LGBT Politics in Latin America (PS/LAST/GWST 334)

Professor Karen Kampwirth Fall 2019 MWF 4th period

Office GDH 101F; Ext. 7138

Office hours: 5th period Monday, Wednesday, Friday and by appointment.

Home phone 341-0589 (feel free to call, but only between 8:00 am and 9:00 pm please!)

Some call it "Latin America's gay rights revolution," referring to the fact that a series of new civil rights--marriage, right to adoption, gender identity, and anti-discrimination laws--have been extended to LGBT citizens in recent years, in some cases before such laws were passed in countries like the United States. Students will analyze how and why this happened in Argentina and Brazil, considering social movement as well as institutional politics.

But Latin America is a complicated place and we'll also evaluate gay, lesbian and trans politics on the periphery of the periphery in places like Nicaragua, southern Mexico, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Cuba. Through the lens of these countries, students will consider issues like the impact of clientelism, pinkwashing, and globalization on identity politics, and the reasons for the differences in the politics of reproductive rights and LGBT rights in the region.

In this course, students sometimes watch films or break into small groups to discuss a question in depth. Both films and small group work are part of the course, and should not be treated as an opportunity to leave the classroom to go to the bathroom or get a drink. Please go to the bathroom before or after class (there are bathrooms with multiple stalls on the second floor; no waiting!) though—obviously--if you are sick you should feel free to leave the classroom at any time. Also, out of consideration for your fellow students, and for me, please leave your cell phones, laptops, tablets etc. etc. turned off during class.

Finally, college is exciting, challenging, and sometimes alienating for everyone. If you keep at it, you will get your degree one of these days (you would not have been admitted to Knox if you were not capable of doing this). But nobody gets through college without help. First of all, feel free to talk to, or email, me if you are having trouble with anything. Other resources that might be helpful are:

- * Center for Teaching and Learning (CTL) 341-7151 or 341-7139. The CTL offers regular peer-tutoring in the Red Room among other things.
- * TRIO Achievement program 341-7111 or 341-7775
- * Dean of Students: 309-341-7225
- * International Student Advisement: 341-7230
- * Counseling Service ext. 341-7492

Don't forget that a great source of support are your fellow students. Make friends with a study buddy or study group in each of your courses, then quiz each other (and talk about the big ideas) after doing the reading. One of the joys of going to college at a residential school is the chance to be part of an intellectual community. And the challenges you will inevitably face will be easier to work through together.

The grade for the course is determined by an essay midterm and final (25% each), a research paper written in three parts (25%), reading quizzes (15%), and class participation (10%). Obviously if you are not present, you cannot participate, so please be in class. Please bring the day's reading to class with you (including printed out copies of the journal articles and book chapters). Figure that the cost of all of the printed articles is like buying one book and typically I assign five books for a course. So you are coming out ahead this way, even after printing out the articles or chapters and that way you will have usable copies for class discussion and for studying for exams. Finally, if there is anything on this syllabus that you cannot do, please see me and we can discuss it.

The following books are assigned for the course:

Encarnación, Omar G. 2016. *Out in the Periphery: Latin America's Gay Rights Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press.

ISBN-13: 978-0199356652

Howe, Cymene. 2013. *Intimate Activism: The Struggle for Sexual Rights in Postrevolutionary Nicaragua*. Durham: Duke University Press.

ISBN-13: 978-0822354505

Peña, Susana. 2013. Oye Loca! From the Mariel Boatlift to Gay Cuban Miami.

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

ISBN-13: 978-0816665549

Week 1

Wed, Sept 18th

Discuss: Observatorio de Género Perú. 2015. "La Diversidad Sexual es:" Available in Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/observatoriogeneroperu/photos/basw.AbrszjzYrpzDHIVpT3IYASxe K4qfy__R51T_GxREndzw6lyZCHvvnptSdaHr30YM9N0_Yc_B8mX4FDlfz_mDiwN77zNtFell XGamDJ2LXNzipXwtnKvuhTesX1sLhitgqEi-ohHk-0e1DIF54Qk4C6zG0RH13gCAKhcBwgxh U3EG7bxc8RSJrQB1Y7LWrPRgzMQ.1833575220278749.683395218426716.13913526975836 80.1271361352956786.1172972572774759.1345874338832544.1681630935445735.509995922523433.490294967846429/1681630935445735/?type=1&opaqueCursor=AbrAZ caCK FB9tKT $AE9qNlAT_6VbnMnAt_nLofXJFfYmoYnODTi_u0urvQLKfGbGh5KsZfAe9uEnZh2Xt2X9t3$ Cxl3X S9bGm3kFKJVcd3jQfWvLy2I8W3Xz-1ZWV2uFLDsR4YRuprOp63t7EskzzqDoqm9I6 PbAqvjAK2EQykGTkQJolblgMKcM-1gKLZDh4T84YOz6rxyNcsw8fcDU4Dql8XNA2Sahj69t $3QaltRZgxK7SCmZu4_IZUz2XkUpu5_fc1dVk8mIsSeOQetDb4DvMlBVqxx3oN2LIwf_eD8z1$ X_JobRUxJrewp2wsm9Dne7Ylvwp_mcMoH-Xn7wLkEu4Ux0FhzGA-xgzZrNYFQ89PVLcCL SJCPscUdrR1fUOwTxLx3wmDZoz0HyrDAihnLMNsZMKNUJOgvhR8eDjLPN7ler7tNnHSsb KlpswFQum04QaPKoZhh6ULj6n8ydeKp9quQ5C2PrWuVvB6CkW-was3hTpAHlxjmbxrhJ1iIrPzdA6UEQlunNDUisebnbZZT_Zj6GZEoYe80Ttyxr1D8TZpsC4XInA0d2Av99FlD-lMvFbi8wc A7tlfNaqKUgnN2cEFHr2ypzVYhpMiuypxIj62EPv8bonzJkD_-FX366eriLgrp_wbxxYEjhJ_R_a q66G6iPTes4Y5M EpD5NI7xBrQ&theater

Fri, Sept 20th

* Epstein, Steven. 1999. "Gay and Lesbian Movements in the United States: Dilemmas of Identity, Diversity and Political Strategy." In Adam, Barry et al. *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. pp. 30-90. SENT OUT BY EMAIL ATTACHEMENT AND AVAILABLE AS AN eBOOK ON THE

LIBRARY WEBSITE

(note, only one person can be logged into the eBook at a time so log out after printing)

* PAPER TOPIC HANDED OUT IN CLASS

Week 2

Monday, Sept 23rd

* Javier Corrales and Mario Pecheny. 2010. "Introduction." *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America.* pp 1-32

SENT OUT BY EMAIL ATTACHMENT (ALSO AVAILABLE ON THE LIBRARY WEBSITE AS AN E-BOOK)

* Drucker, Peter. 1996. "In the Tropics There is No Sin: Sexuality and Gay-Lesbian Movements in the Third World." *New Left Review*. Issue 218. pp. 75-101 SENT OUT BY EMAIL ATTACHMENT

Wednesday, Sept 25th

* Encarnación, Omar G. 2016. *Out in the Periphery: Latin America's Gay Rights Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp 1-10, 17-48.

Friday, Sept 27th

* Encarnación. pp. 49-72, 75-108.

Week 3

Monday, Sept 30th

- * Encarnación. pp. 109-148.
- * PAPER PROPOSAL DUE

Wednesday, Oct 2nd

* Green, James N. 2012. "Who Is the Macho Who Wants to Kill Me?" Male Homosexuality, Revolutionary Masculinity, and the Brazilian Armed Struggle of the 1960s and 1970s." *Hispanic American Historical Review.* Aug2012, Vol. 92 Issue 3, pp. 437-469. Available in PDF on ACADEMIC SEARCH COMPLETE (library website)

Friday, Oct 4th

* Green, James. 1994. "The emergence of the Brazilian gay liberation movement, 1977-1981."

Latin American Perspectives. Vol. 21 Issue 1, (Winter) pp. 38-55.

Available in PDF on JSTOR (library website)

* Lopes, Marina. 2018. "'More than fear': Brazil's LGBT community dreads looming Bolsonaro presidency." *The Washington Post.* (October 26). Available at:

 $https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/more-than-fear-brazils-lgbt-community-dreads-looming-bolsonaro-presidency/2018/10/26/c9e7ac26-d890-11e8-a10f-b51546b10756_story.html?fbclid=IwAR3uQgQZMGUtoUVBFvplRhfEAEYY6wdcrsgwCuaMJPrUGrz9NX7Xj-UV$

ELI&utm_term=.64efbda8622e MIDTERM QUESTIONS HANDED OUT IN CLASS

Week 4

Monday, Oct 7th

* Encarnación. pp 151-186.

Wednesday, Oct 9th

* Encarnación. pp. 187-202.

Friday, Oct 11th MIDTERM

Week 5

Monday, Oct 14th

* Howe, Cymene. 2013. *Intimate Activism: The Struggle for Sexual Rights in Postrevolutionary Nicaragua*. Durham: Duke University Press. pp. 1-22, 23-60.

Wednesday, Oct 16th

* Howe pp. 61-91, 92-127.

Friday, Oct 18th

* Howe pp. 128-159, 160-172.

Week 6

Monday, Oct 21st

* Hobson, Emily. 2012. "Si Nicaragua Venció": Lesbian and Gay Solidarity with the Revolution." *The journal of transnational American studies* Vol 4, Issue 2. pp. 1-28. Available in PDF at

http://escholarship.org.libweb08.knox.edu:2048/uc/item/9hx356m4?query=emily%20hobson#page-1

* Kampwirth, Karen. 2014. "Organising the *Hombre Nuevo Gay*: LGBT Politics and the Second Sandinista Revolution." *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. Vol. 33 Issue 3 (July). pp. 319-333. Available in PDF on Academic Search Complete (library website).

Wednesday, Oct 23rd DAY OF DIALOGUE! No class

Friday, Oct 25th

* McGee, Marcus J. and Karen Kampwirth. 2015. "The Co-optation of LGBT Movements in Mexico and Nicaragua: Modernizing Clientelism?" *Latin American Politics and Society*. Vol. 57 Issue 4, (Winter). pp. 51-73.

SENT OUT BY EMAIL ATTACHMENT (may be available through Historical Abstracts) * "Meet the Muxes."

http://interactive.fusion.net/meet-the-muxes/index.html

Week 7

Monday, Oct 28th

- * FIRST VERSION OF THE RESEARCH PAPER IS DUE!
- * No reading assignment
- * in class watch "Sex and the Sandinistas." (25 minutes)

Wednesday, Oct 30th

- * Friedman, Elisabeth. 2009. "Gender, Sexuality and the Latin American Left: testing the transformation." *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 30 Issue 2, (March). pp. 415-433. Available in PDF on JSTOR (library website).
- * Pollitt, Katha. 2015. "There's a Reason Gay Marriage Is Winning, While Abortion Rights Are Losing: Are these two "culture wars" issues really that similar?" *The Nation*. (April 22nd). http://www.thenation.com/article/theres-reason-gay-marriage-winning-while-abortion-rights-are-losing/
- * Renwick, Danielle. 2015. "In Latin America, Abortion Rights Stall as LGBT Rights Advance. Why?" *Americas Quarterly*. (December 7).

http://www.americasquarterly.org/content/latin-america-abortion-rights-stall-lgbt-rights-advance -why

Friday, Nov 1st

* Lind, Amy and Christine Keating. 2013. "Navigating the Left Turn: Sexual Justice and the Citizen Revolution in Ecuador." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. Vol. 15 Issue 4, (December) pp. 515-533. Available in PDF on Academic Search Complete. HOMECOMING Warning alums may be in class!

Week 8

Monday, Nov 4th

* Ready, Kelley. 2007. "The Uneasy "Informal Consensual Union" of Lesbianism with Feminism in El Salvador and its Flirtation with the International Gay Rights Movement." presented at the VI Conference of the International Association for the Study of Sexuality, Culture and Society. Lima, Peru. June 27-29, 2007. pp. 1-21.

SENT OUT BY EMAIL ATTACHMENT

- * Viterna, Jocelyn. 2012. "The Left and "Life" in El Salvador." *Politics & Gender*. Vol. 8 Issue 2, (June). pp. 248-254. SENT OUT BY EMAIL ATTACHMENT
- * Corona, Jo. 2019. "El Salvador's President-Elect Opposes Same-Sex Marriage, as LGBTQ Community Struggles for Acceptance." *Latino USA*. (February 12). https://www.latinousa.org/2019/02/12/bukelelgbtcommunities/

Wednesday, Nov 6th

* Peña, Susana. 2013. *Oye Loca! From the Mariel Boatlift to Gay Cuban Miami*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. pp. ix-xxx, 1-24.

Friday, Nov 8th

* Peña pp. 25-58.

Week 9

Monday, Nov 11th

- * FINAL VERSION OF THE PAPER IS DUE!
- * No reading assignment
- * Looking for a space : lesbians & gay men in Cuba = Buscando un espacio : los homosexuales en Cuba / Published 1995 (38 minutes)

Location: Online Video (on library website, link to Alexander Street)

Wednesday, Nov 13th

* Peña pp. 59-76, 77-94, 95-116.

Friday, Nov 15th

- * Peña pp. 117-132, 133-155, 157-176.
- * FINAL EXAM QUESTIONS HANDED OUT IN CLASS

Week 10

Monday, Nov 18th

* New York Times Editorial Board. 2014. "Cuba's Gay Rights Evolution." *New York Times*. (December 21).

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/21/opinion/sunday/cubas-gay-rights-evolution.html?_r=0 BE SURE TO WATCH THE TWO SHORT VIDEOS INCLUDED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE

* Lecuyer, Marie. 2014. "PINK: WASHING OR BASHING? Sexual dissidents hostage of nationalist discourse in contemporary Russia and Cuba." *Sprinkle: An Undergraduate Journal of feminist and queer studies.* pp 118-128.

http://freireproject.org/wp-content/journals/sprinkle/Sprinkle_vol7.pdf#page=118 WARNING, DO NOT PRINT THE WHOLE DOCUMENT, JUST THE LAST 10 PAGES!

Wednesday, Nov 20th

- * Kirk, Emily and Robert Huish. 2018. "Transsexuals' Right to Health? A Cuban Case Study." *Health & Human Rights: An International Journal*. (December) Vol. 20 Issue 2, p215-222. 8p. Available in PDF on SocINDEX
- * González Vivero, Maykel. 2018. "There won't be same-sex marriage in Cuba now?" *Washington Blade*. (December 23) Available at:

https://www.washingtonblade.com/2018/12/23/there-wont-be-same-sex-marriage-in-cuba-now/*Marsh, Sarah. 2019. "Cuban LGBT activists defy government, hold unprecedented indie pride parade." *Reuters.* (May 11).

https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cuba-lgbt/cuban-lgbt-activists-defy-government-hold-unprecedented-indie-pride-parade-idUSKCN1SH0JJ

- *BBC News. 2019. "Cuba gay rights activists arrested at pride march in Havana." *BBC News*. (May 12). Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48242255
- * Wilkinson, Annie. 2014/2015. "Who the Rainbow Tide Leaves Out." NACLA Report on the Americas. Vol. 47 Issue 4. (Winter), pp. 30-32.

Available in PDF on Political Science Complete

LAST DAY OF CLASS

