormones and other hormonal medications are administered to transgender or gender-nonconforming individuals to more closely align their secondary sexual characteristics with their gender identity.

gender-affirming surgery. Also known as sex reassignment surgery; surgical procedures by which a transgender person's physical appearance and function of their existing sexual characteristics are altered to resemble those socially associated with their identified gender.

gender dysphoria. The distress a person can feel because of a mismatch between their gender identity and their sex assigned at birth.

gender expression. A person's behavior, mannerisms, interests, and appearance that are associated with gender in a particular cultural context, specifically with the categories of femininity or masculinity.

gender identity. The personal sense of one's gender, which can correlate with assigned sex at birth or can differ from it.

gender nonconformity. A behavior or gender expression by an individual that does not match masculine or feminine gender norms.

hermaphrodite. Biologically, an organism that has complete or partial reproductive organs and produces gametes normally associated with both male and female sexes.

homosexual. A person with a romantic attraction to, sexual attraction to, or sexual behavior with others of the same sex or gender.

incidence. A measure of the probability of occurrence of a given medical condition in a population within a specified period of time.

intersectionality. Overlapping or intersecting social identities, such as race, class, and gender, and related systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination.

intersex. People born with any of several variations in sex characteristics, including chromosomes, gonads, sex hormones, or genitals.

minority stress model. A sociological model, as proposed by Ilan Meyer, explaining why sexual minority individuals, on average, experience higher rates of mental health problems relative to their straight peers.

pansexual. The sexual, romantic, or emotional attraction toward people regardless of their sex or gender identity.

prevalence. The proportion of a particular population affected by a condition (typically a disease or a risk factor such as smoking or seat belt use).

sex reassignment surgery. Also known as gender-affirming surgery; surgical procedures by which a transgender person's physical appearance and function of their existing sexual characteristics are altered to resemble those socially associated with their identified gender.

sexually transmitted infections. Pathogens that are commonly spread by sexual activity, especially vaginal intercourse, anal sex, and oral sex.

third sex. A concept in which individuals are categorized, either by themselves or by society, as neither man nor woman.

This page titled 7.6: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.2: Chapter 7- LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness** by Christine Rodriguez is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

7.7: Footnotes

1. Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People: Building a Foundation for Better Understanding* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2011). 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-1
2. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. R. Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 43. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-2
3. J.-C. Feray, M. Herzer, and G. W. Peppel, "Homosexual Studies and Politics in the 19th Century: Karl Maria Kertbeny," *Journal of Homosexuality* 19 (2010): 23–48. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-3
4. R. von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis. Eine Klinisch-Forensische Studie* (Stuttgart, Germany: Ferdinand Enke, 1886). 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-4
5. D. F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-5
6. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality*. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-6
7. A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948), 638. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-7
8. K. Batza, *Before AIDS: Gay Health Politics in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-8
9. K. Davis, *The Making of* Our Bodies, Ourselves: *How Feminism Travels across Borders* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-9
10. K. Jay and A. Young, eds., *After You're Out: Personal Experiences of Gay Men and Lesbian Women* (New York: Links, 1975). 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-10
11. A. J. Martos, P. A. Wilson, and I. H. Meyer, "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Health Services in the United States: Origins, Evolution, and Contemporary Landscape," *PloS One* 12, no. 7 (2017): e0180544. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0180544. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-11
12. J.-M. Andriote, *Victory Deferred: How AIDS Changed Gay Life in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-12
13. J. J. Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); J. Meyerowitz, "Transforming Sex: Christine Jorgensen in the Postwar U.S.," *OAH Magazine of History* 20, no. 2 (2006): 16–20. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-13
14. Z. Ford, "Johns Hopkins to Resume Gender-Affirming Surgeries after Nearly 40 Years," *Think Progress*, October 18, 2016, https://thinkprogress.org/johns-hopkins-transgender-surgery-5c9c428184c1/. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-14
15. C. Tantibanchachai, "Study Suggests Gender-Affirming Surgeries Are on the Rise, Along with Insurance Coverage," *Hub* (Johns Hopkins University), February 28, 2018, https://hub.jhu.edu/2018/02/28/gender-affirming-reassignment-surgeries-increase/. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-15
16. K. I. Fredriksen-Goldsen, H. J. Kim, S. E. Barkan, A. Muraco, and C. P. Hoy-Ellis, "Health Disparities among Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Older Adults: Results from a Population-Based Study," *American Journal of Public Health* 103, no. 10 (2013): 1802–1809; Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*; S. L. Reisner, J. M. White, J. B. Bradford, and M. J. Mimiaga, "Transgender Health Disparities: Comparing Full Cohort and Nested Matched-Pair Study Designs in a Community Health Center," *LGBT Health* 1, no. 3 (2014): 177–184; S. T. Russell and J. N. Fish, "Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Youth," *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology* 12 (2016): 465–487. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-16
17. For childhood, see J. G. Kosciw, N. A. Palmer, and R. M. Kull, "Reflecting Resiliency: Openness about Sexual Orientation and/or Gender Identity and Its Relationship to Well-Being and Educational Outcomes for LGBT Students," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 55, nos. 1–2 (2015): 167–178; for young adulthood, see C. Ryan, S. T. Russell, D. Huebner, R. Diaz, and J. Sanchez, "Family Acceptance in Adolescence and the Health of LGBT Young Adults," *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing* 23, no. 4 (2010): 205–213; and R. J. Watson, J. Veale, and E. Saewyc, "Disordered Eating among Transgender Youth: Probability Profiles from Risk and Protective Factors," *International Journal of Eating Disorders* 50 (2017): 512–522, https://doi.org/10.1002/eat.22627; and for late adulthood, see K. I. Fredriksen-Goldsen, "Promoting Health

Equity among LGBT Mid-Life and Older Adults: Revealing How LGBT Mid-Life and Older Adults Can Attain Their Full Health Potential," *Generations* 38, no. 4 (2014): 86–92. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-17

18. I. H. Meyer, "Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations: Conceptual Issues and Research Evidence," *Psychological Bulletin* 129, no. 5 (2003): 674–679. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-18
19. Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-19
20. Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-20
21. M. C. Parent, C. DeBlaere, and B. Moradi, "Approaches to Research on Intersectionality: Perspectives on Gender, LGBT, and Racial/Ethnic Identities," *Sex Roles* 68, nos. 11–12 (2013): 639–645. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-21
22. R. J. Watson, C. Wheldon, and R. M. Puhl, "Evidence of Diverse Identities in a Large National Sample of Sexual and Gender Minority Adolescents," *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 30 (2020): 431–442, https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12488. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-22
23. Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-23
24. See, e.g., R. J. Watson, N. Lewis, J. Fish, C. Goodenow, "Sexual Minority Youth Continue to Smoke Cigarettes Earlier and More Often than Heterosexual Peers: Findings from Population-Based Data," *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 183 (2018): 64–70, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2017.11.025. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-24
25. For family and parent support, see S. Snapp, R. J. Watson, S. T. Russell, R. Diaz, and C. Ryan, "Social Support Networks for LGBT Young Adults: Low Cost Strategies for Positive Adjustment," *Family Relations* 64, no. 3 (2015): 420–430, https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12124; for school-based clubs, see V. P. Poteat, J. R. Scheer, R. A. Marx, J. P. Calzo, and H. Yoshikawa, "Gay-Straight Alliances Vary on Dimensions of Youth Socializing and Advocacy: Factors Accounting for Individual and Setting-Level Differences," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 55, nos. 3–4 (2015): 422–432; for supportive peers, see R. J. Watson, A. H. Grossman, and S. T. Russell, "Sources of Social Support and Mental Health among LGB Youth," *Youth and Society* 51 (2019): 30–48, https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X16660110; and for supportive policies and laws, see M. L. Hatzenbuehler, K. M. Keyes, and D. S. Hasin, "State-Level Policies and Psychiatric Morbidity in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations," *American Journal of Public Health* 99, no. 12 (2009): 2275–2281. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-25
26. For African American men, see V. M. Mays, S. D. Cochran, and A. Zamudio, "HIV Prevention Research: Are We Meeting the Needs of African American Men Who Have Sex with Men?," *Journal of Black Psychology* 30, no. 1 (2004): 78–105; for PrEP, see S. A. Golub, K. E. Gamarel, H. J. Rendina, A. Surace, and C. L. Lelutiu-Weinberger, "From Efficacy to Effectiveness: Facilitators and Barriers to PrEP Acceptability and Motivations for Adherence among MSM and Transgender Women in New York City," *AIDS Patient Care and STDs* 27, no. 4 (2013): 248–254; for U.S. rates of HIV acquisition, see T. Kirby and M. Thornber-Dunwell, "Uptake of PrEP for HIV Slow among MSM," *Lancet* 383, no. 9915 (2014): 399–400; and for other factors, see J. T. Parsons, H. J. Rendina, J. M. Lassiter, T. H. Whitfield, T. J. Starks, and C. Grov, "Uptake of HIV Pre-exposure Prophylaxis (PrEP) in a National Cohort of Gay and Bisexual Men in the United States: The Motivational PrEP Cascade," *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* 74, no. 3 (2017): 285–292. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-26
27. K. Konsenko, L. Rintamaki, S. Raney, and K. Maness, "Transgender Patient Perceptions of Stigma in Health Care Contexts," *Medical Care* 46 (2013): 647–653; T. Poteat, D. German, and D. Kerrigan, "Managing Uncertainty: A Grounded Theory of Stigma in Transgender Health Encounters," *Social Science and Medicine* 84 (2013): 22–29; A. Radix, C. Lelutiu-Weinberger, and K. Gamarel, "Satisfaction and Healthcare Utilization of Transgender and Gender Non-conforming Individuals in NYC: A Community-Based Participatory Study," *LGBT Health* 103, no. 10 (2014): 1820–1829; C. G. Roller, C. Sedlak, and C. B. Drauker, "Navigating the System: How Transgender Individuals Engage in Health Care Services," *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 47 (2015): 417–424; N. Sanchez, J. Sanchez, and A. Danoff, "Health Care Utilization, Barriers to Care, and Hormone Usage among Male-to-Female Transgender Persons in New York City," *American Journal of Public Health* 99 (2009): 713–719; J. M. Sevelius, E. Patouhas, J. G. Keatley, and M. O. Johnson, "Barriers and Facilitators to Engagement and

Retention in Care among Transgender Women Living with Human Immunodeficiency Virus," *Annals of Behavioral Medicine* 47, no. 1 (2014): 5–16. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-27

28. S. E. James, J. L. Herman, S. Rankin, M. Keisling, L. Mottet, and M. Ana, *The Report of the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey* (Washington, DC: National Center for Transgender Equality, 2016). 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-28
29. Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*; K. J. Zucker and A. A. Lawrence, "Epidemiology of Gender Identity Disorder: Recommendations for the Standards of Care of the World Professional Association for Transgender Health," *International Journal of Transgenderism* 11 (2009): 8–18. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-29
30. A. R. Flores, J. L. Herman, G. J. Gates, and T. N. T. Brown, *How Many Adults Identify as Transgender in the United States?* (Los Angeles, CA: Williams Institute, 2016), https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/How-Many-Adults-Identify-as-Transgender-in-the-United-States.pdf. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-30
31. E. Coleman, W. Bockting, M. Botzer, P. Cohen-Kettenis, G. DeCuypere, J. Feldman, L. Fraser, et al., "Standards of Care for the Health of Transsexual, Transgender, and Gender-Nonconforming People, Version 7," *International Journal of Transgenderism* 13, no. 4 (2012): 165–232. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-31
32. E. Coleman, P. Colgan, and L. Gooren, "Male Cross-Gender Behavior in Myanmar (Burma): A Description of the Acault," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 21, no. 3 (1992): 313–321; S. J. Kessler and W. McKenna, *Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach* (New York: Wiley, 1978); A. Wilson, "How We Find Ourselves: Identity Development and Two-Spirit People," *Harvard Educational Review* 66 (1996): 303–317. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-32
33. P. R. McHugh, "Psychiatric Misadventures," *American Scholar* 61 (1992): 497–510. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-33
34. Coleman et al., "Standards of Care," 168. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-34
35. N. M. Fisk, "Gender Dysphoria Syndrome—the Conceptualization That Liberalizes Indications for Total Gender Reorientation and Implies a Broadly Based Multi-dimensional Rehabilitative Regimen," *Western Journal of Medicine* 120 (1974): 386–391; American Psychological Association, *Definitions Related to Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, https://www.apa.org/pi/lgbt/resources/sexuality-definitions.pdf. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-35
36. WPATH Board of Directors, "WPATH De-Psychopathologisation Statement," released May 26, 2010, https://www.wpath.org/policies. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-36
37. Coleman et al., "Standards of Care," 187. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-37
38. W. Meyer, A. Webb, C. Stuart, J. Finkelstein, B. Lawrence, and P. Walker, "Physical and Hormonal Evaluation of Transsexual Patients: A Longitudinal Study," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 15, no. 2 (1986): 121–138. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-38
39. W. J. Meyer III, A. Webb, C. A. Stuart, J. W. Finkelstein, B. Lawrence, and P. A. Walker, "Physical and Hormonal Evaluation of Transsexual Patients: A Longitudinal Study," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 15 (1986): 121–138; V. Tangpricha, S. H. Ducharme, T. W. Barber, and S. R. Chipkin, "Endocrinologic Treatment of Gender Identity Disorders," *Endocrine Practice* 9 (2003): 12–21. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-39
40. l. m. dickey, D. H. Karasic, and N. G. Sharon, "Mental Health Considerations with Transgender and Gender Nonconforming Clients," in *Guidelines for the Primary and Gender-Affirming Care of Transgender and Gender Nonbinary People*, ed. M. B. Deutsch (San Francisco, CA: Center of Excellence for Transgender Health, 2016), https://transcare.ucsf.edu/guidelines/mental-health. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-40
41. M. L. Hendricks and R. J. Testa, "A Conceptual Framework for Clinical Work with Transgender and Gender Nonconforming Clients: An Adaptation of the Minority Stress Model," *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 43 (2012): 460–467; Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-41
42. W. O. Bockting, M. H. Miner, R. E. Swinburne Romine, A. Hamilton, and E. Coleman, "Stigma, Mental Health, and Resilience in an Online Sample of the US Transgender Population," *American Journal of Public Health* 103, no. 5 (2013): 943–951. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-42
43. For continuing discrimination, see C. Dorsen, "An Integrative Review of Nurse Attitudes towards Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Patients," *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research* 44 (2012): 18–43; for lack of culturally inclusive LGBTQ+

communication and care, see K. L. Eckstrand and J. M. Ehrenfeld, *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Healthcare: A Clinical Guide to Preventive, Primary, and Specialist Care* (New York: Springer, 2016); M. J. Eliason and P. L. Chinn, *LGBTQ Cultures: What Health Care Professionals Need to Know about Sexual and Gender Diversity*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Wolters Kluwer, 2018); J. Landry, "Delivering Culturally Sensitive Care to LGBTQI Patients," *Journal for Nurse Practitioners* 13, no. 5 (2017): 342–347; A. S. Keuroghlian, K. L. Ard, and H. J. Makadon, "Advancing Health Equity for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBTQ) People through Sexual Health Education and LGBTQ-Affirming Healthcare Environments," *Sexual Health* 14 (2017): 119; F. A. Lim, D. V. Brown, and S. M. Kim, "Addressing Health Care Disparities in the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Population: A Review of Best Practices," *AmericanJournal of Nursing* 114 (2014): 24–34, https://doi.org/10.1097/01.NAJ.0000450423.89759.36; and Joint Commission, *Advancing Effective Communication, Cultural Competence, and Family- and Patient-Centered Care for the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community: A Field Guide* (Oak Brook, IL: Joint Commission, 2011); and for being invisible and experiencing discrimination, see R. Carabez, M. Pellegrini, A. Mankovitz, M. Eliason, M. Ciano, and M. Scott, "'Never in All My Years . . .': Nurses' Education about LGBT Health," *Journal of Professional Nursing* 31 (2015): 323–329; Eckstrand and Ehrenfeld, *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Healthcare*; and Eliason and Chinn, *LGBTQ Cultures*. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-43

44. For the need for more education, see M. Eliason, S. Dibble, and J. De Joseph, "Nursing's Silence on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Issues: The Need for Emancipatory Efforts," *Advances in Nursing Science* 33 (2010): 206–218, https://doi.org/10.1097/ANS.0b013e3181e63e49; and F. Lim, M. Johnson, and M. J. Eliason, "A National Survey of Faculty Knowledge, Experience, and Readiness for Teaching Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health in Baccalaureate Nursing Programs," *Nursing Education Perspectives* 36, no. 3 (2015): 144–152, https://doi.org/10.5480/14-1355; for the study of U.S. medical school hours on LGBTQ+ education, see J. Obedin-Maliver, E. S. Goldsmith, L. Stewart, W. White, E. Tran, S. Brenman, M. Wells, et al., "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender-Related Content in Undergraduate Medical Education," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 306 (2011): 971–977, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2011.1255; for other health provider education programs, see Lim, Johnson, and Eliason, "A National Survey of Faculty Knowledge"; and for lack of understanding of LGBTQ+ inclusive care, see Landry, "Delivering Culturally Sensitive Care to LGBTQI Patients." 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-44
45. For the 2022 index, see Human Rights Campaign, "Healthcare Equality Index 2020," https://www.hrc.org/resources/healthcare-equality-index. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-45
46. For the provider directory, see GLMA, "For Patients," accessed April 26, 2021, http://glma.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=Page.viewPage&pageId=939&grandparentID=534&parentID=938&nodeID=1; practitioners can see GLMA, "For Providers and Researchers," accessed April 26, 2021, http://www.glma.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=Page.viewPage&pageId=940&grandparentID=534&parentID=534; and for the guidelines, see GLMA, *Guidelines for Care of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Patients* (San Francisco: GLMA, 2006), http://glma.org/_data/n_0001/resources/live/GLMA%20guidelines%202006%20FINAL.pdf. See also National LGBT Health Education Center, *Ten Things: Creating Inclusive Health Care Environments for LGBT People* (Boston, MA: Fenway Institute, 2016), https://www.lgbtqiahealtheducation.org/publication/ten-things/; and "LGBTQIA+ Glossary of terms for Health Care Teams," published 3 February 2020, https://www.lgbtqiahealtheducation.org/publication/lgbtqia-glossary-of-terms-for-health-care-teams/". 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-46
47. Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-47
48. For health risks, including cancers, see Institute of Medicine, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*; and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Health Considerations for LGBTQ Youth," updated December 20, 2019, https://www.cdc.gov/healthyyouth/disparities/smy.htm; for silicone use, see C. Bertin, R. Abbas, V. Andrieu, F. Michard, C. Rioux, V. Descamps, Y. Yazdanpanah, et al., "Illicit Massive Silicone Injections Always Induce Chronic and Definitive Silicone Blood Diffusion with Dermatologic Complications," *Medicine* 98, no. 4 (2019), e14143. https://doi.org/10.1097/MD.0000000000014143; and for prostate, anal, and colon cancer, see U. Boehmer, A. Ozonoff, and M. Xiaopeng, "An Ecological Analysis of Colorectal Cancer Incidence and Mortality: Differences by Sexual Orientation," *BMC Cancer* 11 (2011): 400. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-48
49. F. O. Buchting, L. Margolies, M. G. Bare, D. Bruessow, E. C. Díaz-Toro, C. Kamen, L. S. Ka'opua, et al., "LGBT Best and Promising Practices throughout the Cancer Continuum," 2016, https://moqc.org/wp-content/uploads/LGBT-HealthLink-Best-

and-Promising-Practices-Throught-the-Cancer-Contiuum.pdf. 4.02: Chapter 7- LGBTQ Health and Wellness#return-footnote-107-49

This page titled 7.7: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.2: Chapter 7- LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness** by Christine Rodriguez is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic, by Randy Shilts

Told from a variety of viewpoints, this book on the AIDS epidemic is an exposé of the failures of the medical establishment, public health, federal government, and research scientists that led to the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. Written by a journalist from San Francisco, it is a foundational text for the examination of how politics plays a role in disease outbreaks, and it exposes both society and government as partners in allowing the deaths of hundreds of thousands of LGBTQ+ people. The book won the American Library Association Stonewall Award (New York: Penguin Books, 1988).

Black LGBT Health in the United States: The Intersection of Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation, edited by Lourdes Dolores Follins and Jonathan Mathias Lassiter

This book for both health consumers and health workers looks at the intersections of being Black and a same-gender-loving person. Chapters cover sexual identity, women, incarceration, HIV, and much more. Some authors use the cultural signifying term *same-gender-loving*, rather than the standard Eurocentric term *LGB*. The book is for anyone interested in intersections of sexual and gender identity with race in the United States and focuses on positive steps for individuals and communities, not on statistics and pathologies. The book received the 2017 Achievement Award from the GLMA: Health Professionals for LGBT Equality (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016).

Fenway Guide to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health, edited by Harvey J. Makadon, Kenneth H. Mayer, Jennifer Potter, and Hilary Goldhammer

Written by public health professionals, researchers, and clinicians, this book (second edition) provides information on health concerns specific to LGBTQ+ populations such as health care across the life continuum, disease prevention, understanding LGBTQ+ health care needs, health promotion, and gender identity. The Fenway Institute in Boston is a community-based research, education, and care center. It works with LGBTQ+ and HIV-affected populations and is well-respected in the field (Philadelphia: American College of Physicians, 2015).

Gen Silent, directed by Stu Maddux

This documentary is about older LGBTQ+ people who are going back into the closet as they age in order to survive societal discrimination. The film discusses the aging process, depression and loneliness, and problems with assisted living facing older LGBTQ+ people. It includes the stories of a transgender senior and an interracial couple. The film won jury and audience awards for best documentary at the Sacramento Film and Music Festival in 2010 and the audience award for best documentary at the Frameline Film Festival in 2011 (United States: Interrobang Productions).

"Gynecologic Issues for Lesbians," by Susan R. Johnson

This chapter (https://www.glowm.com/section-view/heading/Gynecologic%20Issues%20for%20Lesbians/item/430#.Yq8MdrnMK3I) is part of an online encyclopedia (*GLOWM: Global Library of Women's Medicine*) of women's health issues containing over four hundred chapters written by medical specialists in their respective fields. The chapter covers issues of special interest to all women who have sex with women, including more than simply gynecologic issues and a variety of life experiences, not simply Eurocentric studies.

Preventive Health Measures for Lesbian and Bisexual Women, by Robin Mathy and Shelly Kerr

This solid discussion of the similarities and differences of preventive health care in women who have sex with women and minorities within that community also includes descriptions of possible outcomes from physicians who treat patients with discrimination and stigmatization (Milton Park, UK: Taylor and Francis, 2007).

Trans Bodies, Trans Selves: A Resource for the Transgender Community, edited by Laura Erickson-Schroth

Written in the style and tone of *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, this book is a resource for both professionals and nonprofessionals on mental, emotional, and physical health and other topics. It places the trans individual in charge of their life and health. The book received the 2015 Achievement Award from the GLMA: Health Professionals for LGBT Equality, and it was listed as one of the top ten transgender nonfiction books of 2014 by *Advocate* magazine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Unequal Opportunity: Health Disparities Affecting Gay and Bisexual Men in the United States, edited by Richard J. Wolitski, Ron Stall, and Ronald O. Valdiserri

The health of men who have sex with men (MSM) has numerous disparities with health of the broader male population. The editors feature research and analysis that demonstrates not only general disparities but also those that affect older men, people of color, low-income MSM, and others. A highly recommended book that can serve both researchers and general readers, it contains numerous ideas for health promotion and public health intervention (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

This page titled 7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **4.2: Chapter 7- LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness** by Christine Rodriguez is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription



This video is one in a series created for nursing and healthcare educators for use in a variety of settings. Complete information about this scenario, from set-up to debriefing questions, can be found at cms.montgomerycollege.edu/nursingsims/ Montgomery College's nursing program currently enrolls 400 students annually at the Takoma Park/Silver Spring Campus. Students who successfully complete the nursing curriculum earn an associate of science degree (A.S.) in nursing and are qualified to take the examination to be licensed as a registered nurse. The nursing program also participates in the Maryland Articulation Model, which allows students to transfer to a four-year state college or university to complete a bachelor's degree in nursing. For more information about Montgomery College's nursing program, visit: cms.montgomerycollege.edu/nursing/

Clerk: Josephine Ramirez. Josephine, Ramirez?

Clerk: Can I help you?

Joe: Yeah you called Josephine Ramirez, that's me. I go by Joe, so I preferred to be called Joe.

Clerk: Really. Excuse me, I'm sorry there must be some mistake. Uh… you signed in as Joe, but I have Josephine written down in my book. I'm sure we can fix this problem. Why don't you give me your ID and your health insurance card.

Joe: Yeah. I have all the forms.

Clerk: Oh. You downloaded them from our website?

Joe: Yeah.

Clerk: Okay. Is this your legal name? Okay. We will still be using your legal name in the medical records. Okay? Just so you know, and I'll talk to the office administrator and see if we can't fix this. Why don't you just go ahead and have a seat. You can keep the other forms, I don't need those, the nurse can go over those with you.

Joe: Okay.

Clerk: Okay?

Rick: Miss Ramirez? Miss Josephine Ramirez?

Joe: Hi, um I'm Joe Ramirez. There was a little mix-up with the paperwork, I'd like to be called Joe Ramirez.

Rick: Not a problem. I'm sorry for the mistake. If you would give me the ID I'll take it down to the clerk to get it corrected.

Joe: I mean I don't think that's necessary I gave it to her already so she's aware of the issue, it's just that I haven't changed my name legally yet on my license, so if you could please just call me Joe or Mr. Ramirez.

Rick: Okay Joe not a problem. Um. I'm Rick I'm tech, I'll be taking vitals, so would you please come with me?

Joe: Sure.

Rick: Okay.

Rick: Okay have a seat Miss—sorry, Mr. Joe. Would you please take your clothes off and put this gown on and I'll be back to take your vitals.

Joe: Um, I'd rather not. I'd rather just speak with the nurse, so…

Rick: Is there a reason why?

Joe: No, it's just I'd really rather talk to a doctor or a nurse.

Rick: Um, it's not going to take long, though. Plus it'll be easier for the nurse for me to do these tasks.

Rick: Is everything okay?

Joe: Yeah, it's fine, I'd just really rather talk to a doctor or a nurse.

Rick: I'm sorry did I do anything to offend you?

Joe: No.

Rick: Okay, um alright I'll let a nurse know that you're ready and they'll be here shortly.

Joe: Okay.

Door knocks

Rick: Hey, Rachel.

Rachel: Yeah?

Rick: You're patient in room two, she—I mean he doesn't want me to take his vitals.

Rachel: Oh, really?

Rick: Uh, he wants to be called Joe but her paperwork and ID says Josephine Ramirez. Right, um he says I didn't do anything to offend him. I just don't know what's going on.

Rachel: Okay, I'll be there soon.

Rick: Alright.

Rachel: Good morning. Hi, my name is Rachel. I'm going to be the nurse here with you today in the practice. I'm just coming in to just start the assessment part and also to ask you a couple questions.

Joe: Fine, yeah.

Rachel: I noticed earlier with the interaction with our administrative aid and also with what the tech told me in regards to the vital signs I just noticed that it might've made you feel a certain way, so I just want to kind of ask you before doing anything else, how you're doing and how you're feeling.

Joe: Thanks.

Rachel: I'm so sorry for what happened earlier. I know that we have a huge learning curve we have some things we need to work on as a practice, but I can assure you we are a non-discriminating practice, and we're here to provide high-quality patient center care. I myself have worked with the LGBT community, not as much with the transgender community but I am open and I am ready to learn new and better ways to make our practice better in serving your needs and serving any client or patient that comes into our practice to meet their needs so we can give them high-quality patient center care. If there is any point and time where you feel like I am not meeting your needs or my staff is not meeting your needs or we're saying anything that makes you feel uncomfortable can you please just let us know so we can just address it immediately.

Joe: Sure, can I just say ouch?

Rachel: Sure, you can definitely say ouch, but I mean feel free to use any other words that you might, you know, want to say at that time. I know that it's uncomfortable for you. Okay?

Joe: Sure.

Rachel: How would you like for me to address you?

Joe: You can call me Joe.

Rachel: Okay! Great, Joe. I'm sure you probably already understand that for documentation purposes we have to use your legal name that is indicated on your IDs, but we will definitely use your chosen name and I will let everyone know at the practice to address you as with your chosen name. Is there a particular pronoun that you would like for me to use or for us to use here in the practice

Joe: Yeah, thanks for asking. I usually go by he/him when talking about me, I actually thought it was kind of interesting that I thought your staff would kind of reflect that because your forms were really progressive online, so I was kind of surprised when the clerk didn't get it.

Rachel: And I'm sorry again for that, we got a lot of things that we need to fix. It should not have happened and it won't happen again. We do have a computer system that's a bit out-dated.

Joe: What do you mean?

Rachel: It's not programmed to meet the pathways of a transgender patient. For instance, if we have a patient or client that comes in, let's say it's the computer system online recognizes male and like female, so if we have a male patient that comes in, it's gonna give me all the questions that have an physical assessment with a male patient, so for instance it's gonna have a prostate exam, but it might not have a vaginal exam and it might not have a pap smear. So I just wanted to let you know sometimes you might see me go to my paper just to write down some notes it's just because I want to make sure I have all the data and information that I need. But I wanted to let you know that and we're gonna work on it to fix it so that we can make it more streamlined to meet the needs of the community.

Joe: Mm-hm.

Rachel: Okay? Alright! So, we can move forward and so what brings you here today.

Joe: Well, right now I'm covered, my insurance is through my parents, but I'm about to age out so I kind of wanted to get some stuff done before that. I came in for just a flu shot and a physical, but I'm not sure I want to go further.

Rachel: Okay.

Joe: It's, um most of the transgender people I know in the community in this area, they go to Women Walker or a couple other doctors but it can be really hard to get in because everyone is trying to get in, and it's just when I usually go elsewhere the burden is usually on me to educate my provider and I'm just kind of tired of being named, shamed, and blamed. So I was hopping that I could start a relationship with a provider close to me.

Rachel: Okay! And I perfectly understand, I just wanted to get some vital signs, you don't have to take your jacket off completely, are you just able to at least expose an arm so I can take your blood pressure and just get some simple information, and then if you want to go forward with the flu vaccine then I can definitely administer but the doctor will come in here and we'll talk to you. So how about that?

Joe: Sure.

Rachel: Okay! Alright.

Rachel: Hey Dr. Smith do you have a moment so I can talk to you about something?

Dr. Smith: Hello Ms. Rachel of course what's the matter.

Rachel: Okay, so I'm very concerned about a new patient that and interaction between a new patient and our staff so the situation is… so the background is… my assessment is… my recommendation is…

Dr. Smith: Okay, so thank you for sharing and I'll go in to see Joe and then another recommendation because you're really involved with cultural sensitivity of our clinic I think you should get someone to come in to teach the whole entire staff about the transgender population as well as the LGBT population because at this clinic it is something we want to be known for to be culturally sensitive.

Rachel: And okay, I will definitely would like to get some more information for us so that we can move forward.

Dr. Smith: Great.

Rachel: Thank you very much.

Dr. Smith: Yes thank you.

Rachel: And let him know that you're getting ready to go in there and talk to him.

Dr. Smith: Okay thank out very much.

Rachel: Yep you're welcome.

This page titled 7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Explain the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality.
  - Describe the ways that LGBTQ+ people form relationships and the configurations of LGBTQ+ relationships.
  - Describe the myths that exist regarding the quality of LGBTQ+ relationships and the research that refutes those myths.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
  - Describe some of the negative consequences of homophobia, heterosexism, and minority stress and the ways LGBTQ+ people manage those consequences.
  - Identify different types of LGBTQ+ family formations, including challenges to family formation and family building.
  - Describe sources of stress and buffers for LGBTQ+ families and for LGBTQ+ individuals within their families of origin.
- Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
  - Describe challenges that some LGBTQ+ families have in interacting with public and private systems, including legal, health care and human services, and educational systems.
- Describe the relationship between LGBTQ+ history, political activism, and LGBTQ+ studies.
  - Articulate the queer viewpoint on LGBTQ+ relationships and families.

8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
8.2: What Is a Family?
8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children
8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
8.5: Research Resources
8.6: Glossary
8.7: Footnotes
8.8: Deep Dive - Books

Caitlin Childs, CC BY-SA 2.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>, via Flickr. Gay parents with their children at the San Francisco Pride Parade.

This page titled 8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Sean G. Massey & Sarah R. Young.

8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of research and practice relating to **LGBTQ+ families, relationships, and parenting.** It describes the definitions LGBTQ+ people have for *family* and the relationships LGBTQ+ individuals have with their families of origin. It investigates how minority stress, family acceptance, and rejection affect these relationships. The chapter discusses how LGBTQ+ people form intimate relationships, how people in these relationships navigate established (often discriminatory) social and legal systems, and how recent social and legal changes **(e.g., marriage equality)** affect these relationships. It talks about the nature and prevalence of **families headed by LGBTQ+** people that include children and the ways that LGBTQ+ people become parents. It reviews the changing legal landscape as it relates **to same-sex parenting and family building** and delineates some of the challenges these families face when interacting with legal systems, health care and human services providers, and educators. The final section considers what it means to **come out as LGBTQ+ to one's children.** Each section also critically explores the relevant scientific literatures, challenges existing anti-LGBTQ+ myths, and identifies resources and organizations that **support LGBTQ+ families.**

It is difficult to quantify how many people in the United States are in LGBTQ+ relationships. U.S. census data give us some idea, although the numbers are likely underreported. The U.S. census counted approximately 10.7 million adults (4.3 percent of the U.S. adult population) who identify as LGBTQ+ and 1.4 million adults (0.6 percent of the U.S. adult population) who identify as transgender. Of those, approximately 1.1 million are in same-sex marriages (totaling 547,000 couples),[1] and 1.2 million are part of an unmarried same-sex relationship (totaling 600,000 couples).[2]

What Is a Relationship?

The word *relationship* can refer to many types of social interactions. Relationship research typically focuses on *interpersonal* relationships, which are deep, close relationships between two or more people. These relationships are sometimes described in other ways, as a friendship, a couple, or a marriage. Research exploring LGBTQ+ interpersonal relationships is often centered on intimate or sexual relationships that are described as a partnership, a couple, a marriage, or just a relationship.

How Do LGBTQ+ Relationships Form?

Relationships vary in the internal and external resources that strengthen the relationship, contributing to the well-being of the members in the relationship, and that help them cope with the stressors they have to confront both as individuals and as a couple. **The availability of external resources is a changing landscape for same-sex couples.**[3]

For example, research has demonstrated that gay men, lesbians, and middle-aged heterosexuals—those looking for mates in what they **term "a thin market"**—are more likely to rely on the internet to find a partner.[4] A nationally representative longitudinal survey, "How Couples Meet and Stay Together (HCMST)," of over four thousand adults found that, on average, although heterosexual and same-sex couples reported meeting primarily through friends, trends since 2009 suggest that the **number of couples meeting online from both groups is increasing,** but same-sex couples are significantly more likely to meet online than heterosexual couples.[5]

Queer Resistance

Some same-sex relationships, with or without children, follow the expected norms regarding **monogamy and exclusivity.** Some relationships "queer," or stray from, traditional heteronormative relationship norms, to include **polyamorous relationships** (three or more committed partners), **multiparent families** (often two women partners raising children with a male platonic friend who is the biological father), or **platonic partnering** (often a queer man and woman who are friends and partner to raise a child).[6] **Queering these relationships** can certainly lead to burdens, including negative judgment and discrimination from external sources. On the other hand, they can also bring strengths, including freedom, creativity, and a **family or relationship that is tailor-made to the people involved** (figure 8.1).



Figure 8.1. The polyamory logo of a heart entwined with an infinity symbol. (Public domain, Opensofias.)

A study of a thousand gay men in Britain found that approximately 40 percent were or had been in an open relationship. In a study of gay male couples in the San Francisco Bay Area, agreements guiding open relationships varied considerably among gay male couples, with most **having rules or conditions regarding extrarelational sex.** A related study found that about equal numbers reported having agreements to allow sex with people outside the relationship (47 percent) and agreements to be monogamous (45 percent), with some (8 percent) reporting disagreements. Other studies have found slightly higher levels of monogamy (52.8 percent) and fewer couples reporting open relationships (13.0 percent), and **some find "monogamish" relationships** (14.9 percent) or discrepant relationships (in which partners do not agree on whether they are in an open or monogamous relationship; 19.3 percent). One study reported even higher rates of agreement to be monogamous (74 percent).[7]

Interestingly, most people maintain a strong bias in favor of monogamous relationships, viewing them more favorably than **consensual nonmonogamous** relationships in terms of their potential for providing relationship and sexual satisfaction. Monogamous relationships are also seen as more likely to preserve sexual health. However, little evidence exists to support these views. Most couples have little assurance that their partners remain faithful forever, and there is little evidence that nonmonogamists are less likely to practice safer sex. These widespread biases reflect negative media representations and the views of mental health providers and politicians.[8]

The AIDS epidemic fueled the study of sex among men who have sex with men, but there are significantly fewer studies of the sexual agreements of lesbian and bisexual female couples. **"The Ultimate Lesbian Sex Survey," conducted by the online magazine *Autostraddle*,** asked "lady-types who sleep with lady-types" about their relationship agreements. Of the over 8,500 people who completed the survey, 56 percent reported being in a monogamous relationship, 15 percent in a nonmonogamous relationship, and 29 percent reported not being in a relationship. When asked about their preferred type of relationship, 62 percent said monogamy, 22 percent said mostly monogamy, 6 percent said open relationship, 5 percent polyamory, and the rest a range of other configurations, such as **"triad," "polyfidelity,"** and "don't ask, don't tell."[9]



Figure 8.2. Polyamory flag at San Francisco Pride March 2004. (CC BY-SA Pretzelpaws.)

Relationship Quality

The field of relationship studies is an **interdisciplinary field** that includes but is not limited to psychology, social psychology, social work, and marriage and family therapy. Before 2015 this field was not uniformly open to the study of same-sex couples, but it now is an important site of inquiry about **LGBTQ+ relationship quality, longevity, and impact.** Much of the literature on same-sex relationship quality focuses on comparing LGBTQ+ people's dating, cohabitation, and marriage pathways and experiences with heterosexual people. This work has repeatedly found that LGBTQ+ relationships experience the same level of satisfaction compared with non-LGBTQ+ relationships and that **similar variables predict stability and overall satisfaction** in these relationships.[10] The outcome of this research has shown repeatedly that LGBTQ+ relationships are just as well adjusted as their heterosexual counterparts and experience similar stressors.

However, LGBTQ+ people, as stigmatized minorities, experience higher rates of mental and physical health challenges, such as mood and anxiety disorders, compared with heterosexual and cisgender people.[11] This unique stress, **called minority stress,** affects those in LGBTQ+ relationships both internally **(internalized heterosexism)** and externally **(experiences of discrimination)** and has a negative effect on relationship quality and satisfaction (figure 8.3). One way to explain the connection is that internalized stigma increases the likelihood for experiencing depression, and depression produces stress on a relationship.[12] In

one sample of 142 gay men, trust in relationships was influenced by experiences of discrimination when measuring overall relationship satisfaction. In this same sample, those with **lower internalized heterosexism had a greater sense of commitment and higher levels of relationship satisfaction.**[13]

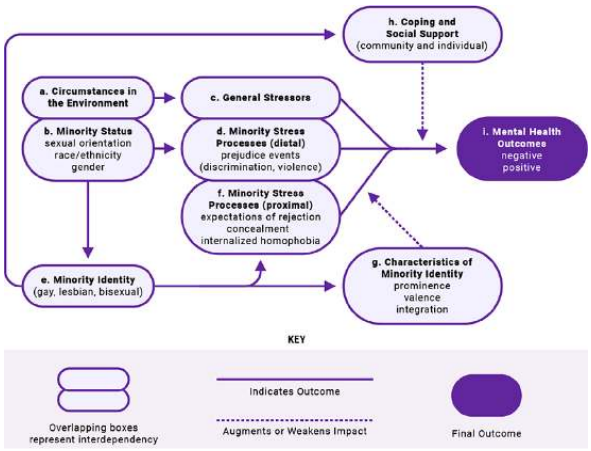


Figure 8.3. Minority stress process in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations. (Public domain, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.)

This stress provides unique challenges for LGBTQ+ couples and families, compared with their straight and cisgender counterparts. LGBTQ+ couples often have to navigate judgment and rejection from their families of origin and in systems, including employment and faith communities. As mentioned earlier, nonheteronormative couples (e.g., polyamorous LGBTQ+ couples) may face even more relationship scrutiny from others, although the impact of such scrutiny remains underexplored in the research.

Additional factors that affect heterosexual and cisgender relationships also affect LGBTQ+ relationships, including dating violence and divorce. Prevalence of dating violence among LGBTQ+ adolescents, although not as robust a line of inquiry as for heterosexual youth and adults, is higher than national averages for all adolescents. In addition, dating violence in adolescence appears to predict its perpetuation into college years, as well as other behaviors (such as not using condoms) that put these youth at risk as they enter adulthood. Thus the recognition and prevention of relationship and dating violence with LGBTQ+ communities is important. Some researchers and practitioners theorize that the **lack of consistent and positive role models and inclusion of healthy LGBTQ+ relationships in sex education curricula** and from parents and mentors creates a vacuum of information on negotiating healthy relationships, particularly for adolescents.[14] Thus, one way to improve relationship quality for LGBTQ+ couples and families is to ensure an inclusive curriculum and access to information that **includes queer couples and families across the lifespan.**

Explore

Do a Google Images search (images.google.com/) for LGBTQ+ relationships. Take note of what you see in the results.

- What types of LGBTQ+ relationships are represented? What types of relationships or identities discussed in this section are not represented?
- What types of issues that are important to LGBTQ+ relationships are identified in the images?
- What image would you design for your ideal LGBTQ+ relationship?

Those who enter the normative relationship of legal marriage may later opt to seek a legal divorce. Although the process of initiating a divorce has become a fairly equal process between same-sex and different-sex couples, rates of divorce may be different. In several studies in the United Kingdom, lesbians were twice as likely to seek a divorce compared with gay men. In reporting on these statistics, one sociologist theorized that higher rates of divorce among **queer and lesbian women can be explained by women entering commitment sooner and having higher standards for the relationship overall.**[15]

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. In a study of gay men in Britain, what percentage reported being or having been in an open relationship?

A) 10%
B) 25%
C) 40%
D) 60%

2. According to research, what is the most common agreement among lesbian couples regarding relationship type?

A) Monogamy
B) Open relationship
C) Polyamory
D) Don’t ask, don’t tell

3. What is a common societal bias about monogamous relationships compared to consensual nonmonogamous relationships?

A) Nonmonogamous relationships are more satisfying
B) Monogamous relationships are seen as more likely to preserve sexual health
C) Nonmonogamous relationships are more common
D) Monogamous relationships are less stable

4. What has research repeatedly shown about the quality of LGBTQ+ relationships compared to heterosexual relationships?

A) LGBTQ+ relationships are less stable
B) LGBTQ+ relationships are more satisfying
C) LGBTQ+ relationships are always open
D) LGBTQ+ relationships are just as well-adjusted as heterosexual relationships

5. What is one way minority stress can negatively affect LGBTQ+ relationships?

A) It increases financial stability.
B) It leads to higher relationship satisfaction.
C) It increases the likelihood of depression, which can stress the relationship.
D) It eliminates discrimination.

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think there is a strong societal bias in favor of monogamous relationships, and how might this affect people in consensual nonmonogamous relationships?
2. How do you think internalized stigma and experiences of discrimination might impact trust and satisfaction in LGBTQ+ relationships?
3. In what ways can open communication about relationship agreements improve relationship satisfaction for LGBTQ+ couples?
4. How might the findings about relationship quality in LGBTQ+ couples challenge common stereotypes or myths about these relationships?
5. Reflect on your own views about relationship types (monogamy, open, polyamory, etc.). How have your experiences, culture, or media shaped these views?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) 40%
2. A) Monogamy
3. B) Monogamous relationships are seen as more likely to preserve sexual health
4. D) LGBTQ+ relationships are just as well-adjusted as heterosexual relationships
5. C) It increases the likelihood of depression, which can stress the relationship.

This page titled 8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.1: Chapter 8- LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families** by Sarah R. Young is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

8.2: What Is a Family?

For some, **family refers specifically to a social unit of two people,** most often a man and a woman, who live together, share resources, and are raising children (or plan to reproduce and raise children) (figure 8.4). However, ***family* actually describes many types of social organizations.** It can refer to groups of people organized by **kinship and biology**—with designations like parents, siblings, cousins, and aunts or uncles—as well as those, regardless of kinship, who live together, share resources, or care for each other.[16] Nuclear family, single-parent family, extended family, family of choice, and **blended family** are terms used to describe different types of families. Indeed, the effort to understand the meaning and function of *family* is a central goal of many of the social sciences.



Figure 8.4. A bronze statue in the garden of the Palace of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, titled Family, representing two parents and a baby. (CC-BY-SA Mourad Ben Abdallah.)

Families serve varied functions, including reproducing and providing for children, regulating sexuality and gender by communicating and reinforcing social norms, and **transmitting cultural knowledge.** However, the particular functions and purpose of family also vary across cultures and can change over time. For example, the Western notion of family changed significantly as populations moved from farm- and household-based economies to industrial factories and into cities. Whereas farming relied on the family to create the labor necessary for maintenance of land, the production of necessary goods, and ultimately the survival of its collective members, the family in the cities that blossomed under industrial capitalism became a more affective or intimate relational unit that can also serve as a source of individual happiness.[17]

Heteronormativity in Families

Like heterosexual relationships, same-sex relationships form within the culturally defined social norms that organize sexuality and **pair bonding** in a society in a particular historical context. Modern same-sex relationships, however, exist within a heteronormative context that privileges heterosexual relationships, organizes gender-role expectations in a way that reinforces those expectations, and marginalizes nonheterosexual desire, love, and pair bonding. Additionally, heteronormativity also reinforces the ideal (although not always the practice) of sexual and romantic monogamy, links family authenticity with the presence of children, and implies the need to adhere to patriarchal ideals for the division of domestic labor, sex roles, and often even the vows and covenants made between partners.

What Are LGBTQ+ Families?

These contested definitions of family vary considerably across time and cultural context but have always influenced understanding of LGBTQ+ families (figure 8.5).[18] Researchers investigating the definitions of *family* for people in the United States found that definitions included a broad range of understandings. They describe **an inclusionary model, defining family quite broadly as "same-sex and hetero-sexual couples with or without children, regardless of marital status."** A moderate model defines family as "all households with children, including same-sex households." Finally is the exclusionary view, defining family as a "heterosexual married couple with children."[19] Other important aspects of family are the functional characteristics it serves, such as relationship quality, commitment, care, love, or in the case of inclusionists, "whatever it means to them."[20]



Figure **8.2.1**: Two men playing with a baby. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Elvert Barnes via Wikimedia Commons)

Research has also explored the boundaries of family, proposing the idea of "fictive" and "voluntary" kin.[21] Chosen families are defined as "non-blood related friends who [exist] somewhere between the realm of friends and kin . . . [who] **perform a surrogate role,** often filling in for family members who are missing due to distance, abandonment or death."[22] It has been suggested that **chosen families are more common among marginalized groups.**[23] However, use of the term *chosen family* may vary by class and race. White middle-class LGBTQ+ people are more likely to use the term, and lower-income LGBTQ+ people of color are less likely to use it but also less likely to use exclusionary definitions of family in general.[24]

Family Support and Rejection

Family support and acceptance is an important psychological resource that can influence an individual's well-being in a number of ways (figure 8.6). It improves one's sense of self-worth, increasing optimism and positive affect.[25] Unfortunately, supportive and nurturing family is not the reality for all LGBTQ+ people. Most families exist within a social context defined by heterosexism and anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice. Some families are able to resist heterosexism and embrace LGBTQ+ family members, and some, although initially challenged by the idea that a family member is LGBTQ+, are able to resist or overcome their prejudices and accept those LGBTQ+ members. For others, heterosexism and anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice are too pernicious and may manifest as hostility, rejection, and even violence.



Figure 8.6. The PFLAG contingent at San Francisco Pride 2004. (CC-BY-SA Pretzelpaws.)

Family Stressors

Rejection by family members of one's sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression can affect the health and wellness of people who identify as LGBTQ+. According to **Dr. Caitlyn Ryan at the Family Acceptance Project,** this rejection can include violence like "hitting, slapping, or physically hurting the youth because of his or her LGBT identity," "excluding LGBT youth from family events and family activities," and "pressuring the youth to be more (or less) masculine or feminine."[26] LGBTQ+ people whose families reject their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression have higher rates of suicide across their lifetime, higher rates of depression, and greater risk of HIV infection compared with those who report higher levels of acceptance by their families.[27]

Family Buffers

Family acceptance lessens some aspects of LGBTQ+ minority stress—such as the distress and negative feelings that may be associated with sexual orientation. LGBTQ+ youth with accepting families report greater acceptance of their own sexual identity, less internalized homophobia, higher self-esteem, more social support, better overall physical and mental health, less substance abuse, and lower risk of suicide. Support from one's family may also contribute to individual resilience and thriving. Many of these effects continue across the lifespan.[28]

Increasing the acceptance by families, decreasing their rejecting behaviors, and assisting family members of LGBTQ+ people to understand the root causes of their reactions to their queer children will improve the health of LGBTQ+ people. Acceptance includes behaviors that "support [a] youth's LGBT identity even though you may feel uncomfortable," "**connect youth with an LGBT adult role model,"** and "work to make your religious congregation supporting of LGBT members or find a faith

community that welcomes your family and LGBT child."[29] Much of this research has focused on the role of parents in demonstrating acceptance, and less is known about the role of siblings, grandparents, and other extended family. Promising research is showing the importance of siblings and grandparents in the lives of LGBTQ+ people.[30]

Some families experience feelings of loss, grief, and shame, among others, when they find they have LGBTQ+ family members. Loss and grief may result from feeling that they have to give up more heteronormative ideals of marriage or grandchildren for their child. Shame may be related to either latent or blatant anti-LGBTQ+ bias and the fear of being judged by others for having an LGBTQ+ family member. Outside resources may allow families to process their feelings separate from their family members. **An important organization supporting the experiences of families with LGBTQ+ family members is PFLAG (formerly known as Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays).** PFLAG was started in the United States in 1973 by **"a mother publicly supporting her gay son"** and has expanded to over two hundred thousand members in four hundred locations.[31] Using a three-pronged approach of **advocacy, education, and support,** PFLAG's chapters across the United States function largely as support groups for families and friends to process their feelings and to shift to becoming advocates for their loved ones (figure 8.7).



Figure 8.7. Sign at a Pride event. (CC BY-SA Ardfern.)

Explore

PFLAG is one of the oldest and best-known national (and now international) organizations devoted to supporting LGBTQ+ people and their families. Explore the PFLAG website (pflag.org/) and the support, education, and advocacy available there for LGBTQ+ people, their families, and their allies.

- Pick one resource and describe it in detail. Why do you think this would be an important resource?
- What is the history of PFLAG, and how has it made a difference for LGBTQ+ people? What is its basic philosophy?
- How do PFLAG resources help you better understand the different types of LGBTQ+ family formations and strategies to build LGBTQ+ families?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Which of the following is NOT a traditional or recognized type of family described in the chapter?
A) nuclear family
B) family of choice
C) blended family
D) corporate family

2. What is a "chosen family" in the context of LGBTQ+ communities?
A) only biological relatives
B) non-blood related friends who provide support and care, often filling in for missing family members
C) a family with only two parents
D) a family that only exists online

3. According to research, what is a major benefit of family acceptance for LGBTQ+ youth?
A) higher risk of substance abuse
B) increased internalized homophobia
C) greater acceptance of their own sexual identity and better mental health
D) lower self-esteem

4. What is one possible negative outcome for LGBTQ+ people who experience family rejection?

A) higher rates of suicide and depression

B) lower risk of HIV infection

C) greater family support

D) improved physical health

5. What is the main mission of PFLAG?

A) to provide legal services

B) to support, educate, and advocate for families and friends of LGBTQ+ people

C) to offer financial aid

D) to organize sports events

Discussion Questions

1. How do you define “family” in your own life, and has that definition changed over time?
2. Why might chosen families be especially important for LGBTQ+ individuals?
3. What are some ways families can show acceptance and support for their LGBTQ+ members, even if they struggle with their own beliefs?
4. How can organizations like PFLAG help both LGBTQ+ people and their families navigate feelings of loss, grief, or shame?
5. In what ways do you think societal expectations about family and gender roles influence how families respond to having LGBTQ+ members?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. D) corporate family
2. B) non-blood related friends who provide support and care, often filling in for missing family members
3. C) greater acceptance of their own sexual identity and better mental health
4. A) higher rates of suicide and depression
5. B) to support, educate, and advocate for families and friends of LGBTQ+ people

---

This page titled 8.2: What Is a Family? is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.1: Chapter 8- LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families** by Sarah R. Young is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children

Although not all families include children, becoming parents can be an important goal for many. Research has suggested that a wide range of motivations push people to become parents, including emotional bonding, personal fulfillment, giving and receiving love, **continuing the family line,** and not being alone later in life. Other reasons include one's partner wanting to become a parent or a need to feel complete. **Lesbian mothers and gay fathers have reported many of the same motivations for becoming parents,** but these motivations may be shaped by the unique context of LGBTQ+ parenthood. For example, a study of the parenting motivations of gay fathers found that some were motivated by the desire to instill tolerance in their children, thereby creating a more tolerant world.[34]

Approximately 48 percent of LGBTQ+ women and 20 percent of LGBTQ+ men under age fifty are raising children.[35] Some are doing so as part of a couple and some as single parents. In addition, approximately 3.7 million children in the United States have a parent who is LGBTQ+, and approximately 200,000 have parents who are part of a same-sex relationship (as either couples or single parents) (figure 8.8).[36]



Figure 8.8. A same-sex couple with their children at San Francisco Gay Pride 2008. (CC BY-SA Caitlin Childs.)

How Are LGBTQ+ Families with Children Formed?

LGBTQ+ families with children are created several ways. Some may become parents while in a heterosexual relationship, and they come out later in life. Some may be in a relationship with a member of the other sex, but identify as bisexual or nonheterosexual. Others may identify as LGBTQ+, be in a same-sex relationship, and become parents through the use of assisted reproductive technology, surrogacy, adoption, or foster care.[37]

Parents Coming Out as LGBTQ+

Because of societal pressure and expectations, LGB people of older generations may have entered relationships with a different sex partner to avoid admitting their sexual orientation, to avoid stigma and be accepted, or to have children at a time when family-building options for LGB people were unimaginable for most. **Children's reactions to parents' coming out as LGB** range from disbelief and shock to blaming the other parent for the LGB person's "changed" identity, to feelings of acceptance and love.[38] Some adult children report feeling closer to their parent now that they know.[39] Many of these reactions are mediated by the child's age and developmental stage at the time of disclosure. In fact, some experts on family communication now suggest that **coming out to one's children is about strengthening and "deepening" the relationship,** not divulging a dark secret.[40]

Parents who come out as transgender face experiences similar to those of their cisgender LGB counterparts (e.g., challenges disclosing their sexuality and gaining acceptance from children, ex- and current partners, and extended family members) but also different. First, the child's age may influence reaction to the disclosure. **The younger the children are, the more flexible their thinking and the easier they adapt to the news.** Second, finding those who have a similar experience coming out as transgender to their children may be difficult. A transgender parent often needs to connect with other transgender parents in similar circumstances to find support. Third, many transgender parents report that their relationships with their children were "the same or better" after disclosing their identity than they were before disclosure.[41]

Gay and lesbian stepfamilies may also have needs and challenges distinct from either straight families or gay and lesbian families with children.[42] In addition to the challenges of forming a stepfamily, gay and lesbian individuals often have to negotiate whether, how, and whom to come out to and **assess the impact of coming out on both the individual and the family.** Coparenting with a different-sex ex-spouse or partner can range from supportive to antagonistic and can acknowledge or ignore the person's new same-sex partner or spouse.

Myths about Same-Sex Parenting and Children in LGBTQ+ Families

Myths associated with same-sex parenting and the experiences of children raised by same-sex parents have negatively influenced the decisions of LGBTQ+ parents and interactions with legal and social services professionals.[43] These myths include concerns that children raised by same-sex parents or in LGBTQ+ households will experience disruptions in their gender identity development or in their gender role behaviors or that they will become gay or lesbian themselves. Other myths suggest these children will have more mental health and behavioral problems; will experience problems in their social relationships and experience more stigmatization, teasing, and bullying; and are more likely to be sexually abused by their parents or parent's friends. **Research has soundly refuted all these myths.**

The psychologist Charlotte Patterson conducted some of most cited research debunking the negative myths about same-sex parenting. Her research has explored the behavioral adjustment, self-concepts, and sex role behaviors of children raised in same-sex households, concluding that "more than two decades of research has failed to reveal important differences in the adjustment or development of children or adolescents reared by same-sex couples compared to those reared by other-sex couples."[44] **She points out that the quality of family relationships is the most important predictor of healthy child development.** A review exploring the implications and fitness of same-sex parenting for children found that, across twenty-three studies, the most common myths about impaired emotional functioning, greater likelihood of a homosexual sexual orientation, greater stigmatization by peers, nonconforming-gender role behavior and identity, poor behavioral adjustment, and impaired cognitive functioning were simply not true. Children raised by lesbian moms and gay dads were no more likely to experience negative outcomes than children raised by heterosexual parents (figure 8.9).[45]



Figure 8.9. Gay couple and child at San Francisco Gay Pride 2008. (CC BY-SA Caitlin Childs.)

Both the myths about LGBTQ+ parents and their children and the research refuting the myths have found their way into the family courts. Prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes describing unfit lesbian moms and irresponsible gay dads have historically been used in custody cases to justify punitive court decisions. **Research that establishes the fitness of LGBTQ+ parents has been influential in custody cases, and Patterson herself has served as an expert witness in numerous custody and other court cases.**[46] LGBTQ+ families' lives are shaped by the powerful social forces of heterosexism and cissexism. These forces can influence policy and law, including family court cases, so there is a continuing need for unbiased and scientifically rigorous studies on LGBTQ+ family formation and the developmental and social outcomes for children in these families.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What is a major challenge researchers face when studying LGBTQ+ families and relationships?

A) too many participants

B) difficulty identifying and recruiting diverse and adequately sized samples

C) lack of interest in the topic

D) overrepresentation of rural families

2. Why might some LGBTQ+ individuals be hesitant to reveal their identities or relationships in research studies?

A) They fear discrimination from families, employers, and communities.

B) They are not interested in research.

C) They do not have families.
D) They are required to participate.

3. What is a limitation of much existing research on LGBTQ+ families?
A) It often uses exclusionary, heteronormative definitions of family
B) It focuses only on families with children
C) It is always conducted outside the U.S.
D) It only studies polyamorous families

4. What percentage of LGBTQ+ women under age fifty are raising children?
A) 10%
B) 20%
C) 48%
D) 75%

5. How has research on LGBTQ+ parenting been used in family courts?
A) to support prejudicial attitudes
B) to promote only single-parent families
C) to exclude LGBTQ+ parents from custody
D) to establish the fitness of LGBTQ+ parents and influence custody cases

Discussion Questions

1. Why is it important for research on LGBTQ+ families to include diverse family structures and identities?
2. How might exclusionary definitions of family in research further marginalize certain LGBTQ+ families?
3. What are some unique motivations for LGBTQ+ individuals to become parents, and how might these differ from heterosexual parents?
4. In what ways can research help challenge stereotypes and myths about LGBTQ+ parents and their children in legal settings?
5. How do social forces like heterosexism and cisseXXXXXX

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) difficulty identifying and recruiting diverse and adequately sized samples
2. A) They fear discrimination from families, employers, and communities.
3. A) It often uses exclusionary, heteronormative definitions of family
4. C) 48%
5. D) to establish the fitness of LGBTQ+ parents and influence custody cases

---

This page titled 8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.1: Chapter 8- LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families** by Sarah R. Young is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions

Some LGBTQ+ people and their allies have seized the moment of societal change by trying to change systems from within, finding private sector corporations to be much more open and agile in response to their needs than public institutions. **To not lose customers or employees because of anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment, many corporations are opting to strengthen LGBTQ+ workplace policies and affinity groups.**[47] Such policies include equal spousal and partner health care benefits, affirmative transgender health care benefits, gender-neutral bathrooms, and nondiscrimination policies that provide protections for sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression (figure 8.10). To capture the progress being made in the private sector, the **Human Rights Campaign rates corporations in their annual Corporate Equality Index.** Described as a "benchmarking tool on corporate policies and practices pertinent to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer employees," **these ratings are often used by corporations to demonstrate openness and inclusion**.[48]

These corporate workplace gains haven't come without criticism, however. Some have voiced concerns that private sector openness to LGBTQ+ communities is really just a way of manipulating workers into complacency by "keeping employees happy" and exploiting their need to "seek meaning through their job." These policies can mask labor violations and exploitative practices, thereby creating the perfect marriage of capitalism and personal identity.[49] These corporate policies and practices are often described as assimilationist—that is, a strategy "that strives for access to those in power [and] is rooted in an interest-group and **legislative-lobbying approach to political change.**"[50]



Figure 8.10. A 2018 rally in support of protecting access to health care for the transgender community. (CC-BY-SA Ted Eytan.)

Other institutional change from within has occurred in health care and human services agencies. The National Association of Social Workers expressed its support in 2002 for allowing same-sex couples to foster and adopt and has repeatedly issued professional support for same-sex marriage—for example, in 2013 and 2015 in relation to Supreme Court rulings.[51] In 2004, the **American Medical Association issued a similar statement supporting adoption,** and in 2012, issued support for same-sex civil marriage. In 2013, the American Academy of Pediatricians expressed its support for allowing same-sex couples to marry and to become foster and adoptive parents. Other professional groups (for example, the American Psychiatric Association and the American Counseling Association) have followed suit. Collectively, these statements recognize that combating discrimination against LGBTQ+ families is important, discrimination is itself a public health issue, and families should receive professional and unbiased care and services.

Parenting and Family Building

Family and adoption rights are one way that LGBTQ+ parents are discriminated against if they have biological children, want to adopt, or want access to infertility treatment. **Only five states actively ban discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity for foster and adoptive parents,** an additional three states ban discrimination based on sexual orientation, and ten states have laws that allow discrimination against LGBTQ+ prospective foster parents. Most states are largely silent on the topic, opening up a range of treatment toward same-sex adopting families, from active discrimination that is based in law to indifference.[52] Little change has been made to recognize same-sex parents despite the overwhelming evidence that being raised in an LGBTQ+ family is not inherently harmful or destructive to the children.[53]

5 Positive Things to Sat to a Queer Family [Trying to Conceive]

Watch "5 Positive Things to Say to a Queer Family [Trying to Conceive]" (https://youtu.be/7nXTz1eN0Ko). A doula based in Brooklyn, New York, Morgane Richardson advises viewers how to positively interact with a queer family that is trying to conceive.



- What is your biggest takeaway from this advice? Was there anything that surprised you or made you curious to learn more?
- Explore one of the resources that Richardson identifies; how does it deepen your understanding of the issues?
- How does Richardson define *allyship*? What advice about allyship did you find helpful?

Numerous studies have, however, documented the health and stress impacts of unequal laws on families that are headed by same-sex couples. For instance, should a child fall ill, a parent who is not legally recognized may be excluded from making medical decisions or may be separated from their child during an emergency because they are not recognized by medical staff as a parent or guardian. Unnecessary legal hurdles and simultaneous societal discrimination against same-sex households appear to be the root of stress, not the LGBTQ+ parents themselves.[54]

Legal Systems

Same-sex couples report navigating many legal challenges that vary depending on how the couple structures their family life. Interviews with fifty-one LGB parents in California found that the law affected their lives and decisions in three dominant arenas: **(1) how to have children, (2) where to live, and (3) how their family was (or wasn't) recognized.**[55] Although some legal protections exist nationally, legal protections for LGBTQ+ families vary widely by state, highlighting the need to carefully consider the three arenas when determining how to best protect one's family.

LGBTQ+ polyamorous couples who wish to have their entire family recognized and legally protected face numerous challenges, the biggest being that in almost all states and countries you may designate only one spouse in a legal marriage. These designations often mean that **polyamorous couples** cannot obtain health insurance for all their spouses or partners.[56]

Health Care and Human Services Providers

Same-sex couples, with or without children, report unequal treatment in health care and human services care compared with their heterosexual and cisgender peers. For same-sex couples seeking health care for their children, **invisibility, or not being recognized by health care providers as a family unit, is one barrier to quality health care.** A survey of nursing and medical students found that 69 percent did not directly ask about the relationship among family members or were unsure if they should directly ask if the two same-sex adults were a couple responsible for the child receiving care.[57] Not being seen and legitimized as a family unit is stressful to the couple and can also complicate care if one parent is not recognized as a guardian or is left out of decision-making processes.

Supportive and affirming policies, practices, and professionals are particularly needed to serve the aging LGBTQ+ community. The aging LGBTQ+ population is underserved and experiences higher risk of medical issues compared with their heterosexual peers.[58] Having higher need, combined with stigma from health care providers, leads to unsatisfactory and unequal treatment in out-of-home care. **Couples who are aging and require out-of-home care often report anxiety about how they will be treated by staff and whether they will be seen, treated, and respected as a couple.**[59] One study found that over half of elder LGBTQ+ adults were opposed to assisted living, and 80 percent were opposed to out-of-home care because of fear of discrimination, including how their partner would be treated and whether their advance directives for health care would be recognized and respected.[60]

Discrimination from human services providers in care and decision-making has long been of concern. For example, LGBTQ+ people in general and same-sex couples in particular face bias and outright discrimination when trying to adopt a child from foster

care or through a social services agency. A survey of 169 diverse gay and lesbian parents found that over one-third were not emotionally supported when they were seeking to adopt (their adoption worker did not express support for them), in contrast to the experience of straight adopting couples, and nearly 15 percent felt very stressed when coming out as lesbian or gay to their adoption worker, fearing that it would limit their chances of having a child placed in their home.[61]

Schools and Educators

LGBTQ+ families with children interact with education systems with varying degrees of support for their families and identities. Challenges may include being treated differently from straight and cisgender parents, **not having their family structures represented in the curriculum**, and not having both same-sex parents **respected as equal parents** when decisions need to be made about their child. In addition, some LGBTQ+ parents have described trying to help their children explain their family structure (e.g., "I have two dads") to other children at school, which is especially difficult when the classroom lacks **LGBTQ+ cultural competency.** These challenges can have a negative effect on the well-being of LGBTQ+ families and their children. College teaching and education programs need to place greater emphasis on training future educators, before they enter the classroom, in how to demonstrate cultural competence when working with LGBTQ+ families.[62]

Trends and Changes in the Legal Landscape

As Patterson and colleagues have pointed out, today's quickly shifting legal landscapes regarding LGBTQ+ relationships, marriage equality, reproductive technologies, and foster parenting and adoption by LGBTQ+ individuals have brought challenges but also promise for improving the lives of LGBTQ+ families. However, these advances remain vulnerable to changing attitudes and political majorities. After marriage equality became law through the landmark *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, state legislatures began considering legislation to limit its influence, and court cases based on the right to religious freedom try to reverse gains. The future legal landscape for LGBTQ+ people appears uncertain.[63]

Strategies for Change: Queer Cautions and Resistance

LGBTQ+ communities, and the families that form within the community, are not monolithic. Therefore, any discussion of family within such a diverse and intersectional community will be a complicated one. For some LGBTQ+ people, the LGBTQ+ movement's recent emphasis on assimilationist approaches to social change, such as fighting for access to heteronormative institutions like marriage, is misguided and actually privilege heterosexuality over queer lives. Some **highlight the diverse and creative ways that LGBTQ+ people create families,** emphasizing the importance of choosing families and raising concerns about laws and legally sanctioned institutions that often place limitations on what counts as family.

Some LGBTQ+ people are concerned that vital and limited resources in the fight for things like a national nondiscrimination law have been reallocated to the fight for marriage equality. Thus, ironically, a lesbian living in a state like Texas can now marry her wife but be unable to order a wedding cake if the local baker opposes LGBTQ+ families or marriage. Others look beyond the argument that marriage provides a way to gain access to important resources and benefits (e.g., health insurance, inheritance and property rights, visitation rights in hospitals and jails, adoption rights), instead asking why these benefits must be tied to marriage in the first place. Some scholars suggest that queer communities should reject all notions of family building altogether. They point out that rather than making these benefits available to all, **marriage equality has created a new set of boundaries** that define who has access to certain privileges that remain inaccessible **for others in the broader LGBTQ+ community.**[64]

Profile: LGBTQ+ Family Building: Challenges and Opportunity

Christa Craven

Queer people have a long history of **creating family in many different ways,** including creating chosen families among adults (and sometimes children) who may not be biologically related. Yet with the enhancement of legal rights in recent years, such as same-sex marriage, many LGBTQ+ people are feeling more pressure than ever to form families that include biological or adopted children or both. People have said to me, "After we got married, the next logical question from our families and friends was, **'When will you have kids?'"** With greater access to reproductive technologies and adoption for same-sex parents over the last few decades, LGBTQ+ people have significant opportunities to build families. However, experts estimate that a quarter of all pregnancies end in loss, and a similar number of adoptions fall through; 12 percent of U.S. women are diagnosed with infertility; and transgender people are often faced with difficult reproductive decisions relating to transition. With the rise in LGBTQ+ family

making—the **"gayby boom"**—the numbers of reproductive losses through miscarriage, stillbirth, failed adoptions, infertility, and sterility have also increased.

In addition to heteronormative assumptions about who should have children, LGBTQ+ intended parents face another layer of invisibility and isolation as they combat the well-documented cultural silence surrounding reproductive loss. Even among those who support LGBTQ+ families, there is often political silencing of queer family-making narratives when they do not produce a happy ending. Moreover, the reproductive challenges LGBTQ+ families continue to face have received little attention and have been exacerbated by increasingly restrictive laws regarding LGBTQ+ adoption and family recognition following the 2016 U.S. elections. **LGBTQ+ family making is politicized even within queer communities by progressive efforts** to create a seamless narrative of progress toward enhanced marital and familial rights. These contentious political battles often eclipse the challenges and barriers LGBTQ+ parents face in establishing and gaining recognition as families.

Physicians and public health experts estimate that 10–20 percent of all recognized pregnancies in the United States and 30–40 percent of all conceptions end in pregnancy loss. Estimates for other countries vary substantially. The knowledge that a pregnancy has ended is likely higher for LGBTQ+ people, who are often more intentional in planning their families than their straight peers and thus more likely to be doing early home pregnancy tests. Public perception regarding pregnancy loss differs substantially from public health estimates. A 2015 survey of over a thousand U.S. adults showed that 55 percent thought miscarriage was rare (occurring in 5 percent or less of pregnancies).[65] In addition, 12 percent of U.S. women are diagnosed with infertility, and fertility preservation options are not always made available to transgender people considering hormones or surgery. Likewise, a review of U.S. studies among different populations estimates adoption failure rates, or what adoption agencies euphemistically refer to as "disruptions," of 10–25 percent.[66] Statistics on adoption are not kept in most countries.

I interviewed over fifty LGBTQ+ people to understand how they experience loss, grief, and mourning. They included those who carried pregnancies, nongestational and adoptive parents, and families from a broad range of racial/ethnic, socioeconomic, and religious backgrounds. I found that stories of loss, death, and reproductive challenges that accompany queer family making are often ignored or silenced both inside and outside LGBTQ+ communities, resulting in personal and political isolation. Three examples drawn from my study highlight the need for more inclusive support resources.[67]

Alex and Nora's Story

When I spoke with Alex and Nora, they had experienced a second-trimester loss less than a year before. Nora, a cisgender lesbian, had physically carried their first daughter, but she had developed health complications that made another pregnancy dangerous for her health. The couple agreed that Alex, who had previously identified as a female-to-male transman, would carry their next child. **Alex had adopted a genderqueer lesbian identity after becoming pregnant and was pregnant at the time of our interview.** Nora explained how her experience of their loss was not only a physical and emotional one but also personally and legally complex.

In losing our daughter . . . , I lost not only a biological and a physical connection. . . . I also lost the ability to have legal rights [to our future children], to have my name on this child's birth certificate. . . . I'm not even going to be able to petition for that [where we live].

In 2011, Nora would have had no legal rights to their child borne by Alex because the couple lived in a state where nongestational queer parents were denied access to second-parent adoption of their children. But to Nora, having to formally adopt in *any* jurisdiction and be evaluated on her fitness as a parent was devastating.

Nonetheless, **the couple continued to consider pursuing legal adoption in another state or country** and then returning to their home state to request a reissued birth certificate that would recognize them both as legal parents. Unlike same-sex marriages or civil unions, which were not recognized in much of the United States before 2015 and not recognized in countries where laws do not permit same-sex unions, adoptions are recognized across jurisdictions. However, financial instability—Nora was a full-time graduate student and Alex an administrative assistant—put this option for giving both of them legal parental status out of the couple's reach.

Although the couple lived in a liberal midwestern town, the homophobic state and federal laws that governed Nora's relationship—or lack of legal relationship—with the child borne by her partner heightened her experience of loss. They encountered silencing within queer communities following their loss, which resulted in feelings of isolation. As Alex explained, LGBTQ+ reproductive

loss **"complicates the political rhetoric. It's the same reason you don't hear about gay divorce, because it complicates the political rhetoric of trying to get marriage equality."**

Significant changes in the legal landscape for LGBTQ+ couples and families have occurred in the 2010s, in the United States and throughout the world. After the **national recognition of same-sex marriage in 2015 following the *Obergefell v. Hodges* U.S. Supreme Court case,** many LGBTQ+ parents assumed that the presumption of parenthood (that both individuals in a marital union are legal parents to any child born within that union) would be extended to lesbian and gay married couples, as it is for heterosexual couples. However, legal precedent on this issue has been inconsistent, which can leave **LGBTQ+ families—even those formed within legal marriages—vulnerable in ways that heterosexual married couples are not.** Additionally, any children born to same-sex parents outside a legal marriage must still be formally adopted by the same-sex second parent. In the case that the couple legally marries (or the marriage becomes legally recognized) after the child is born, a stepparent adoption is required.

As of April 2019, only fifteen states allow unmarried parents to petition for second-parent adoption. Laws also exist in some states that allow discrimination against LGBTQ+ parents by adoption agencies that cite religious beliefs against same-sex parenting. **In 2019, U.S. legal experts in the American Bar Association acknowledged that, despite the federal recognition of same-sex marriage in 2015, "state-sanctioned discrimination against LGBT individuals who wish to raise children has dramatically increased in recent years."**[68] Many adoptive parents also expressed the fear that homophobia and heterosexism within adoption agencies and among birth families meant they had a higher likelihood of adoption disruption than heterosexual couples.

Mike's Story

Mike's particularly heartbreaking story concerned suffering the loss of twins in an adoption. He and his partner, Arnold, had traveled to Vermont to get a civil union during the 1990s and began the adoption process shortly afterward in their home state, which didn't legally recognize their relationship. With their stable jobs and multiracial family—Mike is a white pediatrician and Arnold an African American high school teacher—the adoption agency they worked with thought they were an ideal family to place biracial twins, whose eighteen-year-old mother had two children already and was living in a battered women's shelter. **They moved forward with an open adoption,** meeting with the birth mother on multiple occasions and attending all doctor appointments. When the twins were born, the names that Mike and Arnold gave them appeared on their birth certificates. They spent ten days at home with the twins, but on the tenth day—the last day that birth mothers in their state could legally reclaim their children—at thirty minutes to midnight, the call came.

Mike and Arnold later spoke with staff from their adoption agency, who explained that the birth mother had contacted the biological father of the twins, whom she had been estranged from for months, to tell him that she had put them up for adoption to a gay male couple. He did not approve of having a gay couple raise the twins and convinced her to reclaim them. Despite the birth mother desperately trying to reverse that decision to reclaim the twins and making several calls to Mike and Arnold pleading with them to take the children, the adoption was never formalized. Arnold had struggled with depression previously, and after losing the twins, he began to abuse drugs and alcohol and was unable to return to work. Ultimately, after two years, his addiction led to the end of their relationship.

When we spoke, Mike had recently begun the adoption process again as a single man. This time, however, he was pursuing the adoption of an older child. He said,

[This adoption is] in the foster system, with parents whose parental rights had already been terminated. . . . I don't want the chance of a birth parent reclaiming again. There's no way I could do that again. . . . It was like they [the twins] had suddenly died. One minute they were here and the next hour they weren't here. It was horrible.

Yet as many adoptive parents told me, what was sometimes most difficult about their losses was that the child had not died and that their heartache couldn't be "a pure sense of grief or loss" that one might experience mourning the death of a loved one. Rather, the child they had come to know and love was "out there somewhere," and that knowledge created ongoing questions and multilayered grief.

Mike's story is one of multiple interlocking losses and demonstrates how reproductive losses do not always involve the death of a child, nor are they centered solely around the absence of that child (or children) in one's life. LGBTQ+ adoptive parents, as well as those who experienced pregnancy loss, infertility, and sterility frequently spoke about the "loss of innocence" that shattered their

initial expectations of linear progress surrounding reproduction. Reproductive losses can also result in the loss of dreams for particular kinds of family, as Vero's story highlights.

Vero's Story

When Vero came out in the late 1970s, she initially thought she didn't want to have kids. She explained when we connected over Skype, "I waited longer than I should have . . . being gay, being raised in a Hispanic Catholic family, I didn't even see it as a reality." **Coming out before the 1990s gayby boom** and then leaving home as a teen to serve in the U.S. Army for ten years, like many other LGBTQ+ people who grew up during this time, she felt that forming a family would not be an option for her. But as she found a more supportive community, and many of her LGBTQ+ friends began having kids, "it started to feel like a reality." Although she didn't initially wish to carry a child, when she desired children with a long-term partner who was unable to carry, she decided to **begin monitoring her ovulation.** A year and a half later, that relationship had ended.

But I kept thinking about it and . . . thinking about it and decided that that was something I really wanted with or without that relationship. So, I went on with the process. I had a donor. Everything was good to go. . . . And so, I went to get a physical and during that physical was when they found my cancer. And so, it quickly became—I was staged pretty high and so that quickly became the focus. Even though it [having a baby] was sitting in the back of my head, it was more about getting it [the cancer] staged, having biopsies, and starting treatment, blah blah blah. So, all of that kind of consumed me. . . . I didn't have to think about it [losing my ability to conceive] right away. But then that came. [*Fighting back tears*.] I still get emotional about it.

At the time, Vero's doctors estimated that the advanced stage of her cancer gave her between three months and ten years to live. Although well-meaning friends suggested she consider adoption after initial chemotherapy treatment seemed successful, Vero felt that would not be fair to the child because of the uncertainty about her future health. When I asked Vero how she did cope once she was able to focus on her experience beyond the immediacy of her cancer treatment, she spoke about struggling because, she said, "some people don't even see my experience as a loss, because I never conceived." **She also had complex feelings that others seemed not to understand:**

Once all of the dust settled [after three years of chemotherapy and experimental treatment], I felt very grateful. I mean, if it hadn't been for this child that I had already named but that I never had, I wouldn't even be here. [*Through tears*.] I think what helped me find peace in it all was the gratitude that I was still here and in the last sixteen years that my life would have been completely different. It took a really different turn . . . not a 180, but at least a 45-degree angle [*laughing*]. It gave me more time to be with all of my friends' kids. . . . If I'd waited any longer than I did to get my physical, I probably wouldn't have made it, period. It kind of gave me a different gift. It hit me in a bunch of different ways, and it still hits me every once in a while. I was thinking about it just yesterday: that kid would probably have been fourteen or fifteen by now, and how different my life would be . . . just completely different.

Vero's experience underscores not only the depth and complexities of losing one's dream of family but also how grief can shift and evolve over time. As others have frequently said, "It never leaves you."

Together, Alex and Nora's, Mike's, and Vero's stories paint a vivid picture of the multiple interlocking losses that frequently accompany the loss of a child or dreams of a child. LGBTQ+ parents face general social taboos about discussing reproductive loss, but these expectations are frequently magnified by the legal and political barriers they face in gaining recognition as families. Additionally, they face pressures within LGBTQ+ communities where stories of loss are often silenced in efforts to present a political vision for LGBTQ+ progress.

More inclusive support resources that embrace the diverse realities and challenges of forming LGBTQ+ families are necessary for bereaved LGBTQ+ individuals and families. A notable finding of my study was that over half the participants faced financial struggles in their efforts to expand their families. For most, the urgency to become pregnant or adopt again after a loss drove them to invest more (both financially and emotionally) in those efforts. Yet many discussed this financial investment with a great deal of ambivalence, for fear that it would detract from the emotional loss they experienced. **Their stories challenge the assumed affluence of LGBTQ+ individuals who seek to expand their families, even among those who do so via expensive assisted reproductive technology and adoption.**

As a queer parent who found few resources after my own second-trimester loss and who bore witness to the ways that my partner was further isolated as a nongestational parent, I have always given this project a public focus. When I published *Reproductive*

Losses: Challenges to LGBTQ Family-Making, I launched a companion website (http://www.lgbtqreproductiveloss.org) an interactive and expanding resource for LGBTQ+ individuals and families. Readers can access an archive of commemorative photos and stories, as well as advice to LGBTQ+ parents experiencing loss and those who support them. But there is far more work to be done to overcome the silencing and isolation surrounding reproductive loss; **create opportunities for sustained dialogue among LGBTQ+ intended parents, medical and adoption professionals, and other support professionals;** and acknowledge that grappling with grief and mourning—particularly in a moment of legal and political uncertainty—is inescapable for many queer people.

Key Questions

- What are some of the negative consequences of homophobia, heterosexism, and minority stress for LGBTQ+ people in terms of relationship building, and creating families?
- What myths have you heard regarding the quality of LGBTQ+ relationships? What does research say about those myths?
- Why is it challenging to research LGBTQ+ families and relationships?
- What are some of the challenges that LGBTQ+ families face as they interact with legal systems?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Why have many private sector corporations strengthened their LGBTQ+ workplace policies?
A) to avoid paying taxes
B) to not lose customers or employees due to anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment
C) to comply with international law
D) to reduce product prices

2. What is the Corporate Equality Index?
A) a benchmarking tool rating corporate policies and practices for LGBTQ+ inclusion
B) a government tax form
C) a list of LGBTQ+ celebrities
D) a health insurance plan

3. What is a criticism of corporate LGBTQ+ inclusion policies?
A) They always lead to higher salaries.
B) They only benefit straight employees.
C) They are required by law in every state.
D) They may be used to mask labor violations and exploit workers' need for meaning.

4. What is meant by "assimilationist" strategies in the context of LGBTQ+ rights?
A) rejecting all forms of political change
B) only supporting LGBTQ+ celebrities
C) striving for access to power through interest-group and legislative lobbying
D) focusing on international issues

5. How many states actively ban discrimination based on both sexual orientation and gender identity for foster and adoptive parents?
A) 5
B) 25
C) 50
D) 0

Discussion Questions

1. Do you think corporate LGBTQ+ inclusion policies are genuine progress or mostly a marketing strategy? Why?
2. How might assimilationist strategies both help and limit the LGBTQ+ rights movement?
3. What are the potential risks when states are "silent" on discrimination against LGBTQ+ foster and adoptive parents?

4. Why is it important for professional organizations (like the AMA or NASW) to publicly support LGBTQ+ families?
5. In your view, what additional steps could be taken to ensure equal parenting and family-building rights for LGBTQ+ people across all states?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) to not lose customers or employees due to anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment
2. A) a benchmarking tool rating corporate policies and practices for LGBTQ+ inclusion
3. D) They may be used to mask labor violations and exploit workers' need for meaning.
4. C) striving for access to power through interest-group and legislative lobbying
5. A) 5

This page titled 8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.1: Chapter 8- LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families** by Sarah R. Young is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

8.5: Research Resources

Compiled by Jessica Szempruch and Rachel Wexelbaum

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about LGBTQ+ relationships and families.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

COLAGE

COLAGE (Children of Lesbians and Gays Everywhere; https://www.colage.org/) is a national movement of children, youth, and adults with one or more LGBTQ+ parents. COLAGE builds community and works toward social justice through youth empowerment, leadership development, education, and advocacy. This is the only national organization in North America focused on the needs of children of LGBTQ+ parents.

Family Acceptance Project

For nearly twenty years, the Family Acceptance Project (http://familyproject.sfsu.edu/) has provided evidence-based family education information and resource materials on how families can best support LGBTQ+ children. Its website includes links to its publications and research.

Family Equality Council

The Family Equality Council (https://www.familyequality.org/) is a national organization that provides advocacy and support for LGBTQ+ parents and families.

Gender Odyssey

The annual Gender Odyssey conference (http://www.genderodyssey.org/) addresses the needs and interests of children of all ages who are transgender and gender diverse, their families, and the professionals who serve them.

Gender Spectrum

Gender Spectrum (https://www.genderspectrum.org) informs interactions with all youth, especially in family, parent, or caregiver gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive environments. Resource lists, trainings, support groups, and research are all available via the website.

"GLBT Resources for Children: A Bibliography," by the Rainbow Round Table

Two librarians, Nancy Silverrod in San Francisco and Dana Giusti in Philadelphia, began compiling in 2004 the first annotated bibliography of children's and young adult books about children with LGBTQ+ parents (http://www.ala.org/rt/glbtrt/popularresources/children). These titles have become classics, and most remain in print, even as resources for children continue to increase. See, for example, GoodRead's Same Sex Parents Book Lists at https://www.goodreads.com/list/tag/same-sex-parents.

Lesbian and Gay Parenting, from the American Psychological Association

The American Psychological Association published a review in 2005 of the scholarly literature and court cases related to gay and lesbian parents and their children (https://www.apa.org/pi/lgbt/resources/parenting). This resource, designed for students, researchers, lawyers, mental health care professionals, and parents, comprises three sections: a summary of the research findings on gay fathers and lesbian mothers, an annotated bibliography of those resources, and a series of amicus briefs and professional association policies related to gay and lesbian parents. This resource provides frequently cited, authoritative foundational research that has served as the basis for further research.

LGBTQ Youth and Schools Resource Library

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) curates a resource list for middle school, high school, and college LGBTQ+ students on their rights related to free speech, assembly, forming gay-straight alliances, attending the prom, accessing online information in school libraries, mental health support, privacy, and seeking LGBTQ+ support on college campuses. See https://www.aclu.org/library-lgbt-youth-schools-resources-and-links.

Movement Advancement Project (MAP)

The Movement Advancement Project provides reports and videos with an overview of laws and policies affecting LGBTQ+ families in the United States such as laws and policies related to fostering and adopting LGBTQ+ children, the child welfare system, transgender rights, medical decision-making policies, and discriminatory tax laws for LGBTQ+ families. See https://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps.

See the full text of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 2015's *Obergefell*, a landmark civil rights case in which the court ruled that the fundamental right to marry is guaranteed to same-sex couples by both the due process clause and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/14pdf/14-556_3204.pdf).

Resolution on Marriage Equality for Same-Sex Couples, from the American Psychological Association

The APA Council of Representatives adopted this resolution on August 3–5, 2011. See https://www.apa.org/about/policy/same-sex.

SAGE

SAGE is a premier organization providing services and advocacy for LGBTQ+ elders. Its website (https://www.sageusa.org/) provides robust resources regarding elder rights and issues of concern.

Trevor Project

The Trevor Project is the leading national organization providing crisis intervention and suicide prevention services to LGBTQ+ youth. The project's website (https://www.thetrevorproject.org) features resources, educational tools, advocacy, and ways to get involved. The Trevor Project is especially well known for its crisis phone, chat, and text lines.

This page titled 8.5: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.1: Chapter 8- LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families** by Sarah R. Young is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

8.6: Glossary

AIDS. The acronym formed from *acquired immune deficiency syndrome*, a chronic disease caused by the HIV virus that has disproportionately affected the LGBTQ+ community (particularly gay men, bisexual men, trans women, and men who have sex with men).

assimilationist. Fixing the system from within, trying to fit into the status quo; integrating.

attitudes. Positive or negative affective evaluations of someone or something.

blended family. A couple with children from previous relationships.

extended family. The kin or relatives outside the nuclear or single-parent family; may include aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, or others related by blood or marriage.

family. In the context of human society, a group of people related by either consanguinity (by recognized birth), affinity (by marriage or other relationship), coresidence (as implied by the word's etymology, from the Latin *familia*), or some combination of these.

family of choice. A deliberately chosen group of people that satisfies the typical role of family as a support system. These people may or may not be related to the person who chose them.

heteronormative. A societal belief that makes heterosexuality the default and assumes that everyone is heterosexual until proved otherwise; normalizing heterosexuality and othering any other identity or experience apart from heterosexuality.

heterosexism. Bias that suggests that heterosexuality, or heterosexual relationships, are superior to any other relationships (e.g., queer, gay, lesbian).

internalized heterosexism. Heterosexism that an individual believes and therefore replicates and incorporates internally.

marriage equality. The recognition of same-sex marriage as a human and civil right, as well as recognition by law and support of societal institutions.

minority stress. Health disparities often found in minority groups can be explained in part by the discrimination they endure, and this discrimination causes stress and illness; Ilan Meyer developed this sociobehavioral theory.

nonmonogamous families. Couples who have children and who engage consensually in sexual activities with other adults outside each couple.

nonmonogamous relationships. Deep, close, relationships between two or more people who may engage consensually in sexual activities with others outside the relationship.

nuclear family. A couple and their dependent children; typically assumed to be a heterosexual couple.

polyamorous. The practice of, or desire for, intimate relationships with more than one partner, with the consent of all partners involved. A polyamorous family is one made up of more than two sexual or romantic partners and their dependent children.

resilience. An individual's ability to recover, or bounce back, from a stressful or traumatic experience.

single-parent family. A one-parent-headed family (typically one parent with a dependent child or children).

stereotypes. Negative, positive, or neutral beliefs about the members of a group that are often unsubstantiated.

thriving. The condition of individuals who experience a stressful or traumatic event and who not only bounce back but flourish as a result of the event.

This page titled 8.6: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.1: Chapter 8- LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families** by Sarah R. Young is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

8.7: Footnotes

- A. P. Romero, “1.1 Million LGBT Adults Are Married to Someone of the Same Sex at the Two-Year Anniversary of *Obergefell v. Hodges*,” Williams Institute,June 23, 2017, https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Obergefell-2-Year-Marriages-Jun-2017.pdf; see also A. R. Flores, J. Herman, G. J. Gates, and T. N. T. Brown, *How Many Adults Identify as Transgender in the United States?* (Los Angeles, CA: Williams Institute, 2016), https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/How-Many-Adults-Identify-as-Transgender-in-the-United-States.pdf. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-1
- G. J. Gates and F. Newport, “An Estimated 780,000 Americans in Same-Sex Marriages,” *Gallup*, April 2015, https://news.gallup.com/poll/182837/estimated-780-000-americans-sex-marriages.aspx. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-2
- For resources that strengthen relationships, see F. D. Fincham and S. R. H. Beach, “Marriage in the New Millennium: A Decade in Review,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 72, no. 3 (2010): 630–649; and for availability of external resources, see S. S. Rostosky and E. D. B. Riggle, “Same-Sex Couple Relationship Strengths: A Review and Synthesis of the Empirical Literature (2000–2016),” *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* 4, no. 1 (2017): 1–13. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-3
- M. J. Rosenfeld and R. J. Thomas, “Searching for a Mate: The Rise of the Internet as a Social Intermediary,” *American Sociological Review* 77, no. 4 (2012): 523–547. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-4
- M. J. Rosenfeld, R. J. Thomas, and M. Falcon, “How Couples Meet and Stay Together,” waves 1, 2, and 3: Public version 3.04, plus wave 4 supplement version 1.02 (computer files), Stanford University Libraries, accessed January 6, 2022, https://data.stanford.edu/hcmst. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-5
- D. Adams, “What Polyamorous and Multi-parent Families Should Do to Protect Their Rights,” *Prima Facie* (blog), LGBT Bar, December 11, 2018, https://lgbtbar.org/bar-news/what-polyamorous-multi-parent-families-should-do-to-protect-their-rights/. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-6
- For the study of gay men in Britain, see G. Gremore, “‘Bro-Jobs’ Author Talks Straight Man-on-Man Sex and ‘Repressed Homosexual Desire,’” *Queerty*, August 6, 2015, https://www.queerty.com/bro-jobs-author-talks-straight-man-on-man-sex-and-repressed-homosexual-desire-20150806; for the study of gay male couples in the Bay Area, see C. C. Hoff and S. C. Beougher, “Sexual Agreements among Gay Male Couples,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 39, no. 3 (2010): 774–787; for the related study showing equal numbers, see C. C. Hoff, S. C. Beougher, D. Chakravarty, L. A. Darbes, and T. B. Neilands, “Relationship Characteristics and Motivations behind Agreements among Gay Male Couples: Differences by Agreement Type and Couple Serostatus,” *AIDS Care* 22, no. 7 (2010): 827–835; for a study finding different levels, see J. T. Parsons, T. J. Starks, K. E. Gamarel, and C. Grov, “Non-monogamy and Sexual Relationship Quality among Same-Sex Male Couples,” *Journal of Family Psychology* 26, no. 5 (2012): 669–677, https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029561; and for higher rates of agreement to be monogamous, see S. W. Whitton, E. M. Weitbrecht, and A. D. Kuryluk, “Monogamy Agreements in Male Same-Sex Couples: Associations with Relationship Quality and Individual Well-Being,” *Journal of Couple and Relationship Therapy* 14 (2015): 39–63. “The term ‘monogamish’ was first coined a few years ago by relationship and sex columnist Dan Savage, who shared that the arrangement he has with his long-term partner, in which they’re committed to each other but can have sex with others, is not just a phenomenon for gay men.” A. Syrtash, “What It Really Means to Be Monogamish,” *Glamour*, May 9, 2016, https://www.glamour.com/story/what-is-monogamish. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-7
- T. D. Conley, A. C. Moors, J. L. Matsick, and A. Ziegler, “The Fewer the Merrier? Assessing Stigma Surrounding Consensually Non-monogamous Romantic Relationships,” *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 13, no. 1 (2012): 1–29. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-8
- Riese, “Here’s the Salacious Sex Statistics on Queer Women in Non-monogamous vs. Monogamous Relationships,” *Autostraddle*,June 9, 2015, https://www.autostraddle.com/heres-the-salacious-sex-statistics-on-queer-women-in-non-monogamous-vs-monogamous-relationships-290347/. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-9
- C. Kamen, M. Burns, and S. R. H. Beach, “Minority Stress in Same-Sex Male Relationships: When Does It Impact Relationship Satisfaction?,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 58,no. 10 (2011): 1372–1390; D. M. Frost and I. H. Meyer, “Internalized Homophobia and Relationship Quality among Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals,” *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 56 (2009): 97–109; D.

M. Frost and I. H. Meyer, “Internalized Homophobia and Relationship Quality among Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals,” *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 56 (2009): 97–109; E. A. Payne, D. Umberson, and C. Reczek, “Sex in Midlife: Sexual Experiences in Lesbian and Straight Marriages,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 81 (2019): 7–23, https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12508. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-10

- I. H. Meyer, “Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations: Conceptual Issues and Research Evidence,” *Psychological Bulletin* 129 (2003): 674–697. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-11
- Frost and Meyer, “Internalized Homophobia.” 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-12
- Kamen, Burns, and Beach, “Minority Stress in Same-Sex Male Relationships.” 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-13
- M. Dank, P. Lachman, J. M. Zweig, and J. Yahner, “Dating Violence Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth,” *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 43 (2014): 846–857, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-013-9975-8; T. Gillum, “Adolescent Dating Violence Experiences among Sexual Minority Youth and Implications for Subsequent Relationship Quality,” *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal* 34, no. 2 (2017): 137–145, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-016-0451-7; D. R. Marrow, “Social Work Practice with Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Adolescents,” *Family in Societies* 85, no. 1 (2004): 91–99. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-14
- M. Bulman, “Lesbian Couples Two and a Half Times More Likely to Get Divorced than Male Same-Sex Couples, ONS Figures Reveal,” *Independent*, October 18, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/lesbian-couples-more-likely-divorced-male-same-sex-marriages-uk-ons-figures-a8006741.html. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-15
- For family as kinship and biology, see L. Steel, W. Kidd, and A. Brown, *The Family*, 2nd ed. (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); for family regardless of kinship, see A. P. Edwards, and E. E. Graham, “The Relationship between Individuals’ Definitions of Family and Implicit Personal Theories of Communication,” *Journal of Family Communication* 9, no. 4 (2009): 191–208, https://doi.org/10.1080/15267430903070147. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-16
- J. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-17
- A. B. Becker and M. E. Todd, “A New American Family? Public Opinion toward Family Status and Perceptions of the Challenges Faced by Children of Same-Sex Parents,” *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 9, no. 5 (2013): 425–448. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-18
- B. Powell, C. Bolzendahl, C. Geist, and L. C. Steelman, *Counted Out: Same-Sex Relations and Americans’ Definitions of Family* (New York: Russell Sage, 2010), 26. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-19
- K. E. Hull and T. A. Ortyl, “Conventional and Cutting-Edge: Definitions of Family in LGBT Communities,” *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 16 (2019): 33; for family and its functional characteristics, see Powell et al., *Counted Out*. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-20
- M. K. Nelson, “Whither Fictive Kin? Or, What’s in a Name?,” *Journal of Family Issues* 35, no. 2 (2014): 201–222; D. Braithwaite, B. W. Bach, L. Baxter, R. DiVerniero, J. Hammonds, A. Hosek, E. Willer, et al., “Constructing Family: A Typology of Voluntary Kin,” *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 27, no. 3 (2010): 388–407. See also P. H. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000). 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-21
- K. L. Blair and C. F. Pukall. “Family Matters, but Sometimes Chosen Family Matters More: Perceived Social Network Influence in the Dating Decisions of Same- and Mixed-Sex Couples,” *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* 24 (2015), https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=HRCA&u=nysl_oweb&id=GALE|A441585157&v=2.1&it=r&sid=googleScholar&asid=f32e263b. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-22
- Nelson, “Whither Fictive Kin?”; Braithwaite et al., “Constructing Family.” 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-23
- A. Stein, “What’s the Matter with Newark? Race, Class, Marriage Politics, and the Limits of Queer Liberalism,” in *The Marrying Kind? Debating Same-Sex Marriage within the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, ed. M. Bernstein and V. Taylor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 39–65. For more on chosen families, see K. Weston, *Families We Choose:*

Lesbians, Gays, Kinship (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-24

- P. A. Thomas, H. Liu, and D. Umberson, "Family Relationships and Well-Being," *Innovation in Aging* 1, no. 3 (2017), https://doi.org/10.1093/geroni/igx025; P. Symister, and R. Friend, "The Influence of Social Support and Problematic Support on Optimism and Depression in Chronic Illness: A Prospective Study Evaluating Self-Esteem as a Mediator," *Health Psychology* 22, no. 2 (2003): 123–129. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-25
- C. Ryan, D. Huebner, R. M. Diaz, and J. Sanchez, "Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes in White and Latino Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Young Adults," *Pediatrics* 123, no. 1 (2009): 346–352. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-26
- C. Ryan, S. T. Russell, D. Huebner, R. Diaz, and J. Sanchez, "Family Acceptance in Adolescence and the Health of LGBT Young Adults," *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing* 23, no. 4 (2010): 205–213. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-27
- For negative feelings associated with sexual orientation, see B. A. Feinstein, L. Wadsworth, J. Davila, and M. R. Goldfried, "Do Parental Acceptance and Family Support Moderate Associations between Dimensions of Minority Stress and Depressive Symptoms among Lesbians and Gay Men?," *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 45, no. 4 (2014): 239–246, https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035393; for accepting families of LGBTQ+ youth, see H. R. Bregman, N. M. Malik, M. J. L. Page, E. Makynen, and K. M. Lindahl, "Identity Profiles in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youth: The Role of Family Influences," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 42, no. 3 (2013): 417–430, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-012-9798-z; for less internalized homophobia, see A. R. D'Augelli, A. H. Grossman, M. T. Starks, and K. O. Sinclair, "Factors Associated with Parents' Knowledge of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Youths' Sexual Orientation," *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 6, no. 2 (2010): 178–198; for higher self-esteem and so on, see Ryan et al., "Family Acceptance in Adolescence and the Health of LGBT Young Adults"; for support from family, see S. L. Katz-Wise, M. Rosario, and M. Tsappis, "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth and Family Acceptance," *Pediatric Clinics of North America* 63, no. 6 (2016): 1011–1025, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pcl.2016.07.005; and for effects across the lifespan, see E.-M. Merz, N. S. Consedine, H.-J. Schulze, and C. Schuengel, "Well-Being of Adult Children and Ageing Parents: Associations with Intergenerational Support and Relationship Quality," *Ageing and Society* 29 (2009): 783–802, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0144686x09008514. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-28
- Ryan et al., "Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes in White and Latino Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Young Adults." 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-29
- For the importance of siblings, see K. R. Allen and K. A. Roberto, "Family Relationships of Older LGBT Adults," in *Handbook of LGBT Elders*, ed. D. Harley and P. Teaster (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2016); and for grandparents, see K. S. Sherrer, "Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Queer Grandchildren's Disclosure Process with Grandparents," *Journal of Family Issues* 37, no. 6 (2016): 739–764. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-30
- "About PFLAG," PFLAG, accessed April 26, 2021, https://pflag.org/about. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-31
- For challenges to researchers, see D. Umberson, M. B. Thomeer, R. A. Kroeger, A. C. Lodge, and M. Xu, "Challenges and Opportunities for Research on Same-Sex Relationships," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 77 (2015): 96–111, https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12155; for the Supreme Court ruling on same-sex marriage, see Obergefell v. Hodges (No. 14-556) (U.S. June 26, 2015); and for shifting relationship formation, see L. A. Peplau and A. W. Fingerhut, "The Close Relationships of Lesbians and Gay Men," *Annual Review of Psychology* 58 (2007): 405–424. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-32
- K. Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Policies," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, no. 1 (1989): 139–167. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-33
- For motivations, see D. Langdridge, P. Sheeran, and K. Connolly, "Understanding the Reasons for Parenthood," *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology* 23, no. 2 (2005): 121–133; and W. B. Miller, "Childbearing Motivations, Desires, and Intentions: A Theoretical Framework," *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs* 120, no. 2 (1994): 223–258, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/8045374; for a need to feel complete, see C. R. Newton, M. T. Hearn, A. A. Yuzpe, and M. Houle, "Motives for Parenthood and Response to Failed In Vitro Fertilization: Implications for Counseling," *Journal of Assisted Reproduction and Genetics* 9, no. 1 (1992): 24–31; and for gay fathers' motivations, see A. E. Goldberg, J. B.

Downing, and A. M. Moyer, “Why Parenthood, and Why Now? Gay Men’s Motivations for Pursuing Parenthood,” *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies* 61, no. 1 (2012): 157–174. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-34

- G. J. Gates, *Demographics of Married and Unmarried Same-Sex Couples: Analyses of the 2013 American Community Survey* (Los Angeles, CA: Williams Institute, 2015), https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Demographics-Same-Sex-Couples-ACS2013-March-2015.pdf. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-35
- G. J. Gates, “Marriage and Family: LGBT Individuals and Same-Sex Couples,” *Future of Children* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 67–87, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43581973. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-36
- Gates, “Marriage and Family.” 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-37
- K. Davies, “Adult Daughters Whose Mothers Come Out Later in Life: What Is the Psychosocial Impact?,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 12, nos. 2–3 (2008): 255–263, https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160802161422; L. Rowello, “How LGBTQ Parents Can Handle Coming Out to Their Children,” *Washington Post*, October 9, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/2020/10/09/parents-come-out/. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-38
- Davies, “Adult Daughters Whose Mothers Come Out Later in Life.” 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-39
- Rowello, “How LGBTQ Parents Can Handle Coming Out.” 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-40
- Lambda Legal, “FAQ about Transgender Parenting,” accessed April 26, 2021, https://www.lambdalegal.org/know-your-rights/article/trans-parenting-faq. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-41
- C. Bergeson, A. Bermea, J. Bible, K. Matera, B. van Eeden-Moorfield, and M. Jushak, “Pathways to Successful Queer Stepfamily Formation,” *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 16, no. 4 (2020): 368–384, https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2019.1673866; A. M. Bermea, B. van Eeden-Moorefield, J. Bible, and R. E. Petren, “Undoing Normativities and Creating Family: A Queer Stepfamily Experience,” *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 15, no. 4 (2019): 357–372; J. M. Lynch and K. Murray, “For the Love of the Children: The Coming Out Process for Lesbian and Gay Parents and Stepparents,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 39, no. 1 (2000): 1–24, https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v39n01_01; M. R. Moore, “Gendered Power Relations among Women: A Study of Household Decision Making in Black, Lesbian Families,” *American Sociological Review* 73, no. 2 (2008): 335–356. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-42
- C. J. Patterson and R. E. Redding, “Lesbian and Gay Families with Children: Implications of Social Science Research for Policy,” *Journal of Social Issues* 52, no. 3 (1996): 29–43. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-43
- C. J. Patterson, “Children of Lesbian and Gay Parents,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 15 (2006): 241, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2006.00444.x. See also C. J. Patterson and J. L. Wainright, “Adolescents with Same-Sex Parents: Findings from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health,” in *Adoption by Lesbians and Gay Men: A New Dimension in Family Diversity*, ed. D. Brodzinsky and A. Pertman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 85–110; C. J. Patterson, “Children of Lesbian and Gay Parents,” *Child Development* 63 (1992): 1025–1042; and C. J. Patterson, “Children of the Lesbian Baby Boom: Behavioral Adjustment, Self-Concepts, and Sex-Role Identity,” in *Contemporary Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Psychology: Theory, Research and Application*, ed. B. Greene and G. Herek (Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE, 1994), 156–175. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-44
- N. Anderssen, C. Amlie, and E. A. Ytteroy, “Outcomes for Children with Lesbian or Gay Parents: A Review of Studies from 1978 to 2000,” *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 43 (2002): 335–351. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-45
- For prejudice influencing court decisions, see Patterson and Redding, “Lesbian and Gay Families with Children”; for research establishing the fitness of LGBTQ+ parents, see C. J. Patterson, “Parental Sexual Orientation, Social Science Research, and Child Custody Decisions,” in *The Scientific Basis of Child Custody Decisions*, 2nd ed., ed. R. M. Galatzer-Levy, L. Kraus, and J. Galatzer-Levy (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2009); and for Patterson as expert witness, see Shelby Frame, “Charlotte Patterson, at the Forefront of LGBTQ Family Studies,” June 26, 2017, American Psychological Association, https://www.apa.org/members/content/patterson-lgbtq-research. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-46

- R. Githens, “Capitalism, Identity Politics, and Queerness Converge: LGBT Employee Resource Groups,” *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development* 23, no. 3 (2009): 18–31. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-47
- For the most recent index, see Human Rights Campaign, “Corporate Equality Index,” https://www.hrc.org/campaigns/corporate-equality-index. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-48
- Githens, “Capitalism, Identity Politics, and Queerness Converge,” 18. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-49
- C. A. Rimmerman, *The Lesbian and Gay Movements: Assimilation or Liberation?* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 12. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-50
- United States v. Windsor, 570 U.S. 744 (2013); *Obergefell* (2015). 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-51
- Movement Advancement Project, 2019, https://www.lgbtmap.org/. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-52
- A. E. Goldberg, *Lesbian and Gay Parents and Their Children: Research on the Family Life Cycle* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2010); S. Golombok and S. Badger, “Children Raised in Mother-Headed Families from Infancy: A Follow-Up of Children of Lesbian and Single Heterosexual Mothers, at Early Adulthood,” *Human Reproduction* 25(2010): 150–157; J. G. Pawelski, E. C. Perrin, J. M. Foy, et al., “The Effects of Marriage, Civil Union, and Domestic Partnership Laws on the Health and Well-Being of Children,” *Pediatrics* 118, no. 1 (2006): 349–364. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-53
- E. C. Perrin, B. S. Siegel, and Committee on Psychosocial Aspects of Child and Family Health of the American Academy of Pediatrics, “Promoting the Well-Being of Children Whose Parents Are Gay or Lesbian, *Pediatrics* 131 (2013): 1374–1383. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-54
- N. K. Park, E. Kazyak, and K. Slauson-Blevins, “How Law Shapes Experiences of Parenthood for Same-Sex Couples,” *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 12 (2016): 115–137. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-55
- A. L. Johnson, “Counseling the Polyamorous Client: Implications for Competent Practice,” *VISTAS Online*, American Counseling Association Professional Information/Library, article 50. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-56
- R. Chapman, R. Watkins, T. Zappia, P. Nicol, and L. Shields, “Nursing and Medical Students’ Attitude, Knowledge and Beliefs Regarding Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Parents Seeking Health Care for Their Children,” *Journal of Clinical Nursing* 21 (2012): 938–945. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-57
- S. Morrison and S. Dinkel, “Heterosexism and Health Care: A Concept Analysis,” *Nursing Forum* 47 (2012): 123–130. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-58
- S. D. Erdley, D. D. Anklam, and C. Reardon, “Breaking Barriers and Building Bridges: Understanding the Pervasive Needs of Older LGBT Adults and the Value of Social Work in Health Care,” *Journal of Gerontological Social Work* 57, nos. 2–4 (2014): 362–385, https://doi.org/10.1080/01634372.2013.871381. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-59
- K. M. Hash and F. E. Netting, “Long-Term Planning and Decision-Making among Midlife and Older Gay Men,” *Journal of Social Work in End-of-Life and Palliative Care* 3 (2007): 59–77. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-60
- S. Brown, S. Smalling, V. Groza, and S. Ryan, “The Experiences of Gay Men and Lesbians in Becoming and Being Adoptive Parents,” *Adoption Quarterly* 12, nos. 3/4 (2009): 229–246. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-61
- Brown et al., “The Experiences of Gay Men and Lesbians in Becoming and Being Adoptive Parents.” 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-62
- C. J. Patterson, R. G. Riskind, and S. L. Tornello, “Sexual Orientation and Parenting: A Global Perspective,” in *Contemporary Issues in Family Studies: Global Perspectives on Partnerships, Parenting, and Support in a Changing World*, ed. A. Abela and J. Walker (New York: Wiley/Blackwell, 2014), https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118320990.ch13; for the uncertain legal landscape, see E. Kazyakand and M. Stange, “Backlash or a Positive Response? Public Opinion of LGB Issues after Obergefell v. Hodges,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 65, no. 14 (2018): 2028–2052; and S. Miller, “3 Years after Same-Sex

Marriage Ruling, Protections for LGBT Families Undermined," *USA Today*, June 4, 2018, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2018/06/04/same-sex-marriage-ruling-undermined-gay-parents/650112002/. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-63

- See, e.g., L. Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-64
- J. Bardos, D. Hercz, J. Friedenthal, S. A. Missmer, and Z. Williams, "A National Survey on Public Perceptions of Miscarriage," *Obstetrics and Gynecology* 125, no. 6 (June 2015): 1313–1320, https://doi.org/10.1097/AOG.0000000000000859. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-65
- Child Welfare Information Gateway, *Adoption Disruption and Dissolution* (Washington, DC: Children's Bureau, June 2012), https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubPDFs/s_disrup.pdf. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-66
- These stories are based on interviews Craven conducted between 2011 and 2014 and are adapted from Christa Craven, *Reproductive Losses: Challenges to LGBTQ Family-Making* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Christa Craven and Elizabeth Peel, "Stories of Grief and Hope: Queer Experiences of Reproductive Loss," in *Queering Maternity and Motherhood: Narrative and Theoretical Perspectives on Queer Conception, Birth and Parenting*, ed. M. F. Gibson (Bradford, ON: Demeter Press, 2014), 97–110; and Christa Craven and Elizabeth Peel, "Queering Reproductive Loss: Exploring Grief and Memorialization," in *Interrogating Pregnancy Loss: Feminist Writings on Abortion, Miscarriage, and Stillbirth*, ed. Emma R. M. Lind and Angie Deveau (Bradford, ON: Demeter Press, 2017), 225–245. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. 5.01: Chapter 8- LGBTQ Relationships and Families#return-footnote-121-67
- National LGBT Bar Association Commission on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, "Report to the House of Delegates" (Washington, DC: American Bar Association, 2019), https://nacmnet.org/wp-content/uploads/ABA-Resolution-113-002.pdf.

This page titled 8.7: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.1: Chapter 8- LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families** by Sarah R. Young is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

8.8: Deep Dive - Books

***Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship*, by Kath Weston**

This classic book was first published in 1991 by the anthropologist Kath Weston. On the basis of interviews and participant observation with lesbians and gay men in the San Francisco Bay Area, the book articulated for the first time how LGBTQ+ people were creating families of their own. The book was revised and updated in 1997 (New York: Columbia University Press).

***Gay Fatherhood: Narratives of Family and Citizenship in America*, by Ellen Lewin**

This ethnography, written by an anthropologist, tells the story of how gay men in America have chosen to become fathers and the issues they confront during this journey. The book explores the decision to become a parent for gay men; how that decision affects their relationships with extended families and religious, racial, and ethnic communities; and how they reconcile their gay identity with their daily lives as parents (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

***Invisible Families: Gay Identities, Relationships, and Motherhood among Black Women*, by M.C. Moore**

The first book focused on African American lesbians and the families they create, this book gives visibility to families headed by Black lesbians and has provided the research design, survey instrument, and interview questions to conduct future research on Black and non-Black LGBTQ+ families of color (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

***The Kids: The Children of LGBTQ Parents in the USA*, by Gabriela Herman**

One in a groundbreaking series supported by the Arcus Foundation about LGBTQ+ communities around the world, this book displays images by an award-winning photographer and recounts personal experiences of over fifty children of LGBTQ+ parents. These children describe the impact of having LGBTQ+ parents on their lives and value systems. Excerpts from the book are available at https://thekids.gabrielaherman.com/ (New York: New Press, 2017).

***Queer Kinship and Family Change in Taiwan*, by Amy Brainer**

Brainer is an anthropologist who investigated the experiences of Taiwanese families from the perspective of queer and trans informants, as well as their siblings, parents, and other family members. She analyzes the strategies that families use to navigate their internal differences and the broader social, cultural, and political contexts within which these struggles and celebrations occur. This book is an important contribution to the literature on queer kinship from an anthropological perspective (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2019).

***The Right to Be Parents: LGBT Families and the Transformation of Parenthood*, by Carlos A. Ball**

Ball is the first author with a legal background to describe court cases involving gay and lesbian parents and custody of their biological or adopted children. Using research from sociologists and psychologists that lawyers use in court, Ball defends the right to parenthood for LGBTQ+ people (New York: New York University Press. 2014).

***To Survive on This Shore: Photographs and Interviews with Transgender and Gender Nonconforming Older Adults*, by Jess T. Dugan and Vanessa Fabbre**

Transgender and nonbinary older adults in this visual exhibit, from 2018 with a second edition in 2019, they share their stories about the role that their gender identity played while growing up, forming intimate relationships, and choosing to create families of their own or not. Because the population of older LGBTQ+ people is often overlooked when discussing family and relationships, this is a valuable resource for those engaged in gerontology studies as well as in child and family studies. Visit the companion website at https://www.tosurviveonthisshore.com/portraits (Heidelberg, Germany: Kehrer Verlag).

***Transgender Parenting: A Review of Existing Research*, by Rebecca L. Stotzer, Jody L. Herman, and Amira Hasenbush**

This first comprehensive analysis of research studies on transgender parents contains fifty-one studies that focus on LGBTQ+ civil rights and legal representation. Although more research is needed on the many facets of transgender and nonbinary parenting, this is a solid starting point for anyone doing academic research on the topic (Los Angeles, CA: Williams Institute, 2014; https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3rp0v7qv).

This page titled 8.8: Deep Dive - Books is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.1: Chapter 8- LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families** by Sarah R. Young is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Describe the connections between identities and embodied experiences.
  - Recognize the steps of coming out and the range of responses for gender and sexuality identities.
- Describe how people struggle for social justice within historical contexts of inequality.
  - Differentiate between the components making schools supportive and inclusive and those needing improvements.
  - Assess resources for LGBTQ+ youth facing discrimination, oppression, and marginalization.
- Describe intersectionality from an LGBTQ+ perspective.
  - Analyze how key social institutions shape, define, and enforce structures of inequality.
  - Identify health and education disparities for minoritized gender and sexuality identities.

9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
9.2: Family Support or Rejection
9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
9.5: Research Resources
9.6: Glossary
9.7: Footnotes

This page titled 9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Kimberly Fuller.

9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing

Introduction

Youth spend the majority of their lives involved in schools and associated activities. Concurrent with **social and emotional development,** LGBTQ+ youths' **sexual and gender identities are evolving.** Some LGBTQ+ youth face challenges with underrepresentation in school curricula; lack of educational programming; and discrimination, harassment, and oppression by peers, teachers, and parents. However, with the changing cultural narrative toward acceptance, LGBTQ+ youth are finding more than ever before environments that are accepting, access to services tailored to LGBTQ+ youth, and opportunities to connect with **other youth through clubs, organizations, and other youth programming.** This chapter focuses on the current social and educational barriers to healthy LGBTQ+ youth development, such as inequities and injustice, on LGBTQ+ youths' resiliency and on the role of supportive adults in facilitating positive youth development.

LGBTQ+ persons experience significant growth and development through youth and adolescence. Many of the important milestones, including identity recognition, **coming out, and transitioning, can occur during these years.** Positive family, educator, and peer responses toward LGBTQ+ youth can set the framework for healthy development, whereas rejection can lead to negative mental, emotional, and physical health and educational outcomes. This chapter describes identity development for LGBTQ+ individuals, family response, **the impact of educational establishments on development,** inclusive school practices, and other important aspects of the lives of youth and adolescents (figure 9.1). Each aspect of development and each environmental and social system within the lives of LGBTQ+ youth can become a protective factor at a time when acceptance is still evolving throughout the United States.



Figure 9.1. LGBTQ+ teens supporting one another. (Unsplash license, Shingi Rice.)

Identity Disclosure

Youth are socialized from a young age through the lens of **heteronormativity and cisnormativity,** or the view that everyone is heterosexual and straight, which creates difficult conditions for LGBTQ+ students. From as early as elementary school, youth are taught that anything outside heterosexuality equates to being bad and that the romantic relationships LGBTQ+ youth have are abnormal.[1] Because society makes the presumption that all youth are cisgender and heterosexual, youth are often burdened with having to disclose their identities to others, **historically referred to as coming out.** Identity disclosure is different for sexual minority, transgender, and gender-nonconforming youth; their evolution of identity and disclosure of it can be a vastly different experience from that of others. Sexual- and gender-minority development and disclosure are described later in the chapter.

LGBTQ+ Demographics

Youth and adolescents acknowledge their sexual orientation and disclose it to others earlier than ever before. **Youth initially recognize they are attracted to another person of the same gender at about age 10.** Estimates show some understanding their identities as young as 7, with the average age at around 13.4. With increased visibility of LGBTQ+ persons in mainstream culture, it is likely these ages are becoming younger.[2]

Approximately 2 percent of youth identify as gay or lesbian, 6 percent as bisexual, 3 percent as not sure of their sexual identity, and 2–3 percent as transgender or gender nonconforming. **These labels stay consistent into early adulthood.** Approximately 3 percent of young adults ages eighteen to twenty-six describe themselves as exclusively or mostly homosexual or bisexual, **with more females (3.4 percent) than males (2.6 percent) identifying as LGBTQ+.** Conservative estimates report 3.5 percent of adults, or approximately nine million people, in the United States identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual.[3]

Two studies have been conducted on the rates of identity disclosure to parents of LGBTQ+ youth in the United States. Both studies reported more than half **(56 percent and 59 percent) of the LGBTQ+ youth studied were out to their families.** Coming out can be challenging for LGBTQ+ youth. Many sexual minority youth who have not come out (30 percent) report that the most frequent obstacle to coming out is fear that their family may not be accepting of them or even that their family has been openly discriminatory. A small proportion (19 percent) state that they are not sure how their families would react, and 10 percent state that they are not ready to come out. Some youth, however, **resist identity-based labels and perceive disclosing their sexuality as unimportant.**[4]

Transgender or Nonbinary Identity Disclosure and Demographics

As of 2022, an estimated 300,00, or 1.4 percent, of U.S. youth ages thirteen to seventeen identify as transgender. Youth in this age group were significantly more likely to identify as transgender than adults age 65 or older, and constitute 18% of the national transgender-identified population. The study found that **young people identify as transgender at different rates in different states;** estimates ranged from 3.0% in New York to 0.6% in Wyoming. The study also found that White people were less likely to identify as transgender than Latinx people, American Indian or Alaska Native, and biracial/multiracial groups. [5]

A 2018 report by the Human Rights Campaign found only 21 percent of transgender and gender-expansive youth to be out to their parents, and 33 percent of youth were considering whom to disclose to in their family and how to manage these relationships after disclosure (figure 9.2). In 2018, nearly half (41 percent) of all transgender and **gender-expansive youth** had at least one parent to whom they have come out. Research suggests concern over **family response is a barrier to coming out.** Although both mothers and fathers were anticipated by their child to act negatively to a disclosure at least half the time, fathers are more likely to respond negatively than mothers (63 percent vs. 54 percent).[6]

Research has found that youth begin to understand the concept of **gender identity as early as ages one and two.** In these earlier stages, youth start to internalize the physical differences (penis, vulva, breasts) between genders. At these ages, children do not necessarily have a full grasp of their own identity or what it means to identify as a certain gender, but they begin to understand what those parts of a body symbolize. **By age three, children can label their own gender, and by four they feel quite certain about their gender identity.** All children during these years before puberty explore their gender presentation and expression and experiment with toys typical to their gender or of the “opposite” gender. By the time youth reach five to six years of age, they adopt rules about what it means to be a certain gender and what will be accepted by others. **By age seven, youth feel a sense of gender constancy and may begin fantasizing about being another gender or having different physical characteristics to align with their identity.**[7]



Figure **9.1.1**: Someone holding a sign that says "Protect Trans Kids" at a 2018 Capital Pride Parade, Washington, DC . (CC BY-SA; Ted Eytan via Wikimedia)

Gender-nonconforming youth may then try to reconcile the differences between their sex assigned at birth and their gender identity by making subtle changes to their dress and social appearance. They may alter styles, wearing more masculine or feminine clothing, and use different names or pronouns. Allowing youth to socially transition, or begin to live according to **their true gender identity,** can have very positive effects. It can reduce their distress and dysphoria, and it can reduce the likelihood of

developing depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, suicidal ideation and attempts, self-harm, isolation, homelessness, and incarceration.[8]

Read

In 2013, the Pew Research Center conducted a survey of 1,197 LGBTQ+ adults about their perceptions of society's acceptance of LGBTQ+ issues and about their experiences of prejudice and discrimination. The study focuses on lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals, but it also contains important information on transgender Americans and LGBTQ+ people of color. Access the Pew Research Center's survey results. (www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/06/13/a-survey-of-lgbt-americans/)

- What are three of your main takeaways from the survey? What surprised you, and what did not surprise you?
- Why is it important for parents and educators to understand the ages at which children and youth begin to understand their own sexuality and gender?
- What are some of the differences among the experiences of gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals? What about LGBTQ+ people of color versus white LGBTQ+ people? What social structures might help explain those differences?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Which of the following is NOT mentioned as a challenge faced by LGBTQ+ youth in schools?

A) Underrepresentation in school curricula
B) Lack of educational programming
C) Discrimination and harassment
D) Guaranteed access to supportive services

2. What is described as a protective factor for LGBTQ+ youth during their development?A) Rejection by family and peers
B) Positive responses from family, educators, and peers
C) Lack of inclusive school practices
D) Absence of youth programming

3. According to the chapter, what can negative family, educator, and peer responses lead to for LGBTQ+ youth?|
A) Improved academic performance
B) Negative mental, emotional, and physical health outcomes
C) Increased access to clubs and organizations
D) Early identity recognition

4. Which milestone is commonly experienced by LGBTQ+ youth during adolescence?
A) retirement
B) identity recognition and coming out
C) marriage
D) career advancement

5. What role do supportive adults play in the lives of LGBTQ+ youth, according to the chapter?
A) They act as barriers to development.
B) They facilitate positive youth development.
C) They enforce strict gender norms.
D) They discourage participation in youth programming.

Discussion Questions

1. How does early socialization through heteronormativity and cis-normativity affect LGBTQ+ youth in educational settings?
2. In what ways can schools create more inclusive and supportive environments for LGBTQ+ students?
3. Discuss the role of family, educators, and peers in the healthy development of LGBTQ+ youth. What are some positive and negative impacts?

4. Why might some LGBTQ+ youth choose not to label their identities or disclose them to others? How should educators and peers respond to this choice?
5. What are the potential mental and emotional health outcomes for LGBTQ+ youth who experience rejection versus those who are supported in their identity development?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. D) Guaranteed access to supportive services
2. B) Positive responses from family, educators, and peers
3. B) Negative mental, emotional, and physical health outcomes
4. B) identity recognition and coming out
5. B) They facilitate positive youth development.

This page titled 9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.2: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ+ Youth** by Kimberly Fuller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

9.2: Family Support or Rejection

Family Support

LGBTQ+ youth whose families have supported them **(e.g., showing warmth, enjoying time together, having closeness) have a greater likelihood of positive health outcomes,** including healthy self-esteem, general good health, and social support (figure 9.3). Family support is also a protective factor against negative health outcomes in early adulthood, such as depression, suicidal ideation, and substance abuse. Family support has been demonstrated to have a **lifelong impact on adult development,** quality of life, and reduction of victimization and to improve physical and mental health, including in older adults. Trans youth have also reported long-lasting positive effects from family support; **72 percent of trans youth with parental support** reported being more satisfied with their lives than those without (33 percent). These same youth reported more consistent (70 percent) **positive mental health outcomes** than those whose parents were not supportive (15 percent).[9]



Figure 9.3. Individuals and families show their support during a pride parade. (Unsplash license, Jakayla Toney.)

Family Rejection

A majority of research on LGBTQ+ youth and their families, however, has emphasized the negative outcomes of family rejection. Rejection is associated with higher levels of emotional distress, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts. In fact, LGBTQ+ youth whose parents were frequently rejecting during adolescence reported a rate of suicide attempts that was more than eight times that of those with accepting parents. Research also suggests the adolescent and young adult LGBTQ+ community experiences increased homelessness as a result of family rejection, particularly for youth of color. Upon disclosure of sexual orientation, some parents decide to eject their children from the house, forcing them to live with other family members, in friends' homes, in foster care, in homeless shelters, or on the streets. Of the two million homeless youth in 2014 in the United States, 20–40 percent identify as LGBTQ+. Homeless LGBTQ+ youth may suffer even more negative health outcomes than those not displaced from home.[10]

PFLAG

PFLAG is a national organization begun in 1973 by Jeanne Manford to support parents and loved ones of LGBTQ+ people. Formerly called Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays, PFLAG has evolved over time to be **inclusive of all LGBTQ+ persons and families.** It advocates on behalf of all LGBTQ+ people and also provides a space for loved ones and youth to come together to talk about challenges associated with coming out, **affirmatively raising LGBTQ+ children, and respecting and valuing all.**[11]

LGBTQ+ Youth and Education

Youth spend more than 50 percent of their waking hours in schools. Schools play an important part in the development of youths' social skills, **educational growth, and cognitive development.** The climate of schools can shape the experiences that LGBTQ+ students have throughout their lives and contribute to the overall well-being of their mental health. The experiences and outcomes of **LGBTQ+ students from supportive schools show stark differences from those students from schools that are neutral or rejecting** (figure 9.4).

Visit

Representatives from twenty-one U.S. federal agencies that support programs and services focusing on youth created the website Youth.gov. Read about the experiences of LGBTQ+ youth in schools across the United States, and explore some of the resources provided on the School Environment page of the Youth.gov website. (https://youth.gov/youth-topics/school-environment)

- Think about your experiences in kindergarten through twelfth grade or the experiences of a young person you know well. How would you describe the atmosphere for LGBTQ+ students in that school?
- The website reports high levels of harassment of LGBTQ+ students in schools. Was that your experience too?
- Did your school use any of the strategies discussed? If so, which of the strategies worked the best? If not, which do you think would have helped?



THIS PICTURE NEEDS TO BE CHANGED AS WELL.

THIS PICTURE NEEDS TO BE CHANGED AS WELL.Figure 9.4. Students at a National Coming Out Day celebration in Seattle, Washington. (CC BY Seattle Parks and Recreation.)

History of LGBTQ+ Inclusivity in Education

In 1984, Project 10, the first support group for LGBTQ+ students in a formal educational system, was started in a Los Angeles high school by **Virginia Uribe,** a teacher and counselor. Uribe experienced significant backlash from community members. Project 10's mission was to create supportive, welcoming, and safe campuses for sexual minority youth. It helped establish the first safe zones and developed training for schools on implementing policy changes to protect youth. Similar efforts began on the East Coast several years later. **GLSEN, formerly the Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network,** was founded in **1990 by a group of teachers in Massachusetts** with a passion for improving the quality of education for LGBTQ+ youth. GLSEN has become a leading national organization for ensuring safe and affirming educational systems for LGBTQ+ youth. Also during the **1990s, the first gay-straight alliance (GSA) was established in Salt Lake City, Utah.** Despite resistance that continues today from the community, administration, and parents, the Salt Lake City GSA persevered, and schools all across the nation slowly began implementing similar support efforts. As of 2015, nearly 60 percent of students reported having GSAs at their school.[12]

GLSEN has been conducting the **National School Climate Survey every year since 2001,** and LGBTQ+ content and resources in schools have been gradually increasing every year. Out of almost eighteen thousand LGBTQ+ students sampled by GLSEN's 2019 National School Climate Survey, about 20 percent reported positive inclusion of LGBTQ+ issues in curricula, most (61.6%) reported that their school had a Gay-Straight Alliance, **Gender-Sexuality Alliance (GSA), or Queer-Straight Alliance (QSA)** or similar club, and 48.9 percent reported access to library materials with information on LGBTQ+ issues (figure 9.5).[13]

State legislation shapes the experience of students in schools. According to a comprehensive survey published in the *Columbia Law Review*, twenty states maintain statutes that "prohibit or restrict the discussion of homosexuality in public schools." Some laws prohibit teachers from "promoting" homosexuality or suggesting that there are safe ways to practice homosexual sex. Others demand that teachers disseminate misinformation, such as "homosexual conduct is a criminal offense" and "homosexual activity [is] primarily responsible for contact with the AIDS virus." This argument has been present in sex education since the 1980s. Policies such as these promote peer discrimination, harassment, and assault of LGBTQ+ youth.[14]



THIS PICTURE HAS TO BE REPLACED IWTH A BETTER ONE

THIS PICTURE HAS TO BE REPLACED IWTH A BETTER ONEFigure 9.5. LGBTQ+ resources in a school library. (CC-BY College Library.)

Sex Education

Since the 1980s, **sexual health education has focused on an abstinence-based, or abstinence-only** until marriage, approach. This approach to sex education promotes sex as an act that occurs between two heterosexual cisgender persons after getting married. Further, same-sex attraction is feared and gender stereotypes are reinforced. Public health organizations and most parents agree that sex education should include discussions of LGBTQ+ identities. Eight-five percent of parents of high schoolers reported wanting sexual orientation discussed in sex education, and **78 percent of middle school parents wanted sexual orientation discussed in sex education.**[15]

In reality, less than 4 percent of LGBTQ+ youth reported **any mention of sexual or gender orientation in their health classes,** and only 12 percent were told about same-gender relationships. The routine omission of LGBTQ+ issues from **sex education curricula constitutes a violation of adolescent human rights.**[16] **It is a violation because it "robs youth of sexual agency by withholding information that is critical to health and well-being."**[17] Whether habitual or deliberate, the omission of LGBTQ+ topics from health curricula implies that sexual and gender fluidity are not part of the natural biological order and are by default unnatural or perverse.[18]

When discussions of LGBTQ+ issues do appear in health textbooks, the language clearly shifts toward LGBTQ+ persons as the Other and makes it seem as though the sexual experiences of LGBTQ+ youth are vastly different from those of heterosexual and cisgender youth.[19] Although LGBTQ+ youth do have some differences in sexual experiences, including information tailored to their needs can help reduce the risk of sexually transmitted infections. **Sex education that affirms LGBTQ+ youth delays the age of first sexual intercourse and reduces**

- **unintended teen pregnancy;**
- **rates of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections;**
- **overall number of sexual partners; and**
- **unprotected sex while increasing condom and contraception use.**[20]

Neutral and Negative Schools

As of 2020, only seventeen states and the District of Columbia had laws specifically addressing the discrimination, harassment, and bullying of students based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Lack of legislation means interpretation of policies is variable and leaves policy development up to individual districts and schools. **Students in schools without policies are at a greater likelihood of experiencing discriminatory practices** and are more likely to fear discrimination and bullying in the future. Even more troubling for LGBTQ+ students, five states (Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas) prohibit presenting any content on LGBTQ+ issues.[21]

Heteronormative socialization becomes more intense as youth age, and earlier exposure to discrimination has been shown to increase the likelihood of victimization for LGBTQ+ youth.[22] A 2015 analysis of the **Youth Behavior Risk Surveillance Survey** found high rates of peer bullying behavior toward LGBTQ+ youth. Of LGBTQ+ students experiencing discriminatory behaviors,

- 10 percent were threatened or injured with a weapon on school property;
- 34 percent were bullied on school property;
- 28 percent were bullied electronically through social media or other sites;

- 23 percent experienced sexual dating violence in the prior year;
- 18 percent experienced physical dating violence; and
- 18 percent were raped at some point in their lives.[23]

A study of transgender youth found even higher rates of discrimination and violence in several areas:

- 25 percent experienced physical bullying;
- 52 percent experienced dating bullying;
- 35 percent experienced bullying specifically due to gender; and
- 47 percent experienced bullying specifically due to gender expression.[24]

School bullying has long-term effects on the mental health and quality of life of LGBTQ+ students. Bullying has been shown to be associated with increased depression, anxiety, and suicidality and decreased self-esteem. Bullying can also affect school outcomes by increasing negative attitudes toward school, truancy, and disciplinary problems while lowering GPAs and decreasing interest in pursuing further education (figure 9.6).[25]



Figure 9.6. The Welsh Assembly Government sponsored the Anti-bullying Respect Tour of 2009. (CC BY-ND Working Word.)

Educators confirm witnessing discriminatory and violent behavior toward LGBTQ+ students in schools, even as early as elementary school. An alarming 70 percent of LGBTQ+ youth heard antigay speech at school (e.g., “That’s so gay, gay; you’re so gay”), 60 percent heard another type of homophobic remark (e.g., “fag” or “dyke”), and 56 percent heard homophobic remarks from their teachers. Additionally, youth heard comments about gender expression from peers at least 60 percent of the time and from teachers and school staff 71 percent of the time. Many of these behaviors go unnoticed and undocumented. In fact, some educators (between 31 and 42 percent) fail to recognize harassment by other students, such as the use of the word “fag” or the phrase “that’s so gay,” and do not intervene appropriately when it arises. Forty-seven percent of LGBTQ+ students who reported homophobic harassment to a teacher or support staff and over 90 percent of students who heard gender expression discrimination **never saw the school staff intervene.** Fifty-seven percent of LGBTQ+ youth never reported harassment and assault, because of fear of inaction by the school. Bullying isn’t exclusive to fellow students in schools. Forty-four percent of educators reported hearing other school staff make derogatory comments about or toward LGBTQ+ students, **with the highest prevalence of educator bullying and harassment occurring in middle school.**[26]

Explore

GLSEN’s policy maps (www.glsen.org/policy-maps) provide a comprehensive overview of state laws that affirm nondiscrimination or protect transgender, nonbinary, and gender-nonconforming students.

- Find the state where you live or where you grew up on each of the maps; what kinds of protections does this state offer for kindergarten through grade twelve students?
- What are the differences between how states treat sexual orientation and gender identity? What trends do you see?
- Explore other parts of the GLSEN website and pick one resource you find most compelling. Why is this important to you?



Figure 9.7. The Capital TransPride on May 20, 2017, in Washington, D.C. was hosted by the Studio Theatre. (CC-BY-SA Ted Eytan.)

Michigan, Maine, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania have ruled that discriminating against transgender students is a violation of Title IX, which prohibits sex discrimination in schools.[27]

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What is a major protective factor against negative health outcomes for LGBTQ+ youth?
A) family support
B) school neutrality
C) peer rejection
D) lack of resources

2. What percentage of trans youth with parental support reported being more satisfied with their lives?
A) 33%
B) 72%
C) 15%
D) 48%

3. Which organization was founded in 1990 to improve education for LGBTQ+ youth?
A) PFLAG
B) Project 10
C) GLSEN
D) GSA

4. What is a consequence of family rejection for LGBTQ+ youth?
A) increased self-esteem
B) lower rates of homelessness
C) higher rates of emotional distress and suicide attempts
D) improved school performance

Answer: C) Higher rates of emotional distress and suicide attempts

5. As of 2015, what percentage of students reported having a Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) at their school?
A) 20%
B) 33%
C) 48%%
D) 60%

Discussion Questions

How does family support impact the long-term health and well-being of LGBTQ+ youth?

1. What are the effects of school climate on the experiences and outcomes of LGBTQ+ students?
2. Why is the presence of organizations like GLSEN and PFLAG important for LGBTQ+ youth and their families?
3. How do laws restricting the discussion of LGBTQ+ topics in schools affect students and school environments?
4. In what ways can schools and families work together to create safer and more supportive environments for LGBTQ+ youth?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. A) family support
2. B) 72%
3. C) GLSEN
4. C) higher rates of emotional distress and suicide attempts
5. D) 60%

This page titled 9.2: Family Support or Rejection is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.2: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ+ Youth** by Kimberly Fuller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education

Laws in some states enforce inclusivity of LGBTQ+ issues across the curriculum. California, for instance, has implemented new legislation supporting inclusion of LGBTQ+ themes in the classroom. **The Fair, Accurate, Inclusive, and Respectful (FAIR) Education Act was enacted in early 2012**. It mandates an inclusive and nondiscriminatory curriculum, including LGBTQ+ historical events (such as the Stonewall rebellion). The act was passed to curb LGBTQ+ suicides and alleviate bullying.[28]

Other states shortly followed suit. **New York and Washington** adopted more inclusive laws for their school districts that took effect July 2012.[29] The **Dignity for All Students Act** requires public school boards in both states to include language regarding sexual orientation and gender expression in their curricula and school policies. A similar law passed in early **2019 requires all New Jersey schools to teach LGBTQ+ history and achievements across the curriculum.**

An additional level of protection exists for transgender students that is based on federal law. **The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act** prohibits schools from disclosing a student's transgender status. Additionally, the law allows youth to amend school records if information is "inaccurate, misleading, or in violation of the student's rights of privacy," which enables students to change their name and gender marker on their transcripts.[30] The Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health and Human Services can investigate complaints made by students and parents. In cases of discrimination, the **Department of Education** can sue the school district and deny federal funding.[31]

Supportive Schools

Over the last several decades, with sociocultural changes across the United States toward greater LGBTQ+ acceptance, schools have increasingly become more positive spaces for youth, some more than others. Positive schools typically have several key assets, including an environment where youth interact with **caring and accepting educators and staff.** Other assets include supportive school groups, inclusive curricula, and c**omprehensive policies** to reduce school harassment and bullying. Supportive schools make it a standard policy for all youth to be more accepting and inclusive of LGBTQ+ students and are less likely to tolerate discriminatory and violent behavior between students. **LGBTQ+ students in more supportive environments** are less likely to have depression and suicidal ideation, use drugs, and be truant.[32]

The Role of Educators and Other Support Staff

Educators play an integral role in healthy youth development and increase feelings of safety for LGBTQ+ students. When cisgender and heterosexual teachers become allies of LGBTQ+ students and advocate for and support them, these students increase their **academic achievement and their quality of life.** Some educators even advance their allyship further and mentor students, sponsor LGBTQ+ student organizations, connect LGBTQ+ students to community resources, and openly advocate for inclusion despite consequences imposed by employers (e.g., probation or loss of employment). **Studies on transgender youth** have found that when school staff are more supportive, trans youth feel safer because the teachers are more likely to stop harassment when they see it. Including material on LGBTQ+ lives in course content, such as sex education, can have a large impact on the **mental and emotional well-being of LGBTQ+ youth.**[33]

The Teacher Behind America's 1st LGBT Program: Fearless

Virginia Uribe, a retired teacher and counselor in the Los Angeles Unified School District, started Project 10, the first LGBTQ+ support program for students. On a 2015 episode of the MSNBC web series *Fearless* (https://youtu.be/-QFEL5rh4UQ), she describes the obstacles she faced when she founded the program in 1984 and some of the lessons she learned. Uribe has earned numerous awards for her work on behalf of LGBTQ+ youth.



- Why was Project 10 such an important organization?
- Who were her early allies and advocates, and who was unable to support the project—or even attacked it? Why?
- What can we learn from comparing the environment that Uribe worked in during the late 1980s and early 1990s with the environment for LGBTQ+ youth now?

LGBTQ+ Clubs

LGBTQ+ clubs, originally known as gay-straight alliances, are school-based organizations that enhance the school community for LGBTQ+ youth and their allies and are often advised by an allied or self-identifying teacher at the school. LGBTQ+ clubs **promote advocacy,** encourage youth leadership, and allow youths to socialize in a supportive and nondiscriminatory environment. **Developed in Massachusetts during the 1980s,** LGBTQ+ clubs originally focused on the needs of sexual minority youth. **National organizations, such as the GSA Network and GLSEN,** and several state-focused organizations were influential in spreading LGBTQ+ clubs to more schools across the United States (figure 9.8). More recently, with the increasing emphasis on the needs of transgender youth, groups have been adjusting their focus to include **the needs and rights of gender minority students in their missions.** Some groups, for example, have altered their names to Gender-Sexuality Alliance or even Queer Student Alliance to encompass a broad spectrum of identities.[34]

Having LGBTQ+ clubs in school is one of the largest protective factors for LGBTQ+ youth. Research on victimization, drug use, and mental health found reduced instances of victimization and harassment and increased feelings of support and connectivity, leading to reductions in anxiety and depression. **Students felt more connected, empowered, and supported** by their schools and other adults, and they were less inclined to feel marginalized and victimized by peers and school-based adults.[35]



Figure 9.8. Gay-straight alliances save lives. Rally in support of Bill 24 in Calgary, Canada, on November 12, 2017. (CC BY, JmacPherson.)

Whereas most LGBTQ+ clubs are embraced and supported in schools, some receive pushback from the administration, community, school boards, and parents fearing the club may encourage homosexuality. In the most extreme cases, some opponents have gone as far as banning all school clubs. Unfortunately, resistance occurs most often in school districts where LGBTQ+ students need these services the most. For example, in 2003, in an effort to eliminate controversy after approving a LGBTQ+ student group at a high school in Boyd County, Kentucky, a principal banned all noncurricular clubs at the school for the remainder of the year.[36]

Bathrooms and Locker Rooms

Beginning in the 2010s, controversy about the use of bathrooms and locker rooms for gender minority youth increased. As of 2016, over half the states in the United States were suing over the rights of transgender students to use the bathroom aligned with

their gender. LGBTQ+ youth perceive bathrooms as the most unsafe spaces within their school building. Although not all schools can undergo a full renovation to include a new gender-neutral restroom, schools can take a current restroom and relabel it as gender neutral for all students to use (see an example in figure 9.9). **Gender-neutral or single-stall bathrooms increase the sense of security of LGBTQ+ youth.** They provide a safe space for youth to use the restroom without having to choose between which bathroom to use or anticipate the negative backlash if someone who is unaccepting is inside. Unfortunately, gender minority youth are often the main advocates for bathrooms accommodating the needs of transgender persons. **Having other supportive systems in place, such as educators who are accepting or LGBTQ+ clubs, often encourages gender minority youth to speak up and advocate for their needs.**[37]



Figure 9.9. A bathroom for all genders and abilities. (CC BY-SA, Jeffrey Beall.)

Physical education courses are particularly difficult aspects of school for LGBTQ+ students. A study found that more than half of LGBTQ+ youth had been assaulted or harassed in physical education classes at least once because of their sexual orientation (52.8 percent) or gender expression (50.9 percent). **Often this mistreatment is due to gender socialization** about how masculine or feminine one should be and can often lead to difficulties for gender minority youth when using locker rooms and other facilities aligned with their gender identity.[38]

Contrary to media presentations about the danger from transgender people using bathrooms aligned with their gender, it is gender minority youth who are at significantly greater risk for experiencing trauma and violence in these public spaces. **Eleven percent of LGBTQ+ youth never feel safe in a locker room, with discomfort steeply increasing for transgender and nonbinary youth in these spaces.** Forty-one percent of transgender boys, 34 percent of transgender girls, and 31 percent of nonbinary youth never feel safe in locker rooms. Slightly more than half (51 percent) of transgender youth have never used the locker room aligned with their gender identity, instead either using the locker room aligned with their sex assigned at birth or not participating in physical education activities. **A national study conducted by the Human Rights Campaign found** that one-third of all LGBTQ+ students do not attend physical education courses, 39 percent avoid locker rooms, and 23 percent avoid all school athletic facilities and fields, all of which can lead to further isolation and ostracization.[39]

Challenges of Educators

Educators face several challenges when addressing the needs of LGBTQ+ students. **A study found that diversity courses for preservice teachers,** school counselors, and school psychologists covered race, class, and (dis)ability but failed to mention the needs of LGBTQ+ students. Ultimately, this leads to educators feeling unprepared to work with LGBTQ+ students, being unable to adjust their interactions, and wondering how to advocate for students on these issues. Even after getting licensed, many education professionals are not able to **access comprehensive professional development opportunities** and training, despite their interest. Many professionals have to find the appropriate resources for themselves.[40]

Community opposition can also significantly influence educators' willingness to support youth. Despite personal acceptance of LGBTQ+ youth, some educators are reluctant to indicate their support of LGBTQ+ students out of fear of negative parental response, administrative backlash, and possible loss of employment. In particularly conservative areas, and in **religiously affiliated schools,** teachers may not have permission from the administration to demonstrate their support. Evaluations of teacher-candidate training found that, despite research stating **the importance of inclusion and school safety for LGBTQ+ students,** many teachers would be unwilling to advocate for the needs of LGBTQ+ students or were unwilling to discuss sexual and gender minority identities publicly in the classroom. Although the culture of schools has been improving, **schools still remain politically and religiously charged institutions and a battleground for the rights of LGBTQ+ students.**[41]

Conclusion

LGBTQ+ youth have several means of support and affirmation that can lead to positive health outcomes into their adulthood. Childhood through adolescence is a critical stage of development for all youth, but for LGBTQ+ youth the failure of any one support system (family, school, peers, sports, etc.) can have lifelong consequences. With national trends across all youth systems moving toward greater levels of acceptance and with the power of resilience, LGBTQ+ youth are equipped now more than ever to have positive and productive lives. All adults can be advocates for the rights and needs of LGBTQ+ youth.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College except Discussion Questions

1. What was the original focus of LGBTQ+ clubs when they were first developed in the 1980s?
A) Academic achievement
B) Needs of sexual minority youth
C) Sports participation
D) School fundraising

2. Which of the following is a major benefit of having LGBTQ+ clubs in schools?
A) Increased academic pressure
B) Higher rates of truancy
C) Reduced victimization and harassment
D) Decreased student engagement

3. What is a common reason some school districts resist LGBTQ+ clubs?
A) Concerns about academic performance
B) Lack of student interest
C) Fear that the club may encourage homosexuality
D) Budget constraints

4. What facility change can schools make to increase the sense of security for LGBTQ+ youth?
A) Add more sports teams
B) Relabel a restroom as gender neutral
C) Increase homework assignments
D) Ban all noncurricular clubs

5. According to the text, who are often the main advocates for bathrooms accommodating transgender students?
A) school administrators
B) local government officials
C) parents
D) gender minority youth

Discussions Questions

1. How do LGBTQ+ clubs contribute to a more supportive and inclusive school environment?
2. What challenges do LGBTQ+ clubs face in some school districts, and why might these challenges be more pronounced in certain areas?
3. In what ways can gender-neutral bathrooms impact the daily experiences of LGBTQ+ students?
4. Why is it important for schools to have both supportive clubs and inclusive facilities for LGBTQ+ youth?
5. How can allies—both students and staff—help advocate for the needs of gender minority students in their schools?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) Needs of sexual minority youth
2. C) Reduced victimization and harassment
3. C) Fear that the club may encourage homosexuality

4. B) Relabel a restroom as gender neutral
5. D) gender minority youth

This page titled 9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.2: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ+ Youth** by Kimberly Fuller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning

Historically, prekindergarten–twelfth-grade schools in the United States have not been designed to serve students of gender or sexual minorities. From laws regulating bathrooms and sports to severe restrictions on instruction, policies in many states do not support LGBTQ+ students or teachers. According to a 2019 national survey of LGBTQ+ students from GLSEN, these barriers often translate to lower educational outcomes and graduation rates and to higher rates of anxiety and depression among LGBTQ+ youth.[42]

When polled in the GLSEN survey, only one in five LGBTQ+ students reported that they were taught positive representations of LGBTQ+ people, history, or events in their classes. Well more than half (67 percent) of students reported that they did not have access to information about topics related to LGBTQ+ issues in their school library, through the internet on school computers, or in their textbooks or other assigned readings. At the same time, less than half of students (42 percent) said their administration was supportive of LGBTQ+ students, and **48 percent said they would be somewhat or very uncomfortable talking with a teacher.** Because the National Center for Education Statistics **does not report on gender and sexuality in schools,** self-reported data from the GLSEN survey is the most robust information available.

Compounding general trends, the COVID-19 pandemic has worsened mental health of LGBTQ+ students and seen a drastic rise in politicization of inclusive education efforts. A record amount of legislation has been introduced in states across the country that would prohibit or severely limit representation and discussions of LGBTQ+ identities in kindergarten–twelfth-grade curricula and classrooms. In a majority of U.S. states, bills have been proposed that aim to restrict discussions of LGBTQ+ people and their history or **create privacy policies that would jeopardize queer students' well-being, such as in Florida, Georgia, and Texas**.[43]

At the same time, **a handful of states maintain affirmative laws,** requiring kindergarten–twelfth-grade curricula to **include accurate LGBTQ+ history.** By the end of 2019, four states—**California, New Jersey, Colorado, and Illinois—had mandates requiring LGBTQ+ inclusion in prekindergarten–twelfth-grade curricula.** The state legislature in New York has recently moved in the same direction. On the opposite end of the spectrum, five states—Texas, Oklahoma, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Louisiana—maintain education laws forbidding teachers from portraying LGBTQ+ people or identities in a positive light, if at all. These laws, known as "no promo homo" laws, act in stark contrast with the states working **toward statutorily mandated inclusion.** Teachers in states with "no promo homo" laws may still work toward engaging and supporting their queer and trans students, but their work necessarily looks different from that in states with supportive legislation.[44]

Stories of this harmful legislation have recently dominated headlines, but LGBTQ+ inclusion is happening and not only at the state level. Just a few years ago, a majority of education leaders were not thinking or talking about queer and trans students. Today, in part because of the **steep politicization, school leaders, parents, librarians, media specialists, and more, have taken up the public fight for LGBTQ+ inclusion.** Districts in states with restrictive laws are fighting these laws at the local level, through school board elections, local advocacy groups, and even mayoral races. If resistance toward LGBTQ+ inclusion is becoming louder, so too is support from allies, educators, and students. Though these laws affect what educators can and can't teach, teachers can do many things to facilitate inclusive learning in a variety of political and social settings. The remainder of this profile explores how inclusive teaching and learning look in practice and what barriers exist for teachers doing this work.

Inclusive Student Learning

Inclusion as an approach, although crucial, presents a unique challenge for queer students. To create an inclusive classroom that meets the needs of all students, schools must be able to identify and quantify those students' needs. **To do that, those students must be visible.** If schools can't identify the students they're trying to serve, they likely can't identify the supports they need. But queer students are often not public about the process of coming to terms with their identities, especially at a young age. What's more, they exist across all other human demographics and therefore can't be lumped together under one group that looks or sounds the same. Because of difficulties in data collection of **LGBTQ+ folks—including safety concerns when self-reporting, changing identities, and institutional bias—many queer students are unaccounted for in student data.**

For these reasons, much of the existing data on LGBTQ+ students, such as GLSEN's, are self-reported. Its survey of twenty-three thousand students ages thirteen to twenty-one found that 95 percent of students reported hearing discriminatory remarks frequently at school, 63 percent reported hearing those remarks from teachers or staff, and 17 percent of students were prohibited from

discussing or writing about LGBTQ+ topics in school assignments.[45] Students are not only, then, told the challenges queer people face are invalid but hear this message from the school policies that govern them, the teachers who educate them, and the material they're taught.

Recognizing the power of inclusive learning materials to address this problem, some states are exploring solutions t**hrough gender-inclusive history and social science curricula.** Gender inclusive, in this sense, broadly describes curricula and other learning materials that teach about the lived experiences of a wide range of LGBTQ+ people and identities. This can be content focused specifically on LGBTQ+ people and identities or content not focused on them, such as biology and English language arts. **For example, an inclusive biology class might use nongendered language or examine the assumptions that we make when classifying genetic phenomena into categories such as natural and unnatural.** A biology course that goes beyond simple inclusion to affirming and validating might explore the bias behind what are often regarded as objective, scientific discoveries, a bias that shapes the ways we conceptualize DNA and genetic makeup. **A common misconception about queer and trans inclusion** is that it is reserved for only certain academic areas and not others. In reality, every subject, topic, and conversation can be made inclusive and affirming. Indeed, all subject matter is shaped by gender and sexuality biases, regardless of whether we are aware of it.

When California passed its inclusive history–social science framework in 2016, it was the first state to make an attempt to guide creation of textbooks that cover LGBTQ+ people and people with disabilities. The vote came five years after the state's passage of the **FAIR Education Act, i**n 2011, and textbooks using the framework were implemented for the first time during the 2019–2020 school year. Not only was the publishing process arduous, but the content creation itself required multiple committees of history experts, educators, and advocates to debate the exact content and wording that ultimately went to a vote. The resulting content is **groundbreakingly comprehensive** and now published in textbooks used throughout the state. Unfortunately, the materials in California are proprietary and therefore not available to other states looking to implement a similar curriculum.

To be inclusive of gender and sexual minorities, student-facing materials must incorporate LGBTQ+ characters, identities, and histories. **They should present accurate and impartial information to students about not only what queer and transgender identities are but how they determine privilege and oppression, in addition to describing the implicit biases that help sustain this oppression. Inclusive content can be specifically about LGBTQ+ people or not, but it always includes queer and gender-diverse examples, names, stories, and images.**

Teachers and school administrators can take specific steps to intentionally create more inclusive learning environments. As more states move toward inclusive curricula, the need for comparable educator support is growing rapidly. Three of the biggest challenges to inclusion in schools is preparing teachers to teach inclusive content and create inclusive learning environments, providing them the resources to do so, and supporting them in these efforts.

Inclusive Teaching Practices

In recent years there has been a growing push among **prekindergarten–twelfth-grade educators toward culturally responsive teaching,** or teaching that recognizes students' particular strengths in the classroom and leverages them to make learning experiences more relevant and effective. Countering the notion that teachers should cover only what is in the assigned texts regardless of students or context, culturally responsive teaching explores narratives beyond those that have historically been told in textbooks. Not to be confused with the current battle over what has been dubbed critical race theory, cultural responsiveness aims to offer a variety of perspectives, experiences, and lenses to students for understanding content.

With the push toward culturally responsive teaching has come a wider understanding of the value of representation among educators, in the classroom and in the curriculum, as well as a growing popularity of the concept of windows and mirrors. Rudine Sims Bishop, professor emerita of education at the Ohio State University, first developed this idea in 1990.[46] **She suggested that curricula should offer students both a window to lives and experiences different from theirs *and* a mirror so they can see themselves reflected in the material.** The latter is particularly important for students who belong to one or more minority groups: by no coincidence, students of color, those with disabilities, and LGBTQ+ students seldom see themselves reflected or represented in prekindergarten–twelfth-grade curricula.

The growing support for cultural competence and representation is situated between this single-narrative paradigm—in which existing curricula teach through the lens of only one identity—and current knowledge of what it takes for students to succeed. We know that students must feel a sense of safety, respect, and belonging in schools in order to learn. We know validation from

teachers and space for students to develop inquiry into their own identities are critical to their social-emotional development. And yet many schools are falling short of meeting these needs, either by failing to address them or by addressing basic safety *instead of* pedagogy, rather than both.

The Northwestern University professor **Sally Nuamah** argues in her book ***How Girls Achieve*** that educating young girls takes more than simply forging paths in schools that are not designed for them. Rather, it takes **active and intentional unteaching of harmful lessons ingrained in them long before they ever arrived in the classroom.** It takes teaching specific skills—such as strategy and transgression—to prepare them to navigate a world that relies on their lack of these skills. This idea should also be applied to teaching and learning for LGBTQ+ students. Queer students as a group face similar challenges in regard to the **lack of representation they see in curricula and the unconscious bias** with which they are often taught. Teaching and engaging them requires teachers and school leaders alike to actively unlearn tired stereotypes and interrogate their own understanding of what is normal and given.[47]

The term ***inclusive learning environments*** has grown more popular in recent years alongside the push for LGBTQ+ acceptance in schools and the movement toward culturally responsive teaching. *Inclusive*, in this sense, refers to classrooms or other learning environments in which educators, librarians, and school staff recognize their own privilege as starting points for difficult conversations. It also requires that **educators be willing and prepared to use affirming language and that they support a variety of narratives** that challenge students to open lines of inquiry into cultural assumptions.

When it comes to queer and trans students specifically, an inclusive learning environment is one in which educators take steps to understand straight and cisgender privilege, how it overlaps with other types of privilege, and what dynamic it creates in a classroom. It is one in which educators are open to learning about different identities, so they have context and language to talk about them. It is also one in which educators have the time, space, and school support to understand LGBTQ+ history, at least at a basic level, and how it informs current understandings of queer identities.

Although this all might sound like a heavy load to put on teachers who are already notoriously short on time and resources, the barrier of entry to inclusion work is low. For example, educators can start by making small but intentional changes to the way they address groups of students, by using gender-neutral phrases such as **“folks,” “everyone,” or “y’all” instead of “boys and girls,” “ladies and gentlemen,” or “you guys.”** This type of change is minimal but meaningful, and it signals to students who do not identify as male or female or are questioning their gender identity that they belong. **It also models and normalizes inclusive language for all students, regardless of identity.** For smaller content changes such as this, having editable materials, rather than textbooks, can be especially useful.

Inclusive professional learning materials are those that prepare educators to create learning environments in which inclusion is normal and expected. Such resources could be texts on relevant and contextual queer history, an explanation of some of the challenges that queer and trans people face more broadly, or simply information on language, pronouns, and why they matter. Ideally, these resources recognize **nuance and diversity within queer communities** and engage teachers around intentionally anti-racist queer inclusion. For early and elementary educators, this might be resources that explain the importance of including Black and brown same-sex families in a lesson on family trees. For secondary teachers, it might be adding to the class library foundational writings **by Black and brown authors, such as Audre Lorde or Gloria Anzaldúa.** Exposure to a **diversity of queer ideas and narratives is critical for students,** those who may see themselves represented in these stories and those who do not, to disrupt the single-story narrative.

Summary

The disproportionate educational outcomes that LGBTQ+ students face are the result of many compounding factors, such as a lack of representation and support in school, politicization of their existence, and systemic bias. Inclusive materials remain a critical part of the effort to address these challenges and are the focus of an increasing number of efforts. Although teaching and learning are intrinsically tied, it is important to recognize the different needs between student- and teacher-facing materials. Instituting inclusive curriculum laws and policies calls for inclusive professional learning, because if teachers are not adequately prepared, inclusive content will do very little to create more inclusive learning environments.

Key Questions

- What does research tell us about the process of coming out in terms of both gender and sexual identity?
- What is the range of responses to LGBTQ+ youth if they choose to disclose their gender or sexuality identities to family members? How do these responses affect LGBTQ+ peoples' lives?
- What are the differences between supportive and inclusive schools and those needing improvements?
- What are some health and education disparities for minoritized gender and sexuality identities, and why do they exist?

This page titled 9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.2: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ+ Youth** by Kimberly Fuller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

9.5: Research Resources

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

Compiled by Rae-Anne Montague and Melody Scagnelli-Townley

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about education and LGBTQ+ youth.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

"Chosen Family: Stories of Queer Resilience," by Tyler Oakley

Tyler Oakley shares people's stories of their LGBTQ+ experience in a series of videos at https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PL29MYs08TJ6NiejALGuz-eIDQoLoJkxVi.

Curricula Inclusive of LGBTQ+ People, from GLSEN

GLSEN is an educational organization that conducts research and partners with decision makers to ensure inclusive, safe school policies, empower student leaders via activities like Day of Silence and Ally Week, and create developmentally appropriate resources and curricula for educators. For its resources, see https://www.glsen.org/educate/resources/curriculum.

GALE, the Global Alliance for LGBT Education

This international organization is a learning community that promotes full inclusion of LGBTQ+ people by "identifying, enhancing and sharing educational expertise." See https://www.gale.info/en.

"The Genderbread Person," from Hues, a Global Justice Collective

Using a gingerbread image, this genderbread person is a teaching tool that helps explain the differences among gender identity, gender expression, anatomical sex, gender, and sexual orientation. The site also includes lesson plans, activities, and essays. All content on the site, https://www.genderbread.org, is free for others to use.

GSA Network

This national organization for LGBTQ+ racial and gender justice trains youth to organize gay-straight alliances, mobilize, and advocate for an intersectional movement for healthier communities and safer schools. It provides assistance for teachers and advisors starting an alliance, registering an alliance, and beginning a campaign. See https://gsanetwork.org.

This quarterly journal presents peer-reviewed scholarly articles, practitioner-based essays, policy analyses, and revealing narratives from LGBTQ+ young people. For the most current issue, see https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/wjly20/current.

" LGBTQ Writers in Schools, " from Lambda Literary

Since 2015, Lambda Literary has joined with the New York City Department of Education to bring award-winning LGBTQ+ writers into schools to discuss their books and lives. Every participating student receives a free copy of the book discussed. To learn more, visit https://lambdaliterary.org/2021/09/announcing-the-expansion-of-lgbtq-writers-in-schools/

From goofy rom-coms and musicals to powerful documentaries and dramas, the picks in this list celebrate love, perseverance, and real-life icons. Other lists are available for TV, games, books, music, and more, from https://www.commonsensemedia.org/lists/lgbtq-movies-for-teens.

This national organization advocates on behalf of all LGBTQ+ people and is where loved ones and youth can talk about coming out, affirmatively raising LGBTQ+ children, and other relevant matters; visit https://pflag.org for more information.

"Rainbow Book List," from American Library Association.

The "Rainbow Book List" presents an annual bibliography of quality books with significant and authentic LGBTQ+ content. Titles on this list are for people from birth to eighteen years old. For the latest list, see https://glbtrt.ala.org/rainbowbooks/archives/1331.

Trevor Project

The Trevor Project provides crisis intervention and suicide prevention services to LGBTQ+ young people under age twenty-five. In the United States, dial 1-866-488-7386, or visit its website, https://www.thetrevorproject.org.

Welcoming Schools, of the HRC Foundation

The Welcoming Schools program sponsored by the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) provides lesson plans, resources, and trainers to work with schools and districts across the United States to improve school climate with gender and LGBTQ+ inclusive training. See http://www.welcomingschools.org.

We Need Diverse Books

We Need Diverse Books is a grassroots organization that strives for change in the publishing industry leading to literature that reflects the lives of all young people. See https://diversebooks.org.

Deep Dive: Books and Film

It's Still Elementary: Reexamining LGBT Issues in Schools, directed by Debra Chasnoff

This film takes a look back at the controversial and revolutionary 1996 film *It's Elementary: Talking about Gay Issues in School*. The original documentary provided practical advice about how to talk with elementary school students about gay issues. After it aired on PBS, the film and the filmmakers came under attack by the religious right. *It's Still Elementary* documents that controversy and follows up with the students and teachers from the first film to see how learning about gay issues in a positive environment affected their lives (United States: New Day Films, 2007).

A Place in the Middle, written by Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu, directed by Dean Hamer and Joe Wilson

In this true story, an eleven-year-old girl in Hawaii yearns to join the boys-only hula group at her school. A friendly teacher empowers her through traditional culture. This educational film encourages students to think about diversity and inclusion and discusses how to prevent bullying (United States: Pacific Islanders in Communications, Independent Television Service, and the Ford Foundation, 2015, https://aplaceinthemiddle.org).

Queer, There, and Everywhere: 23 People Who Changed the World, by Sarah Prager

This collection of true stories is aimed at teen readers and uncovers a rich queer heritage that encompasses diverse cultures and eras (New York: HarperCollins, 2017).

Queer Brown Voices: Personal Narratives of Latina/o LGBT Activism, edited by Uriel Quesada, Letitia Gomez, and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz

Personal narratives from fourteen Latinx LGBTQ+ activists illuminate a history that has received little attention (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015).

Raising My Rainbow: Adventures in Raising a Fabulous, Gender Creative Son, by Lori Duron

The author discusses raising a gender-nonconforming child, its effect on family dynamics, the perceptions by others, and her son's reception in public education (New York: Broadway Books, 2013).

The Right to Be Out: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in America's Public Schools, by Stuart Biegel

The second edition, updated in 2018, reviews the legal developments concerning curricula and pedagogy, transgender issues in educational environments, LGBTQ+ student participation in school sports, policy development on school bullying, and the right to be out for LGBTQ+ kindergarten–twelfth-grade educators. Biegel explains the social, political, and personal tensions of being out

in school in the contexts of First Amendment and Fourteenth Amendment rights and that LGBTQ+ issues in educational environments affect all people. Biegel recommends strategies to provide safe environments for LGBTQ+ students and educators to thrive. The first edition provides valuable case studies of how the courts addressed bullying and workplace discrimination in kindergarten–twelfth-grade environments, and how school administrators responded to the court decisions. Both editions are must reads for students in all education programs (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

Top 250 LGBTQ Books for Teens: Coming Out, Being Out, and the Search for Community, by Michael Cart and Christine A. Jenkins

This book identifies and summarizes titles that address important topics like coming out, being out, and community. The authors cover fiction, graphic novels, and general nonfiction aimed at readers in middle school and high school. Recent publications as well as classics are included (Chicago: Huron Street Press, 2015).

This page titled 9.5: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.2: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ+ Youth** by Kimberly Fuller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

9.6: Glossary

cisnormativity. Viewing all people as cisgender, or those whose gender aligns with the sex assigned at birth.

coming out. Also known as coming out of the closet; a process in the lives of LGBTQ+ people of disclosing one's sexual orientation or gender identity to others.

gay-straight alliances. School-based organizations of LGBTQ+ youth and allies who meet to support LGBTQ+ students. This can involve advocacy and activism, as well as a social component.

heteronormativity. Viewing all people as heterosexual, or those who feel attraction to the "opposite" sex.

identity recognition. When LGBTQ+ individuals first identify their sexual or gender identity.

PFLAG. Formerly known as Parents, Family, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays; an organization that supports the family and friends of LGBTQ+ people as they seek to understand and affirm their LGBTQ+ loved ones.

Title IX. A federal law banning discrimination based on sex at schools receiving federal funding. This includes harassment and discrimination for failing to conform to gender expectations and is interpreted to often include LGBTQ+ persons.

transitioning. The process—social, legal, and/or medical—one goes through to affirm one's gender identity.

This page titled 9.6: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **5.2: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ+ Youth** by Kimberly Fuller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

9.7: Footnotes

1. D. L. Espelage and S. M. Swearer, “Addressing Research Gaps in the Intersection between Homophobia and Bullying,” *School Psychology Review* 37 (2008): 155–159. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-1
2. C. Ryan, D. Huebner, R. Diaz, and J. Sanchez, “Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes in White and Latino Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Young Adults,” *Pediatrics* 123 (2009): 346–352; C. Ryan, S. Russell, D. Huebner, R. Diaz, and J. Sanchez, “Family Acceptance in Adolescence and the Health of LGBT Young Adults,” *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing* 23 (2010): 205–219. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-2
3. For percentages of youth identifying as LGBTQ+, see M. E. Eisenberg, A. L. Gower, B. J. McMorris, G. N. Rider, G. Shea, and E. Coleman, “Risk and Protective Factors in the Lives of Transgender/Gender Nonconforming Adolescents,” *Journal of Adolescent Health* 61 (2017): 521–526; and M. M. Johns, R. Lowry, J. Andrzejewski, L. C. Barrios, Z. Demissie, T. McManus, C. N. Rasberry, et al., “Transgender Identity and Experiences of Violence Victimization, Substance Use, Suicide Risk, and Sexual Risk Behaviors among High School Students—19 States and Large Urban School Districts, 2017,” *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 68, no. 3 (2017): 67, https://doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.mm6803a3; for labels staying consistent, see V. M. Silenzio, J. B. Pena, P. R. Duberstein, J. Cerel, and K. L. Knox, “Sexual Orientation and Risk Factors for Suicidal Ideation and Suicide Attempts among Adolescents and Young Adults,” *American Journal of Public Health* 97 (2007): 2017–2019; and for estimates of those who identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual, see G. Gates, “How Many People Are Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender?,” 2011, https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Gates-How-Many-People-LGBT-Apr-2011.pdf. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-3
4. Human Rights Campaign, *Growing Up LGBT in America: HRC Youth Survey Report Key Findings* (Washington, DC: Human Rights Campaign, 2013); Pew Research Center, *ASurvey of LGBT Americans: Attitudes, Experiences, andValues in Changing Times* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2013); for youth who resist identity-based labels, see R. C. Savin-Williams, *The New Gay Teenager* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); and M. A. Wagaman, “Self-Definition as Resistance: Understanding Identities among LGBTQ Emerging Adults,” *Journal of LGBT Youth* 13, no. 3 (2016): 207–230. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-4
5. J. L. Herman, A. R. Flores, and K. K. O'Neill, “How Many Adults and Youth Identify as Transgender in the United States?,” 2022, https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Trans-Pop-Update-Jun-2022.pdf. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-5
6. Human Rights Campaign, “2018 LGBTQ Youth Report,” 2018, https://assets2.hrc.org/files/assets/resources/2018-YouthReport-NoVid.pdf; for mothers’ and fathers’ responses, see A. H. Grossman, A. R. D’Augelli, T. J. Howell, and S. Hubbard, “Parent Reactions to Transgender Youth Gender Nonconforming Expression and Identity,” *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services* 18, no. 1 (2005): 3–16. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-6
7. C. L. Martin and D. N. Ruble, “Patterns of Gender Development,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 61 (2010): 353–381. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-7
8. For reducing distress and dysphoria, see K. R. Olson, L. Durwood, and K. A. McLaughlin, “Mental Health of Transgender Children Who Are Supported in Their Identities,” *Pediatrics* 137 (2018), e20181436; for reducing the likelihood of depression and so on, see A. D’Augelli, A. Grossman, and M. Starks, “Parents’ Awareness of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youths’ Sexual Orientation,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67 (2005): 474–482; R. Garofalo, J. Deleon, E. Osmer, M. Doll, and G. W. Harper, “Overlooked, Misunderstood and at Risk: Exploring the Lives and HIV Risk of Ethnic Minority Male-to-Female Transgender Youth,” *Journal of Adolescent Health* 38 (2006): 230–236; A. L. Roberts, M. Rosario, H. L. Corliss, K. C. Koenen, and S. Bryn Austin, “Childhood Gender Nonconformity: A Risk Indicator for Childhood Abuse and Posttraumatic Stress in Youth,” *Pediatrics* 129 (2012): 410–417; W. C. Skidmore, J. A. W. Linsenmeier, and J. M. Bailey, “Gender Nonconformity and Psychological Distress in Lesbians and Gay Men,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 35 (2006): 685–697; R. Toomey, C. Ryan, R. Diaz, N. Card, and S. Russell, “Gender-Nonconforming Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth: School Victimization and Young Adult Psychosocial Adjustment,” *Developmental Psychology* 46 (2010): 1580–1589; and R. Travers, G. Bauer, J. Pyne, K. Bradley, L. Gale, and M. Papadimitriou, *Impacts of Strong Parental Support for Trans Youth: A Report Prepared for Children’s Aid Society of Toronto and Delisle Youth Services*, https://transpulseproject.ca/research/impacts-of-strong-parental-support-for-trans-youth/ . 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-8

9. For family as protection against negative health outcomes in early adulthood, see B. L. Needham and E. L. Austin, "Sexual Orientation, Parental Support, and Health during the Transition to Young Adulthood," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 39, no. 10 (2010): 1189–1198, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-010-9533-6; and Ryan et al., "Family Acceptance in Adolescence and the Health of LGBT Young Adults"; for family support as a lifelong impact, see P. Zaninotto, E. Falaschetti, and A. Sacker, "Age Trajectories of Quality of Life among Older Adults: Results from the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing," *Quality of Life Research* 18 (2009): 1301–1309, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11136-009-9543-6; and Y. Luo, J. Xu, E. Granberg, and W. M. Wentworth, "A Longitudinal Study of Social Status, Perceived Discrimination, and Physical and Emotional Health among Older Adults," *Research on Aging* 34 (2012): 275–301, https://doi.org/10.1177/0164027511426151; and for trans youth and family support, see Travers et al., *Impacts of Strong Parental Support for Trans Youth*. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-9
10. For negative outcomes after family rejection, see D. Bontempo and A. D'Augelli, "Effects of At-School Victimization and Sexual Orientation on Lesbian, Gay, or Bisexual Youths' Health Risk Behavior," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 30 (2002): 364–374; A. H. Grossman, A. R. D'Augelli, and T. S. O'Connell, "Being Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and 60 or Older in North America," *Journal of Lesbian and Gay Social Services* 13 (2001): 23–40, https://doi.org/10.1300/J041v13n04_05; Pew Research Center, *ASurvey of LGBT Americans*; Ryan et al., "Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes"; and Toomey et al., "Gender-Nonconforming Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth"; for rejection being associated with emotional distress, see D'Augelli, Grossman, and Starks, "Parents' Awareness of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youths' Sexual Orientation"; A. D'Augelli, S. Hershberger, and N. Pilkington, "Suicidality Patterns and Sexual Orientation-Related Factors among Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Youths," *Suicide and Life Threatening Behavior* 31 (2001): 250–264; G. Remafedi, "Suicidality in a Venue-Based Sample of Young Men Who Have Sex with Men," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 31 (2002): 305–310; and Ryan et al., "Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes"; for suicidal ideation, see D'Augelli, Grossman, and Starks, "Parents' Awareness of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youths' Sexual Orientation"; D'Augelli, Hershberger, and Pilkington, "Suicidality Patterns and Sexual Orientation-Related Factors among Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Youths"; and Remafedi, "Suicidality in a Venue-Based Sample of Young Men Who Have Sex with Men"; for suicide attempts, see Ryan et al., "Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes"; for homelessness, see N. Ray, *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth: An Epidemic of Homelessness* (New York: National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute and the National Coalition for the Homeless, 2006); and for percentage of homeless youth, see S. K. Choi, B. D. M. Wilson, J. Shelton, and G. Gates, *Serving Our Youth 2015: The Needs and Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Questioning Youth Experiencing Homelessness* (Los Angeles, CA: Williams Institute / True Colors Fund, 2015), https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Serving-Our-Youth-June-2015.pdf. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-10
11. "Our Story," PFLAG, accessed April 28, 2021, https://pflag.org/our-story. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-11
12. GLSEN, "Policy Maps," accessed 2015, https://maps.glsen.org. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-12
13. J. G. Kosciw, E.A. Greytak, N. M. Giga, C. Villenas, and D. J. Danischewski, *The 2015 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools* (New York: GLSEN, 2016), https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/2020-01/GLSEN%202015%20National%20School%20Climate%20Survey%20%28NSCS%29%20-%20Full%20Report.pdf. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-13
14. C. Rosky, "Anti-Gay Curriculum Laws," *Columbia Law Review* 117 (2017): 1461–1541, https://columbialawreview.org/content/anti-gay-curriculum-laws/; for these policies' effects, see GLSEN, "Laws Prohibiting 'Promotion of Homosexuality' in Schools: Impacts and Implications," research brief (New York: GLSEN, 2018), https://www.glsen.org/research/laws-prohibit-promotion-homosexuality-impacts-and-implicatio. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-14
15. For an abstinence-based approach, see J. S. Santelli, L. M. Kantor, S. A. Grilo, I. S. Speizer, L. D. Lindberg, J. Heitel, A. T. Shalet, et al., "Abstinence-Only-until-Marriage: An Updated Review of U.S. Policies and Programs and Their Impact," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 61 (2017): 273–280; for reinforcement of gender stereotypes, see Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States, "Pride or Prejudice: How Fear-Based Abstinence-Only-until-Marriage Curricula Present Sexual Orientation," 2008, http://hrp.law.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/sexlies_stereotypes2008.pdf;

and for percentages of parents who favor sex education, see “Parents and Teens Talk about Sexuality: A National Poll” (New York: Planned Parenthood Federation of America and Center for Latino Adolescent and Family Health, 2015). 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-15

16. For mentions in health classes, see L. K. Gowen and N. Winges-Yanez, “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Questioning Youths’ Perspectives of Inclusive School-Based Sexuality Education," *Journal of Sex Research* 51 (2014): 788–800, https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2013.806648; for same-gender relationships, see R. P. Jones and D. Cox, *How Race and Religion Shape Millennial Attitudes on Sexuality and Reproductive Health: Findings from the 2015 Millennials, Sexuality, and Reproductive Health Survey* (Washington, DC: Public Religion Research Institute, 2015); and for omission from sex education curricula, see A. M. Miller and R. A. Schleifer, “Through the Looking Glass: Abstinence-Only-until-Marriage Programs and Their Impact on Adolescent Human Rights,” *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 5 (2008), https://doi.org/10.1525/srsp.2008.5.3.28. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-16
17. J. P. Elia and M. J. Eliason, “Dangerous Omissions: Abstinence-Only-until-Marriage School-Based Sexuality Education and the Betrayal of LGBTQ Youth,” *American Journal of Sexuality Education* 5 (2010): 17–35, https://doi.org/10.1080/15546121003748848. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-17
18. L. Y. Bay-Cheng, “The Trouble of Teen Sex: The Construction of Adolescent Sexuality through School-Based Sexuality Education,” *Sex Education: Sexuality, Society, and Learning* 3, no. 1 (2003): 61–74, https://doi.org/10.1080/1468181032000052162. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-18
19. M. H. Whatley, “Keeping Adolescents in the Picture: Construction of Adolescent Sexuality in Textbook Images and Popular Films,” in *Sexual Cultures and the Construction of Adolescent Identities*, ed. J. M. Irvine (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 183–205. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-19
20. Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Human Rights Campaign Foundation, et al., “A Call to Action: LGBTQ+ Youth Need Inclusive Sex Education,” May 2021, https://hrc-prod-requests.s3-us-west-2.amazonaws.com/Call-to-Action-LGBTQ-Sex-Ed-Report-2021.pdf. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-20
21. GLSEN, “Policy Maps,” updated August 2020, https://maps.glsen.org. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-21
22. D. L. Espelage, S. R. Aragon, and M. Birkett, “Homophobic Teasing, Psychological Outcomes, and Sexual Orientation among HS Students: What Influences Do Parents and Schools Have?,” *School Psychology Review* 37 (2008): 202–216; D. L. Espelage and S. M. Swearer, “Addressing Research Gaps in the Intersection between Homophobia and Bullying,” *School Psychology Review* 37 (2008): 155–159; S. Horn, “Adolescents’ Reasoning about Exclusion from Social Groups,” *Developmental Psychology* 39 (2007): 71–84. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-22
23. L. Kann, E. O. Olsen, T. McManus, W. A. Harris, S. L. Shanklin, K. H. Flint, B. Queen, et al., “Sexual Identity, Sex of Sexual Contacts, and Health-Related Behaviors among Students in Grades 9–12—United States and Selected Sites, 2015,” *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, surveillance summaries, 65, no. 9 (2016): 1–202, http://dx.doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.ss6509a1. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-23
24. M. E. Eisenberg, A. L. Gower, B. J. McMorris, G. N. Rider, G. Shea, and E. Coleman, “Risk and Protective Factors in the Lives of Transgender/Gender Nonconforming Adolescents,” *Journal of Adolescent Health* 61, no. 4 (2017): 521–526. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-24
25. For mental health, see D’Augelli, Grossman, and Starks, “Parents’ Awareness of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youths’ Sexual Orientation”; and Espelage, Aragon, and Birkett, “Homophobic Teasing”; for bullying, mental health, and school outcomes, see J. G. Kosciw, E. A. Greytak, N. A. Palmer, and M. J. Boesen, *The 2013 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation’s Schools* (New York: GLSEN, 2014); for bullying’s effect on school outcomes, see C. Goodenow, L. A. Szalacha, and K. Westheimer, “School Support Groups, Other School Factors, and the Safety of Sexual Minority Adolescents,” *Psychology in the Schools* 43 (2006): 573–589; T. B. Murdock and M. B. Bolch, “Risk and Protective Factors for Poor School Adjustment in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual (LGB) High School Youth: Variable and Person-Centered Analyses,” *Psychology in the Schools* 42 (2005): 159–172; and S. M. Swearer, R. K. Turner, J. E. Givens, and W. S. Pollack, “‘You’re So Gay!’: Do Different Forms of Bullying Matter for Adolescent Males?,” *School Psychology Review* 37 (2008): 221–227. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-25
26. For discriminatory and violent behavior, see E. A. Dragowski, C. P. McCabe, and F. Rubinson, “Educators’ Reports on Incidence of Harassment and Advocacy toward LGBTQ Students,” *Psychology in the Schools* 53 (2016): 127–142; for anti-

gay and homophobic speech at school, comments about gender expression, and staff nonintervention, see J. G. Kosciw, E. A. Greytak, A. D. Zongrone, C. M. Clark, and N. L. Truong, "The 2017 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth in Our Nation's Schools (New York: GLSEN, 2018); for educators not recognizing harassment, see S. Z. Athanases and T. G. Larrabee, "Toward a Consistent Stance in Teaching for Equity: Learning to Advocate for Lesbian- and Gay-Identified Youth," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 19 (2003): 237–261; P. C. McCabe, E. A. Dragowski, and F. Rubinson, "What Is Homophobic Bias Anyway? Defining and Recognizing Microaggressions and Harassment of LGBTQ Youth," *Journal of School Violence* 12 (2013): 7–26; and R. Mudrey and A. Medina-Adams, "Attitudes, Perceptions, and Knowledge of Pre-service Teachers regarding the Educational Isolation of Sexual Minority Youth," *Journal of Homosexuality* 51 (2006): 63–90; and for youth not reporting harassment and assault, see Kosciw et al., *The 2013 National School Climate Survey*; and for educator bullying, see Dragowski et al., "Reports on Incidence of Harassment and Advocacy toward LGBTQ Students." 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-26

27. National Center for Transgender Equality, "Know Your Rights," accessed April 28, 2021, https://transequality.org/know-your-rights/schools. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-27
28. T. Kushner, "News for Educational Workers," *Radical Teacher* 92 (2011): 74–78. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-28
29. For New York's and Washington's laws, see P. DeWitt, *Dignity for All: Safeguarding LGBT Students* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin, 2012). 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-29
30. 34 C.F.R. § 99.7(a)(2)(ii). 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-30
31. National Center for Transgender Equality, "Know Your Rights." 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-31
32. For schools as positive spaces for youth, see W. W. Black, A. L. Fedewa, and K. A. Gonzalez, "Effects of 'Safe School' Programs and Policies on the Social Climate for Sexual-Minority Youth: A Review of the Literature," *Journal of LGBT Youth* 9 (2012): 321–339; for positive schools, see Aragon and Birkett, "Homophobic Teasing"; for supportive school groups, see Black, Fedewa, and Gonzalez, "Effects of 'Safe School' Programs"; and Goodenow, Szalacha, and Westheimer, "School Support Groups"; for policies to reduce harassment and bullying, see Kosciw et al., *The 2013 National School Climate Survey*; and for supportive schools, see M. Birkett, D. L. Espelage, and B. Koenig, "LGB and Questioning Students in Schools: The Moderating Effects of Homophobic Bullying and School Climate on Negative Outcomes," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 38 (2009): 989–1000; and Goodenow, Szalacha, and Westheimer, "School Support Groups." 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-32
33. For student achievement and quality of life, see J. K. McGuire, C. R. Anderson, R. B. Toomey, and S. T. Russell, "School Climate for Transgender Youth: A Mixed Method Investigation of Student Experiences and School Responses," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 39 (2010): 1175–1188; for educator allyship, see L. Carroll and P. J. Gilroy, "Transgender Issues in Counselor Preparation," *Counselor Education and Supervision* 41 (2002): 233–243, https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6978.2002.tb01286.x; M. Gonzalez and J. McNulty, "Achieving Competency with Transgender Youth: School Counselors as Collaborative Advocates," *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling* 4 (2010): 176–186, https://doi.org/10.1080/15538605.2010.524841; and McGuire et al., "School Climate for Transgender Youth"; and for supportive school staff making trans youth feel safer, see M. O'Shaughnessy, S. Russell, K. Heck, C. Calhoun, and C. Laub, *Safe Place to Learn: Consequences of Harassment Based on Actual or Perceived Sexual Orientation and Gender Nonconformity and Steps for Making Schools Safer* (San Francisco: California Safe Schools Coalition, 2004); and S. T. Russell, J. K. McGuire, S. A. Lee, and J. C. Larriva, "Adolescent Perceptions of School Safety for Students with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Parents," *Journal of LGBT Youth* 5 (2008): 11–27, https://doi.org/10.1080/19361650802222880. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-33
34. For gay-straight alliances, see P. Griffin, C. Lee, J. Waugh, and C. Beyer, "Describing Roles That Gay-Straight Alliances Play in Schools: From Individual Support to School Change," *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Issues in Education* 1 (2004): 7–22; and S. T. Russell, A. Muraco, A. Subramaniam, and C. Laub, "Youth Empowerment and High School Gay-Straight Alliances," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 38 (2009): 891–903; and for LGBTQ+ clubs in schools, see J. E. Schindel, "Gender 101—beyond the Binary: Gay-Straight Alliances and Gender Activism," *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 5 (2008): 56–70. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-34

35. For LGBTQ+ clubs as protective factors, see N. C. Heck, A. Flentje, and B. N. Cochran, “Offsetting Risks: High School Gay-Straight Alliances and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Youth,” *School ofPsychology Quarterly* 26 (2011): 161–174; V. P. Poteat, K. O. Sinclair, C. D. DiGiovanni, B. W. Koenig, and S. T. Russell, “Gay-Straight Alliances Are Associated with Student Health: A Multischool Comparison of LGBTQ and Heterosexual Youth,” *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 23 (2013): 319–330; C. M. Porta, E. Singer, C. J. Mehus, A. L. Gower, E. Saewyc, W. Fredkove, and M. E. Eisenberg, “LGBTQ Youth’s Views on Gay-Straight Alliances: Building Community, Providing Gateways, and Representing Safety and Support,” *Journal of School Health* 87 (2017): 489–497; and E. Saewyc, C. Konishi, H. Rose, and Y. Homma, “School-Based Strategies to Reduce Suicidal Ideation, Suicide Attempts and Discrimination among Sexual Minority and Heterosexual Adolescents in Western Canada,” *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies* 5 (2014): 89–112; for research on victimization, see G. A. Portnoy, “Perceptions of School Climate, Psychological Sense of Community, and Gay-Straight Alliances: A Mixed Method Examination” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2012); R. Toomey, J. K. McGuire, and S. T. Russell, “Heteronormativity, School Climates, and Perceived Safety for Gender Nonconforming Peers,” *Journal of Adolescence* 35 (2012): 187–196; and N. E. Walls, S. B. Kane, and H. Wisneski, “Gay-Straight Alliances and School Experiences of Sexual Minority Youth,” *Youth and Society* 41 (2010): 307–332; for drug use, see N. C. Heck, N. A. Livingston, A. Flentje, K. Oost, B. T. Stewart, and B. N. Cochran, “Reducing Risk for Illicit Drug Use and Prescription Drug Misuse: High School Gay-Straight Alliances and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth,” *Addictive Behaviors* 39 (2014): 824–828; for mental health, see Poteat et al., “Gay-Straight Alliances”; and Walls, Kane, and Wisneski, “Gay-Straight Alliances”; and for youth feeling empowered, see Griffin et al., “Describing Roles That Gay-Straight Alliances Play in Schools”; M. Mayberry, T. Chenneville, and S. Currie, “Challenging the Sounds of Silence: A Qualitative Study of Gay-Straight Alliances and School Reform Efforts,” *Education and Urban Society* 45 (2013): 307–339; and J. B. Mayo Jr., “Expanding the Meaning of Social Education: What the Social Studies Can Learn from Gay Straight Alliances,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 41 (2013): 352–381. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-35
36. For banning school clubs, see Mayberry, Chenneville, and Currie, “Challenging the Sounds of Silence”; Mayo, “Expanding the Meaning of Social Education”; and Boyd County High School Gay Straight Alliance et al. v. Board of Education of Boyd County, KY, 03-17-DLB (2003). 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-36
37. For states suing over bathroom rights, see C. Emma, “10 More States Sue Obama Administration over Transgender Bathroom Directive,” *Politico*, July 8, 2016, http://www.politico.com/story/2016/07/obama-transgender-bathrooms-states-sue-225303; and for bathrooms as unsafe spaces, see Porta et al., “Kicked Out.” 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-37
38. S. M. Lee, C. R. Burgeson, J. E. Fulton, and C. G. Spain, “Physical Education and Physical Activity: Results from the School Health Policies and Programs Study 2006,” *Journal of School Health* 77 (2007): 435–463. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-38
39. Human Rights Campaign, “Play to Win: Improving the Lives of LGBTQ Youth in Sports,” 2017, https://assets2.hrc.org/files/assets/resources/PlayToWin-FINAL.pdf. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-39
40. For preservice training, see P. C. McCabe and F. Rubinson, “Committing to Social Justice: The Behavioral Intention of School Psychology and Education Trainees to Advocate for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered Youth,” *School Psychology Review* 37 (2008): 469–486; and for unavailability of professional development, see T. Israel and G. Hackett, “Counselor Education on Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Issues: Comparing Information and Attitude Exploration,” *Counselor Education and Supervision* 43 (2004): 179–191; and J. S. Whitman, S. S. Horn, and C. J. Boyd, “Activism in the Schools: Providing LGBTQ Affirmative Training to School Counselors,” *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy* 11 (2007): 143–154. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-40
41. For community opposition, see A. B. Dessel, “Effects of Intergroup Dialogue: Public School Teachers and Sexual Orientation Prejudice,” *Small Group Research* 41 (2010): 556–592; for research on the importance of inclusion and school safety for LGBTQ+ students, see Athanases and Larrabee, “Toward a Consistent Stance in Teaching for Equity”; for teachers unwilling to advocate, see T. G. Larrabee and P. Morehead, “Broadening Views of Social Justice and Teacher Leadership: Addressing LGB Issues in Teacher Education,” *Issues in Teacher Education* 19 (2010): 37–52; and for teachers unwilling to discuss sexual and gender minority identities in the classroom, see K. K. Kumashiro, “Uncertain Beginnings:

Learning to Teach Paradoxically," *Theory intoPractice* 43 (2004): 111–115. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-41

42. J. G. Kosciw, C. M. Clark, N. L. Truong, and A. D. Zongrone, "The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth in Our Nation's Schools" (New York: GLSEN, 2020). 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-42
43. For the COVID-19 pandemic worsening mental health, see Trevor Project, "Issues Impacting LGBTQ Youth," January 2022, https://www.thetrevorproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/TrevorProject_Public1.pdf; and for state legislation that limits discussions of LGBTQ+ identities, see Wyatt Ronan, "2021 Officially Becomes Worst Year in Recent History for LGBTQ State Legislative Attacks as Unprecedented Number of States Enact Record-Shattering Number of Anti-LGBTQ Measures into Law," Human Rights Campaign, press release, May 7, 2021, https://www.hrc.org/press-releases/2021-officially-becomes-worst-year-in-recent-history-for-lgbtq-state-legislative-attacks-as-unprecedented-number-of-states-enact-record-shattering-number-of-anti-lgbtq-measures-into-law. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-43
44. In 2020 a U.S. district court judge found that South Carolina's "no promo homo" laws violated the rights of LGBTQ+ students. John Riley, "Federal Court Declares South Carolina's "No Promo Homo" Law Unconstitutional," *Metroweekly*, March 11, 2020, https://www.metroweekly.com/2020/03/federal-court-declares-south-carolinas-no-promo-homo-law-unconstitutional/. 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-44
45. Kosciw et al., "The 2017 National School Climate Survey." 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-45
46. R. S. Bishop, "Windows, Mirrors, and Sliding Glass Doors," *Perspectives: Choosing and Using Books for the Classroom* 6, no. 3 (Summer 1990). 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-46
47. S. A. Nuamah, *How Girls Achieve* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019). 5.02: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ Youth#return-footnote-132-47

This page titled 9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Kimberly Fuller.

- **5.2: Chapter 9- Education and LGBTQ+ Youth** by Kimberly Fuller is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

This page titled 9.7: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

10: Screening LGBTQ+

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Summarize the cinematic history of nonnormative genders and sexualities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identity.
- Summarize the history of film censorship as it relates to nonnormative genders and sexualities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identity.
- Identify key approaches to critiquing explicit and coded LGBTQ+ identities and themes in film.
  - Discuss at least one approach in detail and apply it to an original interpretation of queer film.

10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
10.3: Other Web Content
10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
10.5: Research Resources
10.6: Glossary
10.7: Footnotes
10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

This page titled 10: Screening LGBTQ+ is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Lynne Stahl.

10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview

What Is LGBTQ+ Film and Media?

What do Robert Zemeckis's ***Who Framed Roger Rabbit?*** (1988), Penny Marshall's ***A League of Their Own***, and David Fincher's ***Fight Club*** (1999) have in common? According to film news website IndieWire, they're all among **"the best queer films you didn't know were queer."**[1] The IndieWire reviewer reads homoerotic valences in *Fight Club*'s plot, which revolves around illicit male-male contact shrouded in secrecy. But if homosexuality never crosses the viewer's mind, is the film still queer? **The question of what counts as LGBTQ+ film and media is anything but straightforward.** Many have debated what makes a **gay film *gay,* a queer film *queer,*** and so on. Must the plot revolve around someone's emergent sexuality, as in Todd Haynes's ***Carol* (2015)** or Donna Deitch's ***Desert Hearts* (1985)**? Does an LGBTQ+ character suffice? How do we know a character's sexuality unless it is explicitly stated? Must we assume all film characters are straight until proved queer? What about Charles Herman-Wurmfeld's ***Kissing Jessica Stein* (2001)**, in which the title character dates a woman and comes out before finally finding the right man? Are films made by queer-identified directors intrinsically queer?

A range of scholars have explored these questions. In a book on the early lesbian filmmaker **Dorothy Arzner,** for example, Judith Mayne writes that, though Arzner's films contain no overtly lesbian characters or plots, they devote "constant and deliberate attention to how women dress and act and perform, as much for each other as for the male figures."[2] Alexander Doty, meanwhile, suggests that in many popular texts, 4queerness is "less an essential, waiting-to-be-discovered property than the result of acts of production or reception. This does not mean the queerness one attributes to mass culture texts is any less real than the straightness others would claim for these same texts. As with the constructing of sexual identities, constructing the sexualities of texts results in some 'real thing.'"[3] In other words, **queerness may emanate from the viewer as much as from a same-sex kiss onscreen.** As Richard Dyer notes, "In the process of investigation, the by, for, and about category frays at the edges."[4] With these concerns in mind, this chapter outlines the **history of queer representations** in screen media and considers the ways both texts and audiences produce queerness in the face of legal and cultural restrictions on overtly queer content.

Representation is important for marginalized groups, but applying labels to individuals and content raises ethical issues. With the aim of advocacy and comprehensibility, this chapter makes provisional use of categories such as *gay* and *trans* while remaining sensitive to historical contexts. **Elsewhere, *queer* operates as a catch-all for nonnormative sexual identities, behaviors, and aesthetics.**

Similarly, the sections of this chapter are makeshift, a subjective organizing tool to render the content more easily digestible. Part of the work of queer theory is to scrutinize and deconstruct categories, and the taxonomies of film genre and textbook chapter applied here are no exceptions.

Finally, this chapter critiques many of the texts it describes. Critique does not necessarily indicate that the texts in question are unworthy of watching. Rather, **recognizing their flaws as symptoms of the sociopolitical systems** in which they are produced and consumed is essential to the viewing process. Helping readers learn to identify and analyze these systems is, I believe, a textbook's core responsibility.

Form and Content

Although the thoughts and feelings they generate are real things, remember that media texts never present objective realities. From Madeleine Olnek's outrageously campy ***Codependent Lesbian Space Alien Seeks Same*** (2011) to hard-hitting documentaries such as David France's *The Death and Life of Marsha P. Johnson* (2017), films are representations (figure 10.1). **They're created through subjective human processes such as writing,** casting, acting, costuming, editing, and more. However realistic and emotionally affecting, characters are works of art and artifice whose lives stop where the film does. Likewise, documentaries are based on real events but are always interpretations of those events—they're never fully objective.

Analyzing screen media means considering not just what stories are told but also the techniques and processes—cinematography, editing, mise-en-scène, casting, and so on—used to tell them and how those elements work alongside the content to construct meaning. **In literary contexts, form refers to the way a story is told, and content refers to the events, plotline, and characters of which it consists.** Content might be thought of as the *what* of a text; form as *how* it's depicted. Making a film or a TV episode

entails many decisions beyond plot and dialogue, ranging from camera angles to casting, to wardrobe, to sound mixing, and they all produce certain effects. The language of film form offers a means for examining these decisions and their effects.



Figure 10.1. The investigative journalist and documentary maker Dave France (right) and Joy Tomchin (left) accepting a Peabody Award for their documentary How to Survive a Plague. (CC-BY Peabody Awards.)

A trope, meanwhile, is a "common or overused theme or device."[5] When overused, it becomes a cliché; tropes are discussed further later in the chapter. The frequent trope of dramatic death in LGBTQ+ film, commonly called Bury Your Gays, includes suicide (William Wyler's 1961 *The Children's Hour*, Lea Pool's 2001 *Lost and Delirious*, Atom Egoyan's 2009 *Chloe*), homicide (Anthony Minghella's 1999 *The Talented Mr. Ripley*, Kimberley Peirce's 1999 *Boys Don't Cry*, Ang Lee's 2005 *Brokeback Mountain*, Patty Jenks's 2003 *Monster*), and HIV/AIDS (Jonathan Demme's 1993 ***Philadelphia***, Ryan Murphy's 2014 *The Normal Heart*, Bryan Singer's 2018 ***Bohemian Rhapsody***). These tragic plotlines are so ubiquitous that B. Ruby Rich wryly noted that, in 1999, film's **"only lesbian happy ending involve[d] a portal** into John Malkovich's brain."[6]

Films involving a queer character's tragic death aren't necessarily bad or homophobic, but the persistent, minimally varying association of queerness with unnatural death is reductive and harmful in much the same way that the automatic association of HIV/AIDS with male homosexuality is reductive and harmful. Historically, moreover, these tropes have been cultural or legal requisites for representation to exist at all. To understand the reasons why the definition, production, and consumption of LGBTQ+ film and media remain so complicated today, this chapter devotes significant attention to **sociohistorical contexts.** Because such context is essential to understanding the contemporary conditions and manifestations of LGBTQ+ film and media, the chapter focuses almost exclusively on the United States.

Kiki and the MXfits: A Short about Being Trans in High School

For LGBTQ+ Pride Month in 2018, them. collaborated with Joey Soloway on a short film series called *Queeroes*, in which filmmakers created films that deliberately queered the Hollywood narrative. One short, "Kiki and the MXfits: A Short about Being Trans in High School," makes fun of the Hollywood high school comedy (https://youtu.be/3Zwi-Nceuzs).



- What tropes from teenage comedies can you identify in this short film?
- In what ways have these tropes been queered and reflected through a Latinx lens?
- What techniques does the filmmaker use to tell the story? Do you find them effective

Historical and Legal Contexts

As this chapter's title suggests, the history of LGBTQ+ film and media is bound up with social and political constraints that have consistently limited the expression and representation of nonnormative genders and sexualities. Restrictions notwithstanding, all sorts of gender and sexual diversity have found ways to make themselves visible and identifiable since cinema's early days.

Film's Beginnings through the Hays Code

In the 1930s, the Motion Picture Production Code, often called the **Hays Code**, established moral guidelines that films produced for public consumption had to follow. These guidelines prohibited or restricted the depiction of subject matter such as profanity, drug trafficking, religious effrontery, and childbirth scenes; a motion picture was not to "lower the moral standards of those who see it."[7] But before the Code was imposed, films featured more homosexual content than one might expect. See, for example, **Harry Beaumont's *The Broadway Melody*** (1929) and Cecil B. DeMille's *The Sign of the Cross* (1932).

Pre-Code depictions of gay and lesbian characters were often caricatured and insulting: mincing, dissolute men and unflatteringly mannish women. These stereotyped conceptions of homosexuality reflect the era's prevailing **notions of *inversion*—the idea that queerness equated to femininity in a male body or vice versa.** In sexologist **Richard von Krafft-Ebing's words,** an invert possessed "the masculine soul, heaving in the female bosom."[8] Though these stereotypes persist today and have been explored in such venues as **David Thorpe's *Do I Sound Gay?*** (2014), queer and feminist theory have helped **dispel the assumption that biological sex** (male or female) is inherently connected to gender (masculine or feminine), or indeed that there are only two sexes or two genders.

Poverty stopped many from attending movies when the Great Depression hit, so filmmakers tried shock-value tactics to lure audiences. These tactics encompassed controversial material ranging from unprecedented violence to sexual "perversion," including homosexual characters.[9] Partially in response to this trend, Will Hays, then president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (now Motion Picture Association of America) banned all gay male characters in film in 1933.[10] Representations of homosexuality were barred under this ban on the basis of representing "sex perversion or any inference of it"; **depictions of interracial relationships were also forbidden**.[11]

Just because the **Hays Code forbade queer content doesn't mean none existed, however.** Think of the pink elephant game, in which the objective is not to think about pink elephants. Knowing something is not supposed to be present often seems to make the possibility of its presence more acute. For this reason, censorship is notoriously ineffective for enforcing silence on a topic. Further, censorship often begets interpretive tendencies that seek out subtexts whose direct expression has been foreclosed—tendencies **Chon Noriega has called "reading against the grain."**[12]

McCarthyism and Onward

The Hays Code's later years dovetailed with the Red Scare of the 1950s and **Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-Communist smear campaigns**. Josh Howard's documentary ***The Lavender Scare*** (2017) explores the wave of homophobia that arose in conjunction with the Red Scare. The 1950s were a time of extreme scrutiny for gay men and lesbians, leading to firings and other forms of discrimination against individuals suspected of same-sex inclinations. **Homosexuality was viewed as dangerously subversive and associated with communist activity**—a huge stigma during the Cold War years.

Still, film depictions of queer men and occasionally women proliferated during this time. Partly because of the Hays Code's proscription on positive portrayals of "perversion," these characters were often villainous or mentally ill. Indeed, the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* listed homosexuality as a mental illness until 1973 and renamed "gender identity disorder" as gender dysphoria only in 2013. It's unsurprising that depictions of queer characters have frequently conformed to prevailing popular and medical opinion. Queerness and psychological disturbance remain linked in productions such as Darren Aronofsky's ***Black Swan*** (2010), Sonny Mallhi's ***The Roommate*** (2011), and Phoebe Waller-Bridge's ***Killing Eve*** (2018–).

Post–Hays Code Film and Television

The 1960s saw pushes for civil rights and freedom of expression in many walks of life. Uncoincidentally, the Hays Code was finally laid to rest in 1968. Having proved unpopular and largely unenforceable, it was replaced by the precursor to the current rating system, again from the Motion Picture Association of America: **G (general audiences), M (mature), R (restricted), and X**

(under 16 not admitted). The ratings of **PG** (parental guidance suggested), **PG-13** (parental-guidance suggested for those under 13), and **NC-17** (under 17 not admitted, replacing X) were added later.

▼ Details

Vito Russo standing on the street corner with cars and buildings behind him at Castro District in San Francisco.

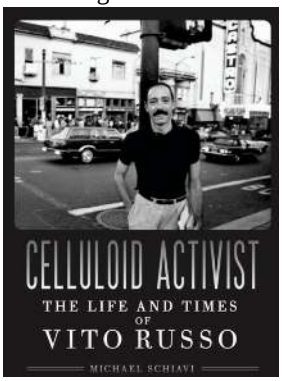


Figure 10.2 Celluloid Activist is the biography of gay-rights activist Vito Russo.

As Vito Russo's book *The Celluloid Closet* (adapted into a 1995 documentary by Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman) points out, same-sex representations historically have a much lower threshold for obscenity than do those of heterosexual relations (figure 10.2). That is, a scene where a man kisses another man has been treated as much more obscene—likelier to incur an R rating—than a man kissing a woman.[13]

Free Expression: Then and Now

The first U.S. Supreme Court case to address homosexuality in terms of **free speech was *One, Inc. v. Olesen* in 1958.** In it, the court ruled that neutral or positive homosexual content was not inherently obscene. The case had major implications for the media industry, because productions with LGBTQ+ content or themes could not be instantly labeled as pornography even if they flouted the constrictions of the Comstock laws, which blocked content considered obscene from being distributed by mail, or other moral strictures that had historically mandated content considered obscene.

Progressive changes in the portrayal of LGBTQ+ individuals, communities, and issues across media owe much to the continued activism of many groups, from local to international, and changes in public opinion. In 1985, Vito Russo and Jewelle Gomez, among others, **founded the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (now simply called GLAAD** so as not to erase those who identify in ways other than gay or lesbian) in response to negative media coverage of the AIDS crisis. **GLAAD promotes inclusive language that does not pathologize.** For example, it successfully lobbied the *New York Times*, the Associated Press, and other outlets to drop "homosexual" in favor of "gay" in 1987. **GLAAD also hosts a media awards ceremony each year,** compiles indexes related to LGBTQ+ representation in mainstream film, and publishes an annual report addressing the **inclusion of LGBTQ+ elements in television.**[14]

Underground and Experimental Film

In spite of these legal and cultural restrictions, a gay underground cinema arose with iconoclastic independent filmmakers such as Andy Warhol and Kenneth Anger. Warhol's *Blow Job* (1964) consists of a single long take—implicitly of the face of a man on whom another man is performing oral sex. Anger, who worked with the **sexologist Alfred Kinsey**, made experimental films with homoerotic undertones (and sometimes overtones). ***Fireworks*** (1947), which features a group of muscular male sailors and sexually suggestive imagery, led to obscenity charges against a distributor who screened it. A theater manager who screened Anger's *Scorpio Rising* in 1963 faced similar charges. In both cases, the charges were dismissed.

Though born in Hollywood, **the lesbian filmmaker Barbara Hammer** spurned the mainstream (figure 10.3). She directed the groundbreaking ***Dyketactics*** in 1973—a four-minute short that consists primarily of fragmented, nonlinear images of naked women walking around outdoors. The later ***Nitrate Kisses*** (1992), funded partially by **the National Endowment for the Arts,** features intimate footage of "deviant" couples, a thread related to the author **Willa Cather** and her rumored lesbianism, and the victimization of lesbians in Nazi Germany. Unprecedented and avant-garde as Hammer's style was, she has met criticism from within the feminist community for her association of female bodies with fruit, trees, and other natural images that some view as complicit with the heteropatriarchal construction of women as passive, flowery, and fertile.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Which of the following best explains why the "Bury Your Gays" trope persists in mainstream film, according to the chapter?

A) It reflects audience demand for tragic stories

B) It was reductive and harmful but requisites for queer representation to exist at all at that particular time

C) It is considered empowering by LGBTQ+ communities at that time

D) It is mandated by current film rating systems

2. The chapter suggests that the automatic association of HIV/AIDS with male homosexuality in film is problematic because:

A) it accurately reflects medical statistics.

B) it increases awareness of public health issues.

C) it reinforces reductive and harmful stereotypes.

D) it is required by censorship laws.

3. In the context of LGBTQ+ film, what is the significance of "reading against the grain" as described by Chon Noriega?

A) it refers to interpreting queer subtexts in films where direct representation is censored

B) it is a method of film production

C) it involves ignoring subtext in favor of explicit content

D) it means only analyzing mainstream films

4. How does the chapter critique Barbara Hammer's experimental film style from a feminist perspective?

A) It celebrates her use of mainstream Hollywood techniques.

B) It claims her work is universally accepted within feminist circles.

C) It argues that her films lack artistic merit.

D) It claims her work is universally accepted within feminist circles It questions her association of female bodies with natural imagery, which may reinforce heteropatriarchal constructions.

5. The chapter argues that critique of LGBTQ+ media texts is essential because:

A) It helps viewers avoid problematic content

B) It reveals flaws as symptoms of broader sociopolitical systems

C) It discourages the production of queer films

D) It ensures only positive portrayals are shown

1. How do recurring tropes like "Bury Your Gays" shape public perceptions of LGBTQ+ individuals and communities in media
2. In what ways have legal decisions, such as One, Inc. v. Olesen, influenced the representation of LGBTQ+ themes in film and media?
3. Discuss the role of organizations like GLAAD in changing language and representation in mainstream media. Why is inclusive language important?
4. How do underground and experimental filmmakers challenge mainstream narratives about LGBTQ+ identities? Give examples from the chapter.
5. What are the potential benefits and drawbacks of associating female bodies with natural imagery in lesbian experimental film, as seen in Barbara Hammer's work?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) It was reductive and harmful but requisites for queer representation to exist at all at that particular time
2. C) it reinforces reductive and harmful stereotypes.
3. A) it refers to interpreting queer subtexts in films where direct representation is censored
4. D) It claims her work is universally accepted within feminist circles It questions her association of female bodies with natural imagery, which may reinforce heteropatriarchal constructions
5. B) It reveals flaws as symptoms of broader sociopolitical systems

This page titled 10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.1: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ+** by Lynne Stahl is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities

Camp

Amid the post–World War II baby boom, 1940s–1950s suburban America projected an idyllic image of the nuclear family: suburban homes with white picket fences, father as breadwinner, stay-at-home mom. This image and its performative Americanness became the target of parody and critique by dissidents, filmmakers prime among them. One manifestation of such dissent came to be known as camp.

Camp is an aesthetic that privileges poor taste, shock value, and irony, **intentionally challenging the traditional attributes of high art.** It is often characterized by showiness, extreme artifice, and tackiness—such as the popular pink flamingo lawn ornaments from which John Waters's iconic film takes its name. Although largely ironic, camp can also devolve from earnestness gone awry, as in attempts at profundity that fall absurdly short of their targets. Paul Verhoeven's *Showgirls* (1995) and Steven Antin's ***Burlesque*** (2010) exemplify the latter. In "Notes on 'Camp,'" the cultural critic Susan Sontag suggests that nothing in nature can be campy (figure 10.4).[15]

Since the 1960s, the camp cinema of John Waters has delighted some audiences while repulsing others. ***Pink Flamingos*** (1972), ***Polyester*** (1981), and ***Hairspray*** (1988) lampoon the strictures and hypocrisies of the suburban United States, featuring the drag queen Divine and innumerable acts of subversion. Divine's influence went far beyond Waters's films, too. Legend holds Divine to be the inspiration for the villainous sea witch Ursula in Disney's *The Little Mermaid* (1992). More recently, Liz Flahive and Carly Mensch's comedy series *GLOW* (2017–) has embraced the campy 1980s phenomenon of the same name, giving fictional life to the erstwhile women's wrestling venture full of caricatured personae and self-consciously over-the-top storylines.

New Queer Cinema

The rise of independent film festivals such as **Sundance and Telluride in the 1970s and 1980s** spotlighted smaller productions that lacked the financial backing of major studios, **from avant-garde work to indie narrative cinema.** Following the **liberation-oriented activism of the 1970s–1980s** and then the HIV/AIDS crisis, a movement of unconventional, experimental, and **unapologetic films emerged in the early 1990s.** Rich termed this movement **"New Queer Cinema,"** describing it as one "favoring pastiche and appropriation, influenced by art, activism, and such new entities as music video. . . . It reinterpreted the link between the personal and the political envisioned by feminism [and] restaged the defiant activism pioneered at Stonewall."[16]

New queer cinema films such as **Gus van Sant's *My Own Private Idaho*** (1991) and **Derek Jarman's *Edward II* (1991)** featured overtly queer content, often focalized through outsider characters. Many also engaged with or alluded to the AIDS crisis, including **Richard Fung's 1991 *Chinese Characters*, Marlon Riggs's 1989 *Tongues Untied*, Todd Haynes's 1991 *Poison* and 1995 *Safe*, and Gregg Araki's 1992 *The Living End*.**

Cheryl Dunye's (figure 10.5) **mockumentary *The Watermelon Woman*** (1996) calls out the erasure of Black lesbians in Hollywood and the persistence of racist film tropes over the years. The film follows Dunye's character as she stages interviews with both fictitious and real-life lesbian activists, including Sarah Schulman and Camille Paglia. **Jennie Livingston's *Paris Is Burning*** (1990) documents **New York City ball culture, foregrounding Black and Latinx lives** and communities involved in the dance vogue scene. Iconic as it has become, scholars including bell hooks and Judith Butler have questioned the film's racial politics. Livingston, who is white and from a privileged background, arguably profits off a marginalized community and the unambivalent celebration of drag as a means of subversion and liberation. Critiques notwithstanding, **Steven Canals, Brad Falchuk, and Ryan Murphy joined forces to create *Pose* (2018–), an FX series that draws from *Paris Is Burning* in its fictionalized representation of the same ballroom culture.** Livingston has contributed in directorial and production roles to that production as well.

Mainstream Gay?

Whereas new queer cinema was defined largely by the **queer-identified directors, writers, and producers** creating its films, LGBTQ+ films began to enter bigger markets in the early years of the 2000s. **Ang Lee's Brokeback Mountain (2005),** for example, featured the (straight) A-list stars Heath Ledger and Jake Gyllenhaal as covert lovers. Subsequently, films such as **Julie Taymor's *Frida*** (2002), **Lisa Cholodenko's *The Kids Are All Right*** (2010), **Ryan Murphy's *The Normal Heart*** (2014), **Morten**

Tyldum's *The Imitation Game* (2014), and **Barry Jenkins's (figure 10.6) *Moonlight*** (2016) have all featured well-known (and disproportionately straight) actors and achieved mainstream prominence, including major award nominations.



Figure 10.6. Barry Jenkins, the director of the 2016 film that won the Academy Award for Best Picture. (CC-BY-SA Jared Eberhardt.)

Television and Streaming Media

LGBTQ+ TV

Actress, comedian, and **talk show host Ellen DeGeneres** (figure 10.7) is now an internationally recognizable figure who regularly appears on the ***Forbes* annual World's 100 Most Powerful Women lists,** but her success required the resuscitation of a career that went virtually comatose from 1997 to 2003. DeGeneres came out publicly as a lesbian on her sitcom, *Ellen* (1994–1998), in 1997. The show returned for one more season but was subsequently canceled. Many speculate that the final season's poor ratings owed to network ABC's refusal to risk alienating conservative audiences by promoting it.



Ellen DeGeneres holding an Emmy statue at the 1997 Emmy awards.

Figure 10.7. Ellen DeGeneres. (CC BY, Alan Light)

Thanks largely to Ellen's milestone pronouncement, late-1990s and early-2000s **television saw a spate of LGBTQ+ characters, personalities, and plotlines.** Long-running NBC sitcom ***Will & Grace* premiered in 1998,** ended in 2006, and rebooted in 2017. It features a gay male lead as well as a prominent gay supporting character. Although the show was groundbreaking and put (some) gay issues on a national stage, its characters played into many stereotypes and offered an almost exclusively white, cisgender, and normative representation of homosexuality.

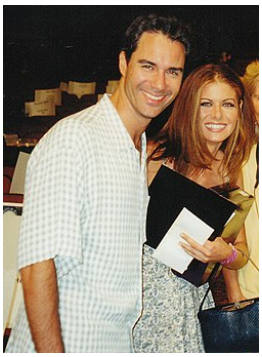


Figure **10.2.1**: Eric McCormack and Debra Messing, the stars of "Will & Grace" at the rehearsal for the 1999 Emmy Awards. (CC BY; Alan Light via Wikimedia)

Ron Becker contextualizes the 1990s spike in LGBTQ+ (mostly "G" and "L") programming in terms of increasingly segmented markets.[17] The representation of certain safe forms of nonheterosexuality appealed to straight audiences among growing discourses of liberal tolerance. As commercial productions, the existence—or at least distribution—of film and TV shows is always to some extent a business decision. Media studios and companies are unlikely to take a chance on something they don't believe will prove profitable. The 1990s marked a point at which **many companies began to view sexual identity groups and queer-friendly audiences as viable marketing demographics.** This trend continues in various venues, such as **corporate Pride sponsorships, mass-market rainbow merchandise, and lifestyle networks such as LOGOtv and Here TV.**

Showtime's *Queer as Folk* (2000–2005) made a splash in 2000, a groundbreaking Americanization of a British series that had premiered the year before. The show, shot chiefly in Toronto, Canada, followed a group of friends and lovers through their lives in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Even though it was predominantly white, middle-class, and cismale, *Queer as Folk* was pioneering in terms of **promoting safe sex** and portraying healthful, happy characters living with HIV. The show also thematized prominent issues often associated with gay male communities, for better or for worse, such as polyamory, body dysmorphia, drug and alcohol use, and homophobic discrimination in the workplace and beyond. ***The L Word* (2004–2009),** considered by many the female version of *Queer as Folk*, premiered on Showtime in 2004. **It achieved slightly greater diversity** than its predecessor, featuring several characters of color, interracial relationships, a trans character, and a deaf character.

With a racially diverse cast, ABC's ***The Fosters* (2013–2018)** has established long-term success among a mainstream audience for which shows such as ***Glee* (2009–2015)** and ***Modern Family* (2009–2020) helped pave the way**. *The Fosters* explores an array of issues specific to LGBTQ+ people, such as transitioning and bullying, as well as more universal themes related to relationships, family, and the challenges of puberty (figure 10.8). More recently, the animated series ***Bojack Horseman*** (2014–2020) broke ground with its portrayal of **asexual Todd Chavez,** including his coming out and **navigation of ace relationships.**



Figure 10.8. Sherri Saum (left) and Teri Polo (right) play wives and foster parents on ABC's The Fosters. (CC BY, Greg Hernandez.)

Artist and Activist Spotlight: RuPaul Charles

A major contemporary queer icon, **RuPaul Charles** (figure 10.9) gained fame in the early **1990s as a drag performer, actor, supermodel, musician, and all-around entertainer.**[18] He has appeared in iconic LGBTQ+ films including **Jamie Babbitt's *But I'm a Cheerleader*** (1999) and **Beeban Kidron's *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything!, Julie Newmar* (1995).** RuPaul also produces, hosts, and judges the hit reality series ***RuPaul's Drag Race,*** in which he mentors competitors pursuing a cash prize and the coveted title of **America's Next Drag Superstar.** Although massively popular, the show's use of offensive terms and RuPaul's suggestion—for which he later apologized—that trans contestants possessed an unfair advantage over cis contestants have drawn criticism.



Figure 10.9. RuPaul Charles (second from left) at Dragcon 2019. (CC BY, DVROSS.)

Streaming Services

Some lament the fall of the brick-and-mortar video rental store with the rise of digital video services, but the latter has proved a boon to LGBTQ+ film and television and many consumers who search for that content. The impersonality—not to say anonymity—of these platforms removed the stigma, perceived or real, that might prevent interested audiences from renting or purchasing queer movies in person. These new delivery options (and, later, streaming, a service **Netflix began offering in 2007)** opened veritable floodgates of viewership, especially in conservative cities, rural areas, and other environs where queer media was difficult to come by. Digital platforms such as **Prime Video, Hulu, Hoopla, and Kanopy** have further extended the reach of **mainstream, indie, and international film, often at little or no direct cost to viewers.**

Streaming and Visibility

Retail giant Amazon broke ground with **Jill (now Joey) Soloway's *Transparent* (2014–2019),** the first show produced through Amazon Studios and aired on its streaming platform, Prime Video. ***Transparent* follows Maura,** newly out, and her family through their lives in Los Angeles. Cis actor Jeffrey Tambor won a Golden Globe for his performance in a show that presents many challenges trans populations face in society, including bathroom policing, transphobic violence, and trans-exclusionary versions of so-called feminism.

Breaking through in **Jenji Kohan's Netflix series *Orange Is the New Black* (2013–2019),** which explores the experiences of a diverse group of women in prison, **Laverne Cox (figure 10.10)** has emerged as among the most prominent trans performers in the world. Her role as Sophia Burset sheds light on the particular barriers and forms of dehumanization that trans individuals face in prison, because—in addition to transphobic harassment from guards and inmates alike—their access to medically necessary materials may be curtailed.

Also on Netflix, **Lena Waithe cowrote and starred in an episode, "Thanksgiving," of Aziz Ansari's comedy series *Master of None* (2015–2018, 2021).** The episode, which depicts the seldom-represented experience of a Black lesbian coming out to her family, won a Primetime Emmy for Outstanding Writing for a Comedy Series.



Figure 10.10. Laverne Cox. (CC0, Luke Harold.)

Comedy Specials

Streaming video has also benefited comedians, providing ready access to audiences who live far from—or can't afford—urban-centric standup circuits. **The vibrancy of queer women in comedy** has been a revelation for many in recent years. In addition to performers with established reputations **(Rosie O'Donnell, Ellen DeGeneres, Wanda Sykes, and Margaret Cho)**, a new set has taken viewers by storm, thanks largely to streaming platforms. As with film and television, some LGBTQ+ comedy content

expressly addresses aspects of queer identity—for example, **Cameron Esposito's** viral clip about her so-called lesbian side mullet. [19] Some, such as **Hannah Gadsby's** Netflix special *Nanette* (2018), upend the genre, critiquing misogyny and homophobia and the bound-up ways the two structure the art world, comedy, and everyday life.

Three ideas. Three contradictions. Or not.

Hannah Gadsby gave a TED Talk in the wake of her groundbreaking Netflix comedy special *Nanette* (https://www.ted.com/talks/hannah_gad...ot?language=en).



- What do you think Gadsby meant when she said that with *Nanette* she wanted to "break comedy"?
- How do you think streaming media contributed to Gadsby's career skyrocketing after she claimed to "quit"?

Tig Notaro became famous for her standup in the mid-2010s, including a filmed set in which she lifts her shirt to reveal a chest that has undergone, as part of her breast cancer treatment, a double mastectomy. She would later write, produce, and star in ***One Mississippi* (2015–2017),** an autobiographical comedy that aired on Amazon Prime and costarred Notaro's real-life spouse, the writer and actor Stephanie Allynne.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. According to Susan Sontag's "Notes on 'Camp,'" which of the following would NOT be considered camp?
A) A drag performance parodying suburban life
B) Pink flamingo lawn ornaments
C) An earnest attempt at profundity that becomes absurd
D) A naturally occurring phenomenon

2. The rise of New Queer Cinema in the early 1990s is most closely associated with which of the following characteristics?
A) Strict adherence to mainstream narrative conventions
B) Pastiche, appropriation, and a blending of art and activism
C) Avoidance of political themes
D) Exclusive focus on heterosexual relationships

3. Critiques of Jennie Livingston's Paris Is Burning by scholars such as bell hooks and Judith Butler focus primarily on:
A) the director's privileged background and potential exploitation of marginalized communities.
B) the film's lack of artistic merit.
C) its inaccurate depiction of ballroom culture.
D) its failure to win major awards.

4. The increased visibility of LGBTQ+ characters in mainstream television during the late 1990s and early 2000s is attributed in the chapter to:
A) a sudden change in government policy.
B) the segmentation of media markets and the appeal to straight audiences.
C) the decline of independent film festivals.
D) the absence of corporate sponsorship.

5. The chapter suggests that the expansion of digital streaming platforms has impacted LGBTQ+ media consumption by:
A) increasing the stigma associated with viewing queer content.
B) limiting access to international films.
C) removing barriers to access and increasing anonymity for viewers.
D) reducing the diversity of available content.

1. How does the aesthetic of camp challenge traditional notions of "high art" and what role has it played in LGBTQ+ media and culture?
2. In what ways did New Queer Cinema redefine the relationship between personal identity and political activism in film?
3. Discuss the ethical implications of privileged filmmakers documenting marginalized communities, as seen in Paris Is Burning. How should filmmakers navigate these challenges?
4. How have shifts in media marketing and audience segmentation influenced the representation of LGBTQ+ characters and stories in mainstream television and film?
5. What are the potential benefits and drawbacks of digital streaming platforms for the visibility and diversity of LGBTQ+ media, especially in conservative or rural areas?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. D) A naturally occurring phenomenon
2. B) Pastiche, appropriation, and a blending of art and activism
3. A) the director's privileged background and potential exploitation of marginalized communities.
4. B) the segmentation of media markets and the appeal to straight audiences.
5. C) removing barriers to access and increasing anonymity for viewers.

This page titled 10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.1: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ+** by Lynne Stahl is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

10.3: Other Web Content

Since the proliferation of cable options in the 1990s, the screen media market has fragmented further with the advent of the internet and the means to reach millions instantly with relatively little overhead, experience, or equipment. In 2011, the **lesbian Hannah Hart** (figure 10.11) broke out with ***My Drunk Kitchen,*** a YouTube comedy series whose short films parody cooking show conventions and feature Hart's inebriated culinary ventures. Around the same time, **Jazz Jennings** became perhaps the youngest out trans individual to achieve national prominence in the United States. She began making media appearances at age six and later created the YouTube series ***I Am Jazz***.[20] TLC and the Oprah Winfrey Network have produced, respectively, a reality series and a documentary about Jazz.

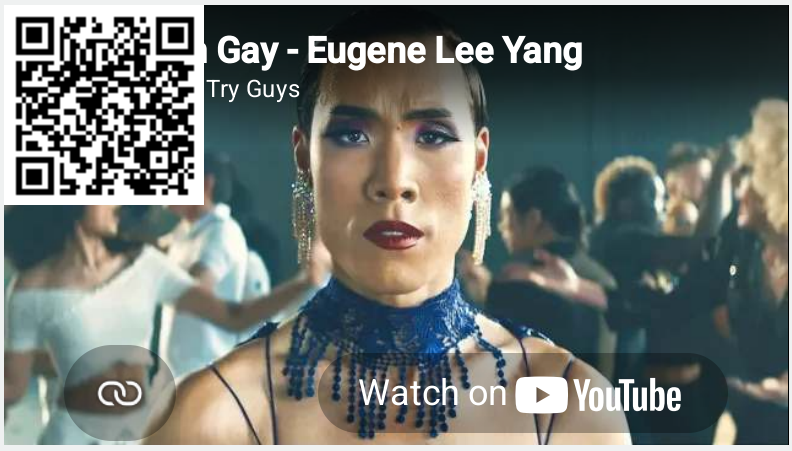


Figure 10.11. Hannah Hart. (CC BY-SA Gage Skidmore.)

Multitalented queer figures such as **Jes Tom** (*Soojung Dreams of Fiji*), **Fortune Feimster** (*Chelsea*), and **Sampson McCormick** (*A Tough Act to Follow*) have been able to get around gatekeepers by producing short films available on YouTube. They gained massive followings through a combination of recorded and live performances and their social media presence. Indeed, social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter have created **unprecedented reach and a sense of connectedness**—for better or worse—for celebrities and the public. YouTube has also become a popular medium for coming out via emotionally affecting videos that sometimes accrue millions of views.

I'm Gay - Eugene Lee Yang

YouTuber Eugene Lee Yang, best known for his work at Buzzfeed and with the Try Guys, comes out in a music video (https://youtu.be/qpipLfMiaYU) that he directed himself and that expresses artistically his experience as a gay Asian man. The video had garnered nineteen million views by 2021.



- How does this music video express the challenges and complexities of coming out?
- How do you think using YouTube shaped the impact of this video?

LGBTQ+ Film and Media Studies: Critical Conversations

The LGBTQ+ community is anything but monolithic, and perspectives on LGBTQ+ film and media are accordingly myriad. This section highlights some points of particular contention within the field.

Coming Out

One of the predominant tropes in LGBTQ+ film and media is the Coming Out Story, exemplified in **John Sayles's *Lianna* (**1983), **Alice Wu's *Saving Face*** (2004), **Dee Rees's *Pariah*** (2011), and **Greg Berlanti's *Love, Simon*** (2018). These films focus primarily on the protagonist's realization or disclosure of their queerness. Sexuality is framed as a confession or disclosure, something that a closeted character hides or denies until a dramatic outing scene, often the plot's climax. Coming out stories are important, but it is also important to challenge the status of heterosexuality as the assumed default until a different orientation is declared.

Homonormativity

Homonormativity (see chapter 1(opens in new window)) establishes the bounds of acceptable queerness and that which deviates from it, often replicating other dominant social norms with regard to race, sex, class, and ability. For example, ABC's popular ***Modern Family*** presents gay men (a married couple played by Jesse Tyler Ferguson and Eric Stonestreet) positively, but they are rendered respectable through other aspects of their identity: white, wealthy, monogamous, and constituents of a more or less traditionally structured nuclear family. The show's message about queerness may therefore be read as "Look, we're just like heterosexuals," overriding rather than embracing difference.

Debates over homonormativity in film and television abound. For example, ***Glee* provides numerous queer characters and storylines.** Yet as Frederik Dhaenens notes, they ultimately "consolidate the heterosexual matrix" by portraying queer characters who are routinely victimized yet nonetheless overarchingly happy and conformist, as though simply rolling with the punches eventually yields contentment.[21] Moreover, **LGBTQ+ people of color are still dramatically underrepresented.** Gloria Calderon Kellett and Mike Royce's web series ***One Day at a Time*** (2017–2019, 2020) follows a **Latinx family** and presents much-needed diversity in terms of both characters and tropes.

Bisexual Erasure

Maria San Filippo and others have critiqued bisexual erasure or invisibility within LGBTQ+ cinema. Even when bisexual themes, characters, and storylines are present in film, San Filippo observes, they are typically referred to as gay, queer, or lesbian, terms that fail to acknowledge bisexuality as its own entity.[22] **Kevin Smith's *Chasing Amy*** (1997), **Alfonso Cuarón's *Y tu mamá también*** (2001), **David Lynch's *Mulholland Dr.*** (2001), **Charles Herman-Wurmfeld's *Kissing Jessica Stein*** (2001), **Ang Lee's *Brokeback Mountain*** (2005), and L**uca Guadagnino's *Call Me by Your Name*** (2017) all unambiguously depict both same-sex and different-sex relationships, yet they are seldom framed in terms of bisexual identity or desire.

Ciswashing

Trans people are often excluded from mainstream (and independent) media, even from narratives specifically about trans lives. Among the films focused on trans individuals that have found commercial and critical success, many feature cisgender actors exclusively: **Hilary Swank in Kimberley Peirce's *Boys Don't Cry*** (1999), **Felicity Huffman in Duncan Tucker's *Transamerica*** (2005), **Jared Leto in Jean-Marc Vallée's *Dallas Buyers Club*** (2013), and Eddie Redmayne in **Tom Hooper's *The Danish Girl*** (2015).

Laura Horak observes, too, that much writing on trans media focuses on representations of trans individuals rather than on trans authorship.[23] Because being out in Hollywood has always posed professional and personal risks—from pigeonholing and blacklisting to physical violence—it's impossible to know the full extent of sexual and gender diversity that has existed among filmmakers, performers, writers, and others.

Artist and Activist Spotlight: The Wachowskis

The Wachowski siblings (figure 10.12) made history in announcing their respective transitions—Lana in 2012 and Lilly in 2016. Lana is widely considered the first major trans film director. Though most famous for their futuristic action franchise that began with ***The Matrix,*** the Wachowskis have made significant contributions in terms of queer content. Crime thriller ***Bound*** (1996) features two women who conspire in a romance-cum-heist. Wishing to avoid the cliché, pornographized, or insultingly diluted depictions of lesbian sex in film, the Wachowskis hired the **sex educator and activist Susie Bright** as a consultant for the sex scenes. Beyond critical success and Emmy nominations, the **Wachowskis' Netflix sci-fi series *Sense8*** (2015–2018) was a milestone in trans media. Created primarily by trans filmmakers and featuring a trans character played by the actress Jamie Clayton, who is trans, *Sense8* offers a nuanced representation of trans lives and issues.



Figure 10.12. Directors Lilly (left) and Lana (right) Wachowski at a screening of Cloud Atlas at Fantastic Fest. (CC-BY WanderingWanda.)

It Gets Better?

In 2010, the **writer and activist Dan Savage and his husband, Terry Miller,** founded the ***It Gets Better* Project** in response to a rash of suicides by children and teenagers subjected to homophobic bullying and harassment. The campaign entailed the launch of a YouTube channel and viral video ad featuring Savage and his family along with the message that, however tough things are at present, they will improve with time. Although the campaign brought much-needed attention to homophobia and its consequences, it also drew criticism from within the LGBTQ+ community. Many queer activists and scholars, particularly **individuals of color including Jasbir Puar (2010) and Tavia Nyong'o (2010),** have pointed out that Savage's promise is predicated on a narrative of upward mobility and affluence that is unavailable to many of the most vulnerable queer populations.[24] It has also been critiqued for its failure to recognize the extent to which its makers' racial, economic, gender-based, and physical privilege has helped clear their path. **Activism and action are essential—and careful thought and reflection equally so.**

Conclusion

This chapter is only a brief introduction to the wonders, shortcomings, and manifold complexities of LGBTQ+ film and media. Like raw film, it has been sliced, diced, and rearranged to fit into the narrow confines of its container. Readers who wish for more can avail themselves of the links and suggested readings and viewings that offer helpful paths to further, deeper exploration.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. The success of Hannah Hart's My Drunk Kitchen on YouTube is most indicative of which trend in LGBTQ+ media?
A) The decline of independent film festivals
B) The return to mainstream network television
C) The democratization of media production and distribution via the internet
D) The reduction of LGBTQ+ representation in comedy

2. Criticism of the It Gets Better Project by scholars such as Jasbir Puar and Tavia Nyong'o centers on its:
A) lack of viral reach.
B) focus on upward mobility and affluence, which may not be accessible to the most vulnerable queer populations.
C) exclusive use of print media.
D) emphasis on physical fitness

3. Jazz Jennings' media presence is significant because she:
A) was the first out trans adult in the United States.
B) avoided all social media platforms.
C) only appeared in scripted television,
D) became one of the youngest out trans individuals to achieve national prominence.

4. The chapter suggests that the proliferation of cable and internet options has led to:
A) greater fragmentation and niche targeting in screen media.

B) a more centralized media market.
C) the disappearance of LGBTQ+ content.
D) the dominance of only major studios.

5. One major critique of internet-based LGBTQ+ activism is it:
A) is always universally accessible.
B) sometimes fails to account for differences in privilege among its creators and audiences.
C) never reaches mainstream audiences.
D) is only focused on entertainment.

1. How has the rise of platforms like YouTube changed the landscape of LGBTQ+ media representation and access?
2. In what ways does the It Gets Better Project both help and potentially limit the experiences of marginalized LGBTQ+ youth?
3. Discuss the importance of intersectionality in evaluating the effectiveness and inclusivity of internet-based LGBTQ+ activism.
4. What are the potential benefits and drawbacks of media fragmentation for LGBTQ+ creators and audiences?
5. How do stories like Jazz Jennings' challenge or reinforce mainstream narratives about trans identity and visibility in media.

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) The democratization of media production and distribution via the internet
2. B) focus on upward mobility and affluence, which may not be accessible to the most vulnerable queer populations.
3. D) became one of the youngest out trans individuals to achieve national prominence.
4. A) greater fragmentation and niche targeting in screen media.
5. B) sometimes fails to account for differences in privilege among its creators and audiences.

This page titled 10.3: Other Web Content is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.1: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ+** by Lynne Stahl is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time

Profile: Giving Voice to Black Gay Men through Marlon Riggs's Tongues Untied

Marlon Riggs, a Black gay documentarian and activist whose work was most prominent during the 1980s and early 1990s, released his classic film ***Tongues Untied* in 1989.** Riggs notes that it is a film **"specifically for black gay men,"** though its reception and praise has far exceeded this demographic.[25] *Tongues Untied* is a canonical film in the archive of Black queer cinema, along with Riggs's other work—***Ethnic Notions* (1986),** *Color Adjustment* (1991), and *Black Is. . . Black Ain't* (1994). *Ethnic Notions* looks at racist stereotypes and caricatures of Black people in the United States; ***Color Adjustments*** surveys forty years of Black people in television; and *Black Is. . . Black Ain't* explores how multifaceted Black identity is. *Tongues Untied* was a vanguard film because it was one of the first to explore the specificity of Black gay identity. This profile analyzes *Tongues Untied* as a film explicitly about Black gay identity and culture. It also meditates on **Riggs's biography and relationship to the content,** marginalized voices, Black gay cultural practices, and the politics of sexuality within Black communities.

Riggs himself was in many ways the subject of his films. He was born in 1957 in Texas and grew up during the civil rights movement in the mid-twentieth century. Part of a loving family in a tight-knit Black community, Riggs was a smart, athletic, articulate child. When he graduated from high school and began college at Harvard University, he dated women while constantly trying to deny his attraction to men. For a while he tried to convince himself that men were ugly and disgusting and that loving men was vile. But eventually he conceded his sexual attractions and began living life as a Black gay man.[26] After entering into a long-term partnership with another man, **he was compelled to bring his filmic talents to bear on his and others' lives.** Ultimately, Riggs felt the imperative to no longer remain silent about the plights and lives of Black gay male identity, so he took to the reel. Unlike many documentary directors at the time, he put himself in front of the camera. His films center the lives of Black people, and it was ***Tongues Untied* that brought *gay* Black people to the forefront.**

He brings all this to his films, and *Tongues Untied* can be understood as in part a representation of many things Riggs himself experienced throughout his life. Riggs was quite hesitant to make the film, remarking in an interview that everything within me was saying, "No, no don't do it. Find somebody else who will talk about being HIV positive. Find somebody else who will talk about being an Uncle Tom. Find somebody else who will talk about being called nigger and punk and faggot and so forth."[27]

Amid the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and 1990s, when many people were dying from HIV/AIDS-related illnesses (and were disproportionately Black gay men), Black queer film at the time sought to answer the questions of how to speak in the face of death and how to give voice to the dying. Even when not afflicted with deadly diseases, Black gay men lived in social conditions that were not hospitable to their flourishing. They were marked as pariahs who, even if they were HIV negative, were seen as always capable of infecting "innocent" (read: non-Black and nongay) people with their "deviant" lifestyles. The act of calling someone a faggot or nigger is an attempt to silence that person, which often worked. **Many Black gay men remained fearful of expressing their sexualities** because of the verbal and physical violence they could be met with. This has been occurring for too long; for too long has a racist and homophobic society disallowed Black gay men from simply living as Black gay men. So **Riggs thought it absolutely necessary to break this silence.**

As a film, *Tongues Untied* was one of the first to speak explicitly about Black gay life in ways that were not denigrating. The film features a wide range of other cultural producers of Black art, **featuring the music of Billie Holiday and Nina Simone and poetry by Essex Hemphill** (who also appears in the film) and **Joseph Beam.** It also defied categorization in its time—melding documentary, experimental filmography, poetry, and interview. *Tongues Untied* represented Black gay men in unconventional ways in both content and form. It depicted more than a one-dimensional image of Black gay life and conveyed not only the Black man refused entry into the gay bar because of his Blackness or the violent attack that left the gay man bleeding on the sidewalk; it also demonstrated the resilience of Black gay men, from their public protest marches in solidarity with other struggles to their **intimate community, to their humorous musicology and vogue dancing** (figure 10.13). All this is groundbreaking, rarely depicted filmography.



Figure 10.13. A voguing dancer. (CC BY S Pakhrin.)

The vast majority of the film is dark. Its background is pitch black as it faces Black men speaking about their experiences. Many of the images shown are in black and white, muting colors that might have existed. The darkness of the film is symbolic of not only the Blackness of the Black men discussed but also the profound void that the imposed silence on Black gay men creates. It symbolizes isolation, loneliness, the lack of voice.

So often it is remarked that giving voice to the marginalized is important. But what does this mean? **For Riggs and *Tongues Untied* it means "loosening the tongue," as noted in the film.** The tongue is a part of the body integral to speech, and its loosening marks a shift from voicelessness to being able to **speak one's truths.** Racism and homophobia, or homophobic racism and racist homophobia, have shackled the voices of Black gay men. And their silence is and has been killing them, disallowing them to ask for things they need or to express their desires or to convey the aspects of their lives. As the Black lesbian feminist poet Audre Lorde famously said, "Your silence will not protect you."[28] It is a silence imposed on them, so to actualize liberation it is necessary for **Black gay men to reclaim their voices.**

Moreover, the tongue is an instrument of pleasure and sexuality. It is used to lick, it is a key component in sucking, and it is integral to vocalizing lust and yearning. Nonheterosexual sex has been pathologized, and thus, to loosen the tongues of Black gay men gives them a voice and also allows them to express their sexual desires more freely. **Riggs, in the title of his film, breaks the silence of Black gay men around sexuality and actual sexual acts.**

Another prominent theme throughout is the complex culture of Black gay men. This rich complexity is showcased primarily through three practices: **voguing, snapping, and responses to homophobia.** Voguing is a stylized dance originating in the late 1980s and finding roots in **underground ballroom scenes in the 1960s that were almost entirely queer people of color.** It is inspired by the style of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics and model poses in *Vogue* magazine. **Voguers strike model-like poses in quick succession, integrating angular movement and holds with the arms and legs.** The dance acts as a cultural site of expression in a world that routinely denies the unapologetic expression of Black and queer livelihood, thus serving as a site of catharsis among these marginalized people.

In turn, snapping is, of course, snapping one's fingers. But this practice takes on a larger meaning in Black gay communities. Snapping is a sly yet profound retort to a number of things. The snap communicates in diverse languages and with varying connotations. It must, because Black gay men have so long been silenced. **Snapping acts as a way to speak beyond conventional means;** snapping is a vital communication tool for Black gay men who have been disallowed from speaking. There are a variety of different snaps, named in ways that describe their movement and purpose (e.g., classic snap, point snap). For a demographic so violently silenced, it is imperative that new forms of voice be created. Deprived of verbal voice, Black gay men can snap and say just as many things.

Encompassing these practices and the many others of Black gay communities is how the broader world treats people who are Black and gay. Riggs encapsulates this at one point in the film: a medley of different voices spew various epithets used to foreshadow and do harm to Black gay men—"punk," "homo," "faggot," "motherfucking coon," and "freak." These are terms solely for denigrating Black and gay identity. Racist and homophobic terms such as these do more than speak badly of Black and gay people; they are themselves forms of violence. As such, these terms negatively influence how Black gay men in particular feel and behave in the world. For instance, especially in the 1980s—and still in the twenty-first century—g**ay men had to often hide their sexualities for fear of homophobic violence (yet still were subject to racist violence).** If outed as gay, they would often be met with physical and verbal forms of harm. These violent practices led many Black gay men, and sexual minorities on the whole, to face a constant fear for their lives, unable to live publicly in affirmation of their gay identities.

To live in such constant fear necessitated an outlet. Quite often the only solace Black gay men could find during the 1980s was other Black gay men. Often, communing with other Black gay men was the only time each could be his full self. Viewers see an example of this in *Tongues Untied* when a group of Black gay men are sharing a meal together, sharing anecdotes about their lives. They converse about encountering homophobic vitriol, about confronting that vitriol, and about strategies used to survive in its aftermath. Such moments are life sustaining, and **such moments allow for the tiny accumulation of boldness, acceptance, and love that constitute revolutionary acts.**

What also weighed on Black gay men, especially during the 1980s, was how other people in the Black community forced an impossible choice, a choice described in the film as "Come the final throw-down, what is he first: Black or gay?" This is an impossible choice for Black gay men because it is impossible to separate the two identities—**they are always, at the same time, Black *and* gay. Recognition of this is perhaps the primary lesson learned by intersectionality:** that the various aspects of our identities and oppressions converge and make up one another rather than being separable into discrete categories. For example, one is Black *and* woman and faces bias on both of those grounds together, not one at a time. **So when the revolution comes, they will be Black *and* gay first, because it could be no other way.**

Black gay life is circumscribed by these violences, indeed, but it is not determined by them. In other words, Black gay men have a rich social life despite these violences and in the face of these violences. Riggs finds the perfect consolidation of this tension in Black gay men's lives. *Tongues Untied* is, then, a film showcasing one possible way of holding on to the pain and the joy and how holding on to these two things is revolutionary. Consider what Riggs says in an interview titled "*Tongues Untied* Lets Loose Angry, Loving Words":

I really spoke of black men loving black men being not just a revolutionary act, but within the context of black male dynamics, the revolutionary act. It's not the overthrow of whitey. It's learning to love within all the conditioning of learning to hate ourselves. To me that's truly a radical break from our past.[29]

Revolution happens when we radically depart from the current state of things, a state of things that rests on the foundation of white supremacist and homophobic violence. In this context, Riggs is arguing that Black men loving one another is not just one revolutionary act among many others of equal weight; **it is *the* revolutionary act.** Because so much of Riggs's world was structured by racism and homophobia, to love Black men marked a way of inhabiting the world in a profoundly revolutionary way.

It cannot be overstated how profound Black men loving Black men is, especially amid the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s when there was an underground culture of cruising—men looking for illicit, often unprotected sex with other men—during a sexual crisis. This practice affirms denigrated life. To clarify: for two Black gay men to choose one another for unprotected sex, for pure pleasure and sexual autonomy, amid the HIV/AIDS crisis is not to be reduced simply to sexual irresponsibility or, even worse, ignorance. No, it is, **rather, a commitment to living one's sexual life as fully as possible despite how much one's very identity has been pathologized.** For two Black gay men to have sex during this epidemic is an affirmation of closeness, of touch; of disregard for the various ways they have been told that their bodies and desires are disgusting and literally illegal. "I will not do what they have done to us," the act says. "I will love every inch of you, every crevice." And this is an unwavering love for those who have been said to be unlovable. Riggs, in giving voice to Black gay men, is voicing precisely this sentiment.

Tongues Untied remains relevant today because there is still a lack of Black gay male representation in film and media. Love between Black gay men is still a taboo topic for films, only starting to change with the acclaim a film like ***Moonlight* (2016)** received. That *Tongues Untied* is still one of only a few films that explicitly take up Black gay male life shows that there is still a lack of representation, which signals a larger silencing of Black gay male experience in social life. Returning to this film could reassert the importance of Black gay identity, could usher in a shift in the cultural imaginary.

All in all, the radical, revolutionary act is love, loving those who have been said to be unlovable. *Tongues Untied* is an o**de to how breaking the silence and giving voice to the oppressed *is* revolutionary.** So often in the 1970s Black identity and liberation was understood as one thing, by the masculinist revolutionary calls of Black Power and Black Nationalism. But Riggs's revolution is one focused on more than just "the overthrow of whitey"; it is focused on how Black men can learn to love one another. Real transformation, at least for Riggs, is in the ending of the silence Black gay men have been forced to keep. When the silence—what is called in *Tongues Untied* "the deadliest weapon"—ends, perhaps Black gay men can come together and **love unapologetically and openly.** And as said in the opening minutes of the film, through coming together—the coming together of "BGAs: Black gay activists"—**"we can make a serious revolution together."**

Profile: How *One Day at a Time* Avoids Negative Queer Tropes

Shyla Saltzman

Popular media, for better or worse, helps teach audiences what is valued and what is possible. Inclusive representation, or portrayals of people with diverse bodies and identities in the media, can influence how we see ourselves and feel and behave toward other people. In a ***Washington Post*** **article, Amber Leventry explains** that "coverage of topics and people that have historically been considered taboo can take the emotional burden off LGBTQ+ people by educating people about gender, pronouns, gender expression and sexual orientation."[30] Studies have shown that **when we see sympathetic depictions of marginalized groups, our opinions of those groups improve.**[31] One study found that people are more accepting of transgender individuals after seeing them depicted onscreen, which could have positive implications for persuading the public to support policies that combat transgender discrimination.[32] **Representation aids in educating, familiarizing, and also developing empathy for people we may otherwise be biased toward.**

Representation is important in itself, but it needs to be handled responsibly. Reliance on reductive stereotypes or tropes can reinforce harmful messages despite the best intentions. There is more queer representation on television and in media today than ever before, which is an incredible achievement. **GLAAD's annual "Where We Are on TV" report found** a larger than ever percentage of not only queer characters on network, cable, and streaming television but also queer characters of color: for the 2018–2019 TV season, 8.8 percent of regular series characters were LGBTQ+ (up from 6.4 percent), and queer characters of color outnumbered white queer characters for the first time.[33] But sometimes we celebrate too soon. LGBTQ+ visibility is important, but it is not always an advancement in and of itself. There are more queer television characters, but they are often limited to a few categories: "safe" and celibate, deeply pathologized, or otherwise preoccupied with homophobia to the detriment of their mental health and development. To consider contemporary examples of LGBTQ+ representation in media, this profile explores how the **Netflix series** ***One Day at a Time*** **s**howcases nuanced queer characters in a way that offers drama, empowers queer youth, and provides learning opportunities and positive depictions for queer viewers, allies, and allies to be.



Figure 10.14. Isabella Gomez plays Elena, a lesbian Latina teenager, on One Day at a Time. (CC BY Jeff Hitchcock.)

One Day at a Time **focuses on a Latinx family that faces multifaceted issues and challenges.** The grandmother is a devout Catholic from Cuba, and part of her narrative arc is becoming a U.S. citizen at a time when Latin American immigration is a painfully charged topic in the United States. Her daughter, Penelope Alvarez, is a single mother, as well as a war veteran who suffers from depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. Penelope struggles to become a nurse practitioner and often deals with racism and sexism in the doctor's office where she works. Most importantly for this chapter, Penelope's daughter, **Elena, is a lesbian teenager** (figure 10.14). To explain why Elena is a noteworthy lesbian character on television, we need to discuss a trope that is regularly featured in queer narratives: plot arcs that center homophobia and the calling out of bigotry.

Most shows that explore homophobia or transphobia resort to calling out for dealing with discrimination. To call someone out is to expose their problematic behavior, often in a stern way that allows onlookers to also judge them. In "Speaking Up Without Tearing Down," Loretta J. Ross writes, "Calling out happens when we point out a mistake, not to address or rectify the damage, but instead to publicly shame the offender. In calling out, a person or group uses tactics like humiliation, shunning, scapegoating, or gossip to dominate others."[34] The TV network Freeform has perfected the call-out scene. In their hit show ***Pretty Little Liars*****, the teenager Emily Fields** has a relatively conservative mother who is horrified to learn that her daughter is lesbian. Pam Fields's journey to acceptance begins when her husband, who fights in the U.S. military, gently chides her for judging their daughter so harshly: "I don't like this, but [Emily] is struggling with this; I can see it. . . . She is alive and healthy, and after everything I've seen, alive and healthy counts for a lot, believe me."[35] The turning point for Pam comes at an even more severe calling-out session, when multiple members of Emily's high school English faculty confront a belligerent father who insists that Emily only won her spot on

the swim team because of the school's **"gay agenda."** Pam's moment of redemption is not, as we might hope, an embracing of Emily on her own terms or a realization that nothing has changed or broken about her daughter or their relationship; instead we get a moment of protective instinct that pits Pam against this other parent's even more egregious form of homophobia: **"My daughter never got anything she didn't earn. That's how we raised her. That is who she is. So you drop this . . . or I'll show you what a *real* agenda is."**[36] The audience does not get to witness a substantial transformation by Pam—instead, at best, we see her realize that her daughter is subjected to a lot of pain and anger in the outside world, and she does not want to add anymore: "Emily—I still don't understand, but I love you. You are my child, and nobody hurts my child."[37] Before she can apologize specifically for her prejudice, Emily stops her with a hug. The gesture suggests that Pam has done enough hard work for the day and that Emily should acknowledge her for that alone.

Pam and Emily have a very moving relationship throughout the series, but *Pretty Little Liars* erases the discord in the family about Emily's lesbian identity by contrasting Pam's tortured religious homophobia with the privileged white man's supposedly much worse homophobia. **Pam saying, essentially, "My love for you and desire to protect you matters more to me than my misgivings about your sexuality,"** is not the same as saying, "I am sorry that I had an unhealthy reaction that made you feel unsafe and less loved. I am your mother, and I love you the same now as I did when you were born."

When the message is always and only "I love you more than I hate queerness," the bar for compassion and acceptance remains very low. It magically lets family members and friends off the hook for problematic core beliefs, and it reinforces the idea that an LGBTQ+ teen's happiness rests entirely on the benevolent epiphanies of the prejudiced people in her life. It necessitates that bigots come around before the character can have a happy ending. It also often makes the LGBTQ+ teen character take responsibility for or accept the homophobia of adults.

One Day at a Time moves away from the calling-out narrative in favor of calling in. Calling *in* usually involves a more **sympathetic way of addressing problematic behavior:** "Call-ins are agreements between people who work together to consciously help each other expand their perspectives. They encourage us to recognize our requirements for growth, to admit our mistakes and to commit to doing better."[38] The emphasis is on educating and changing an individual, rather than shaming them. Elena's mother, Penelope, is not on board when she first comes out as a lesbian (figure 10.15). The first refreshing and positive aspect is that the calling in is *not* Elena's responsibility. In season 1, episode 11, **"Pride and Prejudice," Penelope makes every effort to support her daughter's coming out.** The audience realizes that Penelope is battling her own homophobia, but at no point does she make that Elena's problem. Penelope notices that out of everyone in their life—her other child, a close family friend, her own mother—she is the only one struggling with Elena's news: "I feel really weird about this Elena stuff. . . . I hate that I feel weird about it but I do."



Figure 10.15. Justina Machado plays Penelope Alvarez, Elena's mother, on One Day at a Time. (CC BY-SA Dominick D.)

While Penelope is figuring out her hang-ups about her daughter's sexuality, she knows to put on a supportive face because her "reaction could affect Elena for the rest of her life." She turns to trustworthy adults for help. She meets with a friend, Ramona, who is an out lesbian, to talk about her reservations: "I'm a monster. My daughter came out to me and I am not totally okay with it. And I hate myself for it." Often this sort of conversation could turn into Ramona making Penelope feel ashamed of herself or guilting her into magically getting over her homophobia because she wants to prove she is a good person. Instead, Ramona fields Penelope's questions—"How do I know if a girl coming over is a friend or more? Does she all of a sudden think men are disgusting?"—and validates her process of coming to terms with the loss of heteronormativity in her life: "You're just not there yet. **It's a complete adjustment in how you see your daughter. Your heart is okay; you just need a little time waiting for your [mind] to catch up."**

Aside from the inclusive coming-out narrative, Elena serves to educate audiences about queer identity and the gender binary. The first season of *One Day at a Time* focuses heavily on Elena's upcoming quinceañera and how or if the occasion will reflect that she is gay. According to the website **My Quince, "This coming-of-age ceremony plays an important part in preserving the heritage and cultures of the individual.** Similar to the process of planning a wedding, the [quinceañera] requires the same amount of effort, time, and proper preparation in order to make the person's birthday a memorable event."[39] The event traditionally celebrates a teenage girl's entering womanhood and marriageability at age fifteen—but now the family also has to reckon with Elena's expression of womanhood not matching the underlying message and expectations of a traditional quinceañera. According to Marybel Gonzalez, "The quinceañera marks an important milestone in a girl's life. Part birthday party, part rite of passage, it symbolizes a girl's entrance into womanhood when turning 15, traditionally showcasing her purity and readiness for marriage."[40] It is similar to debutante balls, a tradition of upper-class Southern white society in the United States, which signify that a teen girl has reached the age thought suitable to be married to a man. Elena's resistance to the event's heteronormativity manifests as concern about her dress and about the role of her relatively absent father, who is supposed to close the event with a father-daughter dance.

Elena's grandmother happens to be a skilled seamstress and insists on making Elena's dress; however, the grandmother's best design does not appeal to Elena. In season 1, episode 13, "Quinces," the grandmother confronts Elena about why she is not yet excited about her ensemble. Elena suggests, "What you're picking up on is that I'm not really comfortable wearing a dress. . . . What about instead of heels I wear my Doc Martens?" Elena confirms that she wants a "feminist quinces" that undoes some of the heterosexist traditions. Ultimately, the grandmother redesigns the dress and reveals it to Elena the night before the quinces. The audience does not see it yet, but we know she did something important to the dress that is **truer to Elena's gender expression.** When she is finally revealed at the event, we see that the grandmother eliminated the skirt portion entirely, so that now the glamorous glittering bodice of the gown is a top paired with a white suit. **She is wearing masculine pants but with a generous amount of feminine sparkle.**

One concession Elena makes is that she dances with a boy, presumably for the benefit of her father, who is still unhappy with Elena coming out as well as the unconventional interpretations of her quinceañera. Dancing with a boy while being dressed similarly to him actually highlights Elena's queerness, and it is at this point that the father decides to leave the quinces and not participate in the father-daughter dance. Note that during this episode, the father's homophobia is not centered. Beyond Penelope entreating him to show up at the quinces, no undue amount of energy is spent trying to gui -41">[41]

One Day at a Time does not present a utopia where everyone is accepted without conflict. **It instead refuses to pathologize queerness** or to divide the world between people who love you and people who hate you. It educates viewers on the dilemmas surrounding queer brown immigrant youth and **demonstrates an alternative possibility,** in which **adults recognize that their bigotry is their own problem** and that **the happiness of a young LGBTQ+ person does not rest entirely on the acceptance of their family.**

Key Questions

- One controversy this chapter discusses is the question of what exactly an LGBTQ+ film or television show is. Must it have explicitly queer characters, or is a queer aesthetic such as camp enough to qualify it?
- Discuss the tropes this chapter outlines. Are stereotyped depictions always negative? What about when their creators are themselves queer? Are stereotypical representations better or worse than no representations at all?
- Diversity of all kinds has been a historic weak point for the film and media industries. How do different elements of identity (race, sexuality, class, age, ability, etc.) interact with one another in LGBTQ+ film and media? List five to ten films or TV shows that you believe fall under the LGBTQ+ heading. How do or don't they represent diverse voices?

This page titled 10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.1: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ+** by Lynne Stahl is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

10.5: Research Resources

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about queer film.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or event found in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What idea, person, or event from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that idea, person, or event based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue or person.
- **Debate:** Find a partner or split into groups, and choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

Advocate

The *Advocate* (https://www.advocate.com) is an online, LGBTQ+ magazine (also available in print). Its print version was established in 1967, making it the oldest continuously published LGBTQ+ periodical in the United States. Its website provides commentary and news about the LGBTQ+ spectrum of experiences and subcultures, including news, politics, and arts and culture. Its "Art and Entertainment" page has film and television sections that cover Hollywood, indie, and arthouse cinema and reviews, news, and interviews about current TV.

AfterEllen

AfterEllen (https://afterellen.com/) is a website established in 2002 to provide feminist and queer perspectives on pop culture and media. Its name refers to the historical significance and lasting impact on media and culture of the coming out of the character Ellen Morgan (played by Ellen DeGeneres) in 1997 in the fourth season of the ABC network TV sitcom *Ellen*. The "Movies" and "TV" sections on the website provide reviews of lesbian and bisexual films and TV.

@AllAboutTrans

With thirty-one thousand followers as of 2021, the Twitter account of the UK-based organization All About Trans is a useful source for commentary on trans voices in popular media of all kinds. The organization's goal is to foster dialogue between the trans community and media professionals in order to promote visibility and accurate portrayals of trans people in media.

Autostraddle

Established in 2009 by Riese Bernard and Alexandra Vega, *Autostraddle* (https://www.autostraddle.com) provides a platform for commentary on news and popular culture from feminist and queer perspectives. *Autostraddle* has won numerous awards since its inception, notably the 2015 GLAAD Media Award, and it has been been nominated for many others, including the GLAAD Digital Journalism Award. Its arts, pop culture, film, and TV sections provide reviews, news, and analysis of recent films and films in production, as well as for TV series.

Critical Media Project

Created by educators associated with the University of Southern California's Annenberg School for Media and Communication, the Critical Media Project provides material for use by students from ages eight through college. Its website (http://criticalmediaproject.org/) includes an overview of LGBTQ+ representation in the media and a lesson plan with activities geared to teaching critical thinking and empathy, and there is a focus on teaching students to read media texts. It includes many media examples, from commercials to movies to TV series and news clips and has an all-in-one, common core–aligned format. The Critical Media Project is a free, online resource, but some materials have copyrights.

Frameline

Frameline is a San Francisco–based organization established in 1977 to promote and showcase queer cinema (https://www.frameline.org/). The annual Frameline International LGBTQ+ Film Festival is a showcase for new works and new artists and takes place during LGBTQ+ Pride Month with screenings in the Castro District, the historic San Francisco gay neighborhood. Frameline Distribution was established in 1981 and is the only distributor focusing solely on LGBTQ+ films.

Kanopy Streaming Media

Kanopy is a major streaming media platform available only through academic and public libraries (https://www.kanopy.com/). Its catalog of over thirty thousand films includes both classic and recent LGBTQ+ films, including major award winners like *Moonlight*, lesser-known cult and indie films, LGBTQ+ world cinema in all genres, and documentaries. As of 2021 its "LGBTQ Cinema" page provides access to 226 narrative films from 1950 to the present, including works by key LGBTQ+ directors such as Cheryl Dunye and films from the prestigious LGBTQ+ Film Festivals Frameline and Outfest. This platform also includes more than 265 LGBTQ+ documentaries in "LGBTQ Stories" collection. A handful of these focus on media representation, such as *Homo Promo: Vintage LGBT Movie Trailers*, *Lavender Limelight: Spotlight on Lesbian Filmmakers*, and *A Bit of Scarlet: Gay Characters in Post-War British Cinema.* Kanopy enables fast turnaround times for closed captioning on demand for films not already captioned.

NewFest

The New York City–based NewFest organization (newfest.org/) has offered screenings of LGBTQ+ films and educational programs for young filmmakers for thirty years, including the widely known annual New York LGBT+ Film Festival. This festival was established in 1988 and is one of the most prestigious and comprehensive queer film festivals in the world. NewFest also sponsors queer cinema screenings year-round in the New York City area.

Outfest

Outfest is an advocacy organization established in 1982 by UCLA students with a mission of using cinematic storytelling to promote equality for sexual and gender minorities. In partnership with the UCLA Film and Television Archive, the organization works to protect historic and archival LGBTQ+ films. The annual Outfest Film Festival showcases queer cinema from around the world. In addition to screenings, the organization offers mentoring programs for young filmmakers.

Rowan Ellis

Ellis is a YouTuber and a speaker and activist for women's and LGBTQ+ issues. Her YouTube videos (https://www.youtube.com/c/RowanEllisVideos) offer analysis and criticism of popular culture and media from a feminist and queer perspective. Ellis is on the *Autostraddle* list of top one hundred LGBTQ+ YouTubers and in 2021 was nearing 150,000 subscribers. On Twitter, she is @HeyRowanEllis.

@ValerieComplex

Complex is among the leading queer of color film critics with almost thirty thousand Twitter followers (https://twitter.com/ValerieComplex) in 2021. She tweets regularly about issues beyond LGBTQ+ media representation but maintains an overall focus on inclusivity relating to sexuality and race/ethnicity in media. Beyond Twitter, she reviews films and provides critical commentary on entertainment media for Black Girl Nerds, *Harper's Bazaar*, the Playlist, /Film, Rotten Tomatoes, and other media reviews and criticism sources.

"Where We Are on TV," by the GLAAD Media Institute

The GLAAD Media Institute was founded in 1985 to highlight media's role in providing visibility to the LGBTQ+ community and shed light on negative representations. The GLAAD Research arm regularly publishes useful analysis of LGBTQ+ media representations. This resource offers a detailed look and executive summary of the number and type of LGBTQ+ characters and the level of diversity on TV series from multiple platforms, including streaming, cable, and network. Chapters include numbers of characters by race/ethnicity, by sexual orientation, and by gender identity, and Spanish-language series are included. The "Where We Are on TV" report has been published every year since 2005, allowing quantitative comparisons, year to year and longer range, of some of the key changes of LGBTQ+ representation in the media landscape. There is no other consistently published resource that provides this type of data. See the most recent report at https://www.glaad.org/wherewareontv.

This page titled 10.5: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.1: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ+** by Lynne Stahl is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

10.6: Glossary

ace relationships. An asexual person is known as ace, and they have asexual relationships.

bigotry. Intolerance or bias toward an identity or group of people.

calling in. Approaching problematic behavior or language with sympathy; asking why the behavior occurred, explaining why it is oppressive, and devising a new course of action collaboratively.

calling out. Approaching problematic behavior or language combatively; striving to shame a group or individual for their behavior to serve as a warning to others.

camp. An aesthetic that privileges poor taste, shock value, and irony and poses an intentional challenge to the traditional attributes of high art. It is often characterized by showiness, extreme artifice, and tackiness.

content. The substance of a story, typically entailing narrative, characters, and dialogue.

form. The way a story is told, including choices such as editing, cinematography, wardrobe, and framing.

gender binary. The idea that there are only two genders, male and female, and that everyone should and will identify accordingly.

gender expression. The external presentation of gender, through body language, pronoun choice, and style of dress.

heteronormativity. Policies, beliefs, and behaviors that assume everyone adheres to the gender binary, or that everyone is heterosexual.

heterosexist. Policies, beliefs, or behaviors enacted by straight people that discriminate against queer people.

homonormativity. A political and sometimes narrative approach that works to establish LGBTQ+ lives as no different from straight lives beyond the genders one is attracted to. It is an assimilation-based approach that invokes the rhetoric of sameness in appeals for civil rights and social acceptance.

homophobia. Fear or hatred for queerness and queer people.

marginalized. To be rendered less important, less powerful, and less visible than what is considered the norm or mainstream.

nuanced. Containing layers of meaning, having subtle differences.

pathologize. Representing a trait, behavior, or identity as a sickness or inevitable tragedy.

prejudice. A preconceived positive or (usually) negative feeling toward someone or something.

privileged. Receiving advantages that are not available to everyone.

queer. Pertaining to a person or group that does not fall within the gender binary of heterosexuality.

representation. Portrayal of a person or group by a representative who acts for them or in their interests.

trope. A pattern, phrase, rhetorical device, or plot point that has been used so often it can be categorized and anticipated.

This page titled 10.6: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.1: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ+** by Lynne Stahl is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

10.7: Footnotes

1. J. Dry, “5 Queer Films You Didn’t Know Were Queer, from *Fight Club* to *Showgirls*,” *IndieWire*, July 7, 2017, https://www.indiewire.com/2017/07/best-lgbt-films-you-didnt-know-were-queer-fight-club-gay-lesbian-movies-showgirls-1201851309/. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-1
2. J. Mayne, *Directed by Dorothy Arzner* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 63. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-2
3. A. Doty, *Making Things Perfectly Queer: Interpreting Mass Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), xi. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-3
4. R. Dyer, *Now You See It* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 23. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-4
5. *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “trope (noun),” accessed April 14, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/trope. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-5
6. B. R. Rich, *New Queer Cinema: The Director’s Cut* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), xxv. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-6
7. L. J. Leff and J. L. Simmons, *The Dame in the Kimono: Hollywood, Censorship, and the Production Code* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 270. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-7
8. R. Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: With Especial Reference to the Antipathic Sexual Instinct; a Medico-forensic Study* (New York: Rebman, 1906), 399. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-8
9. H. M. Benshoff and S. Griffin, *Queer Images: A History of Gay and Lesbian Film in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006). 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-9
10. T. Doherty, *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema, 1930–1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-10
11. J. Lewis, *Hollywood v. Hard Core: How the Struggle over Censorship Created the Modern Film Industry* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 304. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-11
12. C. A. Noriega, “‘Something’s Missing Here!’: Homosexuality and Film Reviews during the Production Code Era, 1934–1962,” *JCMS: Journal of Cinema and Media Studies* 58 (2018): 20, https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2018.0089. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-12
13. V. Russo, *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies*, rev. ed. (1981; New York: Harper and Row, 1987). 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-13
14. GLAAD Media Institute, “Where We Are on TV,” https://www.glaad.org/wherewareontv. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-14
15. S. Sontag, *Notes on “Camp”* (London: Penguin, 2018). 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-15
16. Rich, *New Queer Cinema*, xv. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-16
17. R. Becker, “Prime-Time Television in the Gay Nineties: Network Television, Quality Audiences, and Gay Politics,” *Velvet Light Trap* 42 (1998): 36–47. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-17
18. RuPaul, *Lettin’ It All Hang Out* (New York: Hyperion, 1995). 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-18
19. C. Esposito, “Cameron Esposito—Woman Who Doesn’t Sleep with Men (from Same Sex Symbol),” April 6, 2014, https://youtu.be/TSJGaVuJJn8. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-19
20. *I Am Jazz*, TLC, https://www.tlc.com/tv-shows/i-am-jazz/. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-20
21. F. Dhaenens, “Teenage Queerness: Negotiating Heteronormativity in the Representation of Gay Teenagers in *Glee*,” *Journal of Youth Studies* 16, no. 3 (2013): 304–317, https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2012.718435. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-21
22. M. San Filippo, *The B Word: Bisexuality in Contemporary Film and Television* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013). 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-22
23. L. Horak, “Tracing the History of Trans and Gender Variant Filmmakers,” *Spectator* 37, no. 2 (2017): 9–20. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-23
24. J. Puar, “In the Wake of It Gets Better,” *Guardian*, November 16, 2010, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2010/nov/16/wake-it-gets-better-campaign; T. Nyong’o, “School Daze,” October 1, 2010, Bully Bloggers, https://bullybloggers.wordpress.com/2010/09/30/school-daze/. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-24

25. M. Riggs, “An Interview with Marlon Riggs: Tongues Untied Lets Loose Angry, Loving Words,” interview by Robert Anbian, March 1990, http://newsreel.org/guides/Riggs-Guide/Release-Print-Riggs-Interview-1990.pdf. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-25
26. *I Shall Not Be Removed: The Life of Marlon Riggs*, directed by Karen Everett, 1996. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-26
27. POV, “Tongues Untied: Filmmaker Interview with Marlon Riggs,” season 4, episode 5, PBS, July 15, 1991, https://www.pbs.org/video/pov-tongues-untied-filmmaker-interview/. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-27
28. A. Lorde, “The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action,” paper delivered at the Modern Language Association’s “Lesbian and Literature Panel,” Chicago, December 28, 1977, https://electricliterature.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/silenceintoaction.pdf. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-28
29. Riggs, “An Interview with Marlon Riggs.” 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-29
30. A. Leventry, “The Importance of Social Media When It Comes to LGBTQ Kids Feeling Seen,” *Washington Post*, September 19, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/2019/09/20/importance-social-media-when-it-comes-lgbtq-kids-feeling-seen/. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-30
31. See, for example, E. Schiappa, P. B. Gregg, and D. E. Hewes, “The Parasocial Contact Hypothesis,” *Communication Monographs* 72, no. 1 (2005): 92–115. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-31
32. A. R. Flores, D. P. Haider-Markel, D. C. Lewis, P. R. Miller, B. L. Tadlock, and J. K. Taylor, “Transgender Prejudice Reduction and Opinions on Transgender Rights: Results from a Mediation Analysis on Experimental Data,” *Research and Politics* 5, no. 1 (2018), https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168018764945. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-32
33. R. Deerwater, “Color of Change, Women’s Media Center, RespectAbility, NHMC React to GLAAD’s ‘Where We Are on TV’ Findings,” GLAAD, October 30, 2018, https://www.glaad.org/blog/color-change-women%E2%80%99s-media-center-respectability-nhmc-react-glaad%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98where-we-are-tv%E2%80%99-findings. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-33
34. L. J. Ross, “Speaking Up Without Tearing Down,” *Teaching Tolerance*, no. 61 (2019), https://www.tolerance.org/magazine/spring-2019/speaking-up-without-tearing-down. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-34
35. N. Buckley, dir., “Moments Later,” season 1, episode 11, *Pretty Little Liars*, January 3, 2011. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-35
36. M. Grossman, dir., “The New Normal,” season 1, episode 17, *Pretty Little Liars*, February 14, 2011. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-36
37. Grossman, “The New Normal.” 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-37
38. Ross, “Speaking Up Without Tearing Down.” 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-38
39. “What Is a Quinceañera and Why Is It So Important?,” My Quince, accessed July 23, 2015, https://www.myquincemagazine.com/what-is-a-quinceanera-and-why-is-it-so-important/. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-39
40. M. Gonzalez, “The Quinceañera, a Rite of Passage in Transition,” *New York Times*, June 4, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/05/nyregion/the-quinceanera-a-rite-of-passage-in-transition.html. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-40
41. P. Fryman, dir., “Quinces,” season 1, episode 13, *One Day at a Time*, June 4, 2016. 6.01: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ#return-footnote-151-41

This page titled 10.7: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.1: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ+** by Lynne Stahl is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

Camera Obscura: Feminism, Culture, and Media Studies

Established in 1976, this peer-reviewed journal is a mainstay for scholarship in the areas of media studies and audiovisual culture examined from feminist and queer perspectives. It is published by Duke University Press. *Camera Obscura* has published or republished groundbreaking articles. B. Ruby Rich, an influential LGBTQ+ film studies theorist, serves on its editorial advisory board. Browse the journal at https://read.dukeupress.edu/camera-obscura.

***The Celluloid Closet,* directed by Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman**

This film is based on the LGBTQ+ activist and film historian Vito Russo's classic 1981 (revised edition 1987) book *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies.* It provides an overview of LGBTQ+ depictions from the silent era to films of the early 1990s. Including footage from over 120 films, as well as interviews with directors and actors, this documentary was the first of its kind in examining LGBTQ+ representations in popular, mainstream film with such scope. Like the book on which it is based, it uncovers sometimes surprising early depictions of homosexuality in film and analyzes the historical development of queer representations in relation to motion picture industry censorship known as the Hays Code and the Production Code (United States: Sony Pictures Classics, 1995).

***The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies*, by Vito Russo**

This classic work in LGBTQ+ film studies was first published in 1981. Russo, a prominent LGBTQ+ activist and film historian, covers the visibility of LGBTQ+ characters and themes in Hollywood cinema from the silent era to the 1980s. In 1995, Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman directed a now-classic documentary film of the same title based on his work. This documentary picks up where Russo left off and includes early-1990s films such as *Thelma and Louise* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1987).

***Fabulous! The Story of Queer Cinema*, directed by Lisa Ades and Lesli Klainberg**

Covering mainstream and indie cinema's LGBTQ+ landmarks, such as Todd Haynes's *Poison* (1991) and Ang Lee's *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), this 2006 documentary provides analysis and interviews of the depictions and representations of LGBTQ+ experiences and communities in the United States. *Fabulous!* is often described as the descendant of the classic documentary *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies* but with a focus on queer cinema rather than on LGBTQ+ representations in mainstream, mostly heteronormative cinema. Though not unanimously well reviewed, it provides a look that is hard to find elsewhere at late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century popular queer cinema (United States: Orchard Films and Independent Film Company, 2006).

***New Queer Cinema: The Director's Cut*, by B. Ruby Rich**

Rich, a professor in the Film and Digital Media Department and director of the Social Documentation Program at the University of California, Santa Cruz, is a key scholar in the field of LGBTQ+ media criticism. She created the genre term *new queer cinema* in 1992 to describe the directions LGBTQ+ cinema was moving and how it differed from the past aesthetically and politically. This work provides access to many of her seminal past publications and to newer material. She covers LGBTQ+ film festivals, the landscape of queer cinema, and important contributors to the genre, including Todd Haynes, Derek Jarman, Julián Hernández, and Ang Lee (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

Queer Cinema and Visual Culture, by K. J. Surkan

This MIT OpenCourseWare offering from 2017 includes readings, films, and assignments and analyzes post–World War II cinema through the lens of queer theory (https://ocw.mit.edu/courses/womens-and-gender-studies/wgs-181-queer-cinema-and-visual-culture-fall-2017/).

***The Queer Fantasies of the American Family Sitcom*, by Tison Pugh**

Pugh, professor of English at the University of Central Florida, investigates heteronormative sitcoms, such as *Leave It to Beaver*, and contemporary sitcoms featuring LGBTQ+ characters, such as *Modern Family*. He analyzes homophobia, the sexualization of girls, and gay stereotypes. This is an open-access text (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2017, https://directory.doabooks.org/handle/20.500.12854/33010).

***Transgender Cinema*, by Rebecca Bell-Metereau**

Bell-Metereau provides a history of depictions of transgender people from the silent era through the present in documentaries, classic and cult feature films, television, and world cinema. She examines these representations and their effects on both popular understandings of transgender people and transgender people's self-image. There are few recent, book-length, scholarly treatments of transgender cinema with this scope. This work fills a gap in LGBTQ+ media criticism, which often focuses on sexual orientation more than on gender identity (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2019).

This page titled 10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.1: Chapter 10- Screening LGBTQ+** by Lynne Stahl is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

11: LGBTQ+ Literature

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Identify and describe resistance to LGBTQ+ cultural representations specific to literary fields (e.g., comics, children's literature).
- Explain how LGBTQ+ content creators overcame censorship to create varied and complex representations of LGBTQ+ identities, desires, and lives.
- Describe tropes that emerge in particular fields of LGBTQ+ literature.
- Explain literature's role in identity and community formation.

11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature
11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics
11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)
11.6: Research Resources
11.7: Glossary
11.8: Footnotes

A 2017 LGBTQ+ Pride book display at the Barbara S. Ponce Public Library in Pinellas Park, FL.

This page titled 11: LGBTQ+ Literature is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Jennifer Miller, Maddison Lauren Simmons, Robert Bittner, Mycroft M. Roske, Cathy Corder, Olivia Wood, & Olivia Wood.

11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview

Introduction

Queer desires have found their way into literature for thousands of years. Authors from ancient Greece and Rome, such as Plato and Homer, include love between men in their writing, and **Sappho's reputation as the mother of lesbian poetry** is acknowledged by those who have never read her work.[1] By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe and the United States, representations extended beyond celebrating same-sex sexual and romantic desire to playing a vital role in the development of LGBTQ+ identities. In fact, the social development of LGBTQ+ identities runs through LGBTQ+ literature, as demonstrated by many of the sections in this chapter.

For instance, the American writer **Walt Whitman's poetry collection *Leaves of Grass*,** a lifelong project first published in 1855 and continuously revised until his death, brims with erotic descriptions of men without ever characterizing same-sex desire as an identity. More blatantly queer is the **British author Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*** (1928), which tells the story of "invert" **Stephen Gordon's lesbian romance** and her life negotiating social isolation and stigma as a result of her **masculine gender presentation and desire for women.** Similarly, the African American author **James Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room*** (1956) deals directly with issues of masculinity, homosexuality, and bisexuality through its thoughtful protagonist.[2]

Attempting to describe a canon of LGBTQ+ literature or to create a genealogy of texts spanning continents and centuries is an impossible task. Instead, this chapter explores specific fields of LGBTQ+ literature. Abiding by this limitation acknowledges that any survey of a field as vast and diverse as LGBTQ+ literature cannot be meaningfully cataloged in a single chapter. Students may wish to select one section and pair it with primary sources for an in-depth look at a field. **The chapter focuses primarily, although not exclusively, on post-1950 work published in the United States** to explore multiple fields of LGBTQ+ literature: children's picture books, young adult novels, comics, pulp fiction, and memoir. Each section provides readers with a historical overview of the field and introduces readers to key terms, debates, and primary texts in the field. Each section also contextualizes the creation, publication, distribution, and reception of LGBTQ+ literature within a shifting sociocultural landscape. Readers will gain an understanding of social, political, and economic constraints and opportunities that have influenced the creation, distribution, and consumption of LGBTQ+ literature, which has always met with unique pressures from cultural gatekeepers.

Contributors to this chapter consider literature both a product and producer of history, and they suggest that literature plays an essential role in queer culture, community, and identity formation. The genealogical structure most sections adhere to allows readers to consider how literary content changes at different historical junctures. Even more, by reading two or more sections, similarities in content can be compared across fields. Additionally, each section identifies and describes key tropes that emerge in the field discussed. These tropes reflect shifts in societal attitudes about LGBTQ+ identities. For example, in **pulp fiction and young adult literature,** representations of gay and lesbian love have historically been tragic; happy endings have only recently begun appearing.[3] The quantity and quality of LGBTQ+ literature for **young adults reflect shifts in social acceptance,** which influences the publishing industry's willingness to publish these books and the ability of teens to access them in bookstores, libraries, and even schools. It's fair to say that LGBTQ+ literary and cultural texts are slowly making their way into dominant culture, which means more diverse representations and more positive representations are increasingly available to all readers.

Jennifer Miller's section, "LGBTQ+ Children's Picture Books," maps the development of LGBTQ+ children's picture books in the United States from the 1970s to the present. Maddison Simmons undertakes a similar project in **"Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature"** as does Robert Bittner in "Trans and Gender-Nonconforming Characters in Young Adult Literature." Both trace content shifts in representations of lesbian and transgender or gender-nonconforming youth in middle grade and young adult literature. All three sections demonstrate that representations of LGBTQ+ youth in books written for young people have contributed to parallel shifts in sociocultural understanding and acceptance of LGBTQ+ people. However, there is no linear path to progress; representations remain dominated by cisgender white middle-class gay men in young adult fiction, and middle-class white representations still dominate children's literature, although transgender and gender-nonconforming characters are increasingly prevalent in the latter.

"LGBTQ+ Comics," by Mycroft Roske and Cathy Corder, focuses on popular and underground U.S.-based comics. They consider how the 1954 Comics Code influenced queer representations in comics by forcing them underground. The Comics Code was prompted by the psychiatrist Fredric Wertham's book ***Seduction of the Innocent: The Influence of Comic Books on Today's***

Youth, which argues that comics turned vulnerable youth into delinquents.[4] Similar claims about the seductive power of culture have been used to justify censoring other forms of culture with a young audience, including film and picture books. Whereas cultural gatekeepers worked to censor comics, lesbian and gay pulp remained relatively free from the censor's wrath. **Cathy Corder's "Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction" explores the melodramatic world of pulp,** which often depicted young women and men in sex-segregated spaces falling in love. There are rarely happy endings in the realm of pulp, which tended to reproduce the trope of the tragic queer found across LGBTQ+ fields of literature. However, these books were formative in the lives of many gay men and lesbians at a time when few other representations existed.

The chapter's last section, **Olivia Wood's "LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing," is unique in focusing on nonfiction books.** Wood notes that because of homophobia and transphobia, LGBTQ+ life writing has only recently become available. She explains that life writing before the twentieth century was often in diary form and not meant to reach a public audience. In fact, according to Wood, LGBTQ+ memoirs produced for public consumption are a relatively new phenomenon that didn't take off until the 1990s. Like the other sections in this chapter, Wood's demonstrates that **increased social acceptance of LGBTQ+ people has prompted increased representations.**

This chapter does not represent LGBTQ+ literature in its entirety. Each section shares a snapshot of a particular aspect of LGBTQ+ writing as it has developed in the United States over the last several decades. This deliberate choice introduces important and engaging content to readers in a way that encourages **meaningful exposure and exploration.**

LGBTQ+ Children's Picture Books (by Jennifer Miller)

LGBTQ+ children's picture books use images and text to explicitly represent LGBTQ+ identities and experiences. They counter dominant sociocultural constructions of gender, sexuality, children, childhood, and family.[5] These texts contribute to a queer world-making project by rendering queer genders and sexualities visible, viable, and accessible to young audiences ranging from babies to twelve-year-olds. **According to Jan M. Ochman, children's picture books are a powerful socializing agent** because they help children form a self-image, develop a sense of cultural expectations, and imagine inhabiting social roles.[6] In addition to doing important socializing work, LGBTQ+ children's literature is a rich historical archive that reflects struggles occurring within culture to define the meaning and value of genders and sexualities that fall outside narrow and oppressive norms.

The best way to tell the story of LGBTQ+ children's picture books is through the books themselves. This section examines **English-language texts published in the United States and Canada between 1970 and 2018.** It describes key texts and identifies key themes, as well as shifts in thematic content. It concludes with a brief discussion of how LGBTQ+ children's picture books became an identifiable subfield within the category of children's literature.

A Genealogy of LGBTQ+ Children's Books Published between 1970 and 2018

Overt representations of LGBTQ+ identities and experiences are a fairly new occurrence in children's picture books, which is why most queer scholarship about children's literature seeks to uncover the queer potential in more readily available classic texts.[7] LGBTQ+ children's picture books slowly began to **appear in the 1970s, a trend that accelerated greatly after 2010.**

1970s: Sissy Boys

A few books about boys who challenged gender stereotypes, a theme that remains popular, were published in the 1970s. **The trend began with Charlotte Zolotow's *William's Doll*** (1972), which is the story of a little boy who wants a doll. No one supports William's desire for a doll, although his grandmother eventually buys him one. She appeases his angry father by explaining a doll will help William be a good father. T**he gay author Tomie dePaola's *Oliver Button Is a Sissy*** (1979) also tells the story of a boy who doesn't enjoy typical boy things. Oliver is bullied at school because of his effeminate behavior. When his parents enroll him in dance he gains confidence and even acceptance from peers as a result of his talent. This book has a positive message, although it demands that pro-gay youth demonstrate exceptional behavior to be accepted by peers and family. The queerest of the 1970s trifecta of "sissy boy" books is **Bruce Mack's *Jesse's Dream Skirt*** (1979), which explores a boy's desire for a skirt. Jesse's mother accepts him as do his peers, who end up emulating his style.[8]

1980s: Lesbian Moms

Very few children's books containing overt LGBTQ+ themes were available between 1979 and 1989. **Jane Severance published two books with Lollipop Power Press, a small feminist press located in Chapel Hill, North Carolina,** that published twenty-

two books in its decade-plus of operation. ***When Megan Went Away*** (1979) is told from the point of view of a girl processing the separation of her mother and her mother's partner. Her mother is emotionally unavailable during this period as she deals with her own pain. ***Lots of Mommies*** (1983) is about a girl raised communally by several women. Severance creates a robust cast of lesbian characters who provide the protagonist with a happy, albeit unconventional, home. Annie Jo is a carpenter, Vicki is a school bus driver, and Shadowoman is a healer. These texts are important historical artifacts of lesbian culture and lesbian cultural production in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[9]

In an email exchange on August 16, 2018, Jane Severance told me that she was only a few years out of high school when she wrote her first children's book. She describes herself as **"heavily involved in the women's/lesbian movement, mostly concentrated on working at Woman to Woman Bookstore in Denver."** Severance observes that "parents were looking for books showing children with different families, children making nontraditional choices and being supported for making those choices." It was in this context that Severance, with no training but a lot of passion, began writing. Severance received "a lot of flack" for showing a lesbian couple in an unflattering light in her first book, but Severance notes that lesbian mothers "were generally not supported, which meant that they couldn't always make good parenting choices." Her work is a product of the moment it records and in many ways is far more antinormative than many of the LGBTQ+ children's picture books that followed hers and that remain in circulation.

Lesléa Newman's *Heather Has Two Mommies* (1989) (figure 11.1) inaugurated a new trend in LGBTQ+ children's literature by representing **lesbian families** as patterned after heteronormative conventions. Importantly, Newman published *Heather Has Two Mommies* without the help of a traditional publisher. In an email exchange from January 28, 2019, Newman told me, "Though *Heather Has Two Mommies* isn't self-published, I did actively participate in its publications. My business partner at the time, Tzivia Gover, and I came up with the term co-publishing. She had a desktop publishing business, and when no traditional publisher was willing to publish *Heather*, we decided to do it ourselves. We raised $4,000 via a letter-writing campaign, found an illustrator and a printer, and brought the book out in December of 1989."[10] Micro presses and mission-driven (as opposed to profit-driven publishers) **self-publishing continue to be a mainstay of LGBTQ+ children's literature publishing.** In fact, crowdfunding though platforms like Kickstarter are the latest tech version of the letter-writing campaign Newman used to fund her project.

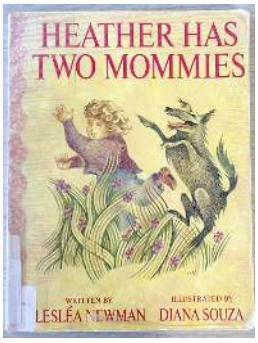


Figure 11.1. Lesléa Newman's Heather Has Two Mommies (1989). (Deborah Amory.)

1990s: Gay Uncles

Throughout the 1990s, small presses with a mission, such as **Alyson Publications,** which was founded in 1980 and created a children's book imprint, **Alyson Wonderland, in 1990, were at the forefront of creating LGBTQ+ children's literature.**

Books helping children understand and process loving and losing adults with HIV/AIDS began to appear in this period. ***A Name on the Quilt* (1999), written by Jeannine Atkins and illustrated by Tad Hills,** is the story of a family memorializing a beloved family member after his AIDS-related death. In the book, which is told from the point of view of the man's niece, the family creates a patch for the AIDS Memorial Quilt. This is one of the few books that gesture toward gay community and activism while representing HIV/AIDS; most depict gay men in isolation, as outsiders within the heterosexual family unit. This is the case with **Lesléa Newman's *Too Far Away to Touch*** (1995) (figure 11.2), in which a young girl's uncle, who is ill from AIDS-related complications, helps her begin to process his eventual death by explaining that he will always be with her.[11]

My Dad Has HIV (1996) takes a different approach. It is an accessible text about HIV told from the point of view of a seven-year-old child whose father has the virus. The book was cowritten by **Earl Alexander, an HIV/AIDS instructor,** and two elementary school teachers, Sheila Rudin and Pam Sejkora. The father's sexuality is never discussed, instead the book focuses on normalizing

HIV/AIDS.[12] That it took until the 1990s to see representations of HIV/AIDS make their way into children's literature evidences the cultural lag that can be seen until around 2010, when LGBTQ+ children's literature really became a **site of advocacy and activism for LGBTQ+ youth.**

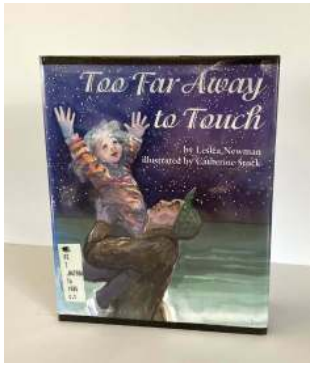


Figure 11.2. Lesléa Newman's Too Far Away to Touch (1995). (Deborah Amory.)

2000s: Gay and Lesbian Parents

In the first decade of the 2000s, well-budgeted LGBTQ+ children's literature that explored a variety of themes became the norm instead of the exception. Most of these books continued to focus on lesbian and gay adults through stories that focalized the experience of children related to them. Increased publishing opportunities eventually led to more diverse representations after 2010.

Lesléa Newman, the prolific author of *Heather Has Two Mommies* (1989) and *Too Far Away to Touch* (1995), continues to publish in the field. Her experiences negotiating the publishing industry reflect publishing shifts. She went from raising funds to publish her first book through a letter-writing campaign in 1989 to being solicited to create board books with LGBTQ+ themes in 2009. In our email correspondence Newman wrote, "I was asked by Tricycle Press to write a set of board books: one about a child with two moms and one about a child with two dads. Which I did. Tricycle was subsequently bought out by Random House, and the two books, ***Mommy, Mama, and Me* and *Daddy, Papa, and Me* are still in print (10 years later!)** and doing very well" (figure 11.3).[13]



Figure 11.3. The board book Daddy, Papa, and Me (2008). (Deborah Amory.)

Dozens of books about lesbian- and gay-parented families have been published since the 1990s, with most being writing after 2000. **This increased social acceptance and public visibility of lesbian and gay families parallels political discussions about marriage equality and LGBTQ+ adoption.** If traditional publishing companies with marketing and production budgets are now publishing LGBTQ+ content, that attests to the marketability of these books, not just to LGBTQ+ families but to all families who wish to provide their children with realistic windows into the world.

2010s

This is not to say that *all* queer content has found a home in traditional publishing or that traditional publishing is even desirable for all authors producing LGBTQ+ children's picture books. For instance, **Myles E. Johnson's *Large Fears*** (2015) (figure 11.4), a series of vignettes about Jeremiah, **a queer Black boy who loves pink and wants to go to Mars, was crowdsourced.**[14] In a 2019 Twitter exchange with me, Johnson said, "Crowdsourcing has limits, but it is perfect if you see a demand and just let the audience fund it instead of waiting on gatekeepers." Johnson's unique narrative style and focus on the subjectivity of a Black queer boy make pursuing traditional publishing, which primarily considers marketability and profitability, challenging.



Figure 11.4. Myles E. Johnson's Large Fears (2015). (Deborah Amory.)

Small, mission-oriented presses and self-publishing are still more likely than traditional publishers to publish content that intersectionally engages marginalized social identities. For instance, Inhabit Media, an Inuit-owned publishing company founded in 2006, published **Jesse Unaapik Mike and Kerry McCluskey's *Families*** (figure 11.5), a picture book that affirms various family forms, including lesbian and gay families.[15]

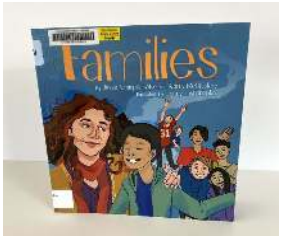


Figure 11.5. Jesse Unaapik Mike and Kerry McCluskey's Families (2017). (Deborah Amory.)

Although a handful of books on transgender experience have been published traditionally, most continue to be published by nontraditional means. The very queer Flamingo Rampant, a Canadian micro press funded by crowdsourcing, **explores queer gender and sexual identities as they intersect with other identity categories, including race and ability.**[16] In one of their **first publications, *A Princess of Great Daring*** (2015), written by **Tobi Hill-Meyer and illustrated by Elenore Toczynski, a transgender girl** has not seen her friends all summer and prepares to share her gender identity with them for the first time. Jamie's two moms drop her off at her friend's house, and her friends are playing a game in which they save a princess from a dragon. Jamie offers to be the princess, and the boys are excited to have someone to rescue. Jamie interrupts the traditional narrative by declaring that she will be "a princess of great daring." Concerned that they will have no one to rescue, one of the boys, Liam, volunteers to be captured by a dragon, but even the dragon defies gender expectations. She grabbed Liam only because she was lonely. When the game ends, Jamie's friends tell her that she makes a great princess. She takes the opportunity to explain that she is a girl. They immediately accept her, and ask how they can best offer their support.[17]

Not surprisingly, in more traditional presses, marriage became an increasingly popular theme throughout the first and second decades of the 2000s, mirroring the increased visibility of sociopolitical debates about marriage equality. **Sarah S. Brannen's *Uncle Bobby's Wedding*** (2008) tells about Chloe, a little girl worried that her favorite uncle will have less time for her once he marries his partner. Extended family are accepting of the same-gender relationship, and **Chloe comes around once she realizes the joy of having two uncles. *Lesléa Newman's Donovan's Big Day*** (2011) (figure 11.6) also takes up the theme of same-gender marriage, this time through the point of view of a young boy whose mothers are marrying.[18]

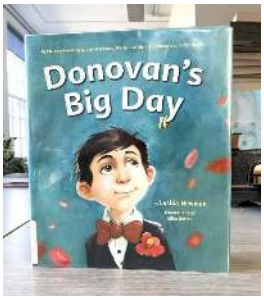


Figure 11.6. Lesléa Newman's Donovan's Big Day (2011). (Deborah Amory.)

Additionally, over the last several years, books have introduced very young readers to transgender and gender-nonconforming children, and to a lesser extent, adults have begun to appear. For instance, ***Worm Loves Worm*** (2016), written by J. J. Austrian and

illustrated by Mike Curato, is a candid story about two worms who fall in love and wish to marry. Their insect and arachnid friends demand they jump through all the traditional hoops, including getting rings even though they don't have fingers and buying a cake even though they eat only dirt. They go along with everything until it comes to choosing who will wear the white wedding dress and who will wear the tuxedo. At that point, the worms queer gender expectations when one wears the dress with a top hat and the other wears the tuxedo with a veil. **Another example, *Square Zair Pair* (2015), written by Jase Peeples** and illustrated by Christine Knopp, takes place in a fantasy world inhabited by Zairs. Zairs hatch from eggs that grow from vines. Some are tall and square; others are short and round. Round and square Zairs always form a pair by attaching tails. One day two square Zairs pair. The community is outraged and demands they leave the group, using rhetoric like that of the real-world Right. After the exiled Zairs save the other Zairs from starving during an unexpected winter storm, they are accepted back into the community, which echoes the demand for queers to be exceptional to be accepted.[19]

Stories about same-gender-desiring children are also (slowly) beginning to appear. In Thomas Scotto's *Jerome by Heart* (2018) two boys share an affectionate friendship that makes the adults in their lives uncomfortable. This is one of only two representations of same-gender love between children available in children's picture books.[20] **E. J. Martinez's *When We Love Someone We Sing to Them: Cuando Amamos Cantamos*** (2018) is the other (figure 11.7). It is a joyful celebration of father-son relationships and young love. Martinez's depiction of the Mexican *serenata* tradition subtly queers custom.

It was not until 2009, with the publication of **Cheryl Kilodavis's *My Princess Boy*,** that transgender and gender-creative children began appearing in children's picture books. **The gender-creative protagonist,** who is never named but instead referred to by the narrator-mother as "my Princess Boy," seems to be effortlessly accepted by family and friends. This book and others like it break out of the sissy-boy mold present in earlier books by representing **gender-nonconforming boys who enjoy toys and activities associated with girls as accepted by family and peers.**[21]

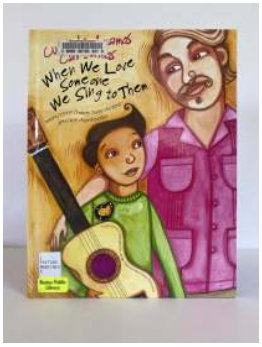


Figure 11.7. Javier Martinez's When We Love Someone We Sing to Them: Cuando Amamos Cantamos (2018). (Deborah Amory.)

Two years later, the gay author **Marcus Ewert published one of the first children's picture books, *10,000 Dresses*** (2011), illustrating the experiences of a transgender girl. The child, Bailey, is bullied by family members who insist she is a boy even though she knows she's a girl. Rex Ray illustrates the text, providing the reader access to **Bailey's inner life by depicting her dreams and thoughts.** Every morning when Bailey wakes up, she tells a family member about the dress-wearing dream she had the previous night. Every morning a new family member dismisses her dream, ignores her attempt at self-definition, and tries to silence her. After her brother threatens her with physical violence, Bailey runs away from him. She meets an older girl named Laurel who is the only character besides Bailey who is given a name and face. The two girls create beautiful dresses together. The final image is of the girls wearing the dresses they worked together to make. **The book alludes to chosen families through Bailey's experience of rejection by her heterosexual family and the support she finds with Laurel.**[22]

I Am Jazz (2014) is an autobiographical children's picture book coauthored by **Jessica Herthel and the title character, Jazz Jennings.** Jennings, now a young transgender woman with her own TLC show, first entered the spotlight in 2007 when she was featured on a *20/20* documentary about transgender children. This book is a significant contribution to LGBTQ+ children's literature because it is coauthored by and narrated from the perspective of the transgender child protagonist.[23] LGBTQ+ books published in the last few years demonstrate how **social and cultural visibility of LGBTQ+ youth has increased.** Representations that affirm LGBTQ+ youth especially reflect medical models of care for young queer people that better meet their needs.

The Making of LGBTQ+ Children's Literature

The conversations that surround LGBTQ+ children's literature, specifically, challenges and celebrations of its existence, are an important part of the field's story. The internet has played a critical role in increasing the visibility of LGBTQ+ identities and aiding postmillennial queer community building. Blogs by book reviewers, parents, teachers, social workers, and librarians have provided a virtual grassroots campaign to spread the word about LGBTQ+ children's books. For instance, ***Mombian: Sustenance for Lesbian Moms*** **is a parenting blog that was founded in 2005** when the creator noted "a lack of sites with current, **practical news and information for LGBTQ parents,** or sites that looked at other aspects of LGBTQ culture with a parent's eye."[24] The blog contains a wealth of information about LGBTQ+ children's culture and smart reviews of dozens of books.

The recent emergence of literary awards provide LGBTQ+ children's literature a degree of respectability and authority. For instance, **the Stonewall Book Award,** which is administered by the **American Library Association's Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Round Table, was established in 1971,** but a Children's and Young Adult Literature Award was not created until 2010. **The Lambda Literary Awards** began acknowledging and awarding **LGBTQ+ authors and writers of LGBTQ+ content** in 1989 and created a category for **Children's and Young Adult Literature** in 1992. Awards lend legitimacy to the subfield. Both of these relatively new awards help LGBTQ+ children's books get the accolades they deserve.[25]

Less affirming discourses predate blogs and awards. Children's literature has many gatekeepers: parents, educators, librarians, even publishers themselves. Representations of lesbian, gay, and transgender experiences, expressions, and identities remain some of the most contested within the world of children's literature. According to the American Library Association, two of the top ten most contested books of the 1990s represented queer parenting: ***Daddy's Roommate,*** **by Michael Willhoite,** and Lesléa Newman's *Heather Has Two Mommies*.[26]

Controversies over LGBTQ+ children's literature are hardly a thing of the past. In the 2010s, myriad attempts to keep books with LGBTQ+ content out of libraries and classrooms have sprung up across the United States as well as globally. In Kansas there were attempts to remove *I Am Jazz* and other books with transgender characters from libraries. Attempts have been made to ban the books of LGBTQ+ children's picture-book author Gayle Pitman in Colorado, Texas, and Illinois.[27] The political, cultural, and personal significance of LGBTQ+ children's picture books can be best understood by cataloging responses to it. Like the texts themselves, discourses that challenge and discourses that **celebrate the work are critical archives of feeling and practice that reflect shifting social and cultural responses to LGBTQ+ identity.**

Explore

Peruse Jennifer Miller's blog *Raise Them Righteous*. (https://raisethemrighteous.wordpress.com/blog/)

- Choose an LGBTQ+ children's picture book to read. What aspects of LGBTQ+ identity, community, or culture are represented?
- What changes in topics, tone, and style do you see in books published earlier versus more recently? What key themes can you identify through them?
- Miller talks about children's picture books as "a powerful socializing agent." How might the book you chose to read be described as helping children develop a sense of cultural expectations or understand diverse social roles?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Which ancient author is recognized as the "mother of lesbian poetry" and is referenced in the chapter?
A) Sappho
B) Homer
C) Plato
D) Radclyffe Hall

2. What is a key reason why LGBTQ+ children's picture books are considered powerful socializing agents?
A) they only depict traditional family structures
B) they help children form self-image and understand diverse social roles
C) they avoid controversial topics
D) they are exclusively written by LGBTQ+ authors

3. The 1954 Comics Code influenced queer representation in comics by:
A) forcing queer comics underground due to censorship.
B) encouraging more LGBTQ+ content.
C) promoting positive portrayals of LGBTQ+ characters.
D) requiring all comics to be peer-reviewed.

4. Which book is credited with inaugurating a new trend in LGBTQ+ children's literature by representing lesbian families?
A) William's Doll
B) Jesse's Dream Skirt
C) Heather Has Two Mommies
D) My Princess Boy

5. What publishing trend is highlighted by the success of Myles E. Johnson's Large Fears (2015)?
A) the effectiveness of crowdsourcing for marginalized voices
B) the dominance of traditional publishers
C) the decline of LGBTQ+ children's literature
D) the exclusion of intersectional identities

6. Which theme is most commonly associated with early LGBTQ+ children's picture books from the 1970s?
A) sissy boys challenging gender stereotypes
B) marriage equality
C) transgender visibility
D) HIV/AIDS awareness

7. What is a major challenge faced by LGBTQ+ children's literature in schools and libraries, as described in the chapter?
A) lack of interest from children
B) overrepresentation of transgender characters
C) attempts to ban or remove books with LGBTQ+ content
D) excessive marketing budgets

8. Which of the following is true about the representation of HIV/AIDS in LGBTQ+ children's literature?
A) It was widely represented before the 1990s.
B) It began to appear in the 1990s, often focusing on family and community impact.
C) It is only discussed in adult literature.
D) It is never addressed in children's books.

9. What role do literary awards like the Stonewall Book Award and Lambda Literary Awards play in LGBTQ+ children's literature?
A) They decrease the visibility of LGBTQ+ books.
B) They are not mentioned in the chapter.
C) They only recognize adult literature.
D) They lend legitimacy and authority to the subfield.

10. How do recent LGBTQ+ children's picture books differ from earlier works, according to the chapter?
A) They offer more intersectional and diverse representations.
B) They focus exclusively on cisgender characters.
C) They avoid themes of family and community.
D) They are less likely to be self-published.

1. How have shifts in social acceptance and publishing practices influenced the themes and diversity of LGBTQ+ children's literature over time?
2. In what ways do children's picture books serve as both historical archives and agents of social change for LGBTQ+ communities?

3. Discuss the impact of self-publishing and crowdsourcing on the representation of marginalized identities in LGBTQ+ children's literature.
4. What are the implications of censorship and book bans for the visibility and acceptance of LGBTQ+ identities in educational settings?
5. How do literary awards and online communities (such as blogs) contribute to the legitimacy and dissemination of LGBTQ+ children's literature?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. A) Sappho
2. B) they help children form self-image and understand diverse social roles
3. A) forcing queer comics underground due to censorship.
4. C) Heather Has Two Mommies
5. A) the effectiveness of crowdsourcing for marginalized voices
6. A) sissy boys challenging gender stereotypes
7. C) attempts to ban or remove books with LGBTQ+ content
8. B) It began to appear in the 1990s, often focusing on family and community impact.
9. D) They lend legitimacy and authority to the subfield.
10. A) They offer more intersectional and diverse representation

---

This page titled 11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.2: Chapter 11- LGBTQ+ Literature** by Cathy Corder is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature

The Introduction of Lesbian Young Adult Fiction (**Maddison Lauren Simmons**)

To explore the rising importance and acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community and uncover tropes and themes, this section examines lesbian young adult fiction, novels written for twelve- to eighteen-year-olds, that have a lesbian protagonist. Eight popular and accessible U.S. novels written since the 1970s are the basis of this examination, with one or two books selected from each decade. All include a woman attracted to other women, with most of them being clear that the character is a lesbian (or in one case, bisexual). In the discussion, *queer* refers to cisgender women who identify as lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, or queer.

The first lesbian-specific young adult novel was not published until 1976, Rosa Guy's *Ruby*.[28] According to Christine A. Jenkins and Michael Cart, the general types of stories with queer characters published between 1969 and 2016 had one of three themes: **"homosexual visibility," "gay assimilation," or "queer consciousness/community."** Homosexual visibility refers to a character coming out and the tension that "*might* happen when the invisible is made visible." Gay assimilation involves a ***"melting pot* of sexual and gender identity,"** and these stories involve characters who "just happen to be gay" but it's not their main characteristic. Finally, stories that involve **queer consciousness "show LGBTQ+ characters in the context of a community."**[29] Although the homosexual visibility category is seen in nearly every novel, gay assimilation novels were more common in the 1990s to early 2000s, and stories with queer communities were more common after 2000. This could be due to changing attitudes with respect to the queer community over the decades. Novels closer to the 2020s have more positive and diverse queer representation.

Like LGBTQ+ literature more generally, lesbian young adult fiction tends to fall into one of the three categories Jenkins and Cart introduce. In addition, the narrow field of lesbian young adult fiction includes these tropes: (1) the Miserable Lesbian, which refers to lesbians depicted as unhappy and lonely, (2) the Lesbian Victim, who has experienced acts of homophobia and violence as punishment for her sexuality, (3) the Confused Parents, who think that they did something wrong while raising their daughter and that's why she's gay, or they think that someone turned their daughter gay, (4) Lesbian Self-Discovery, in which she feels right with her sexuality and queer love interest, and (5) Found Family, focusing on the importance of friends and on those in the queer community triumphing over hardship and coming together as a family when the biological family of a queer person is lacking.

The earliest lesbian young adult novels are littered with unhappy and lonely queer characters, secret relationships, and violence against the lesbian characters. **Of the eight books examined for this project, the stories published in the 1970s and 1980s (and even some into the early 2000s) exhibited** these tropes of the miserable lesbian and the lesbian victim, but they accomplish the homosexual visibility and gay assimilation that Jenkins and Cart defined. Although they may have been unhappy, queer characters were at least there, allowing some sort of visibility, even if the queer character didn't get a happy ending. This is important because it showed lesbian characters during a time when the LGBTQ+ community was not accepted in general society. Between the 1970s and early 2000s, novels that enfolded the beliefs of society at the time encountered less pushback than those featuring an out and proud lesbian who had no problems with her sexuality. **People expected lesbian and queer characters to face setbacks because of their sexuality, but as they became more represented and accepted, over time the stories about queer characters were able to evolve from miserable lesbians to lesbians who are out and proud and facing little to no pushback for their sexuality.**

Rosa Guy's *Ruby* (1976) is often heralded as **the first lesbian young adult novel.** In the book, eighteen-year-old Ruby Cathy and her family move from the West Indies to Harlem, New York. The story describes the family's adjustment to Harlem and Ruby's budding relationship with Daphne Duprey, a self-confident and charming girl in Ruby's classroom. Ruby is described as a terribly lonely girl plagued by sadness, but she sees Daphne as a way to escape her loneliness. Although the story doesn't touch on lesbianism much and never explicitly defines Ruby as a lesbian, this was the first young adult novel that involved a relationship between two women. This book is a great example of **Jenkins and Cart's homosexual visibility because,** although Ruby is not happy, at least her story was published and people could read about a young queer woman and her relationship with another woman.

Julie Anne Peters's novel *Keeping You a Secret* (2003) is about Holland, the protagonist, realizing she has feelings for a girl named Cece and their eventual relationship. This novel harks back to the miserable lesbian trope of earlier years because Holland gets kicked out of her house once her mother learns about her and Cece. But it also anticipates the presence of queer community, because Holland uses local queer resources to move into a queer-run apartment complex. This novel includes the confused parent,

lesbian victim, and self-discovery tropes and falls in line with all three themes of Jenkins and Cart. Although her life seems bleak after she is kicked out, Holland believes that one day things will be okay and she will have a home, pride, and acceptance within the queer community.[30]

By the early 2010s, the queer community theme and found family trope are widely used. Published in 2012 but set in 1990, ***The Miseducation of Cameron Post,* written by Emily M. Danforth**, is set in a conversion therapy camp. This story involves the miserable lesbian, lesbian victim, and found family tropes and falls into Jenkins and Cart's queer community category. Although the camp itself is extremely toxic and is meant to break down the very essence of who each camper is in order to convert them to heterosexuality, the friendships formed between the more rebellious campers are a saving grace in a place where they would otherwise lose sight of who they are. As the first semester at the camp comes to an end, all the campers go home to their families during winter break. After spending months with new people and having practically zero contact from her life before, Cameron notes how strange it feels to be leaving camp. She realizes that the camp has become home, but more specifically, she realizes just **how important the friendships she made have been.** Despite the circumstances that brought them together, Cameron feels closer to the other campers than she does to her aunt, who sent her to the camp. This shows that, even though this type of camp was meant to strip away the essence of who a queer person was, it didn't always work and sometimes created stronger friendships and a strong found family.[31]

These Witches Don't Burn* (2019), written by Isabel Sterling,** is about a teen witch named Hannah who has to deal with her ex-girlfriend and an attack on her coven while managing life as a teenager. This novel is filled with positive representations of queer characters, and Jenkins and Cart's theme of queer community is very present in this novel. The trope of self-discovery is also prevalent, but because Hannah is an out lesbian from the first page, the trope focuses more on her feeling right with her new love interest than on wrestling with her sexuality. A lot of queer characters throughout ***These Witches Don't Burn **show queer consciousness** and the importance of positive queer representation. There are lesbian neighbors who are married and expecting a child, there's a trans coworker at Hannah's job, and various other queer students. When Hannah first meets her new coworker Cal, she slips up and mentions her ex and then has to say that her ex is another woman. She immediately is nervous, her internal monologue saying, **"Coming out is always nerve-wracking, no matter how many times I do it."** Cal then comes out to her, mentioning an ex-boyfriend of his and that he's trans, and Hannah recalls "instantly feeling a tighter kinship with my new coworker, like seeing a familiar face in a crowd of strangers"[32] **There's a powerful dynamic when queer people meet in a public space and recognize that the other is queer.** When two queer characters meet in a story and recognize that the other is queer, it lets readers know that nothing bad is going to happen to them (at least with the other person) because of their sexuality.

When LGBTQ+ people are not accepted by their birth families, stories of found families and queer communities resonate deeply. These tropes and themes are important not just as story elements but for queer readers to see themselves in fiction. **Even with the ruling of *Obergefell v. Hodges* in 2015, which legalized gay marriage in all fifty states,** there are still homophobic people who don't support queer people. Although society is generally becoming more inclusive and welcoming of different people, not everyone is lucky enough to be loved and supported by their biological family when they come out. Queer friendships are usually stronger than other types because most queer people live with the fear that they will eventually come in contact with someone who hates them just because they're queer. Finding another queer person and creating a found family that provides safety, love, and support is an incredibly important event in real life and in literature.

The trope of self-discovery and feeling right with a queer partner is in nearly every novel of this project. The character deals with their sexuality or, if they were already out, with their feelings for another woman. **In *Annie on My Mind* (1982) and *Keeping You a Secret* (2003),** especially, **in a moment of gay panic, the main character slowly realizes she is queer and freaks out, but her worries melt away once she kisses her love interest and feels that nothing had ever been more right or made as much sense.** In the **novels published after 2010, there is less of this gay panic and more nonchalance about sexuality, because the main character was usually already aware of her sexuality and okay with it**.[33]

Even if the story has many pitfalls and trials for the queer characters, at least each novel mentions that being with the right person, no matter their gender or sexuality, feels right and good and brings peace. It's something that most people can relate to, and it's a powerful sentiment that normalizes queer relationships by implying that queer people and queer relationships are not inherently disgusting or wrong. **Allowing queer characters the same ability to find Mr. or Ms. Right, but of the same gender, normalizes queerness in a heteronormative society.**

Since the 1970s, lesbian young adult novels have moved away from the miserable lesbian trope and toward happier lesbian characters who find a strong queer community and feel love and acceptance. The trend of the tropes and themes discussed here suggest that, one day, queer experiences will be filled with less tragedy, but until then, literature will continue to have a strong queer community and an influx of queer-affirming stories.

Read

Malinda Lo writes about her journey toward embracing literature and movies that feature lesbian characters in her blog post "The Invisible Lesbian in Young Adult Fiction," February 10, 2020 (www.malindalo.com/blog/2020/2/4/the-invisible-lesbian-in-young-adult-fiction).

- What is your experience of viewing or reading about lesbian characters? Does the discussion of tropes in lesbian young adult literature help you understand your own response?
- Lo states, "Cis queer women have always been marginalized because we exist at an intersection of misogyny and homophobia, at minimum. Add in race, disability, class, etc., and things become even more complicated." Discuss any connections you see between this statement and the tropes in lesbian young adult fiction discussed here.
- Lo talks about the relative lack of recognition for lesbian young adult fiction in the last ten years, using literature awards as an example. She asks specifically why cis queer girls have not been recognized and introduces the idea of misogyny not as a personal attitude but a system that enforces attitudes. Expand on her ideas using what you have learned about how tropes in lesbian young adult fiction have evolved over time.

Trans and Gender-Nonconforming Characters in Young Adult Literature (**Robert Bittner**)

Literature for young readers fluctuates constantly to reflect and speak to the experiences of children and teens in different geographic and community-oriented contexts, changing—sometimes rapidly, as in the case of gender and sexuality—over time as the sociopolitical landscape shifts.[34] **Literature reflecting the realities of LGBTQ+ youth is indeed very reactive to the sociopolitical landscapes** in which it is written and published. As queer and trans acceptability grows in mainstream media and the political landscape, so too does representation increase in the literature published for young people.

This section focuses primarily on literature produced between 2000 and 2020 for middle grade readers, between the ages of eight and twelve, and young adult readers, between the ages of twelve and eighteen. Starting with a look at where transgender representation in young adult literature began, this chapter then follows a time line of transgender and gender-nonconforming representation in middle grade and young adult literature, **highlighting the evolution of gender identities in these years.** The last part of the chapter explores tropes—commonly used themes or literary devices that can become cliché over time—within trans and gender-nonconforming narratives and how they can be problematic.

Beginnings

The year 2004 is often cited as the beginning of transgender representation in literature for young adults, and in many respects, this is true. In this year ***Luna*, the first young adult novel with a transgender character,** was published, but it was not the first instance of a transgender character in young adult fiction.[35] That distinction is given, as Jenkins and Cart note, to **Francesca Lia Block's short story "Dragons in Manhattan,"** published in her 1996 collection ***Girl Goddess #9*.**[36] They further note that although the story itself is young adult, the trans character is an adult, unlike the vast majority of trans characters in young adult literature today.

Five years after Block's short story, **Emma Donoghue published "The Welcome"** in Michael Cart's edited collection ***Love and Sex: Ten Stories of Truth*** (2001).[37] Both Block's and Donoghue's short stories feature trans women, as does *Luna*. These firsts are to be commended for paving the way for future transgender and other gender-nonconforming characters, but since that time, scholars have noted the problematic nature of these early representations, particularly in *Luna*, mostly due to the emphasis on Luna's sibling, rather than Luna herself, and also because Luna is portrayed as a burden to her family and friends throughout the novel.

The existence of other gender-nonconforming characters in young adult literature is a relatively new phenomenon spanning just over two decades, even less when looking only at full-length novels. With this in mind, the many varieties of gender identities now represented is impressive, especially considering how long it took to move beyond gay and lesbian characters.[38] Since *Luna*, there

has been greater inclusivity of characters who are not cisgender, **including transgender, genderqueer, intersex, bigender, nonbinary, and two-spirit representation.**

These diverse gender representations are important for many reasons. Rudine Sims Bishop notes in her work on children's literature that books function as mirrors and windows.[39] **Diverse representation, therefore, allows more young readers to see themselves reflected** in the books they read, thus reinforcing that their existence is legitimate and worthy of deeper exploration in literature. As windows, literature for young readers allows a glimpse into the lives and worlds of others. This is the lens through which the remainder of this section is constructed, thereby emphasizing the necessity and impact of diverse representations of gender in young adult literature.

A Time Line of Firsts

Building on the momentum from the publication of *Luna* (2004), **Ellen Wittlinger wrote *Parrotfish*** (2007)—the first instance of a trans man in young adult literature—which follows Grady in his physical and mental transition while dealing with an unaccepting family (figure 11.9). Two years later, **Brian Katcher's novel, *Almost Perfect*** (2009) arrived on the scene and won a **Stonewall Book Award from the American Library Association,** the oldest and largest U.S.-based professional organization for librarians. Katcher's novel began to gather more negative reviews from trans teens over the years following its publication, however, because of the many stereotypes the narrative relies on. In the same year, **the novel *Punkzilla*** (2009) by Adam Rapp was published and two more short stories came out in **Michael Cart's edited collection *How Beautiful the Ordinary: Twelve Stories of Identity*** (2009).[40]



Figure 11.9. Ellen Wittlinger's Parrotfish (2007). (Deborah Amory.)

Another first occurred with the publication of ***I Am J* by Cris Beam in 2010** (figure 11.10). J is assigned female at birth and is looking for medical intervention to transition, but because he is not eighteen and his parents don't know that he is trans, he cannot legally access hormone treatment. But what makes this novel a first is that J is both Jewish and Puerto Rican, making this the first instance of a nonwhite transgender teen in young adult literature.[41]

A banner year for literature for trans and gender-nonconforming young adults, 2012 saw the publication of three novels with transgender characters and the first instance of a two-spirit secondary character. ***Happy Families* by Tanita S. Davis** explores the lives of a Black family as their father comes out as transgender, and **Rachel Gold's *Being Emily*** (2012) follows Emily as she is forced into reparative therapy to "cure" her transness.[42] Emily Danforth's *The Miseducation of Cameron Post* (2012) also focuses on conversion therapy, and although it focuses on a lesbian protagonist, Danforth includes a two-spirit character named Adam.[43] Last, Kirstin Cronn-Mills published the Stonewall Book Award–winning *Beautiful Music for Ugly Children* (2012).[44]



Figure 11.10. *I Am J* by Cris Beam. (Deborah Amory.)

In 2013, **Kristin Elizabeth Clark published *Freakboy*,** a novel in verse from the perspectives of three different characters, two of whom are transgender. Another book, ***Two Boys Kissing* by David Levithan,** features alternating chapters from the perspectives of

different characters, one of whom is transgender, which revolve around an attempt by two boys to break the world record for longest kiss.[45]

Middle grade literature saw its first transgender protagonist in 2014 with **Ami Polonsky's *Gracefully Grayson*.** Additionally, ***For Today I Am a Boy*, by Kim Fu, includes the first Asian trans protagonist** (figure 11.11). But what makes 2014 stand out, in addition to these texts, is that the first instance of an intersex character appeared in **Bridget Birdsall's *Double Exposure,*** in which Alyx struggles to understand and accept her body and her gender in a world of binaries. This year also saw the publication of a pair of trans young adult memoirs by Katie Rain Hill and Arin Andrews. **Hill's *Rethinking Normal* and Andrews's *Some Assembly Required*** explore the lives of these teens both individually and during the time that they were dating each other. These books started a small wave of trans young adult memoir over the next five years. A further nonfiction title, ***Beyond Magenta,* by Susan Kuklin, features the stories of trans youth and the challenges they face every day living in the United States.**[46]



Figure 11.11. For Today I Am a Boy by Kim Fu. (Deborah Amory.)

Another transgender middle grade novel, *George*, came out in 2015 (figure 11.12). The book was written by **Alex Gino, a genderqueer author, and garnered a number of awards.** In 2021, **the book was retitled *Melissa*** to show respect for the protagonist's gender identity. **Robin Talley published *What We Left Behind*** (2015), about Toni, a character questioning their gender.[47] According to Jenkins and Cart, within this novel "every conceivable word in the transgender vocabulary is bandied about, dissected, and analyzed," making this novel not only enjoyable but also informative.[48] **Two more intersex protagonists also showed up on the scene: *Alex as Well*** (Alyssa Brugman, 2015) **and *None of the Above*** (I. W. Gregorio, 2015). And to make 2015 even more exciting, **Pat Schmatz published *Lizard Radio,* featuring a nonbinary protagonist.**[49]

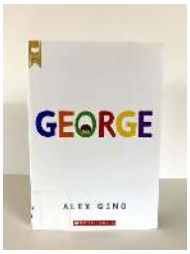


Figure 11.12. The original publication and cover of Melissa by Alex Gino. (Deborah Amory.)

If I Was Your Girl (2016) was the **first young adult novel written by a transgender author, Meredith Russo.** That same year, **Jeff Garvin published *Symptoms of Being Human*** (2016), a novel focusing on a **gender-fluid teen who explores expectations of a binary world** both in high school life and online through a series of blog posts. **Anna-Marie McLemore published a highly decorated novel called *When the Moon Was Ours*** (2016), which features dual protagonists, one of whom is trans. ***Girl Mans Up*** (2016), a novel about a gender-nonconforming teen by Canadian author **M-E Girard**, was also published the same year.[50]

Books like *Lizard Radio* and *When the Moon Was Ours* showed the possibilities of combining trans narratives with genre fiction, a trend that continued into 2017 with *Dreadnought* by April Daniels and *Mask of Shadows* by Linsey Miller. An acclaimed nonfiction book by **Dashka Slater, *The 57 Bus*** (2017), chronicles the true story of a young trans girl whose skirt was set on fire in a prank and the young Black man who was painted as a monster in the wake of the crime. ***Jaya and Rasa,* by Sonia Patel, a novel set in Hawaii,** explores not only gender but also the plight of young sex workers. Another middle grade novel, ***Felix Yz,* by Lisa Bunker, features a gender-fluid grandparent who goes by Grandy.**[51]

In 2018, Adam Garnet Jones adapted his feature-length film into a young adult novel called ***Fire Song,* which features Canadian Indigenous queer youth and looks at gender roles and gender expectations within that context** (figure 11.13). Mason Deaver

brought out another nonbinary character in *I Wish You All the Best* in 2019, and what makes it even better is that Deaver is a nonbinary author. ***Kings, Queens, and In-Betweens,* by Tanya Boteju,** features drag, gender questioning, and explorations of gender nonconformity with a diverse cast of primary and secondary characters.[52]

Two 2020 novels bringing new gender identities into mainstream young adult fiction are **Kacen Callender, who writes about a demiboy in *Felix Ever After*, and in *Somebody Told Me*, Mia Siegert examines what it means to be bigender.**[53]



Figure 11.13. Adam Garnet Jones's Fire Song. (Deborah Amory.)

Many more new and emerging identities no doubt will be featured in the coming years, and considering how long it took from the emergence of queer literature for teens in 1969 to the first trans young adult novel in 2004, there has been a huge change in what is included under the umbrella of gender and **sexual diversity in literature for teens.** However, because there are still so few representations in the larger landscape, it is necessary to understand at least a few of the common and problematic tropes that exist in the body of transgender and gender-nonconforming literature for young adults. And along with those tropes, the overwhelming majority of existing young adult and middle grade fiction revolves around white middle-class suburban families under the umbrella of contemporary realistic fiction, making it difficult to even find racial and class diversity among trans and gender-nonconforming representation.

Tropes and Troubles

Many trans young adult novels until very recently have been written by cisgender authors, and therefore a large majority of earlier young adult novels feature tropes such as the wrong-body narrative in which being transgender is described almost entirely as being born into the wrong body. Although some trans people may feel this way, many do not, and for nontransgender audiences to see this trope time and again **can reinforce the idea of a universal trans experience.** Other tropes discussed here include the acceptance narrative, the hero's journey, and the focus on physical transitioning in middle grade and young adult novels featuring trans and gender-nonconforming young people.

Clarence Harlan Orsi notes in the *Los Angeles Review of Books*, "A lot has changed for trans people in the last 15 years, yet the novels reflect a relatively unified perspective. . . . After reading only a handful of these books . . . , I could usually predict what would happen next." He continues, "In the end, though, . . . they teach the kids (and parents) who read them *what it means to be trans*."[54] When young adult novels and other forms of mainstream media continue to push the same tropes over and over again, audiences construct a false understanding of trans lived experiences, including the idea that trans existence is defined by physical and psychological trauma. Brian Katcher's novel makes for an almost perfect (pardon the pun) jumping-off point to better understand other common tropes.

Almost Perfect is an award-winning novel, but its narrative arc and character descriptions follow what steadily became a well-worn trope thanks to *Luna* and *Parrotfish*. **These early novels, and many since, follow a trope that Vee Signorelli calls the acceptance narrative,** in which the focus is on cisgender characters and their ways of coping with transgender people in their lives. Even when the novels have trans narrators, they are still often focused on the reactions of cisgender peers or family members. Signorelli claims that in the acceptance narrative trope, cisgender characters often realize they have been horrible to trans people and should be nicer, but not until after many years of torment and trauma.[55]

In 2016, Signorelli expanded on the acceptance narrative, **explaining a slightly more nuanced,** but still problematic, trope in young adult literature: the hero's journey. This trope seems more hopeful at first; the trans character tends to be the hero of their own story, and they often end up in a more hopeful place at the end. But within the main narrative arc, the trans character still endures hardship in the form of physical or psychological trauma. With both of these typical narrative trajectories involving

violence toward trans characters, the ultimate message for young readers is that it is impossible to exist as a transgender or gender-nonconforming person without inevitable trauma. As Signorelli notes, “Over and over again, our pain is used, and misrepresented. To make the very people who make this world so terrifying for us feel good about themselves.”[56]

Even in memoir and other nonfiction, texts tend to focus on physical transition, medical intervention, and navigating trauma, which in turn raises the question: Who are these books *for*? **With fictional trans characters and trans teen memoir focusing mostly on the transgender body, readers are left with the idea that being trans is entirely about the physical self, not about other aspects of life and enjoyment.** It seems that much of the existing literature is still written to educate nontransgender readers rather than tell individual stories where trans characters can experience joy, purpose, and fulfillment.

Because so many novels follow this path, the idea of a universal trans experience means that existing literature may seem diversified on the surface, but underneath, the core of many trans young adult narratives is the same. Novels such as those by Deaver, Callender, Gino, and even those by trans youth themselves, **like Katie Rain Hill and Arin Andrews, attempt to break free from the universality of so much existing representation.** By using personal experiences—as trans and gender-nonconforming individuals—these authors can mirror their experiences within the literature that they create, thus **allowing for more accurate and nuanced representation of trans and gender-nonconforming lives.**

Things are certainly improving, but there is still a long way to go.

The Gender Question: Kacen Callender and Alex Gino on Nonbinary and Transgender Stories

Callender and Gino talk about how they write stories for young people in *The Gender Question: Kacen Callender and Alex Gino on Nonbinary and Transgender Stories.* (centerforfiction.org/videos/the-gender-question-kacen-callender-and-alex-gino-on-nonbinary-and-transgender-stories/)



- How does Callender, after reading an excerpt, account for intersectionality in *Felix Ever After*? What does Gino add to this discussion?
- The excerpt Callender reads from *Felix Ever After* is about the importance of names for trans characters and people in general. What happens to Felix in the scene, and how do Callender and Gino respond to it? What other young adult novels address this issue?
- How do Callender and Gino describe gatekeepers? What forms does gatekeeping take? What makes queer content particularly vulnerable to censors according to these authors?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Which novel is often cited as the first lesbian young adult novel in the United States?

A) Annie on My Mind

B) Ruby

C) Keeping You a Secret

D) The Miseducation of Cameron Post

2. The “found family” trope in queer young adult literature refers to:
A) biological relatives who accept the protagonist.
B) teachers and school staff.
C) friends and queer community members who provide support and love.
D) imaginary companions.

3. In trans and gender-nonconforming young adult literature, the “wrong-body narrative” is problematic because it:
A) reinforces the idea of a universal trans experience focused on physical transition.
B) always results in a happy ending.
C) centers on nonbinary characters.
D) avoids discussing trauma.

4. Which of the following is a significant “first” for intersectional representation in trans young adult literature?
A) the first nonbinary protagonist in Lizard Radio
B) the first Asian trans protagonist in For Today I Am a Boy
C) the first trans man protagonist in Parrotfish
D) All of the above

5. According to the chapter, what is a major trend in recent trans and gender-nonconforming young adult literature?
A) decreasing diversity of gender identities
B) increasingly nuanced and authentic representation by trans and nonbinary authors
C) exclusive focus on white, middle-class characters
D) avoidance of genre fiction

1. How have the major tropes in lesbian and trans young adult literature evolved over the past several decades, and what social factors have influenced these changes?
2. In what ways do “found family” and “queer community” themes provide support and validation for queer youth, both in literature and real life?
3. Discuss the impact of cisgender authors writing trans narratives. What are the benefits and drawbacks, and how does authorship affect authenticity and representation?
4. How do intersectional identities (race, class, ability, etc.) complicate or enrich the stories told in lesbian and trans young adult fiction?
5. What role do gatekeepers (publishers, educators, parents) play in shaping which queer stories reach young readers, and how might this influence the diversity of available narratives?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) Ruby
2. C) friends and queer community members who provide support and love.
3. A) reinforces the idea of a universal trans experience focused on physical transition.
4. D) All of the above
5. B) increasingly nuanced and authentic representation by trans and nonbinary authors

---

This page titled 11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.2: Chapter 11- LGBTQ+ Literature** by Cathy Corder is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics

Graphic narratives—stories told through sequential images with words—come in many forms: comic strips, superhero comics, graphic novels, manga, and more. Whereas the format of a picture story goes back centuries, our notion of comics is primarily a twentieth-century development.

U.S. comics have an antecedent that is distinct from European comics: the earliest comic strips were found on the sports pages in daily newspapers, between reports on baseball, boxing, and horse racing. Indeed, **the first comic strip, *Mutt and Jeff*** (two men with a close relationship) debuted in 1907 as a strip that focused solely on Mutt, a racetrack gambler. This sports orientation set the tone for many later comics as a heterosexual male-dominated genre, both in the characters and situations depicted and in the industry behind the comics.

In the 1930s, however, comics could be quite playful about gender and sexual orientation. For example, the two main characters in **George Herriman's comic *Krazy Kat,*** which ran from 1913 to 1944, **are Krazy Kat and Ignatz Mouse.** Krazy loves Ignatz, and what makes this relationship special is that other characters in the strip refer to Krazy by both male and female pronouns. Krazy at times wonders whether they should marry a man or a woman.

Comics could also be quite explicit, as seen in the **Tijuana bibles,** which were typically very cheap, eight-page brochure-type publications that satirized Hollywood stars and other popular figures, such as Archie from the comics, with situations that include hetero- and homosexual couples and threesomes and sometimes animals. The eight-pagers were extremely popular during the 1930s and paralleled the overt sexuality then common in films (e.g., the not-so-subtle innuendo of Mae West), which in turn led to the **imposition of the Hays Code** (1934–1968), **an effort to censor movies.**

Fans and scholars alike recognize **the Golden Age of comics as comprising the years 1930 to 1956,** a period that saw the introduction of popular superheroes. World War II, in particular, **inspired the rise of Superman, Batman, Wonder Woman, and many other superheroes.** Also appearing in the 1940s and early 1950s were two other popular genres: crime comics, such as *True Crime Stories*, first published in 1947, and horror comics, such as ***Tales from the Crypt,*** which began in 1950. These two genres were rife with extreme violence and sexuality—a development that did not sit well with the conservative social backlash of the 1950s.

Censorship of American Comics

Into this cultural atmosphere came Fredric Wertham, a psychiatrist who had expressed disapproval of comics for years, including in a 1948 interview, "Horror in the Nursery," and a symposium speech, "The Psychopathy of Comic Books." In 1954, Wertham published his infamous book, ***Seduction of the Innocent: The Influence of Comic Books on Today's Youth,*** which argued that comics, by depicting morally questionable acts and images, were a significant cause of juvenile delinquency. Wertham expressed concern regarding graphic violence, drug use, sexual imagery, and other topics. One of his major concerns, however, was what he considered to be implied homosexual content. He argued, among many other points on the subject, **that Wonder Woman, an independent and physically and emotionally forceful woman, was implied to be lesbian; and that Batman and Robin, two bachelor males living together and emotionally close to each other, were implied to be gay.**[57]

Wertham's book led to hearings before the newly formed U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency in 1954. By the summer after the Senate hearings, fifteen comics publishers had gone out of business, and multiple city councils had passed ordinances banning crime and horror comics. The surviving publishers, in desperation, **formed an organization known as the Comics Code Authority to police their own publications.**

The Comics Code Authority wrote and enforced **the Comics Code,** which was based on the earlier Hays Code but had many far stricter regulations that prohibited anything considered remotely morally objectionable. The Comics Code covered graphic violence and sexual content but also had extensive mandates regarding acceptable story lines:

- It required, for instance, that "in every instance good shall triumph over evil."
- It effectively banned entire genres.
- It disallowed "references to physical afflictions and deformities" (disabilities).
- It forbade the portrayal of racial prejudice, which was used to disallow the inclusion of any nonwhite central characters in what had previously been an unusually racially diverse medium.[58]

A primary focus of the Comics Code was sexual activity. Though the Hays Code had made generic statements about "sex perversion," the Comics Code was more specific and verbose. It prohibited "sexual abnormalities," "sadism," "illicit sex relations," and on and on. It required that any romantic stories emphasize the "sanctity of marriage"—a phrasing that may sound familiar today. And among the most forceful prohibitions was a mirror of the Hays Code: "Sex perversion or any inference [*sic*] to same is strictly forbidden."[59]

Superhero comics were nearly the only genre able to adapt to the dozens of comprehensive rules, and other genres fell to the wayside. A large portion of publishers had already gone out of business and many more were unable to sustain readership while following the Comics Code. This left most comics, especially superhero comics, **to only two publishers—National Comics, now known as DC Comics,** and **Atlas Comics, now known as Marvel Comics.** The Comics Code led to and cemented the lasting image of superheroes as morally unassailable and superhero narratives as morally simplistic. And it removed nearly all diversity.

Underground Comix

The Comics Code devastated the comics industry—but not entirely. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the rise of underground comics, **many of which started in college newspapers and reflected the collegial culture of rebellion.** One early example of underground comix, as they were called, is ***Zap,*** a series that **Robert Crumb and other authors and artists introduced in 1968.** The **comics scholar Hillary Chute** has identified this underground industry as very much a "boys' club" that produced raunchy narratives with a strong white, male heteronormative focus on taboo subjects and gender and racial stereotypes.[60] ***Zap,*** for example, **had the bisexual characters Captain Pissgums and his Pervert Pirates,** who were kinky drug addicts.

Following are some highlights of underground comix that include LGBTQ+ characters:

- Matt Groening's series *Life in Hell*, which began in the late 1970s and ran until 2012, featured **Akbar and Jeff, who are gay anthropomorphized rabbits.**
- In 1976, Garry Trudeau introduced the gay character Andy Lippincott to ***Doonesbury,*** which started in 1970 and is still running today; Andy died of AIDS in 1990.
- In response to the male-dominated comics of this period, **a group of women organized to publish *Wimmen's Comix,*** a comics anthology that ran from 1972 to 1992. The first issue included a story with a lesbian main character, **"Sandy Comes Out."**
- Howard Cruse was the editor of a similar comics anthology, *Gay Comix*, which ran from 1980 to 1998. **Cruse also authored *Wendel*** in 1986, which is the first queer comic strip with a gay author. His graphic memoir, ***Stuck Rubber Baby,*** relates his coming of age as a gay boy growing up in the South and his participation in the civil rights movement.[61]
- The comic book series ***Strangers in Paradise,*** **by Terry Moore,** ran successfully from 1993 to 2007. At the heart of this series, which often took a turn toward mystery and intrigue, was a romantic triangle between two women, one of whom identifies as lesbian, and the man who meets them.
- The comic strip ***Dykes to Watch Out For*** **by Alison Bechdel** ran from 1983 to 2008 (figure 11.14). The strip follows a group of lesbians in real time through personal and political struggles, starting with the Ronald Reagan years and young love and continuing through graduate school, parenting, falling in and out of love, and finally the election of Donald Trump.
- My personal favorite, ***Hothead Paisan: Homicidal Lesbian Terrorist,*** **was initially self-published in 1991 by Diane DiMassa** (figure 11.15). Hothead rages against a sexist society by castrating men. The comic series ran until 1998.
- **Roberta Gregory's comic book series *Naughty Bits*** ran from 1991 to 2004, and her comics starred Midge McCracken, or Bitchy Bitch, and Bitchy Butch, the "angriest dyke in the world."

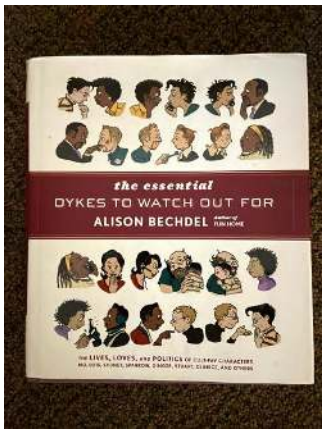


Figure 11.14. Dykes to Watch Out For by Alison Bechdel ran from 1983 to 2008. (Deborah Amory.)



Figure 11.15. Various Hothead Paisan issues by Diane DiMassa. (Deborah Amory.)

One important landmark publication almost single-handedly changed the comics industry. Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, which was published serially in *Raw* magazine from 1980 to 1991, demonstrated that the genre could maintain a high artistic quality and deal with substantive issues.

The alternative and independent comics that emerged from the underground comix in the 1990s and early 2000s built on this newly found status, and notable publications that depicted lesbian characters are **Alison Bechdel's graphic memoir *Fun Home*** (2006) **and Shannon Watters's comic book series *Lumberjanes*.** The latter series started in 2014 and relates the adventures of five girls at **Miss Qiunzella Thiskwin Penniquiqul Thistle Crumpet's Camp for Hardcore Lady Types,** an all-girls' camp with activities that encourage transgressive gender roles.

Reintroducing LGBTQ+ Characters in Mainstream Comics

Over decades, authors, artists, and publishers had gradually chipped away at the code, but LGBTQ+ characters were among the last major frontiers. **Asexual characters can be counted on one hand;** transgender characters on two. Most LGBTQ+ characters have been introduced using various tactics to soften their impact, to make them less shocking and more palatable. Acceptance of LGBTQ+ people and issues in society, as a whole, has been a major factor enabling progress. Inclusion has filtered in toward the center from the outside—into first creator-owned comics, then smaller publishers, then the adult-oriented publications of large publishers, and finally the center of the mainstream.

Here is a short time line of the inclusion of LGBTQ+ characters in superhero comics, showing those shifts.

- 1988: The first gay character, **Extraño, appeared in *Millennium* no. 2;** he was not technically out but was an intensely queer-coded caricature.
- 1991: The reformed villain Pied Piper came out as gay in ***The Flash* no. 53.**
- 1992: The first explicitly gay hero, **Northstar, came out in *Alpha Flight* no. 106.** The creator, John Byrne, had supposedly intended for him to be gay since his debut in 1979 but had been repeatedly overridden by editors.
- 1992: One of the **first multisexual heroes, Element Lad,** entered a similar-gender relationship in ***Legion of Superheroes* no. 31,** a soap opera–esque comic. This character was later retroactively written out as having never happened.

- 1993: **A bisexual transgender woman, Coagula,** briefly appeared starting in *Doom Patrol* no. 70 under an adult-oriented DC Comics imprint. She was created by Rachel Pollack, a transgender writer.
- 1994: **A transgender man, Masquerade, was outed in *Blood Syndicate* no. 10** under another adult-oriented DC Comics imprint. He was a shapeshifter who used his ability to present as male but had dialogue that made clear his identity as a transitioned man.
- 1999: Apollo and Midnighter, written as parallels to **Superman and Batman, became a couple in *The Authority* no. 8,** under yet another adult-oriented DC Comics imprint.
- 2002: **Apollo and Midnighter became the first married gay couple in superhero comics** in *The Authority* no. 29.
- 2005: **Billy Kaplan and Teddy Altman, a gay teenage couple,** were introduced as main characters in *Young Avengers* no. 1, though this was not initially explicit, and they would not explicitly kiss until 2012.
- 2006: **The first major lesbian hero, Batwoman, debuted in *New 52*, volume 1, no. 7.**
- 2011: **DC Comics and Archie Comics officially abandoned the Comics Code,** the last major publishers to do so.
- 2012: **A nonbinary character, Sir Ystin, came out** in *Demon Knights* no. 14 after a year of their gender ambiguity being used as a running gag.
- 2012: Shortly after New York legalized same-sex marriage, **Northstar had the first same-sex wedding in mainstream comics in *Astonishing X-Men* no. 51.**
- 2014: **Loki said he identifies as both a man and a woman in *Loki:* *Agent of Asgard*** no. 2. This makes him arguably the highest-profile transgender character not only in comics but also in all of U.S. popular culture, but very few people are aware that he is transgender.
- 2016: **Apollo and Midnighter became the first gay couple to headline a comic** with the six-issue miniseries *Apollo and Midnighter*.
- 2016: **Jughead, a character in Archie Comics, came out as asexual** in *Jughead* no. 4.
- 2016: **Wonder Woman was stated to be bisexual by a writer,** although the references to this in the comics themselves are subtle and easily missed or denied.
- 2017: **Loki used the word *genderfluid*** to describe himself for the first time in *Unbeatable Squirrel Girl* no. 27.

Tropes and Themes

LGBTQ+ characters in comics show many of the same tropes as in other media—some negative, some neutral, some maybe even positive. However, some tropes appear with particular frequency in comics, as opposed to other media. These are often employed to make the characters less visibly gay, thus less likely to be forbidden by the Comics Code Authority (in earlier years) and easier on the slow-changing, image-concerned industry both earlier and later. A very abbreviated list of a few of them follows.

- **Explicit Naming:** Several characters are stated to be LGBTQ+ by writers or editors, but the actual text contains only ambiguous hints toward their identity. This allows the characters to technically be LGBTQ+ without the average reader being aware of it. T**his is particularly common with high-profile characters such as Deadpool and Wonder Woman.**
- **Nonbinary Shapeshifters:** Nearly all transgender characters in fiction are inhuman, and comics are no exception. Comics, though, are unusually fond of the nonbinary shapeshifter, who shifts between genders and simultaneously physically between sexes. Thus at any given point, the reader is able to think of the character as cisgender and doesn't have to deal **with a character's identity not "matching" their body.** (And neither do the people in charge.) Examples include **Loki, Mystique, and Xavin.**
- **It's Not Gay If It's an Alternate Universe:** This trope, nearly unique to comics, depends on comics' use of the multiverse. Characters are often **portrayed as LGBTQ+ in alternate universes,** allowing both companies and audiences to deny that any queerness exists in the primary versions of those characters. The trope is ridiculously common, applying to dozens of characters. DC Bombshells is particularly notable. Bombshells is an alternate universe with its own yearslong series in which nearly the entire cast (composed of alternate versions of preexisting characters) is lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or some combination. A variant of the trope makes a character a different gender so that a pair can be together without being LGBTQ+ at all. *Dark Reign: Fantastic Four* no. 2 shows an alternate universe in which **Captain America and Iron Man are married—and Iron Man is a woman.** In other narratives, characters in alternate universes with the same roles and titles but different names are LGBTQ+.

- But Not Too Gay: This occurs across media, but because the Comics Code emphasizes visuals, it is particularly significant in comics. LGBTQ+ characters are desexualized compared with their straight counterparts. **Queer couples are often together for years without so much as an on-page kiss, whereas straight couples in the same series are shown in blatantly explicit situations.** Queer couples may even be restricted from having any physical contact at all.

Explore

***Dykes to Watch Out For* (*DTWOF*) is Alison Bechdel's famous comic strip that ran from 1983 to 2008. The online archive** (dykestowatchoutfor.com/strip-archive-by-number/) includes select comic strips, posted by Bechdel, and responses and commentary by readers and fans. *The Essential Dykes to Watch Out For* includes over twenty-five years of *DTWOF* strips in one book (Boston, MA: Mariner Books, 2008).

- *DTWOF* was famous for depicting lesbians responding to and engaging in current political events. The characters in the strip aged in real time, and their relationships evolved as well. What political and social issues does Bechdel explore in her comic strip? Are these still relevant to our lives today?
- How does Bechdel represent lesbian identity, culture, and community? Does her comic strip challenge some of the tropes discussed earlier for LGBTQ+ comics?
- Describe how *DTWOF* violates elements of the Comics Code, particularly in relation to racial prejudice and sexual activity.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What was a primary effect of the Comics Code Authority on LGBTQ+ representation in mainstream comics?
A) It encouraged explicit LGBTQ+ storylines.
B) It banned "sex perversion or any inference to same," effectively erasing queer characters.
C) It promoted racial diversity in superhero comics.
D) It required all comics to be peer-reviewed.

2. Which comic strip is notable for its real-time depiction of lesbian community and engagement with political events from 1983 to 2008?
A) Dykes to Watch Out For
B) Hothead Paisan
C) Life in Hell
D) Naughty Bits

3. The trope "It's Not Gay If It's an Alternate Universe" in comics refers to:
A) Focusing exclusively on cisgender characters
B) Only using LGBTQ+ characters in superhero comics
C) Portraying characters as LGBTQ+ in alternate universes, allowing denial of queerness in the main continuity
D) Making all villains LGBTQ+

4. What is a common feature of the "nonbinary shapeshifter" trope in comics?
A) characters who can change gender and sex, making their identity ambiguous
B) only human characters are represented
C) shapeshifters are always villains
D) it is unique to superhero movies

5. Which underground comic anthology was notable for including a lesbian main character in its first issue?
A) Gay Comix
B) Wimmen's Comix
C) Maus
D) Lumberjanes

1. How did the Comics Code Authority shape the landscape of LGBTQ+ representation in comics, and what were some unintended consequences of its censorship?
2. In what ways did underground comix and independent publishers challenge mainstream norms and expand queer representation in graphic narratives?
3. Discuss the significance of tropes like “explicit naming” and “but not too gay” in the portrayal of LGBTQ+ characters in comics. How do these tropes affect visibility and authenticity?
4. How does Alison Bechdel’s Dykes to Watch Out For both reflect and challenge the social and political realities of its time?
5. What are the implications of using alternate universes or shapeshifting as devices for including LGBTQ+ characters in comics? Do these strategies help or hinder authentic representation?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. B) It banned “sex perversion or any inference to same,” effectively erasing queer characters
2. A) Dykes to Watch Out For
3. C) Portraying characters as LGBTQ+ in alternate universes, allowing denial of queerness in the main continuity
4. A) characters who can change gender and sex, making their identity ambiguous
5. B) Wimmen’s Comix

This page titled 11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.2: Chapter 11- LGBTQ+ Literature** by Cathy Corder is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction

Cathy Corder

Many people dismiss pulp fiction as cheap, trashy paperbacks that lower-class people read in lieu of literary classics. **Yet because they could be produced and distributed so quickly and inexpensively, these stories were able to respond with immediacy to the great changes in society that followed World War II.** Sandwiched **between the Kinsey reports on male and female sexual behavior** (1948 and 1953) and landmark censorship trials and the **1969 Stonewall rebellion,** the characters and narratives of lesbian and gay pulp fiction reflected a more open attitude toward sexual identities and relationships but also the harsh reality during the M**cCarthy era of the lavender scare** and the moral panics about homosexuality that were used to justify firing homosexuals from government positions. **Pulp fiction that features LGBTQ+ characters as the primary protagonists** was a genre roughly from 1945 to 1970. These books were usually printed under a pseudonym, and scholars and archivists have been uncovering the real authors, many of whom **identify as gay or lesbian.** Further, printing houses with LGBTQ+ owners or sponsors enabled the widespread dissemination of these popular stories. Much pulp fiction from the 1950s and 1960s was reprinted starting in the 1980s by, for example, **Naiad Press, Cleis Press, and Argo Press.**

Historical Context for Pulp Fiction

The antecedents for pulp fiction go back to the nineteenth century, when the rise of industrialization led to both more economical printing processes and more spare time for reading among the middle and working classes. **The penny press was tabloid-style newspapers** that included fiction along with news, and because these were so cheaply printed, readers thought nothing of discarding them with the trash.

This early popular literature was quite melodramatic and highly moralistic, but that quality **evolved into the more sensational fiction that featured sex,** sexual crime including rape and incest, crime more generally, family secrets, squalor, and clear-cut differences between good and evil. One early type of this popular fiction, the city mystery, brought together characters from all classes, races, and genders through convoluted plots that focused on the decadence of the upper class and the vile nature of the lower.

Other genres included westerns (such as the Deadwood Dick series; figure 11.16), horror (derived from the earlier Gothic genre), and crime and police stories. Although none of this literature can be identified as LGBTQ+, it had important features that shaped the queer pulp of the twentieth century. One such feature was the **garish covers that quickly identified the type of story they contained.**



Figure 11.16. An issue from the Deadwood Dick series. (Public domain, Edward T. LeBlanc Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, Northern Illinois University.)

Another important characteristic, found particularly in the city mystery, was the manner in which these narratives identified specific urban spaces where certain communities of people might congregate. Almost every city mystery features secret passages, hidden doors, and shadowed alleys—all suggesting the dark underworld where social mores could be transgressed. (It is no wonder that ***twilight*** **becomes such a catchword in queer pulp.**) One of the **best contributions of lesbian and gay pulp fiction was to help LGBTQ+ people see that they could be a part of their city and that there were spaces that would welcome them.**

Again, although there were no LGBTQ+ characters in early pulp, there were gay subtexts that highlight effete men who wear suffocating perfumes and too much hair oil and voracious women who threaten young virgins. Much popular fiction of the

nineteenth century provided the vocabulary and stereotypical characters for later reading audiences concerning individuals who **fail to conform to proper social and sexual guidelines.**

Pulp Fiction in the Twentieth Century

The 1920s and 1930s saw the continuing publication of popular stories in magazine format, and these mass-marketed magazines began to specialize in specific sorts of stories: crime, passion, adventure, romance, and science fiction. These stories continued to feature **garish covers and sensational language** (figure 11.17). Then, in 1939, **Simon and Schuster Publishers established a new division, Pocket Books,** which was modeled after **Penguin Books in England.** With the introduction of a much cheaper form of paper production based on wood pulp (hence the genre's name), Pocket Books was able to sell these new paperbacks for twenty-five cents. At first, **Pocket Books reprinted literary classics** in this new format, which shared characteristics of the earlier magazines. Every author from **Shakespeare to William Faulkner** could be pulped into a cheaper edition, and lurid cover art and text were part of the process.

By the advent of World War II, **pulp fiction magazines were popular and profitable—but they were also considered second-rate literature.** With wartime paper shortages, magazines soon died out, but publishers made good use of digest and magazine presses to produce Armed Services Editions from 1943 to 1947. These small fiction and nonfiction paperbacks were issued to members of the military and introduced new generations of readers to entertaining and distracting stories printed in a portable format.

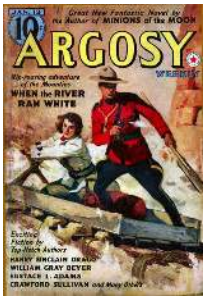


Figure 11.17. An example of an early twentieth-century mass-marketed magazine. (CC-BY Will Hart.)

Postwar publishing houses responded to these new readers with an explosion of cheap paperbacks. **Fawcett's Gold Medal Books,** established in 1950, was the first to publish original writing in this format, typically five by seven inches, with a glued spine, garish cover art, and cheap, rough paper that quickly turned yellow and disintegrated.

Lesbian Pulp Fiction

In 1950, Gold Medal Books printed the first lesbian pulp novel: *Women's Barracks* by Tereska Torrès. This novel is a largely autobiographical account of the time that the author spent in London at a military barracks for women serving in the Free French Forces. Torrès herself narrates, relating the day-to-day life for a **group of five French women,** who differ in age and in experience and who couple and partner in various ways. One of the first scenes of the story occurs when the women have stripped naked for their medical evaluation; much focus is put on the individual female bodies, both naked and clothed. And one of the characters, of course, commits suicide.[62]

Appearing soon after *Women's Barracks* were **Vin Packer's *Spring Fire*** (1952), considered the first lesbian **pulp fiction by a lesbian author, and Patricia Highsmith's *The Price of Salt*** (1952), **written under the name Claire Morgan.** *The Price of Salt* was unusual for its time, in that the two protagonists remain together at the end of the story; at the end of *Spring Fire*, one woman is confined to a mental hospital because of her unfortunate alliances.[63]

Lesbian pulps were not the first appearance of lesbian women in literature. Earlier in the century, **Radclyffe Hall wrote *The Well of Loneliness*** (1928) with the "inverted" character Stephen Gordon. **Djuna Barnes published *Night Watch*** in 1936 with the help of a literary agent, and **Gale Wilhelm published *We Too Are Drifting*** in 1935 with **Random House.** Although these early works are now considered classics of lesbian literature, even Radclyffe Hall could be pulped and reissued in the 1950s (figure 11.18).[64]

Although the earlier lesbian pulp fiction, such as *Women's Barracks* and *Spring Fire*, ended tragically in suicide or insanity, a handful of lesbian authors contributed a great deal to the increasing level of self-acceptance among their readers, due to their complex characterizations and positive plot resolutions. Across the nation, lesbians read pulp fiction and learned that they were not

alone, and **lesbian pulps did much to help these readers establish their own communities. Ann Bannon,** whom many consider the queen of lesbian pulps, **wrote five books in the Beebo Brinker series** (1957–1962) (figure 11.19). Her characters range from the mannish Beebo to more femme characters, demonstrating how far pulps could move from the stereotypical **people who transgressed social and sexual norms.**[65]

Other productive writers included **Valerie Taylor, author of *The Girls in 3-B*** (1959) and ***Stranger on Lesbos*** (1960); Marijane Meaker, who wrote, as Vin Packer, *Spring Fire* and, as **Anne Aldrich, *We, Too, Must Love*** (1958); and **March Hastings, who wrote *Three Women*** (1958). These authors elevated lesbian pulp with well-crafted stories and multifaceted characters. And there were hundreds more authors, many of whom remain anonymous, who are just now being identified and reprinted by such publishers as Naiad Press and Cleis Press, which have focused on lost lesbian literature.[66]



Figure 11.18. Radclyffe Hall's The Well of Loneliness. (Deborah Amory.)

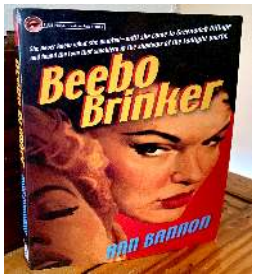


Figure 11.19. A Beebo Brinker book by Ann Bannon. (Deborah Amory.)

Lesbian pulps, much like dime novels and city mysteries in the previous century, were easy to spot by their covers. And, like the earlier sensational fiction, these pulps were disseminated through drug stores, train stations, and other public spaces. **This accessibility dovetailed with the increase in same-sex communities,** whether in women's military organizations or women working together in industry in greater numbers, and with **the postwar relocation of many young women to large urban centers with gathering spots,** such as **gay bars. Pulps gave these women a language, a map, and a conduct code** and **contributed to the formation of some of the earliest lesbian civil rights groups, such as the Daughters of Bilitis, organized in 1955.**

Gay Pulp Fiction

Just as with lesbian fiction, there were gay literary works in the first half of the twentieth century. Books such as ***Other Voices, Other Rooms*** **by Truman Capote** (1948) and ***The City and the Pillar*** **by Gore Vidal** (1948) were notable in that they avoided the tragic plot in which the gay protagonist dies or kills himself or goes insane. However, an early gay pulp, written by **Charles Jackson, *The Fall of Valor*** (1946), is a tragic story that mirrors the unhappy life of the author (also the author of *The Lost Weekend*).[67]

Gay pulp fiction in the 1950s frequently partnered a boy's coming-of-age story with a narrative of coming out. Two good examples of this story line are **Gerald Tesch's *Never the Same Again*** (1956) and **Russell Thacher's *The Tender Age*** (1952), both of which have protagonists who are dealing with the unsettled society of postwar America.[68]

The gay pulps that emerged in the 1960s often took two different approaches. In one, the gay protagonist finds self-awareness and acceptance within his new community; the second approach takes a much more campy tone. Typical of the first type are the novels of Richard Amory, which include *Song of the Loon* (1966), a gay pastoral with gay Native Americans, and its two sequels, *Song of Aaron* (1967) and ***Listen, the Loon Sings*** (1968)—all issued by **Greenleaf Publishers, a gay printing house based in Chicago and then San Diego.**[69]

The more campy pulps were responding to the glut of spy movies and television shows of the 1960s. One of the most popular titles was *The Man from C.A.M.P.* (1966) by Don Holliday, a pseudonym for Victor J. Banis. Holliday's ten C.A.M.P. pulps starred Jackie Holmes, a highly accomplished agent for C.A.M.P., an organization dedicated to the protection of gays (figure 11.20). Other campy pulps took similar liberties with other popular genre fiction. Again, Greenleaf Publishers issued many of these books.[70]



Figure 11.20. The second and eighth of Don Holliday's ten C.A.M.P. pulps. (Deborah Amory.)

Tropes and Themes

- Lesbian and gay pulp fiction stories tend to use the same settings: all-boys or all-girls schools, college fraternities or sororities, military organizations, department stores, art studios, and the like.
- Publishers demanded formulaic plots that could be turned out quickly: in lesbian pulp, the formula tended to be that the female protagonist was either saved from homosexuality by the love of a good man or died. Marion Zimmer Bradley, author of several lesbian pulps, completely quit writing in the genre, because publishers would not let her tell the story she wanted to.[71] In gay pulp, standard story lines often involved a boy's first sexual experience as either enlightening or devastating. Again, a common story line was boy meets boy; boy dies.
- Although the majority of LGBTQ+ pulp fiction presented this punitive aspect to unconventional sexual relationships, a good portion actually have happy endings, in which **main characters emerge with a positive attitude about their sexual identity.**
- **LGBTQ+ pulp fiction offered a window into the gay and lesbian world.** Readers might learn where gays lived (typically Greenwich Village or perhaps New Orleans), how they congregated at gay bars and bathhouses, and other details. These stories were essentially a map to gay life, providing directions to positive urban spaces.
- In many LGBTQ+ pulps, the narrative shows the protagonist being introduced to codes of dress and language (lesbians have short hair and wear white shirts with black stovepipe pants). They gave their readers a vocabulary, or code, with which to redefine and identify themselves, **much like an etiquette manual or foreign phrase book.**
- How much sex is actually in these stories? Not that much. And the sex might be consensual and pleasurable, but it could also be nonconsensual, violent, and exploitative. Blackmail often entered the plot.

Introduction to the Lesbian Pulp Fiction Collection at the Mount Saint Vincent University Library

"Introduction to the Lesbian Pulp Fiction Collection at the Mount Saint Vincent University Library" describes the library's collection (msvulpf.omeka.net/exhibits/show/lpf/lpf)**.**



- Did any of the facts about pulp fiction discussed in this section or the video surprise or intrigue you? Discuss what surprised or intrigued you and why.
- Explore the books listed under one of the collection's identified themes(opens in new window). What evidence do you find that the books belong with this theme? How does this theme compare to the tropes and themes discussed in this section?
- This section and the introduction to the collection both note that gay and lesbian pulp fiction in the 1950s both enforced heteronormative and homophobic societal norms and provided an opportunity for lesbians and gays to see themselves in fiction and learn about lesbian and gay culture. Read one of the books mentioned in this chapter, and describe how it might have been able to do both of these things.

Pulp Fiction after Stonewall

The 1960s saw landmark trials that revoked censorship codes and the rise of the gay rights movement after the Stonewall rebellion. By the 1970s, LGBTQ+ pulp fiction began to evolve in several directions—erotica, romance, and mainstream gay and lesbian literature by such authors as **Sarah Waters, Dorothy Allison, Jeannette Winterson, Alison Bechdel, Alan Hollinghurst, Armistead Maupin, and Michael Cunningham.** There continues to be much new research into these books, authors, publishers, and cover artists, and major library collections can now be found at Brown University (perhaps the largest collection of LGBTQ+ pulp fiction anywhere) and at Duke University.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. What was a significant reason lesbian and gay pulp fiction flourished between 1945 and 1970?
A) It was always published by major literary houses.
B) It was required reading in schools.
C) Cheap production and distribution allowed rapid response to social changes.
D) It was only available in hardcover editions.

2. Which 1950 novel is considered the first lesbian pulp fiction and is largely autobiographical?
A) The Well of Loneliness
B) Women's Barracks
C) Spring Fire
D) The Price of Salt

3. What was a common formulaic plot demanded by publishers in lesbian pulp fiction?
A) The story ends with a wedding
B) The protagonist becomes a famous author
C) The female protagonist is either "saved" by a man or dies
D) The protagonist travels the world

4. How did pulp fiction contribute to the formation of early lesbian civil rights groups?
A) By providing etiquette manuals
B) By avoiding controversial topics
C) By focusing only on heterosexual relationships
D) By mapping urban spaces and offering codes of dress and language

5. Which of the following is true about the representation of sex in lesbian and gay pulp fiction?
A) Sex scenes were rare and could be consensual, nonconsensual, or exploitative.
B) It was always explicit and consensual.
C) Sex was never mentioned.
D) Kissing was rare.

1. In what ways did lesbian and gay pulp fiction both reinforce and challenge heteronormative and homophobic societal norms of its time?
2. How did the accessibility and visibility of pulp fiction impact the development of LGBTQ+ communities and identities in the mid-20th century?

3. Discuss the significance of urban settings and coded language in pulp fiction for readers seeking community and self-understanding.
4. How did the evolution of pulp fiction after Stonewall reflect broader changes in LGBTQ+ rights, literature, and culture?
5. What are the lasting legacies of lesbian and gay pulp fiction for contemporary LGBTQ+ literature and representation?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) Cheap production and distribution allowed rapid response to social changes.
2. B) Women's Barracks
3. C) The female protagonist is either "saved" by a man or dies
4. D) By mapping urban spaces and offering codes of dress and language
5. A) Sex scenes were rare and could be consensual, nonconsensual, or exploitative.

This page titled 11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.2: Chapter 11- LGBTQ+ Literature** by Cathy Corder is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)

Memoir, autobiography, and diary are three closely related genres that fall under the umbrella of life writing. All of them are nonfiction texts (or as close to nonfiction as possible) written by the author about the author's own life. Because of widespread homo- and transphobia, stories of LGBTQ+ lives were not numerous or widely available in the mainstream until fairly recently. Furthermore, many LGBTQ+ people grow up without any LGBTQ+ role models in their lives, and **LGBTQ+ history is rarely taught in schools.** These circumstances make life writing especially important, **because these stories serve as windows into parts of people's lives—and the history of the broader community**—that were previously secret or unknown, and they provide valuable representation for young people trying to figure out what their identity or identities mean to them.

T**his section focuses on life writing by LGBTQ+ authors written in English in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.** Exceptions to this categorization are noted. For the purposes of this section, ***memoir* refers to a text about a particular period or aspect of the author's life** written in retrospect, ***autobiography* refers to a text intended to provide an overview of the author's entire life,** and a *diary* is a text or texts originally written not for publication but for the author's private purposes, written contemporaneously with the events it describes.

A Brief History of LGBTQ+ Life Writing

Most LGBTQ+ life writing from the beginning of the twentieth century or earlier are diaries and letters, intended only for private reading. These texts were later found and published after the authors' deaths by family members or by scholars if the author was an important historical figure. Examples in this category include the **diaries and letters of Virginia Woolf (written 1915–1941,** published after her death by her husband and her nephew) and letters from **King James I (written in the 1620s).** These texts are significant because they demonstrate the **diverse presence of same-gender desire throughout history**—a presence that is often denied or erased.[72]

In the mid-twentieth century, although some fiction and nonfiction containing LGBTQ+ characters and themes was accepted by mainstream publishers, publishers typically refused to publish any work in which the LGBTQ+ characters had a happy ending or that seemed to promote homosexuality. Fiction was more common than nonfiction, because even if the fiction drew on the author's own experiences, writers could credibly avoid public scandal. Self-censorship also played a role. For example, when ***The Diary of a Young Girl*** (also known as *The Diary of Anne Frank*) was first published in 1947, **her father did not include the passages in which Anne wrote about her feelings toward women.** This omission reflects Frank's desire to protect his daughter's privacy and reputation and to not distract from the main focus of Nazi oppression by including controversial material.[73]

Most memoirs written by LGBTQ+ people who lived in the 1950s, 1960s, or 1970s were published much later in their lives, after the 1969 Stonewall rebellion and further decades of gay activism made these topics less risky and controversial in the mainstream and after the authors had more well-established careers. Examples in this category include **Esther Newton's essays written in the 1970s and 1980s collected in *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay*** (2000) and **her memoir *My Butch Career*** (2018), Audre Lorde's *The Cancer Journals* (1980) and ***Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*** (1982), **Douglas Crimp's *Before Pictures*** (2016), and **Samuel R. Delany's *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue*** (1999). In addition to publishing life writing, these authors were also outspoken activists, academics, and artists, but their books were mostly published by small feminist publishers or university presses willing to publish LGBTQ+ scholarship.[74]

The 1980s brought the AIDS crisis, and the mass suffering of the LGBTQ+ community inspired many more memoirs and diaries, as people struggled to cope with their own illness and the illnesses of their friends and loved ones. For example, the playwright Larry Kramer is now most famous for ***The Normal Heart,* a play** about a man caring for his dying lover based on Kramer's own experiences. Kramer also published a collection of nonfiction called *Reports from the Holocaust: The Story of an AIDS Activist.*[75]

Additionally, even though more LGBTQ+ writers were able to get their life writing openly published during this period, some of the works describing mid-twentieth-century LGBTQ+ life still take the form of diaries published posthumously. For example, **Susan Sontag, who wrote about LGBTQ+ issues,** including AIDS, across her career, wasn't publicly out as bisexual until 2000 and rarely spoke about it. **Sontag's son published her diaries in two volumes in 2008 and 2012, in which she discusses her sexuality much more openly.**[76]

Alongside the legal and social gains made by the LGBTQ+ community from the 1990s onward, LGBTQ+ memoirs have also become increasingly common, developing into a subgenre of their own complete with common structures and tropes, discussed

later. However, representation is still an issue within this broader umbrella. **Gay memoirs are the most common and visible,** with bisexual and trans memoirs being much harder to find. Within the already-small category of trans memoir, most of the books are by trans women and trans men; as of early 2020, **there appear to be fewer than fifteen memoirs published in English that represent nonbinary or genderqueer lives.** As with most forms of media, the range of experiences reflected in LGBTQ+ memoir also reproduces other social inequities, including racism, sexism, and classism. The modern age offers many more avenues for sharing life writing beyond traditional publishing, including blogs, YouTube videos, and social media. Because anyone with internet access and a little bit of privacy can use these platforms, the field of **LGBTQ+ life writing is much more diverse online.**

Tropes and Themes in LGBTQ+ Memoir

Because most memoirs take a narrative form, they typically follow the same structural patterns of fiction. Whether they follow the traditional pattern of rising action, climax, and falling action or use another narrative structure, almost all narrative requires some sort of conflict to engage the reader. **Some types of conflict and narrative arcs common in LGBTQ+ memoirs are the following:**

- gender or sexual self-discovery
- coming out
- living with AIDS
- gaining sexual experience
- physical and social transitioning
- loneliness
- struggling with intersecting social identities

Additionally, some memoirs written by LGBTQ+ authors may center on another aspect of the author's life, so the conflict may not center around sexuality or gender identity at all.

Aside from the common conflicts and story arcs, many LGBTQ+ memoirs also share themes or grapple with common questions:

- How to approach writing, knowing the stories will be seen as emblematic of the entire community?
- How to write honestly while not perpetuating stereotypes?
- How to write about loved ones who might not want to be written about?
- What's the right balance between showing that the author is "normal" versus embracing all the things that make the author different?
- Should LGBTQ+ memoirs also always be activism?
- Where is the line between an empowering self-representation and a dehumanizing self-commodification?

Another common theme that may surprise readers is that many LGBTQ+ memoirs spend a lot of time discussing the pieces of media that played vital roles in constructing the author's identity or identities. This is because, much of the time, LGBTQ+ people grow up not knowing any (or not many) people like them or at least not people who are out. So they turn to books, movies, and other media to find role models and figure out who and what they want to be. One popular example of this is ***Fun Home: A Family Tragicomic*****, which is a memoir written as a comic book** (a subgenre known as graphic memoir) by **Alison Bechdel.**[77] In the book, Bechdel describes how, when she started college, she didn't know any lesbians in real life, so she read as many books by and about lesbians as she could find. She discusses only one or two of these books directly, but the illustrations show more than a dozen lesbian books scattered throughout the panels.

However, **important identity-forming stories aren't always viewed positively by LGBTQ+ memoirists.** In ***Trans: A Memoir*** (2016), **Juliet Jacques** explains that she didn't know she was a trans woman for a long time, in part because all the representations of trans women she found in movies and books seemed very unlike her and all their stories focused on hormones and surgery. At that stage, she didn't think she wanted those things; she just knew she liked wearing dresses and makeup. In the book, Jacques spends a lot of time discussing her changing relationships with words like *gay*, *trans*, *transgender*, *transsexual*, *transvestite*, *hermaphrodite*, and *drag queen*. **If she had seen more positive and more diverse stories by and about trans women to read during her teens and twenties,** she might have been saved a lot of confusion and pain.[78]

The role of LGBTQ+ narratives in giving LGBTQ+ youth a sense of comfort, identity, and community makes LGBTQ+ memoir especially important, since memoirs are real stories of real people. Therefore, **how these memoirs represent the queer experience**

is especially relevant.

Criticisms of the Genre

The integral role LGBTQ+ narratives play for LGBTQ+ youth is also the source of one of the major criticisms of the genre. What kinds of stories are being told or not told? What is romanticized? What experiences are being portrayed as integral to being LGBTQ+? The answers shape how queer youth come to understand themselves and their place in the world.

The criticism of memoirs specifically is that if memoirs are narratives and narratives must have conflict, then most LGBTQ+ memoirs tell stories of queer conflict, pain, trauma, or suffering—even if they end happily. **Juliet Jacques, Maggie Nelson** (*The Argonauts*, 2015) (figure 11.21), and **Jacob Tobia (*Sissy: A Coming–of–Gender Story*, 2019)** all consciously discuss their concern over this issue in their memoirs, but none of them find a conclusive answer. An overabundance of messaging that queerness equals suffering is harmful not only to LGBTQ+ youth, but also because it reinforces the fears of well-meaning parents who dread having an LGBTQ+ child because they believe that means their child will never be happy.[79] As Tobia puts it, "The classical trans narrative . . . glamorizes trauma," and "those of us who don't fit the classical narrative end up either having our stories edited and reedited until they fit, or end up having our voices silenced. And that's fucked."[80]

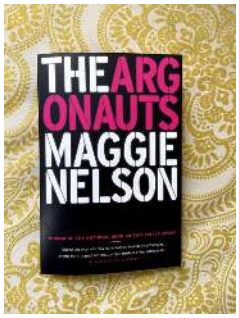


Figure 11.21. Maggie Nelson's The Argonauts. (Deborah Amory.)

Another issue in the field of LGBTQ+ memoir is the tension between self-representation and self-commodification and the need to please different audiences. Juliet Jacques openly states in her memoir that she would have preferred to write a history of trans people in Britain or an overview of societal issues that trans people face, but publishers were only interested in her narratives of her own experiences.

Jacob Tobia ponders their intended audience and purpose at length in their memoir, *Sissy*. On the one hand, they want to provide some of the nonbinary representation that they never had growing up. On the other hand, they hope parents of nonbinary kids will read the book to understand their own kids better. They're not "here to teach you Transgender 101," but they do also want to educate the public about the diversity and complexities of gender and identity, with their book as one lesson in a **wide pool of experiences.**[81] In short, it's impossible to write for any one intended audience or literary purpose without leaving important things out.

Representation and commodification become even more complicated when we consider people other than the author of a memoir. **Tobia admits their parents are not always portrayed in a positive light in the book and talks openly about their discussions with each of them as they were writing.** Is it ethical to portray someone in a way they're not comfortable with, even if they give you permission? **In *Fun Home*, Alison Bechdel tells the story not only of her relationship with her own lesbianism but also of her late father's relationship with his own sexuality.** She reveals that her father repeatedly pursued teenage boys and had emotional problems that Bechdel attributes to his sexual repression. Is she exploiting her father's troubled life to write a compelling book?

An even more difficult example of this issue in LGBTQ+ memoir is in ***The Argonauts* by Maggie Nelson.** In the book, Nelson writes extensively about her relationship with her genderqueer partner, Harry, and her portrayal of their relationship and what it can reveal about gender, sexuality, and parenthood is one of the main reasons for its critical acclaim. However, in the book she says Harry is "a very private person," a self-described "epileptic with a pacemaker . . . married to a strobe light artist." When he read the first draft of the book, he said he felt "unbeheld—unheld, even," and he asked her, "Why can't you just write something that will bear adequate witness to me, to us, to our happiness?"[82] Nelson says that after that conversation, **they went through the draft together and discussed revisions that would make him feel more accurately represented, and he even wrote some passages**

for her to include in the book later on. However, the situation of one partner's career depending on writing about her life, and the other partner feeling deeply hurt, creates a complex web of emotions, pressures, and responsibilities that can't help but shape both the relationship and the book.

Despite the ethical dilemmas inherent in the genre, LGBTQ+ memoirs play an important role in queer activism, identity formation, and historical study. They provide an opportunity for LGBTQ+ people to share their stories with each other and with the world, for personal satisfaction and political action. **The professional market for this genre continues to expand, although it still lacks in much needed diversity, and the internet provides billions more opportunities for people to read and share writing about their own queer lives.**

Read

Choose and read a review from the Lambda Literary review collection (lambdaliterary.org/category/reviews/memoir/).

- Where and how does the book you chose fit into the history and common themes of LGBTQ+ life writing as discussed in this section?
- Which of the common questions shared by LGBTQ+ life writing listed in the "Tropes and Themes in LGBTQ+ Memoir" section do you see represented in the book being reviewed?
- This section brings up some tensions and complications inherent in representing one's life and loved ones in a story to be sold—how building conflict into a narrative can feed into a "queerness equals suffering" message; how the publisher's view of the market or audience could influence how a story is told or if it is told at all; how the depiction of loved ones can often be out of their control. How would you approach some of these complications if you were going to write about your life?

- Are you familiar with any of the fields of LGBTQ+ literature explored in this section? How were you first introduced to LGBTQ+ literature?
- Should an author's gender or sexual identity be a factor in identifying whether a literary text is LGBTQ+? What criteria would you suggest using to identify LGBTQ+ literature?
- What influence do you think literature can have on a reader? Have you ever been personally affected by a literary work?
- What tropes are common across LGBTQ+ literary fields? What tropes are specific to a field?

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Why did many early LGBTQ+ life writings, such as diaries and letters, remain unpublished until after the author's death?

A) They were written in languages no one could read.
B) They were always intended for public audiences.
C) Widespread homo- and transphobia made public sharing risky or impossible.
D) Publishers preferred only fiction.

2. What is a major criticism of the LGBTQ+ memoir genre discussed in the chapter?

A) The genre glamorizes trauma and overemphasizes suffering.
B) Memoirs are always fictionalized.
C) Memoirs never address identity.
D) Only trans men write memoirs.

3. According to the chapter, what is a unique challenge for LGBTQ+ memoirists regarding their intended audience?

A) They must always write for academic scholars.
B) Memoirs are never read by LGBTQ+ youth.
C) They only write for their family members.
D) It is impossible to write for one audience or purpose without leaving out important perspectives.

4. How do LGBTQ+ memoirs often serve young people who are exploring their identities?

A) By providing fictional role models

B) By offering real stories and representation that may be missing in their lives

C) By focusing only on historical events

D) By avoiding any mention of media or culture

5. What ethical dilemma is highlighted in the chapter regarding the portrayal of others in LGBTQ+ memoirs?

A) Whether to use real names or pseudonyms

B) Whether to include photographs

C) How to balance honest storytelling with the privacy and feelings of loved ones

D) How to avoid discussing activism

1. How do LGBTQ+ memoirs function as both personal narratives and tools for activism or community building?
2. In what ways does the overemphasis on trauma in LGBTQ+ memoirs affect both queer youth and the broader public's understanding of queer lives?
3. Discuss the ethical challenges memoirists face when writing about family members, partners, or others who may not want to be included in their stories.
4. How has the rise of digital platforms (blogs, YouTube, social media) changed the diversity and accessibility of LGBTQ+ life writing?
5. What are the potential benefits and drawbacks of memoirs that focus on "universal" queer experiences versus those that highlight unique, intersectional identities?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) Widespread homo- and transphobia made public sharing risky or impossible.
2. A) The genre glamorizes trauma and overemphasizes suffering.
3. D) It is impossible to write for one audience or purpose without leaving out important perspectives.
4. B) By offering real stories and representation that may be missing in their lives
5. C) How to balance honest storytelling with the privacy and feelings of loved ones

---

This page titled 11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood) is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.2: Chapter 11- LGBTQ+ Literature** by Cathy Corder is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

11.6: Research Resources

Discuss, Present, Create, Debate

- **Discuss:** Choose one or two resources listed in this chapter, and discuss them in relation to what you have learned about LGBTQ+ literature.
- **Present:** Choose a key topic or genre discussed in this chapter. Then locate one or two resources from the "Quick Dip" and "Deep Dive" sections and develop a presentation for the class. Explain the significance of the topic, and provide additional details that support your explanation.
- **Create:** What genre, author, or theme from this chapter really moved you? Do more research on that genre, author, or theme based on the resources in this chapter. Then create your own artistic response. Consider writing a poem, drawing a picture, or editing a photograph in a way that demonstrates both what you have learned and how you feel about the issue.
- **Debate:** With a partner or split into groups, choose a topic, idea, or controversy from this chapter. Have each partner or group present an opposing perspective on it. Use at least two of the resources in this chapter to support your argument.

Quick Dip: Online Resources

Cool Stuff for Queer Kids, by Lee Wind

A blog and website (https://www.leewind.org/) for teens, librarians, teachers, booksellers, and anyone interested in young adult books with LGBTQ+ characters and themes.

The Lammys, from Lambda Literary

The Lambda Literary Awards honor LGBTQ+ children's and young adult individual works and collections of fiction, nonfiction, picture books, and poetry. For the latest finalists, see https://www.lambdaliterary.org/awards/.

Queer Books for Teens

The website Queer Books for Teens (https://queerbooksforteens.com) offers customizable lists of young adult fiction with significant LGBTQ+ content published since 2000.

Queer Comics Database

The Queer Comics Database (http://queercomicsdatabase.com/series/) was created in 2018 by Aydin Kwan and Le Button as a final project for the University of Washington's Information School program, with support from Geeks OUT. You can browse the database for comics by series or creator. It includes a glossary of terms and several guides, such as "Search Tips," "Introduction to Comics," "How to Buy Comics from a Comic Shop," and "For Retailers: How to Carry Queer Comics."

Stonewall Book Awards List from the American Library Association

The Stonewall Book Awards, which collectively encompass the Barbara Gittings Literature Award, the Israel Fishman Nonfiction Award, and the Mike Morgan and Larry Romans Children's and Young Adult Literature Award, are presented annually to English-language works of exceptional merit relating to the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender experience. For the latest awards, visit http://www.ala.org/rt/glbtrt/award/stonewall/honored.

Deep Dive: Picture Books

Heather Has Two Mommies, by Lesléa Newman

A young girl realizes her lesbian-parented family is different from many of her classmates' families when she attends a playgroup for the first time (Boston, MA: Alyson Wonderland, 1989).

Jesse's Dream Skirt, by Bruce Mack

Jesse is a boy who desires a skirt. His mother helps him make one. When the child goes to school in his new skirt he is celebrated by his teacher and peers (Chapel Hill, NC: Lollipop Power: 1979).

Oliver Button Is a Sissy, by Tomie dePaola

A boy named Oliver is bullied for his effeminate behavior. When his parents enroll him in dance he gains confidence and even acceptance from peers as a result of his talent (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979).

10,000 Dresses, by Marcus Ewert

A transgender child named Bailey solicits family members' help acquiring a dress. They are not accepting of Bailey's desire for a dress, but she eventually meets an older girl and they make one together (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008).

Too Far Away to Touch, by Lesléa Newman

The story centers on a young girl's relationship with her gay uncle who is dying from AIDS-related complications (New York: Clarion Books, 1995).

When Megan Went Away, by Jane Severance

A young girl must process her mother's separation from her partner. This is one of the earliest depictions of lesbians in a picture book (Chapel Hill, NC: Lollipop Power, 1979).

When We Love Someone We Sing to Them: Cuando Amamos Cantamos, by Ernesto Javier Martinez

In this story of a father-son relationship and the Mexican tradition of *serenata*, a young boy and his father write a song for the boy's crush, another little boy (San Francisco, CA: Reflection Press, 2018).

International LGBTQ+ Literature for Children and Young Adults, by B. J. Epstein and Elizabeth L. Chapman

This edited collection brings together academics and activists from around the world to reflect on LGBTQ+ representations in adolescent literature (London: Anthem Press, 2021).

The Transformative Potential of LGBTQ+ Children's Picture Books, by Jennifer Miller

This genealogy of English-language LGBTQ+ children's picture books available in the United States beginning in the late 1970s considers constraints on the production and distribution of LGBTQ+ picture books (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2022).

Deep Dive: Lesbian Young Adult Literature

Annie on My Mind, by Nancy Garden

This story focuses on the romantic relationship of two seventeen-year-old girls. Themes of homophobia are explored through the teenagers' relationship and that of two teachers at one of the girls' schools (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1982).

I Am J, by Cris Beam

A transgender teenager named J seeks medical help to transition. J was the first nonwhite transgender teen to appear in young adult literature. The book demonstrates challenges to securing hormones and other medical interventions to help with transition (New York: Little, Brown, 2011).

Luna, by Julie Anne Peters

Sixteen-year-old Reagan explores her feelings about learning that her older sibling is transgender. Their relationship is explored throughout (New York: Little, Brown, 2004).

Ruby, by Rosa Guy

Often identified as the first lesbian young adult novel, this story is about eighteen-year-old Ruby Cathy and her family who move to Harlem from the West Indies. Ruby's romantic relationship with a classmate, Daphne Duprey, centers the text (New York: Viking Press, 1976).

Symptoms of Being Human, by Jeff Garvin

The novel is about a gender-fluid teen who reflects on binary gender expectations through a series of blog posts (New York: Balzer and Bray, 2016).

Representing the Rainbow in Young Adult Literature: LGBTQ+ Content since 1969, by Christine Jenkins and Michael Cart

The authors survey LGBTQ+ young adult literature from the 1960s to the 2010s (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018).

Deep Dive: LGBTQ+ Comics

Fun Home, by Alison Bechdel

This graphic memoir is a reflection on the creator's adolescence in rural Pennsylvania. Bechdel's relationship with her father is highlighted, and sexual identity is explored through both characters (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2007).

Life in Hell, by Matt Groening

This weekly comic series, by the creator of *The Simpsons*, featured anthropomorphized rabbits who were a gay couple (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970–2012).

Stuck Rubber Baby, by Howard Cruse

This semi-autobiographical graphic novel's protagonist Toland Polk explores gay community and culture in the U.S. South during the 1960s (New York: Paradox Press, 1995).

The Comics of Alison Bechdel: From the Outside In, by Janine Utell

This definitive collection of original essays by scholars covers the span of Bechdel's career, placing her groundbreaking early work within the context of her more well-known recent projects (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2020).

Deep Dive: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction

The Fall of Valor, by Charles Jackson

This novel focuses on the failing marriage of John and Ethel Grandin, who take a summer vacation to Nantucket during World War II. John becomes enamored with a marine captain he meets while the couple vacation (New York: Rinehart, 1946).

Song of the Loon, by Richard Amory

This novel and its sequels center gay Native Americans who embrace their sexuality. The novel is campy and far lighter in tone than many pulps (San Diego, CA: Greenleaf Classics, 1966).

Women's Barracks, by Tereska Torrès

This semi-autobiographical reflection is based on the author's experience at a French military barracks for women. Five women of different ages form sexual relationships (New York: Fawcett, 1950).

Lesbian Pulp Fiction: The Sexually Intrepid World of Lesbian Paperback Novels, 1950–1965, by Katherine Forrest

This book surveys and analyzes lesbian pulp fiction (San Francisco, CA: Cleis Press, 2005).

Deep Dive: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing

My Butch Career: A Memoir, by Esther Newton

Newton describes her childhood, romantic life, and career in this compelling memoir (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

Times Square Red, Times Square Blue, by Samuel R. Delany

Delaney considers his sexual encounters in Times Square and provides insight into gay sexual cultures and the moralistic policing of sexuality in public spaces and cultures (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

Trans: A Memoir, by Juliet Jacques

This memoir is a reflection of Londoner Jacques's transition at the age of thirty in 2012 (London: Verso, 2015).

Zami: A New Spelling of My Name, by Audre Lorde

Lorde reflects on her childhood, coming of age in Harlem, and her relationship to feminist art and politics (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1982).

This page titled 11.6: Research Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.2: Chapter 11- LGBTQ+ Literature** by Cathy Corder is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

11.7: Glossary

bigender. Someone who either has the experience of two genders, which can be binary or nonbinary, or experiences both genders simultaneously or alternates between them.

cisgender. A person whose gender identity aligns with the sex assigned to them at birth.

Comics Code. Regulations imposed by the Comics Code Authority that prohibited morally objectionable material, such as graphic violence and sexual content, and restricted story lines.

genderqueer. A person whose gender identity is not static, not solely male or female, and sometimes not completely fitting either category.

intersex. A person born with one of several forms of anatomical sex characteristics.

nonbinary. A person whose gender identity is not exclusively male or female. Some transgender people are nonbinary.

transgender. A person whose gender identity or gender expression differs from the sex assigned at birth.

tropes. Commonly used themes and literary devices.

two spirit. A person who has both a masculine and a feminine spirit or some other gender variant; used by some Indigenous people to describe their sexual, gender, or spiritual identity.

This page titled 11.7: Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.2: Chapter 11- LGBTQ+ Literature** by Cathy Corder is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

11.8: Footnotes

1. “Sappho,” Poets.org, accessed May 3, 2021, https://poets.org/poet/sappho. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-1
2. W. Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, 1855+, https://whitmanarchive.org/published/LG/index.html; Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (Paris, 1928); James Baldwin, *Giovanni’s Room* (New York: Dial Press, 1956). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-2
3. S. Scoppettone, *Happy Endings Are All Alike* (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1978). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-3
4. F. Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent: The Influence of Comic Books on Today’s Youth* (New York: Rhinehart, 1954). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-4
5. J. Miller, “For the Little Queers: Imagining Queerness in ‘New’ Queer Children’s Literature,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 66, no. 12 (Fall 2018): 1645–1670. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-5
6. J. M. Ochman, “The Effects of Nongender-Role Stereotyped, Same-Sex Role Models in Storybooks on the Self-Esteem of Children in Grade Three,” *Sex Roles* 35, no. 11 (December 1996): 715, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01544088; and see J. Miller, “Snapshots of LGBTQ Kid Lit,” accessed May 2, 2021, https://raisethemrighteous.com/category/snapshots-of-lgbtq-kid-lit/. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-6
7. C. L. Ryan and J. M. Hermann-Wilmarth, “Already on the Shelf: Queer Readings of Award-Winning Children’s Literature,” *Journal of Literacy Research* 45, no. 2 (June 2013): 142–172, https://doi.org/10.1177/1086296X13479778; K. Kidd and M. A. Abate, eds., *Over the Rainbow: Queer Children’s and Young Adult Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-7
8. C. Zolotow, *William’s Doll* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); T. dePaola, *Oliver Button Is a Sissy* (New York: Simon and Schuster Books for Young Readers, 2017); B. Mack and M. Buchanan, *Jesse’s Dream Skirt* (Chapel Hill, NC: Lollipop Power, 1984). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-8
9. J. Severance and J. Jones, *Lots of Mommies* (Chapel Hill, NC: Lollipop Power, 1983); J. Severance and T. Schook, *When Megan Went Away* (Chapel Hill, NC: Lollipop Power, 1979). For a list of Lollipop titles, see “Lollipop Power, Inc., Records, 1970–1986,” Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, accessed April 12, 2019, https://finding-aids.lib.unc.edu/04453/. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-9
10. L. Newman, *Heather Has Two Mommies* (Somerville, MA: Candlewick, 2016). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-10
11. J. Atkins and T. Hills, *A Name on the Quilt: A Story of Remembrance* (New York: Simon and Schuster Children’s Division, 2003); Lesléa Newman and Catherine Stock, *Too Far Away to Touch* (New York: Clarion Books, 1995). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-11
12. E. Alexander, S. Rudin, and P. Sejkora, *My Dad Has HIV* (Minneapolis, MN: Fairview Press, 1996). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-12
13. L. Newman, *Mommy, Mama, and Me* (Berkeley, CA: Tricycle Press, 2008); *Daddy, Papa, and Me* (Berkeley, CA: Tricycle Press, 2008). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-13
14. M. E. Johnson and K. Daye, *Large Fears* (self-pub., 2015). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-14
15. K. McCluskey and J. Unaapik Mike, *Families* (Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada: Inhabit Media, 2017). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-15
16. Flamingo Rampant (website), accessed April 19, 2019, https://flamingorampant.com/. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-16
17. T. Hill-Meyer and E. Toczynski, *A Princess of Great Daring* (Toronto: Flamingo Rampant, 2017). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-17
18. S. S. Brannen, *Uncle Bobby’s Wedding* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 2008); L. Newman and M. Dutton, *Donovan’s Big Day* (Berkeley, CA: Tricycle Press, 2011). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-18
19. J. J. Austrian and M. Curato, *Worm Loves Worm* (Los Angeles, CA: Balzer and Bray, 2016); J. Peeples, *Square Zair Pair* (New York: Zair Pair Books, 2016). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-19
20. T. Scotto and O. Tallec, *Jerome by Heart*, trans. C. Bedrick and K. Snelson (Brooklyn, NY: Enchanted Lion Books, 2018). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-20

21. C. Kilodavis, *My Princess Boy* (New York: Aladdin, 2010). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-21
22. M. Ewert and R. Ray, *10,000 Dresses* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2011). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-22
23. J. Herthel and J. Jennings, *I Am Jazz* (New York: Dial Books, 2014). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-23
24. Mombian: Sustenance for Lesbian Moms, accessed April 19, 2019, https://www.mombian.com/. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-24
25. American Library Association, "Stonewall Book Awards History," Round Tables, September 9, 2009, http://www.ala.org/rt/glbtrt/award/stonewall/history; American Library Association, "Stonewall Children's and Young Adult Literature Award Named for Mike Morgan and Larry Romans," *News and Press Center*, January 17, 2012,
26. American Library Association. "100 Most Frequently Challenged Books: 1990–1999," *Advocacy, Legislation and Issues*, March 26, 2013, http://www.ala.org/advocacy/bbooks/100-most-frequently-challenged-books-1990%E2%80%931999; L. Newman, *Heather Has Two Mommies*; M. Willhoite, *Daddy's Roommate* (Los Angeles, CA: Alyson Books, 1990). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-26
27. A. Flood, "Stonewall Defends 'Vital' LGBT Children's Books after Spate of Ban Attempts," *Guardian*, January 18, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/jan/18/stonewall-defends-vital-lgbt-childrens-books-after-spate-of-ban-attempts; M. Morris, "Banned Books Week; SCC Prof's LGBT Children's Book Sparks Challenges," *Sac City Express*, October 2, 2017, https://saccityexpress.com/banned-books-week-scc-profs-lgbt-childrens-book-sparks-challenges/. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-27
28. R. Guy, *Ruby* (London: Puffin, 1995). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-28
29. C. Jenkins and M. Cart, *Representing the Rainbow in Young Adult Literature: LGBTQ+ Content since 1969* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018), xiv, xv; emphasis in the original. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-29
30. J. A. Peters, *Keeping You a Secret* (New York: Little, Brown, 2003). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-30
31. E. M. Danforth, *The Miseducation of Cameron Post* (New York: HarperCollins, 2012). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-31
32. I. Sterling, *These Witches Don't Burn* (New York: Razorbill, 2019), 57. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-32
33. N. Garden, *Annie on My Mind* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1982); Peters, *Keeping You a Secret*. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-33
34. R. Bittner, "The Trouble with Normal: Trans Youth and the Desire for Normalcy as Reflected in Young Adult Literature," *ALAN Review* 37, no. 2 (2010): 31. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-34
35. J. A. Peters, *Luna* (New York: Little, Brown, 2004). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-35
36. Jenkins and Cart, *Representing the Rainbow in Young Adult Literature*, 162; F. L. Block, "Dragons in Manhattan," *Girl Goddess #9* (New York: HarperTeen, 1996). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-36
37. E. Donoghue, "The Welcome," in *Love and Sex: Ten Stories of Truth*, ed. Michael Cart (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-37
38. The first young adult novel with a gay character was published in 1969, which means that it took over twenty-five years to move beyond cisgender representation and even longer if one looks to *Luna* as the starting point for teen protagonists in young adult novels (thirty-five years). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-38
39. R. S. Bishop, "Mirrors, Windows, and Sliding Glass Doors," *Perspectives: Choosing and Using Books for the Classroom* 6, no. 3 (1990): ix. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-39
40. E. Wittlinger, *Parrotfish* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007); B. Katcher, *Almost Perfect* (New York: Delacorte, 2009); A. Rapp, *Punkzilla* (Somerville, MA: Candlewick, 2009); M. Cart, ed., *How Beautiful the Ordinary: Twelve Stories of Identity* (New York: HarperTeen, 2009). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-40
41. C. Beam, *I Am J* (New York: Little, Brown, 2010). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-41
42. T. S. Davis, *Happy Families* (New York: Knopf, 2012); R. Gold, *Being Emily* (Dallas, TX: Bella Books, 2012). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-42
43. Danforth, *The Miseducation of Cameron Post*. Concerns have been raised by Native American scholars over the depiction of Adam's Native heritage and history. Debbie Reese (a Nambé Pueblo member) has written extensively on this subject on her

blog *American Indians in Children's Literature*, https://americanindiansinchildrensliterature.blogspot.com/2015/04/emily-m-danforths-miseducation-of.html. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-43

44. K. Cronn-Mills, *Beautiful Music for Ugly Children* (Dallas, TX: Flux, 2012). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-44
45. K. E. Clark, *Freakboy* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2013); D. Levithan, *Two Boys Kissing* (New York: Knopf, 2013). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-45
46. A. Polonsky, *Gracefully Grayson* (New York: Disney-Hyperion, 2014); K. Fu, *For Today I Am a Boy* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014); B. Birdsall, *Double Exposure* (New York: Sky Pony, 2014); K. R. Hill, *Rethinking Normal* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014); A. Andrews, *Some Assembly Required: The Not-So-Secret Life of a Transgender Teen* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014); S. Kuklin, *Beyond Magenta: Transgender Teens Speak Out* (Somerville, MA: Candlewick, 2014). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-46
47. A. Gino, *George* (New York: Scholastic, 2015); R. Talley, *What We Left Behind* (Toronto: Harlequin Teen, 2015). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-47
48. Jenkins and Cart, *Representing the Rainbow in Young Adult Literature*, 170. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-48
49. A. Brugman, *Alex as Well* (New York: Henry Holt, 2015); I. W. Gregorio, *None of the Above* (New York: Balzer and Bray, 2015); P. Schmatz, *Lizard Radio* (Somerville, MA: Candlewick, 2015). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-49
50. M. Russo, *If I Was Your Girl* (New York: Flatiron, 2016); J. Garvin, *Symptoms of Being Human* (New York: Balzer and Bray, 2016); A.-M. McLemore, *When the Moon Was Ours* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2016); M.-E. Girard, *Girl Mans Up* (New York: HarperCollins, 2016). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-50
51. A. Daniels, *Dreadnought* (New York: Diversion, 2017); L. Miller, *Mask of Shadows* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2017); D. Slater, *The 57 Bus: A True Story of Two Teenagers and the Crime That Changed Their Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2017); S. Patel, *Jaya and Rasa* (Los Angeles, CA: Cinco Puntos, 2017); L. Bunker, *Felix Yz* (New York: Viking, 2017). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-51
52. A. G. Jones, *Fire Song* (Toronto: Annick, 2018); M. Deaver, *I Wish You All the Best* (New York: Scholastic, 2019); T. Boteju, *Kings, Queens, and In-Betweens* (New York: Simon Pulse, 2019). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-52
53. K. Callender, *Felix Ever After* (New York: Balzer and Bray, 2020); M. Siegert, *Somebody Told Me* (Minneapolis, MN: Carolrhoda Lab, 2020). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-53
54. C. H. Orsi, "Saying Something: Trans Characters in YA Fiction," *Los Angeles Review of Books*, July 16, 2019, https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/saying-something-trans-characters-in-ya-fiction/; emphasis added. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-54
55. V. Signorelli, "The 'Acceptance' Narrative in Trans YA," *YA Pride*, September 30, 2015, https://www.gayya.org/2016/12/the-heros-journey-in-trans-ya/. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-55
56. V. Signorelli, "The Hero's Journey in Trans YA," *YA Pride*, December 2, 2016, http://www.yapride.org/2016/12/the-heros-journey-in-trans-ya/. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-56
57. Wertham interview and speech are in D. Hajdu, *The Ten-Cent Plague: The Great Comic-Book Scare and How It Changed America* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2008). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-57
58. *Comic Books and Juvenile Delinquency [*sic*]: Interim Report of the Committee on the Judiciary Pursuant to S. Res. 89 and S. Res. 190*, 83d Cong., 1st sess.–83d Cong., 2d sess. (1955–1956) (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1956), https://web.archive.org/web/20091027160127/http://www.geocities.com/Athens/8580/kefauver.html. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-58
59. *Comic Books and Juvenile Delinquency*. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-59
60. H. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative and Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 17. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-60
61. H. Cruse, *Stuck Rubber Baby* (New York: Paradox Press, 1995). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-61
62. T. Torrès, *Women's Barracks* (New York: Fawcett Gold Medal Book, 1950). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-62
63. V. Packer [Marijane Meaker], *Spring Fire* (New York: Fawcett Gold Medal Book, 1952); C. Morgan [Patricia Highsmith], *The Price of Salt* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1952). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-63

64. D. Barnes, *Night Wood* (New York: Random House, 1935); G. Wilhelm, *We Too Are Drifting* (New York: Random House, 1938). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-64
65. A. Bannon, *Odd Girl Out* (New York: Fawcett Gold Medal Book, 1957). The same company also published *I Am a Woman*, 1959; *Women in the Shadows*, 1959; *Journey to a W*oman, 1960; and *Beebo Brinker*, 1962. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-65
66. V. Taylor, *The Girls in 3-B* (New York: Fawcett Gold Medal Book, 1959); and *Stranger on Lesbos*, 1960; M. Meaker, *Deliver Us from Evie* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994); and as A. Aldrich, *We, Too, Must Love* (New York: Fawcett Gold Medal Book, 1958); M. Hastings, *Three Women* (New York: Beacon Press, 1958). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-66
67. T. Capote, *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (New York: Random House, 1948); G. Vidal, *The City and the Pillar* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1948); C. Jackson, *The Fall of Valo*r (New York: Rinehart, 1946). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-67
68. G. Tesch, *Never the Same Again* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956); R. Thacher, *The Tender Age* (New York: Macmillan, 1952). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-68
69. R. Amory, *Song of the Loon* (San Diego, CA: Greenleaf, 1966). Two sequels from the same publisher are *Song of Aaron*, 1967; and *Listen, the Loon Sings*, 1968. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-69
70. D. Holliday [Victor J. Banis], *The Man from C.A.M.P.* (San Diego, CA: Greenleaf, 1966); see also, from the same publisher, *The Watercress File*, 1967; and *Rally Round the Flag*, 1967. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-70
71. L. Chapman [Marion Zimmer Bradley], *I Am a Lesbian* (Grand Rapids, MI: Monarch Books, 1962). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-71
72. L. A. DeSalvo and M. A. Leaska, eds., *The Letters of Vita Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf* (San Francisco, CA: Cleis, 2004); M. H. Loughlin, ed., "Letters," in *Same-Sex Desire in Early Modern England, 1550–1735: An Anthology of Literary Texts and Contexts* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2014), 101–111. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-72
73. A. Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl*, trans. S. Massotty, ed. O. Frank and M. Pressler (New York: Bantam, 1997). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-73
74. E. Newton, *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay: Personal Essays, Public Ideas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); E. Newton, *My Butch Career: A Memoir* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018); A. Lorde, *The Cancer Journals* (San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books, 1980); A. Lorde, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name—a Biomythography* (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 1982); D. Crimp, *Before Pictures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); S. R. Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue* (New York: New York University Press, 2001). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-74
75. L. Kramer, *The Normal Heart* (New York: Samuel French, 1985); Larry Kramer, *Reports from the Holocaust: The Story of an AIDS Activist* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1994). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-75
76. B. Lemon, "Why Sontag Didn't Want to Come Out: Her Words," *Out*, January 5, 2005, https://www.out.com/entertainment/2005/01/05/why-sontag-didnt-want-come-out-her-words; Susan Sontag, *As Consciousness Is Harnessed to Flesh: Journals and Notebooks, 1964–1980*, ed. D. Rieff (New York: Picador, 2012). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-76
77. A. Bechdel, *Fun Home: A Family Tragicomic* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2007). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-77
78. J. Jacques, *Trans: A Memoir* (New York: Verso Books, 2016). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-78
79. M. Nelson, *The Argonauts* (Minneapolis, MN: Graywolf Press, 2015); J. Tobia, *Sissy: A Coming-of-Gender Story* (New York: Putnam, 2019). 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-79
80. Tobia, 15, 14. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-80
81. Tobia, 301, 11, 14. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-81
82. Nelson, *The Argonauts*, 46, 47. 6.02: Chapter 11- LGBTQ Literature#return-footnote-174-82

This page titled 11.8: Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **6.2: Chapter 11- LGBTQ+ Literature** by Cathy Corder is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this chapter, students will be able to do the following:

- Identify major historical developments in LGBTQ+ literature from ancient texts to contemporary genres.
- Analyze representations of LGBTQ+ identities across genres and evaluate how these depictions reflect changing cultural attitudes.
- Interpret key tropes and themes (e.g., found family, homosexual visibility, queer community) and explain how these tropes evolved across different historical periods and literary fields.
- Assess the impact of censorship, publishing practices, and cultural gatekeeping on the production and circulation of LGBTQ+ texts.
- Explain how LGBTQ+ literature contributes to identity formation and community building, recognizing literature as both a product and producer of queer culture.

12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information
12.3: Glossary and Footnotes
12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

This page titled 12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Rachel Wexelbaum & Gesina A. Phillips.

12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview

Introduction

With a simple search, people can now access a wealth of online information about LGBTQ+ topics, especially if they are English speakers. And yet searching for information online, figuring out what to ask, and choosing how to word questions can still be frustrating. When conducting research on an LGBTQ+ topic, people will have to use different search strategies and critical thinking skills to locate resources appropriate for academic purposes. We wrote this chapter to help people search for LGBTQ+ information and resources in an effective, mindful manner.

Ethical Considerations for LGBTQ+ Research

When preparing to do research, it is important to learn about the community (or communities) that you have chosen to study. Awareness of LGBTQ+ terminology, identity development, and the living conditions of LGBTQ+ people will provide necessary context. Before you locate and evaluate LGBTQ+ information sources, consider the following points:

- **Many communities, one initialism:** Remember that the LGBTQ+ initialism encompasses many diverse individuals and experiences. In fact, there are multiple formulations of it (e.g., LGBTQIA, QUILTBAG), and letters sometimes serve more than one function **(e.g., "Q" for *queer* or *questioning*).** In this chapter, we use "LGBTQ+" to refer to a large spectrum of identities. When speaking about a particular population, however, more specific terms (e.g., gay, lesbian) may be more appropriate to use than an inclusive initialism because of the differences in experience among groups. Remember also that an individual might identify in multiple ways **(e.g., a bisexual transgender person).**
- **Intersectional identities:** The concept of intersectionality **(a theory of Kimberlé Crenshaw)** focuses on how interlocking systems of oppression affect marginalized individuals.[1] Remember to consider how other aspects of an individual's identity **(race, ethnicity, class, country of origin, religion, disability status, etc.) interact with their LGBTQ+ identity.** Avoid treating the different aspects of a person's identity separately, and instead engage in a holistic examination of the systems of privilege and marginalization that act on them.
- **Pronouns and binaries:** Be careful not to make assumptions about the individuals that you study. Use caution when applying modern labels to a historical subject. If an individual refers to themselves using particular pronouns, use those pronouns—if they **use *zir*, do not substitute *their*,** for example. Be wary of binaries. **Do not erase bisexuality or pansexuality by insisting on a gay-straight binary.** Do not erase intersex or nonbinary individuals by insisting on a male-female binary. **Be mindful of emergent terminology,** the explicit identification of LGBTQ+ individuals, and the various experiences within the LGBTQ+ community.

Careful consideration of these topics will help you in later stages of your research as you begin to develop your question, form a search strategy, and synthesize the information that you find into a paper, presentation, or other form of scholarship.

Getting Ready for Research

Constructing Research Questions and Generating Keywords

To begin, write down the research questions that you have about your topic. Writing research questions also helps you generate keywords for searching. When constructing research questions, pay attention to the following:

Yes or No Questions

Often, the first attempt to write down a research question results in a yes or no question, like this:

Can lesbians become parents?

The keywords in this question are "lesbians" and "parents," which could potentially retrieve a broad range of information resources about lesbian parents, or lesbians and how they raise children, or parents of lesbian children. The fact that resources existing about lesbian parents implies a positive response to this question, so the question answers itself. Here are some questions that you would need to answer with evidence from research, however:

How do lesbians become parents?

How do lesbians parent their children?

What laws affect the ability of lesbians to have children or become parents?

Appropriate Use of LGBTQ+ Terminology

In LGBTQ+ research, language is everything. Whether searching for information about a historical or current topic, familiarize yourself with the terminology used for (or by) LGBTQ+ people in that time, culture, and place, in addition to current LGBTQ+ terminology. This will help you locate resources and artifacts from that time period, perhaps produced by that culture, as well as resources written by modern researchers. There is also LGBTQ+ terminology that is out of date or that is now considered clinical language used by medical researchers or biologists to describe nonhuman animals and their behavior. Review the chapters and their "Research Resources" sections in this book for the most up-to-date LGBTQ+ terminology used in different disciplines.

Value-Laden or Comparative Language

It may seem intuitive to include terms like *good*, *bad*, *positive*, *negative*, *problem*, *challenge*, and so on in research questions. Here is an example:

Are there negative impacts of lesbian parenting on children?

Including "negative" in our keyword search will lead to biased results that keep us from retrieving information that will allow us to interpret the range of complexities on a topic for ourselves. To remove this bias, you can revise the question to read more neutrally:

What is the impact of lesbian parenting on children?

Questions That Are Too Specific or Too Broad

Scale your topic to the size of the project that you are undertaking. **A research paper of ten pages or fewer, for example, should cover a narrow, focused topic.** It sounds tricky to scope your question so that it's broad enough to be included in multiple resources but narrow enough not to be overwhelming, but you will be able to do it with some planning and initial research.

Let's start with a broad topic and try to narrow it appropriately:

What support systems exist for LGBT* people?

"LGBT*" (the asterisk is used for truncation searches[2]) is an abbreviation applying to many diverse individuals, each with their own experience. The phrase "support systems" is also vague. It might refer to personal support systems, governmental programs, nonprofit or community organizations, or online resources and communities. Entire handbooks and encyclopedias are needed to answer such a broad question. For a smaller project, narrow the question to focus on a particular population, location, or type of service.

It is also possible to narrow down the topic too much:

What community organizations exist to support lesbian Somali refugee youth in Minnesota?

Although this is an excellent question, there may not be enough information about this specific population in this specific location. It is worth a try, but may retrieve too few search results (or none at all). You might have to broaden the search terms to retrieve results that may answer the question or remove some search terms, like so:

What organizations exist to support lesbian Somali refugee youth?

Removing the location-specific aspect may help the researcher locate more general information that would still apply to the population of interest in Minnesota. **Removing "community" but including "organizations"** might also generalize your search and reduce the number of results about specific community organizations outside your area of interest. If this search still retrieved too few results, you might alter it to be slightly broader:

What organizations exist to support lesbian Somali youth?

Removing "refugee" as a keyword in this search increases the possibility of locating information about Somali youth and their coming out process in general, which has the potential to include the coming out process for Somali refugee youth, immigrant youth, or Somali youth who were born in the country where they currently reside.

After doing some research, you may need to revisit the scope of your topic because it is still too broad or too narrow. Don't be discouraged—this is part of the research process!

Information Availability

When you have your keywords test them out by deciding where you want to search. Researching a historical event will likely involve sources **such as books, journal articles, or primary sources from online or physical archives.** Writing about a current event, however, may require locating recent developments in the news or social media in addition to materials that inform the historical context. Thinking about the types of sources that you expect to find and consult will help you decide whether you need to search in a database, a library catalog, a search engine, or all these sources.

It is also important to consider what sources might not be available. You might not be able to find explicitly LGBTQ+ sources created in a repressive context. LGBTQ+ people in seventeenth-century English colonies with strict sodomy law enforcement and witch trials probably did not write openly about themselves, if they could write at all. **People would not have used the terminology that we might use today to describe their sexual orientation or gender identity.** Secondary sources such as books and articles present information about the **lives of LGBTQ+ people in such contexts** based on the authors' research using primary documents. Sometimes these sources can guide you to the primary documents, which you might be able to consult for yourself. See the later section **"From the Archives: Historical LGBTQ+ Primary Source Material"** for more information about archival sources.

Once you've thought about what kind of information you expect to find, start using the keywords that you generated when creating your research question. For tips on translating research questions into language that databases can understand, consult Walden University Library's guide on keyword searching and connecting keywords.[3]

Tip - Safety First: Online Privacy

Not all people enjoy the same level of freedom or privacy in online searching. Public computer terminals may have internet filters on them to prevent people from searching for LGBTQ+ content. Corporations may collect personal data from researchers in the attempt to sell products or promote content. If someone lives in a country where LGBTQ+ identities are criminalized, online research on LGBTQ+ topics may put them at risk, even if they use their own mobile device. Active U.S. military may also have their online activities monitored. In cases such as these, where concerns about surveillance and privacy exist, it is **important to take precautions before searching for LGBTQ+ information or connecting with LGBTQ+ communities online.** Review "Online Privacy: Using the Internet Safely," a guide from the Privacy Rights Clearinghouse, before doing online research to preserve your privacy and security (privacyrights.org/consumer-guides/online-privacy-using-internet-safely).

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Which of the following best describes the concept of intersectionality as it applies to LGBTQ+ research?
A) Focusing only on sexual orientation
B) Using only current LGBTQ+ terminology
C) Considering how multiple aspects of identity (e.g., race, class, gender) interact to shape experiences
D) Treating each identity aspect separately

2. Why is it important to avoid value-laden language (e.g., "good," "bad," "problem") in research questions?
A) It can bias search results and limit the complexity of findings.
B) It makes research questions too broad.
C) It is required by all academic journals.
D) It helps to focus only on positive outcomes.

3. When conducting LGBTQ+ research, why should researchers be cautious about applying modern labels to historical subjects?
A) It is always preferable to use clinical language.

B) Modern labels may not accurately reflect historical identities or contexts.
C) Historical subjects preferred modern terminology
D) It increases the number of search results.

4. What is a potential risk for individuals searching for LGBTQ+ information online in certain countries?
A) Receiving too many advertisements
B) Being required to use outdated terminology
C) Having to use only public computers
D) Facing legal consequences or surveillance

5. Which of the following is a recommended strategy for narrowing a research question that is too broad?
A) Focus on a specific population, location, or type of service
B) Add more value-laden terms
C) Use only yes/no questions
D) Remove all keywords

1. How does the concept of intersectionality change the way we approach research on LGBTQ+ topics?
2. What are the potential consequences of using outdated or inappropriate terminology in LGBTQ+ research?
3. Discuss the ethical responsibilities of researchers when studying marginalized communities, especially in contexts where privacy and safety are concerns.
4. How can researchers balance the need for specificity in their questions with the risk of retrieving too few sources?
5. In what ways does the availability (or lack) of primary sources affect our understanding of LGBTQ+ histories and experiences?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answers

1. C) Considering how multiple aspects of identity (e.g., race, class, gender) interact to shape experiences
2. A) It can bias search results and limit the complexity of findings.
3. B) Modern labels may not accurately reflect historical identities or contexts.
4. D) Facing legal consequences or surveillance
5. A) Focus on a specific population, location, or type of service

---

This page titled 12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **7.1: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies** by Gesina A. Phillips is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information

Library Resources

Colleges and universities offer a wealth of information through their print book collections, databases, and other research materials. Your public library may have access to some databases and research materials as well. In the United States, libraries have pledged to uphold the secrecy of patron borrowing records. **The American Library Association has a "Library Bill of Rights"** and associated interpretation.[4] If you are interested in a history of LGBTQ+ information in libraries, the **Wikipedia page "Libraries and the LGBTQ Community" has more information**.[5]

LGBTQ+ studies is highly interdisciplinary. This means that you may find relevant resources from several academic disciplines that adopt LGBTQ+ theories and research methods or that study LGBTQ+ populations, cultures, histories, and issues. Your library catalog is a good place to search for a wide range of information sources in various disciplines. The online library catalog allows people to look for books, e-books, media, online resources, and other content that the library owns or to which it has access. Visit your library website or consult with your librarian to learn about your particular library catalog's features and interface.

Physical items are organized by call number. LGBTQ+ specific call numbers exist in the two major systems. Kristine Nowak and Amy Jo Mitchell identify and challenge the Library of Congress's LGBTQ+ call numbers, and Doreen Sullivan identifies and problematizes the Dewey decimal classification's LGBTQ+ call numbers.[6] Because LGBTQ+ studies crosses disciplines, you will likely find books on your topic in different call number sections.

Libraries such as Ohio Wesleyan University Libraries often use Library of Congress subject headings to classify their materials. Searching simultaneously for LGBTQ+ materials in the library catalog according to the subject headings with keyword searching may retrieve more relevant results than keyword searching alone. **The librarians at Indiana University Bloomington have generated a helpful list of the LGBTQ+ Library of Congress subject headings** that currently exist; this list will continue to evolve over time.[7]

The following terms represent the initial entries under "L":

- Leather bars
- Leather contests
- Leather lifestyle
- Legal assistance to gays
- Legal assistance to transgender people
- Lesbian activists
- Lesbian actresses
- Lesbian anthropologists

Students and faculty at academic institutions have access to academic databases. Databases include e-book collections, journal articles or their abstracts, streaming media (videos or audio files), and data sets. These resources are curated, organized, and described so that they can be searched with precision. These databases are often not accessible to anyone without an official user ID and password issued by the academic institution. **Public libraries may provide access to some databases,** and some (but not all) academic institutions offer access to online resources for those who visit in person. Not all libraries have research databases exclusively on LGBTQ+ subjects, but almost all academic libraries have general databases that index materials that support LGBTQ+ studies. **We recommend the databases available for LGBTQ+ studies research listed in table 12.1.**

Table 12.1 Databases

General academic	LGBTQ+ studies
Alternative Press Index	LGBT Thought and Culture
Alternative Press Archive	LGBT Life Full Text (EBSCO)
Academic Search Premier (EBSCO)	Archives of Sexuality and Gender
GenderWatch	
JSTOR	
ProQuest	
PsycINFO	
SAGE Full Text	
Sociological Abstracts	
Social Sciences Full Text	
Women's Studies International	

Like library catalogs, databases often also use subject headings. Some databases have their own preferred subject headings for LGBTQ+ topics, so it is best to use those preferred search terms and subject headings even if they may not be familiar or the most acceptable terminology. Some databases still prefer the search term and subject heading "homosexual" to "gay," for example, so you will need to include those problematic terms when searching those databases. **The Directory of Open Access Journals,** which makes scholarly journal articles in multiple languages freely available, is particularly problematic in its indexing, because it has no subject headings or preferred keywords specific to LGBTQ+ topics.[8] Using this directory will involve multiple searches using different keywords. You can often find a link to the list of subject headings used by a particular database on the search page by looking for a "Thesaurus" link. A librarian can help you with this if you get stuck.

Most college and university libraries make available respected, **peer-reviewed LGBTQ+ journals,** although library access to these journals varies. Notable examples of journals appropriate for academic research include the ***Journal of Homosexuality*, the *Journal of LGBTQ Youth*, and *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*.**

The *Journal of Homosexuality*, established in 1976, features articles that explore gender and sexual identities and communities from a variety of disciplinary perspectives (www.tandfonline.com/journals/wjhm20). **The *Journal of LGBTQ Youth*, established in 2008,** is a forum for improving the lives of LGBTQ+ youth. It contains first-person narratives by young people, practitioner reports, and research-based scholarship (www.tandfonline.com/loi/wjly20). ***GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, established in 1991**, publishes interdisciplinary articles focused on sex and sexuality (read.dukeupress.edu/glq).

Databases usually provide an abstract, or summary, of an individual journal article, but not all provide the full text of the articles. Many libraries have systems that either link to the full text or direct you to request it through interlibrary loan, but every library does this a little bit differently. If you are having trouble accessing the full text of an article, contact your librarian for help.

Although the authors of books and journal articles analyze and write about the impact of laws, culture, religion, or other elements of civilization on LGBTQ+ people—or how **LGBTQ+ people themselves affect those things—it is important to read and interpret those laws, policies, and original documents yourself.** For this reason, let's move ahead to talk about government documents and primary sources.

Laws, Reports, and Government-Provided Health Information

Governments, **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the United Nations (UN),** and advocacy groups all publish information related to LGBTQ+ populations. This information includes laws from different countries; NGO, UN, and advocacy-group reports about conditions for LGBTQ+ people or how particular laws affect these populations; and information related to LGBTQ+ health issues, including HIV/AIDS, women's health issues, and transgender health issues.

We often learn about laws or policies that affect LGBTQ+ populations through popular media. Journalists and bloggers often give a law or policy a short, catchy name, but the actual name of the law may be much longer. For example, the **Russian "gay propaganda law"** that people refer to in the media is actually a section of Russian Federation Federal Law no. 436-FZ of 2010-12-23, on Protection of Children from Information Harmful to Their Health and Development, titled "For the Purpose of Protecting Children from Information Advocating for a Denial of Traditional Family Values." You can find this out by conducting a search in Google or other search engines, asking, "What is the real name of the gay propaganda law?" If you use the official name of the law in your search, the results will be more likely to come from official government or NGO reports.

Because of unique methods of organizing information in governmental and legal fields, finding sources such as governmental publications, bills, or court cases **may require the assistance of a librarian.** For more information about different types of government documents, consult the "Government Publications" subject guide(opens in new window) from St. Cloud State University developed by the research librarian Michael Gorman.[9] You might also see if your library has its own guide on this topic.

Governments often provide health information to the public, including health information for or about LGBTQ+ people. In the United States, the federal government is the country's largest publisher. To search for congressional recordings, Supreme Court opinions, congressional bills, and other documents on how the federal government refers to LGBTQ+ populations and topics, visit Discover U.S. Government Information (www.govinfo.gov). To search across different government websites, go to USA.gov (www.usa.gov). The easiest way to locate laws and government information from other countries is to use a search engine. **A Northwestern University government information librarian, Anne Zald,** also created an excellent list of foreign government websites.[10] If you are interested in government health information for or about LGBTQ+ people in other countries, you can try adding the name of the country to the search string. If you are unable to locate anything that way, search within the government's official website for more information.

The UN provides statistics and reports about LGBT demographics, health, laws, and human rights abuses. The search string "united nations LGBT*" retrieves information from the UN about resolutions and reports on LGBT issues worldwide. Other NGOs and advocacy groups may also provide similar reports.

Sometimes LGBTQ+ people seek out legal or medical advice for personal matters from library resources. Although the library can assist people in locating information on laws, policies, and health, only lawyers or doctors can provide counsel for legal or medical decisions. Consult with a lawyer, medical professional, NGO, or advocacy group friendly to LGBTQ+ people for help with personal legal or medical issues.

From the Archives: Historical LGBTQ+ Primary Source Material

Sometimes you need to find primary sources for your topic.[11] LGBTQ+ studies research depends on primary sources to see firsthand how LGBTQ+ people existed in the past and exist in the present. Primary sources can be in physical and digital formats. Archives are curated collections of primary sources that are preserved for their historic or cultural significance. Archives are organized, curated, and described by archivists and other archival workers.

Trade Secrets: ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives

One of the oldest archives of LGBTQ+ material in the United States is held in Los Angeles. Watch this video about the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives to get an idea of what LGBTQ+ archives do and what they collect. (youtu.be/Pe6ko6XejHc)



- Do you think it is important to collect and curate historical artifacts? Explain.
- What is the most interesting thing you learned about LGBTQ+ history from watching this video?
- If you had unlimited time and resources, what LGBTQ+ archive would you work to create? Why?

Archival LGBTQ+ content is important for several reasons: It often provides **historical perspective on the topic** you are studying and informs your research to prevent ahistorical claims from sneaking into your argument. **Archival material provides firsthand accounts,** photographs, audiovisual material, contemporary reactions to people and ideas, and ephemera (e.g., buttons, flyers, posters, and other objects). Archives are important for research also because **they collect materials that are based on some shared characteristic (e.g., they all belonged to one person, or they document a particular event, time period, movement, or organization).** This allows the researcher to encounter multiple archival objects alongside related objects and thereby gain some historical or thematic perspective. Objects from archives specific to LGBTQ+ issues may also expose you to content in individuals' own voices, which can add another dimension to your knowledge about a topic.

Archives dedicated to LGBTQ+ material exist around the world. To find such archives, **IHLIA LGBT Heritage of Amsterdam maintains an extensive list of links to worldwide LGBTQ+ archives.**[12] Sometimes archives without an LGBTQ+ focus will create special exhibits related to LGBTQ+ individuals and content in their collections as well.

Archives are often collections of physical materials, digital content, or both. Often, a researcher will visit a physical archive in person to review materials. Many archives make information about their materials available online so that you can decide whether the content is likely to be relevant to your project. If you are a student at a college or university, check with your library; your institution may have archival collections of its own. **Digital archives offer more access,** but keep in mind that the digital collection might not include everything from the physical collection.

The following resources are good places to begin searching for digital primary source materials:

- **Library of Congress Digital Collections.** "LGBTQ+ Studies: A Resource Guide."[13]
- **IHLIA LGBT Heritage.** The primary source materials from European LGBTQ+ organizations on this website have a focus on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.[14]
- **OutHistory.org.** Created by pioneering LGBTQ+ historian Jonathan Ned Katz, this website is an online digital archive of primary source LGBTQ+ materials.[15]

A Note on Search Engines

Databases and library catalogs collect and organize a specific set of resources for research purposes that can be accessed through browsing or searching. Search engines do not curate or organize information at all. Instead, a search engine such as Google uses the keywords that you enter to search publicly accessible internet content. This is why a search in Google will result in hundreds of thousands of results on a topic, including shopping sites, blogs, and news sites, of inconsistent quality, whereas your **database search will generally return a smaller set of more specific results.**

When discussing search, it is impossible to ignore the role of Google and Google Scholar. See the later section "Biases and LGBTQ+ Information Availability" for more information about algorithmic bias at work when you search for information. Remember also that data is collected about you when you interact with most online platforms and that your data is valuable;

Google isn’t the only offender, but as a company it has an enormous reach. You have a choice of search engines, and s**ome have better privacy practices and take user privacy and safety into account.**[16]

With those caveats in mind, know that Google remains the most frequently used search engine in the world. To keep up to date on Google search strategies, tools, and features, refer to the Google Support Center, as well as the Google Advanced Search page. Helpful articles from online magazines *LifeHack* and *PC Mag* also provide great Google tricks.[17] Google Scholar is a popular and accessible search engine for retrieving abstracts, full-text scholarly journal articles, e-books, and government and NGO reports. For a complete rundown on Google Scholar features and how to use the tool, visit the Google Scholar Search Tips page.[18]

This page titled 12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **7.1: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies** by Gesina A. Phillips is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

12.3: Glossary and Footnotes

Glossary

initialism. Using the first letters of words to create an abbreviation, for instance, LGBTQ+.

primary sources. Firsthand records and documents or original artifacts that are analyzed, studied, and interpreted. They include poems, legal documents, recordings, and any other direct evidence of a historical person, event, or topic.

truncation. A word-search method using the root of a word within a title or keyword search regardless of the word ending. An asterisk (*) in many databases signifies that the search should include multiple word endings.

Footnotes

1. National Association of Independent Schools, “Kimberlé Crenshaw: What Is Intersectionality?,” June 22, 2018, https://youtu.be/ViDtnfQ9FHc. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-1
2. MIT Libraries, “Database Search Tips: Truncation,” accessed June 1, 2021, https://libguides.mit.edu/c.php?g=175963&p=1158679. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-2
3. Walden University Library, “Keyword Searching: Finding Articles on Your Topic: Connect Keywords,” 2020, https://academicguides.waldenu.edu/library/keyword/Boolean. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-3
4. American Library Association, “Library Bill of Rights,” http://www.ala.org/advocacy/intfreedom/librarybill; American Library Association, “Privacy: An Interpretation of the Library Bill of Rights,” http://www.ala.org/advocacy/intfreedom/librarybill/interpretations/privacy. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-4
5. Wikipedia, s.v. “Libraries and the LGBTQ Community,” last modified May 19, 2021, 12:44, https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Libraries_and_the_LGBTQ_community. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-5
6. K. Nowak and A. J. Mitchell, “Classifying Identity: Organizing an LGBT Library,” *Library Philosophy and Practice*, 2016, p. 5, https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libphilprac/1452; D. Sullivan, “A Brief History of Homophobia in Dewey Decimal Classification,” *Overland*, July 23, 2015, https://overland.org.au/2015/07/a-brief-history-of-homophobia-in-dewey-decimal-classification/. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-6
7. Ohio Wesleyan University, “LGBTQIA+ Resources for OWU Students,” updated June 22, 2020, https://library.owu.edu/c.php?g=464329&p=3174219; Indiana University Bloomington, “Library of Congress Subject Headings for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI) Topics,” February 9, 2016, https://libraries.indiana.edu/library-congress-subject-headings-lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender-queer-and-intersex-lgbtqi-topics. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-7
8. Directory of Open Access Journals, 2020, https://doaj.org/. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-8
9. M. Gorman, “Government Publications,” St. Cloud State University, 2013, https://stcloud.lib.minnstate.edu/subjects/guide.php?subject=governmentpublications. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-9
10. A. Zald, “List of Foreign Governments,” updated May 25, 2021, https://libguides.northwestern.edu/c.php?g=114985&p=749466. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-10
11. University of California–Irvine Libraries, “What Are Primary Sources?,” 2021, https://www.lib.uci.edu/what-are-primary-sources. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-11
12. IHLIA LGBT Heritage, “Archives,” 2021, https://ihlia.nl/en/collection/archives. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-12
13. M. Metcalf, “LGBTQ+ Studies: A Resource Guide,” Library of Congress Digital Collections, updated April 10, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/rr/main/lgbtq/lgbtqgeneralguide/digitalcollections.html. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-13
14. IHLIA LGBT Heritage, 2021, https://ihlia.nl/en/collection/online-collection/open-up/. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-14

15. OutHistory.org, http://outhistory.org/. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-15
16. B. Popken, “Google Sells the Future, Powered by Your Personal Data,” NBC News, May 10, 2018, https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/google-sells-future-powered-your-personal-data-n870501; C. Stewart, “The Best Private Search Engines—Alternatives to Google,” Hackernoon, February 8, 2018, https://hackernoon.com/untraceable-search-engines-alternatives-to-google-811b09d5a873. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-16
17. Google, “How to Search on Google,” 2021, https://support.google.com/websearch/answer/134479?hl=en; Google, “Advanced Search,” accessed June 1, 2021, https://www.google.com/advanced_search; J. Hindy, “20 Google Search Tips to Use Google More Efficiently,” *LifeHack*, accessed June 1, 2021, https://www.lifehack.org/articles/technology/20-tips-use-google-search-efficiently.html; J. Cohen, “21 Google Search Tips You’ll Want to Learn,” *PCMag*, updated January 24, 2022, https://www.pcmag.com/how-to/google-search-tips-youll-want-to-learn. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-17
18. Google Scholar, accessed June 1, 2021, https://scholar.google.com/; “Search Help,” Google Scholar, accessed June 1, 2021, https://scholar.google.com/intl/en/scholar/help.html. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-18
19. M. Judge, “Twitter Has a Serious Harassment and Abuse Problem but Doesn’t Seem to Want to Cure It,” *The Root*, October 30, 2017, https://www.theroot.com/twitter-has-a-serious-harassment-and-abuse-problem-but-1819979725; C. Stokel-Walker, “Algorithms Won’t Fix What’s Wrong with YouTube,” *New York Times*, June 14, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/14/opinion/youtube-algorithm.html. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-19
20. Twitter, “How to Use Advanced Search,” 2021, https://help.twitter.com/en/using-twitter/twitter-advanced-search. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-20
21. Penn State University Libraries, “Evaluating Information Rubric,” 2021, https://libraries.psu.edu/research/how/evaluating-information-rubric. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-21
22. M. Lawrence-Kuether, “Scientists Propose Tactics for Ethical Use of Twitter Data in Research Studies,” Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, June 10, 2014, https://vtx.vt.edu/articles/2014/06/061014-vbi-twitterethics.html. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-22
23. University of Michigan Library, “Copyright and Using Video,” Research Guides, updated March 8, 2021, https://guides.lib.umich.edu/videocopyright/nopermission. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-23
24. Wikipedia, “Portal:LGBT,” updated May 13, 2021, https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:LGBT. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-24
25. Wikipedia, “Wikipedia:The Perfect Article,” updated April 9, 2021, https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:The_perfect_article. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-25
26. Wikipedia, “Wikipedia:Systemic Bias,” updated May 28, 2021, https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Systemic_bias. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-26
27. St. Cloud State University, “Wikipedia: How to Evaluate Articles,” 2013, https://stcloud.lib.minnstate.edu/subjects/guide.php?subject=Wikipedia1. 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-27
28. Penn State University Libraries, “Evaluating Information,” 2021, https://libraries.psu.edu/services/research-help/evaluating-information; Penn State University Libraries, “Evaluating Information Rubric.” 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-28
29. Penn State University Libraries, “Evaluating Information Rubric,” “Point of view (bias).” 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-29
30. F. Manjoo, “Here’s the Conversation We Really Need to Have about Bias at Google,” *New York Times*, August 30, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/30/technology/bias-google-trump.html; S. U. Noble, *Algorithms of Oppression:Data Discrimination in the Age of Google* (New York: New York University Press, 2018). 7.01: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ Studies#return-footnote-182-30
30.

12.1: New Page is shared under a not declared license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **7.1: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies** by Gesina A. Phillips is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.
- **7.1: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies** by Gesina A. Phillips is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

Back to top

Was this article helpful?

This page titled 12.3: Glossary and Footnotes is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

For LGBTQ+ topics, social media may be a good source of information. You might be surprised to learn that researchers, scholars, activists, and others that you might encounter during your research may also be active on social media. Blogs, Twitter, or YouTube can help you find emerging research in the field. Researchers and scholars may post presentation materials from academic conferences, scholarly journal articles, book recommendations, or critiques of other people's research. Social media can help students and people new to an academic or professional field get to know other researchers and relevant organizations in their field. These researcher and organization accounts might also point you toward job postings, graduate programs, or conferences. Social media can also have its dark side; harassment and algorithmic bias are problems that you should be aware of if you decide to work with social media for research purposes.[19]

Researchers can conduct basic keyword searches or tag and hashtag searches on most social media platforms. **Twitter in particular has sophisticated advanced search features.**[20] Because of the many LGBTQ+ terms and abbreviations that are used, it may be necessary to repeat the hashtag search for the most comprehensive results. Conducting academic research using social media brings a unique set of challenges. Although these conversations are happening in public, they are not necessarily public statements. Think about any random conversation you have had that occurred in a public place. Would you want a researcher to quote you without your knowledge? **Consider the following when using social media for research.**

- **What is the source of the content?** The researcher should be mindful of whether they're quoting an individual, a nonprofit organization, a for-profit organization, a news agency, a government source, or some other source. As with any source, the researcher must evaluate the source in terms of its authority on the issue at hand, potential bias, and other questions such as those found in the later "Evaluating Information Sources" section and associated resources (such as the guide from Pennsylvania State University[21]).
- **How can I use this content?** Researchers should remember that **not all social media networks are public.** A post that appears in one researcher's social media feeds may be viewable by only certain accounts. Even users with public social media presence may have some expectation that their posts will not be republished without their consent.[22] If your research project will be published in a public forum where others could see this content, **it is good practice to contact the creator, inform them of your research project, and ask permission to use their content.** User-created content may also be protected by copyright. **The University of Michigan Library provides information on what types of videos are appropriate to use for openly published research projects,** as well as where to find those videos.[23]

In addition to these more socially focused platforms, another platform with a highly social infrastructure is designed for information creation and research: Wikipedia.

Wikipedia for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

Wikipedia can serve as a starting point for research on LGBTQ+ topics. It is also a major source of information for many people, including researchers who do not have access to databases or research libraries. Let's examine how to use Wikipedia to research LGBTQ+ topics.

An efficient way to search for LGBTQ+ content on Wikipedia is to visit the LGBT Portal. The portal compiles news related to LGBTQ+ issues and has a section for daily featured LGBTQ+ content (figure 12.4).[24]



Figure 12.4. The LGBT Portal on Wikipedia at https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:LGBT. (CC-BY-SA Wikipedia.org.)

To evaluate the content of a Wikipedia article, you must first understand how knowledge production works on Wikipedia. **Wikipedia does not publish original content.** Instead, **creators summarize and synthesize content already published in another venue.** Wikipedia editors strive to meet certain expectations for an article.[25] Reviewers identify articles that need editing or that they believe should be deleted, and creators can then defend the article or help improve it so that it can remain in Wikipedia. This process has its shortcomings, however. For example, articles about important yet underdocumented individuals or topics (including articles about LGBTQ+ people of color and LGBTQ+ people from non-English speaking countries) may be marked for deletion because of the lack of published information about them, despite their importance to the LGBTQ+ community or the world. **For more on bias in Wikipedia (and the world), see Wikipedia's page on systemic bias.**[26] When a relevant article exists and is identified, you must review several parts of the article to determine whether the content is appropriate for academic research. One of us, **Rachel Wexelbaum**, developed a subject guide on how to evaluate Wikipedia articles for research.[27]

When you find instances of bias or underrepresentation on Wikipedia, remember that you can participate in the process! Wikipedia is a living resource that **depends on global community participation and collaboration,** and thus students and professors **can put their LGBTQ+ studies research skills to good use by adding information to existing articles, creating articles, and improving articles that are partial starts, or stubs.**

Evaluating Information Sources

Carefully consider each source that you find while researching to determine whether it adds useful, accurate information to your research. See the Penn State University Libraries guide on evaluating information and the associated rubric for more good questions to ask to determine the quality of a source.[28]

Some specific questions may shape your evaluation of sources focused on LGBTQ+ topics:

- **Is the source authoritative?** Authority can derive from the author having studied the topic, but it can also come from having experience with the topic. Academic authors, even those who identify as LGBTQ+, may offer insights that are different from LGBTQ+ individuals writing in other venues. A consideration of authority will also help weed out bad-faith actors and insufficiently informed perspectives.
- **Is the source biased?** Although all authors are influenced by their perspectives, sometimes the strength of that viewpoint can lead to an incomplete, misleading, or untrue presentation of information. For example, information presented by the anti-LGBTQ+ group Focus on the Family or the pro-LGBTQ+ group the Human Rights Campaign may have a political agenda. When evaluating information related to LGBTQ+ issues, be sure to pay extra attention to questions related to point of view or bias.[29]
- **Is the LGBTQ+ terminology used in the source appropriate for your research?** Sometimes a source will use terminology and information that is not current. Consider the scope of your topic. If you are conducting historical research, different terminology may have been in use. There is also a history of reclamation of derogatory terms by marginalized communities. Then consider whether the source was one that **was likely to have been written in good faith.** Is it by members of the LGBTQ+ community writing about themselves or by well-informed LGBTQ+ allies? Or is it by a group or individual that is hostile toward LGBTQ+ individuals? Historical sources require an evaluation process similar to more current sources, but you may need to conduct a little research about the particular time period before you are able to fully evaluate a historical or archival source.

All these questions will give you some idea of the relative trustworthiness of a source, although further scrutiny may of course be necessary. You may also need to go back and reevaluate your determination of accuracy as you learn more about your topic.

Biases and LGBTQ+ Information Availability

Depending on your research topic, you may retrieve multiple results that seem good enough. At the same time, you may not be able to construct a complete picture from your findings because of the overrepresentation of certain types of information and the underrepresentation of others. This will affect the LGBTQ+ information available to you, and it may result in rendering particular people, histories, cultures, or events invisible.

A wealth of LGBTQ+ studies scholarship is published in English-speaking countries, composed by people (predominantly white, cisgender, and able bodied) from those countries. **These scholars have more often had the freedom, institutional support, and access to publishing platforms** necessary to disseminate their research than have scholars in some other countries. Although

LGBTQ+ studies is emerging as a discipline in other countries, research conducted in languages other than English often remains local. This means that the experiences of LGBTQ+ people in non-English-speaking countries often do not get heard, and information about non-English-speaking LGBTQ+ cultures may be more difficult to find. This bias is reflected in other places as well or perpetuated by Wikipedia's practices.

Tip

Compiling and Organizing Content Retrieved from Library Catalogs and Databases

After locating helpful resources for your research, you need to store the content somewhere. You also need to organize the content so that you can transform it into a bibliography or works-cited page for your research assignment. Using a citation manager is the safest, most efficient way to save and manage research resources. Mel Johnson of the University of Maine Raymond H. Fogler Library has produced a clear subject guide on how to select and use a citation manager (https://libguides.library.umaine.edu/CitationManagers).

Search engines such as Google can be powerful tools in your search process, but the processes underlying searching online require some critique. How Google's search algorithm works is a closely guarded secret, because Google is a company designed to create profit through services such as search. Remember that algorithms are created by people and cannot therefore be neutral; instead, they re-create human biases, which can creep into your information retrieval process. **Because you do not know how the algorithm works, why an item appears higher on the results page than another is hidden from you.** This is why simply looking at the first result returned by Google or by a database is not a reliable way of finding the most appropriate sources for your research. This chapter can't fully delve into the politics of search; to learn more, read Farhad Manjoo's article about bias in Google searches or **consult Safiya Umoja Noble's *Algorithms of Oppression*.**[30]

To reduce some of this bias in search results, **make sure to do enough background research so that you can use several appropriate search terms and can identify results that you retrieve that are not relevant or are problematic.** Use the technique of **iterative searching by trying multiple searches on different platforms and perhaps even in different disciplinary databases.** Finally, make sure to **periodically check the assumptions that you are making about your subject matter** to try to ascertain some of your own preconceptions and biases as a researcher.

Conclusion

The overview in this chapter will help you begin your research project. Through refining your topic, gathering research materials from various sources, and evaluating different pieces of information, you can begin answering the questions you developed at the beginning of your search. Researching subjects related to LGBTQ+ issues presents some unique challenges because of the fraught nature of certain topics and requires **certain ethical and privacy considerations.** The other chapters in this book should give you an idea of different ways that you might approach LGBTQ+ research, in addition to providing you with deeper knowledge about the topics covered.

Check Your Knowledge

Contributed by Has Arakelyan, Rio Hondo College

1. Why might searching both by keyword and by subject heading in a library catalog yield better results for LGBTQ+ topics?

A) Subject headings are always outdated
B) Keyword searches only find physical books
C) Combining both methods increases the chance of finding relevant interdisciplinary resources
D) Subject headings are only used for fiction

2. What is a major challenge when using the Directory of Open Access Journals for LGBTQ+ research?

A) It only includes government documents
B) It lacks subject headings or preferred keywords specific to LGBTQ+ topics
C) It requires a university login
D) It only indexes English-language journals

3. Which of the following is a benefit of using primary sources from LGBTQ+ archives?

A) They provide firsthand accounts and perspectives, adding depth and authenticity to research
B) They are always available in full text online
C) They only document recent events
D) They eliminate the need for secondary sources

4. When searching for government information about LGBTQ+ laws in other countries, what is a recommended strategy?

A) Use the official name of the law in your search string
B) Only search in English
C) Avoid using search engines
D) Rely solely on news articles

5. What is a potential limitation of academic databases for LGBTQ+ studies?

A) They never provide abstracts
B) Access may be restricted to those with institutional credentials
C) They only include books, not articles
D) They do not use any subject headings

Multiple-Choice Questions

Why might searching both by keyword and by subject heading in a library catalog yield better results for LGBTQ+ topics?

A) Subject headings are always outdated
B) Keyword searches only find physical books
C) Combining both methods increases the chance of finding relevant interdisciplinary resources
D) Subject headings are only used for fiction
Answer: C) Combining both methods increases the chance of finding relevant interdisciplinary resources

What is a major challenge when using the Directory of Open Access Journals for LGBTQ+ research?

A) It only includes government documents
B) It lacks subject headings or preferred keywords specific to LGBTQ+ topics
C) It requires a university login
D) It only indexes English-language journals
Answer: B) It lacks subject headings or preferred keywords specific to LGBTQ+ topics

Which of the following is a benefit of using primary sources from LGBTQ+ archives?

A) They provide firsthand accounts and perspectives, adding depth and authenticity to research
B) They are always available in full text online
C) They only document recent events
D) They eliminate the need for secondary sources
Answer: A) They provide firsthand accounts and perspectives, adding depth and authenticity to research

When searching for government information about LGBTQ+ laws in other countries, what is a recommended strategy?

A) Use the official name of the law in your search string
B) Only search in English
C) Avoid using search engines
D) Rely solely on news articles
Answer: A) Use the official name of the law in your search string

What is a potential limitation of academic databases for LGBTQ+ studies?

A) They never provide abstracts
B) Access may be restricted to those with institutional credentials
C) They only include books, not articles

D) They do not use any subject headings

Answer: B) Access may be restricted to those with institutional credentials

1. How do library classification systems and subject headings influence the visibility and accessibility of LGBTQ+ materials?
2. What are the ethical considerations when using social media posts or user-generated content in academic LGBTQ+ research?
3. In what ways do government documents and primary sources contribute to a deeper understanding of LGBTQ+ histories and legal issues?
4. Discuss the impact of language barriers and local publishing practices on the global representation of LGBTQ+ communities in research.
5. How can researchers critically evaluate the authority, bias, and relevance of sources when navigating interdisciplinary LGBTQ+ studies?

Multiple-Choice Questions - Answer Key

1. C) Combining both methods (by keyword and by subject heading) increases the chance of finding relevant interdisciplinary resources
2. B) It (the Directory of Open Access Journals) lacks subject headings or preferred keywords specific to LGBTQ+ topics
3. A) They (primary sources) provide firsthand accounts and perspectives, adding depth and authenticity to research
4. A) Use the official name of the law in your search string (when searching for government information about LGBTQ+ laws in other countries)
5. B) Access may be restricted to those with institutional credentials (a potential limitation of academic databases for LGBTQ+ studies)

This page titled 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Has Arakelyan.

- **7.1: Chapter 12- A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies** by Gesina A. Phillips is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: https://milnepublishing.geneseo.edu/introlgbtqstudies.

Index

A

abjection
- 3.5: Glossary

academic research
- 12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview

academic scholarship
- 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

acceptance
- 8.2: What Is a Family?
- 9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
- 11.8: Footnotes

accessible education
- InfoPage

ace
- 10.6: Glossary

ACT UP
- 1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview

activism
- 1.4: Transgender Studies
- 2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
- 2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)
- 2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
- 4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
- 4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
- 4.5: Research Resources
- 5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
- 10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
- 10.3: Other Web Content
- 10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
- 10.7: Footnotes
- 11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)

adaptive learning
- InfoPage

adoption
- 8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions

advocacy
- 2.7: Research Resources
- 4.5: Research Resources
- 5.4: Research Resources
- 6.4: Research Resources
- 7.5: Research Resources
- 8.2: What Is a Family?
- 8.5: Research Resources
- 10.5: Research Resources

advocacy groups
- 4.6: Glossary

Africa
- 2.4: Africa and Europe

African LGBTI Manifesto
- 2.9: Footnotes

AIDS
- 8.6: Glossary

AIDS activism
- 4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals

AIDS epidemic
- 7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

aikane
- 2.8: Glossary

algorithms
- 12.3: Glossary and Footnotes

allyship
- 6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
- 6.5: Glossary

alternative comics
- 11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics

ancient Maya
- 3.6: Footnotes

And the Band Played On
- 7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

anthropologist
- 2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)

anthropology
- 2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
- 2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
- 2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)

antidiscrimination laws
- 4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals

antiimperialism
- 4.6: Glossary

antiquarianism
- 3.5: Glossary

archaeological methods
- 3.4: Research Resources

archaeology
- 3.1: Queer New World - Overview
- 3.4: Research Resources
- 3.6: Footnotes

artist
- 2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)

asexual
- 10.6: Glossary

assimilationist
- 1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes

attitudes
- 6.5: Glossary

authority
- 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

autobiography
- 11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)

awareness
- 9.5: Research Resources

B

Bangladesh
- 2.3: Asia and Polynesia

berdache
- 2.2: The Americas
- 2.8: Glossary

bigender
- 11.7: Glossary

bigotry
- 10.6: Glossary

Bill of Rights
- 5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
- 5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
- 5.5: Glossary and Footnotes

binary oppositions
- 3.5: Glossary

Binyavanga Wainaina
- 2.9: Footnotes

bioanthropology
- 3.1: Queer New World - Overview
- 3.5: Glossary

bisexual
- 7.6: Glossary

Black gay men
- 10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time

Black identity
- 10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time

Black queer cinema
- 10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time

blended family
- 8.6: Glossary

bullying
- 6.6: Footnotes
- 9.2: Family Support or Rejection
- 9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
- 9.7: Footnotes

C

Camera Obscura
- 10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

camp
- 10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities

captive genders
- 5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles

censorship
- 10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
- 11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction

Cherokee
- 2.2: The Americas

children
- 8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children

cinema
- 10.5: Research Resources
- 10.7: Footnotes

cinematic history
- 10: Screening LGBTQ+

cisgender
- 11.7: Glossary

cisnormativity
- 9.6: Glossary

citations
- 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

citizenship
- 4.7: Footnotes

civil rights
- 4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
- 4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
- 4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
- 4.7: Footnotes
- 5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
- 5.2: Marriage Equality
- 5.5: Glossary and Footnotes
- 5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles
- 8.8: Deep Dive - Books

collaborative learning
- InfoPage

colonialism
2.4: Africa and Europe
2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
comic book history
11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics
comics
11: LGBTQ+ Literature
Comics Code
11.7: Glossary
comics history
11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics
coming out
8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children
9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
9.6: Glossary
11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature
11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)
community
8.2: What Is a Family?
community activism
Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates
6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
community formation
11: LGBTQ+ Literature
community health
7.5: Research Resources
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
community history
4.5: Research Resources
community narratives
11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
community organizing
5.4: Research Resources
community support
8.5: Research Resources
Constitutional Law
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
constitutional principles
5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
constructionism
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
constructionist
1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes
Contemporary Africa
2.9: Footnotes
copingstrategies
6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
creativity
9.5: Research Resources
critical theory
3.1: Queer New World - Overview
3.5: Glossary
cultural analysis
2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)
cultural anthropology
2.3: Asia and Polynesia
3.1: Queer New World - Overview
cultural attitudes
12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies
cultural context
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
cultural critique
10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
cultural discourse
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
cultural diversity
2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
cultural identity
2.2: The Americas
cultural practices
2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
cultural representations
11: LGBTQ+ Literature
cultural sensitivity
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
cultural studies
2.7: Research Resources
3.6: Footnotes
10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
cultural theory
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
culturally inclusive care
7.4: Health Care Providers
culturally responsive teaching
9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
culture
10.7: Footnotes
curriculum development
InfoPage

D

databases
12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information
debate
9.5: Research Resources
decolonization
2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
Defense of Marriage Act
5.5: Glossary and Footnotes
digital collections
12.3: Glossary and Footnotes
digital media
10: Screening LGBTQ+
discourse
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
discourses
1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes
discrimination
4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
6.4: Research Resources
6.5: Glossary
6.6: Footnotes
8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
9.2: Family Support or Rejection
discussion
11.6: Research Resources
disease prevention
7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
diversity
TitlePage
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
6.4: Research Resources
10: Screening LGBTQ+
10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
11.8: Footnotes
12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
diversity in literature
11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)
documentaries
10.3: Other Web Content
documentary
10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
documentary film
10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
DOMA
5.2: Marriage Equality
Don't Ask Don't Tell
4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
drag culture
1.3: Gender Performativity

E

education
TitlePage
4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
8.5: Research Resources
9.2: Family Support or Rejection
9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
9.5: Research Resources
educational policies
9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
educational support
9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
egalitarianism
6.5: Glossary
emotional bonding
8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children

emotional distress
9.2: Family Support or Rejection
9.7: Footnotes
emotional support
8.2: What Is a Family?
equal protection
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
5.2: Marriage Equality
equality
4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
6.4: Research Resources
essentialist
1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes
Esther Newton
1.3: Gender Performativity
ethical use
12.3: Glossary and Footnotes
ethics
12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
ethnocentric
3.5: Glossary
ethnography
2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
2.8: Glossary
8.8: Deep Dive - Books
evaluation
12.3: Glossary and Footnotes
12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research
extended family
8.6: Glossary

F

families
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children
8.5: Research Resources
8.8: Deep Dive - Books
family
8.2: What Is a Family?
8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
8.6: Glossary
family acceptance
8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
8.7: Footnotes
9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
family dynamics
8.2: What Is a Family?
family of choice
8.6: Glossary
family support
9.2: Family Support or Rejection
9.7: Footnotes
female masculinity
1.3: Gender Performativity
feminism
3.5: Glossary
4.7: Footnotes
10.5: Research Resources
10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
feminist archaeology
3.6: Footnotes
feminist comics
11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics
feminist theory
1.4: Transgender Studies
3.1: Queer New World - Overview
3.4: Research Resources
film
10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
film festivals
10.5: Research Resources
film studies
10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
found family
12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies
Fourteenth Amendment
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
5.2: Marriage Equality
5.5: Glossary and Footnotes

G

gay
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
4.7: Footnotes
10.7: Footnotes
gay activism
1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
gay authors
11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
gay rights
4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
4.6: Glossary
Gender
2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
2.4: Africa and Europe
2.8: Glossary
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
3.6: Footnotes
4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
11.6: Research Resources
gender affirming hormone therapy
7.6: Glossary
gender affirming surgery
7.6: Glossary
gender archaeology
3.4: Research Resources
gender diversity
2.7: Research Resources
gender dysphoria
7.6: Glossary
gender expression
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
7.6: Glossary
10.6: Glossary
gender fluidity
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
3.5: Glossary
gender identity
Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
1.4: Transgender Studies
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
2.3: Asia and Polynesia
2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)
3.6: Footnotes
4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
7.6: Glossary
9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
gender performativity
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
Gender Practices
2.2: The Americas
gender representation
11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics
gender roles
1.4: Transgender Studies
2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
2.2: The Americas
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
3.6: Footnotes
gender studies
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
1.3: Gender Performativity
3.1: Queer New World - Overview
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
genderqueer
11.7: Glossary
global sexualities
2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
government policy
5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles
graphic narratives
11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics

H

harassment
6.6: Footnotes
Has Arakelyan
TitlePage
hate crime
6.6: Footnotes
hate crime legislation
5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates
hate crimes
4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates
6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
health
7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
7.5: Research Resources

health care
8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
health care access
6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
health care equity
7.4: Health Care Providers
health disparities
7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
7.4: Health Care Providers
7.5: Research Resources
7.7: Footnotes
7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
health education
7.5: Research Resources
health equity
7.7: Footnotes
health insurance
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
health promotion
7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
healthcare
6.6: Footnotes
7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
7.7: Footnotes
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
healthcare disparities
7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
healthcare facilities
7.4: Health Care Providers
heteronormativity
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
9.6: Glossary
10.6: Glossary
heterosexism
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
hijra
2.3: Asia and Polynesia
historical analysis
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
historical context
11: LGBTQ+ Literature
11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
historical developments
12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies
historical documentation
4.5: Research Resources
historical documents
4.6: Glossary
historical perspectives
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
historiography
3.1: Queer New World - Overview
history
4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
4.7: Footnotes
HIV/AIDS
10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
homophobia
6.5: Glossary
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
10.6: Glossary
homosexual visibility
12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies
homosexuality
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles
hormone therapy
7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
human rights
2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
2.9: Footnotes
4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
6.4: Research Resources

I

identities
8.8: Deep Dive - Books
identity
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
2.4: Africa and Europe
2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
2.8: Glossary
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
11.8: Footnotes
12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
identity development
9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
identity formation
11: LGBTQ+ Literature
identity politics
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
identity recognition
9.6: Glossary
identity variation
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
immigration law
5.4: Research Resources
inclusion
TitlePage
9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
inclusive curriculum
9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
inclusive education
9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
inclusivity
8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
9.5: Research Resources
independent film
10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
India
2.3: Asia and Polynesia
Indigenous cultures
2.4: Africa and Europe
Indigenous identity
2.7: Research Resources
Indigenous people
2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)
Indigenous Peoples
2.2: The Americas
Indigenous sexualities
2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
inequality
5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
information bias
12.3: Glossary and Footnotes
initialism
12.3: Glossary and Footnotes
Institute of Medicine
7.7: Footnotes
interactive textbooks
InfoPage
intersectional
1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes
intersectionality
Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
1.4: Transgender Studies
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
3.5: Glossary
4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
4.6: Glossary
7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
7.6: Glossary
9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
10.3: Other Web Content
11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature
12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies
12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
intersex
2.8: Glossary
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
7.6: Glossary
11.7: Glossary
intolerance
10.6: Glossary
introduction
TitlePage

J

Judith Butler
- 1.3: Gender Performativity

K

key tropes
- 12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies

keyword search
- 12.3: Glossary and Footnotes

keywords
- 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

kinship
- 8.8: Deep Dive - Books

L

Lawrence v. Texas
- 5.2: Marriage Equality

learning objectives
- 6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
- 9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
- 10: Screening LGBTQ+

legal cases
- 4.6: Glossary

legal challenges
- 8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview

legal history
- 5: LGBTQ+ Legal History

legal rights
- 5.2: Marriage Equality

legal support
- 5.4: Research Resources

legislation
- 6.4: Research Resources

lesbian
- 1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
- 4.7: Footnotes
- 10.7: Footnotes

lesbian activism
- 1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview

lesbian literature
- 11: LGBTQ+ Literature

Lesbian Protagonists
- 11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature

lesbian pulp fiction
- 11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction

Lesbian Young Adult Fiction
- 11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature

LGBT
- 2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
- 8.7: Footnotes
- 10.7: Footnotes

LGBT health
- 7.7: Footnotes

LGBT rights
- 4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
- 5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles

LGBTI
- 2.9: Footnotes

LGBTQ
- TitlePage
- 1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
- 2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
- 4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
- 5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
- 5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates
- 5.5: Glossary and Footnotes
- 6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
- 6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
- 6.4: Research Resources
- 6.6: Footnotes
- 7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
- 7.7: Footnotes
- 8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
- 8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children
- 8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
- 8.5: Research Resources
- 8.8: Deep Dive - Books
- 9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
- 9.5: Research Resources
- 9.7: Footnotes
- 10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
- 10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
- 10.3: Other Web Content
- 11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)
- 11.6: Research Resources
- 11.8: Footnotes
- 12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
- 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

LGBTQ activism
- 4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
- 5.2: Marriage Equality

LGBTQ advocacy
- 7.4: Health Care Providers

LGBTQ culture
- 7.4: Health Care Providers

LGBTQ families
- 8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview

LGBTQ health
- 7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
- 7.4: Health Care Providers
- 7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

LGBTQ history
- Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
- 1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
- 3.4: Research Resources
- 4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
- 4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
- 4.6: Glossary

LGBTQ identities
- 12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies

LGBTQ inclusion
- 9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning

LGBTQ inclusivity
- 9.2: Family Support or Rejection

LGBTQ literature
- 11: LGBTQ+ Literature
- 11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
- 12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies

LGBTQ representation
- 11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics

LGBTQ rights
- Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
- 4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
- 5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles
- 6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice

LGBTQ rights movement
- 5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates

LGBTQ studies
- Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
- 3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology

LGBTQ youth
- 8.7: Footnotes
- 9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
- 9.2: Family Support or Rejection
- 9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning

LGBTQ+
- 1.4: Transgender Studies
- 2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
- 2.2: The Americas
- 2.3: Asia and Polynesia
- 2.4: Africa and Europe
- 2.7: Research Resources
- 6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
- 6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
- 7.5: Research Resources
- 8.2: What Is a Family?
- 9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
- 10.5: Research Resources
- 10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
- 11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature
- 11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
- 12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information

LGBTQ+ authors
- 11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview

LGBTQ+ children's picture books
- 11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview

LGBTQ+ clubs
- 9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education

LGBTQ+ films
- 10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview

LGBTQ+ health
- 7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview

LGBTQ+ history
- 1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
- 4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
- 4.5: Research Resources
- 11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)

LGBTQ+ identities
- 10: Screening LGBTQ+

LGBTQ+ legal history
- 5.4: Research Resources

LGBTQ+ memoir
- 11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview

LGBTQ+ movement
- 4.5: Research Resources

LGBTQ+ parenting
- 5.4: Research Resources

LGBTQ+ parents
- 8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children

LGBTQ+ Representation
- 11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature

LGBTQ+ rights
4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
5.4: Research Resources
6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
LGBTQ+ studies
12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information
LGBTQ+ Themes
11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature
LGBTQ+ young adult literature
11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
LGBTQIA
4.7: Footnotes
library catalog
12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information
LibreTexts
InfoPage
literary classics
11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
literature
11.6: Research Resources
looted artifact
3.5: Glossary
love
11.8: Footnotes
Lukas Avendaño
2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)

M

Marcus Garvey
2.9: Footnotes
marginalized
10.6: Glossary
marginalized groups
5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates
12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
marginalized voices
10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
Marlon Riggs
10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
marriage
2.4: Africa and Europe
marriage equality
4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals
5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
5.2: Marriage Equality
5.5: Glossary and Footnotes
6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
8.6: Glossary
media
10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
10.5: Research Resources
10.7: Footnotes
media representation
10.3: Other Web Content
media studies
10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
medical education
7.4: Health Care Providers
memoir
11: LGBTQ+ Literature
11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)
11.6: Research Resources
mental health
6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
6.6: Footnotes
7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
7.5: Research Resources
7.7: Footnotes
8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
8.2: What Is a Family?
8.5: Research Resources
8.7: Footnotes
9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
9.2: Family Support or Rejection
9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
9.7: Footnotes
mental health support
7.4: Health Care Providers
mentalhealth
6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
Mesoamerica
3.1: Queer New World - Overview
3.6: Footnotes
microaggressions
6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
6.5: Glossary
minority stress
6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
6.4: Research Resources
6.5: Glossary
7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
8.6: Glossary
minoritystress
6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
motivations
8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children
muxe
2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)

N

natural rights
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
neoliberalism
1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes
New Queer Cinema
10: Screening LGBTQ+
Nigeria
2.4: Africa and Europe
Ninth Amendment
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
nonbinary
11.7: Glossary
nonheteronormative
2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
Nonheteronormative Sexuality
2.2: The Americas
nonmonogamous families
8.6: Glossary
nonnormative genders
10: Screening LGBTQ+
North America
2.2: The Americas
nursing
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
nursing education
7.4: Health Care Providers
nursing program
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription

O

Oaxaca
2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)
Obergefell v. Hodges
5.2: Marriage Equality
8.7: Footnotes
OER
InfoPage
online research
12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research
open licensing
InfoPage
oral history
4.5: Research Resources

P

pansexual
7.6: Glossary
parenting
8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children
8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions
8.7: Footnotes
8.8: Deep Dive - Books
patient advocacy
7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
patient assessment
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
patient care
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
performativity
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
1.3: Gender Performativity
1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes
personal narratives
11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)

PFLAG
9.6: Glossary
political activism
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
4.7: Footnotes
political organizing
4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
political representation
4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
polyamorous
8.6: Glossary
pop culture
10.5: Research Resources
popular culture
11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
Positive Representation
11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature
power
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
power dynamics
1.3: Gender Performativity
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
prejudice
6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
6.4: Research Resources
6.6: Footnotes
10.6: Glossary
presentation
9.5: Research Resources
prison industrial complex
5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles
psychoanalysis
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
psychological distress
7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
psychological health
6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
public health
7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
public policy
5.4: Research Resources
pulp fiction
11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
Pulse nightclub shooting
5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates

Q

queer
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
4.6: Glossary
8.8: Deep Dive - Books
10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
10.6: Glossary
10.7: Footnotes
Queer African Reader
2.9: Footnotes
queer anthropology
2.7: Research Resources
queer archaeology
3.4: Research Resources
queer cinema
10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
10.3: Other Web Content
10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
queer community
12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies
queer couples
8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
queer culture
10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
queer film
10: Screening LGBTQ+
10.5: Research Resources
queer literature
11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature
11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction
11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood)
queer narratives
2.7: Research Resources
Queer Nation
1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
queer politics
1.4: Transgender Studies
queer relationships
8.7: Footnotes
queer representation
11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
queer resistance
4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
queer studies
Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
4.5: Research Resources
queer theory
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
1.3: Gender Performativity
1.4: Transgender Studies
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
3.1: Queer New World - Overview
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
3.4: Research Resources
3.6: Footnotes
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
queer youth
10.3: Other Web Content
queerchildren
11.8: Footnotes
queertheory
2.8: Glossary

R

race and gender
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
racial inequity
4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
Randy Shilts
7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
registered nurse
7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription
relationship quality
8.7: Footnotes
relationshipgoals
6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
relationships
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview
8.5: Research Resources
8.8: Deep Dive - Books
representation
10: Screening LGBTQ+
10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview
10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
10.3: Other Web Content
10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time
10.5: Research Resources
10.7: Footnotes
11: LGBTQ+ Literature
11.6: Research Resources
11.8: Footnotes
representation in curriculum
9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
research
12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research
research materials
12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information
Resilience
6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
6.5: Glossary
8.6: Glossary
9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
9.7: Footnotes
rights
2.4: Africa and Europe
Rio Hondo College
TitlePage

S

safe schools
9.5: Research Resources
safe spaces
9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
safe zones
9.2: Family Support or Rejection
samesexmarriage
1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes
sappho
11.8: Footnotes
search methods
12.3: Glossary and Footnotes
selfadvocacy
7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
sequential art
11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics

sex
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
sex reassignment surgery
7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
7.6: Glossary
sex work
2.3: Asia and Polynesia
sexology
1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
sexual identities
2.7: Research Resources
sexual identity
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios)
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
4.6: Glossary
11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview
sexual minorities
2.9: Footnotes
9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning
sexual orientation
Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
7.5: Research Resources
7.7: Footnotes
7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
9.7: Footnotes
sexual rights
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
sexuality
1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies
1.3: Gender Performativity
2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
2.4: Africa and Europe
2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken)
2.8: Glossary
3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology
3.1: Queer New World - Overview
3.2: The Constructedness of Sex
3.3: Abjection and Normativity
4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science
4.7: Footnotes
6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
7.5: Research Resources
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
11.6: Research Resources
sexuality in archaeology
3.4: Research Resources
sexuality studies
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
3.4: Research Resources
sexualminority
6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
social acceptance
6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice
social construction
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
1.3: Gender Performativity
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
social constructionism
3.4: Research Resources
Social Justice
Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies
1.4: Transgender Studies
1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles
2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future
2.9: Footnotes
4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History
4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview
4.5: Research Resources
5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
5.5: Glossary and Footnotes
6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People
6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview
6.6: Footnotes
8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families
8.5: Research Resources
9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth
social media
10.3: Other Web Content
12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research
social movements
4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation
4.7: Footnotes
social norms
8.2: What Is a Family?
social roles
2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview
social science
TitlePage
social support
8.7: Footnotes
socialjustice
7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
south asia
2.3: Asia and Polynesia
stereotyping
6.6: Footnotes
stigma
6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples
Stonewall rebellion
1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview
5.5: Glossary and Footnotes
streaming media
10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities
Studies
TitlePage
subject headings
12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information
substance abuse
9.2: Family Support or Rejection
superhero comics
11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics
supportive schools
9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
Supreme Court
5: LGBTQ+ Legal History
5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview
systemic violence
5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates

T

terminology
12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview
themes
11.6: Research Resources
12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies
thirdgender
2.8: Glossary
Title IX
9.6: Glossary
trans embodiment
5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles
trans identity
10.3: Other Web Content
transgender
2.3: Asia and Polynesia
7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients
8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children
8.8: Deep Dive - Books
9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
10.7: Footnotes
11.7: Glossary
transgender care
7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
transgender community
7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film
transgender equality
5.4: Research Resources
transgender experience
7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care
transgender health
7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview
transgender history
4.6: Glossary
transgender issues
7.7: Footnotes
transgender rights
2.7: Research Resources
5.5: Glossary and Footnotes
5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles
7.7: Footnotes
9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education
transgender studies
1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory
1.4: Transgender Studies
transgender youth
9.7: Footnotes
transitioning
9.6: Glossary
tropes
11.7: Glossary
two spirit
2.2: The Americas
11.7: Glossary
twospirit
2.8: Glossary

U

US military
- 5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles

V

victimization
- 9.7: Footnotes

violence
- 6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview

violence against LGBTQ
- 5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates

visibility
- 10: Screening LGBTQ+
- 10.5: Research Resources
- 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research

visual culture
- 10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

visual storytelling
- 11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics

W

wellness
- 7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness
- 7.5: Research Resources

women's health
- 7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film

women's rights
- 4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview

workplace policies
- 8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions

wwhitman
- 11.8: Footnotes

Y

young adult
- 11.6: Research Resources

young adult fiction
- 11: LGBTQ+ Literature

Young Adult Novels
- 11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature

youngadultliterature
- 11.8: Footnotes

youth
- 9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing
- 9.5: Research Resources

youth advocacy
- 6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview

youth empowerment
- 8.5: Research Resources

youth risk behavior
- 9.7: Footnotes

Glossary

Sample Word 1 | Sample Definition 1

Detailed Licensing

Overview

Title: Introduction to LGBTQ+ Studies (Arakelyan)

Webpages: 108

All licenses found:

- CC BY 4.0: 99.1% (107 pages)
- Undeclared: 0.9% (1 page)

By Page

- Introduction to LGBTQ+ Studies (Arakelyan) - *CC BY 4.0*
  - Front Matter - *CC BY 4.0*
    - TitlePage - *CC BY 4.0*
    - InfoPage - *CC BY 4.0*
    - Table of Contents - *Undeclared*
    - Licensing - *CC BY 4.0*
    - Acknowledgements - *CC BY 4.0*
    - Introduction - An Open Invitation to LGBTQ+ Studies - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.1: Thirty Years of Queer Theory - An Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.2: The Constructionist Turn in Sexuality and Gender Studies - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.3: Gender Performativity - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.4: Transgender Studies - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.5: Online Resources, Books, and Articles - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.6: Glossary, People, and Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 2: Global Sexualities - LGBTQ+ Anthropology, Past, Present, and Future - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.1: Global Sexualities - An Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.2: The Americas - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.3: Asia and Polynesia - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.4: Africa and Europe - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.5: Profile - Lukas Avendaño- Reflections from Muxeidad (Rita Palacios) - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.6: Profile - Queering Pan-Africanism (Adriaan van Klinken) - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.7: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.8: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.9: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 3: Queer New World - Challenging Heteronormativity in Archaeology - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.1: Queer New World - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.2: The Constructedness of Sex - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.3: Abjection and Normativity - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.4: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.5: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.6: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 4: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.1: U.S. LGBTQ+ History - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.2: From Homophile Movement to Gay Liberation - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.3: Mainstream and Queer Goals - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.4: Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and the Birth of Sexual Science - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.5: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.6: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.7: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 5: LGBTQ+ Legal History - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.1: LGBTQ+ Legal History - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.2: Marriage Equality - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.3: Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Crimes in the United States- Histories and Debates - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.4: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.5: Glossary and Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.6: Deep Dive - Books and Articles - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 6: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 6.1: Prejudice and Discrimination against LGBTQ+ People - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 6.2: Measuring Anti-LGBTQ+ Prejudice - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 6.3: Profile - Minority Stress and Same-Sex Couples - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 6.4: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 6.5: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 6.6: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 7: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 7.1: LGBTQ+ Health and Wellness - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*

- 7.2: Medicine and the History of Transgender Care - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.3: Therapeutic Options for Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Patients - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.4: Health Care Providers - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.5: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.6: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.7: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.9: Care to the Trans- and Gender Non-Conforming Identified Patient Video Transcription - *CC BY 4.0*

8: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - *CC BY 4.0*

- 8.1: LGBTQ+ Relationships and Families - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
- 8.2: What Is a Family? - *CC BY 4.0*
- 8.3: LGBTQ+ Families with Children - *CC BY 4.0*
- 8.4: Navigating and Changing Systems and Institutions - *CC BY 4.0*
- 8.5: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
- 8.6: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
- 8.7: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
- 8.8: Deep Dive - Books - *CC BY 4.0*

9: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - *CC BY 4.0*

- 9.1: Education and LGBTQ+ Youth - Overview - Image needs replacing - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.2: Family Support or Rejection - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.3: Supportive Movements in LGBTQ+ Education - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.4: Profile - LGBTQ+ Inclusion in PreK–12 Teaching and Learning - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.5: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.6: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.7: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*

10: Screening LGBTQ+ - *CC BY 4.0*

- 10.1: Screening LGBTQ+ - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
- 10.2: Movements, Aesthetics, and Sensibilities - *CC BY 4.0*
- 10.3: Other Web Content - *CC BY 4.0*
- 10.4: Profiles - Tongues Untied and One Day at a Time - *CC BY 4.0*
- 10.5: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
- 10.6: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
- 10.7: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
- 10.8: Deep Dive - Books and Film - *CC BY 4.0*

11: LGBTQ+ Literature - *CC BY 4.0*

- 11.1: LGBTQ+ Literature - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
- 11.2: Tropes in Lesbian Young Adult Literature - *CC BY 4.0*
- 11.3: LGBTQ+ Comics - *CC BY 4.0*
- 11.4: Lesbian and Gay Pulp Fiction - *CC BY 4.0*
- 11.5: LGBTQ+ Memoir and Life Writing (Olivia Wood) - *CC BY 4.0*
- 11.6: Research Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
- 11.7: Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
- 11.8: Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*

12: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - *CC BY 4.0*

- 12.1: A Practical Guide for LGBTQ+ Studies - Overview - *CC BY 4.0*
- 12.2: Searching for LGBTQ+ Information - *CC BY 4.0*
- 12.3: Glossary and Footnotes - *CC BY 4.0*
- 12.4: Social Media for LGBTQ+ Studies Research - *CC BY 4.0*

Back Matter - *CC BY 4.0*

- Index - *CC BY 4.0*
- Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *CC BY 4.0*