Berman, Stacie Brensilver. "Notes." *LGBTQ+ History in High School Classes in the United States since 1990*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022. 197–250. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350177352-014>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 13:21 UTC.

Copyright © Stacie Brensilver Berman 2022. Released under a CC BY-NC-ND licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>). You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

Notes

Foreword

- 1 See Blanche Wiesen Cook, “The Historical Denial of Lesbianism,” *Radical History Review* (Spring/ Summer, 1979), 62–3; Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume 1, The Early Years, 1884–1933* (New York: Viking, 1992), 479; Robert Cohen, “Out of the Closet and Into History? The Eleanor Roosevelt-Lorena Hickok Affair,” *Reviews in American History* (June 2017), 314–22.
- 2 One sign of this shift from bigotry to dignity appeared in the *New York Times* on the day we wrote this foreword. The *Times* story told of the homophobic denial of a varsity letter to a New Jersey high school distance runner in 1958 and its aftermath. That athlete, Tom Ammiano, would go on to become a California State Assemblyman and gay rights leader in San Francisco, who would sponsor California’s FAIR Education Act (see Chapter 6), which mandated including LGBTQ+ history in K–12 social studies classes. Sixty-three years after Ammiano’s graduation, his New Jersey high school finally acted to reverse its discriminatory act, notifying Ammiano that he would be awarded the varsity letter he had earned in his youth (Carol Pogash, “He Won a Varsity Letter at 16. He Finally Got It When He Was 79,” *New York Times*, February 28, 2021).

Introduction

- 1 In 1981, the CDC reported on an illness affecting homosexual men. The disease, spread through intercourse, breastfeeding, and intravenous drug use, came to be known as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS); homosexual men were among the groups hit hardest by it. In 1987, after years of government apathy and pharmaceutical price gauging, ACT UP formed to advocate for AIDS patients with the entities whose recognition and assistance they needed to fight and learn more about this disease.
- 2 The terminology used to identify the population now referred to as LGBTQ+ (or some variation thereof) has evolved since the middle of the twentieth century. Previously referred to clinically as “homosexuals,” those who identified as such adopted the term “gay” in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Women, who felt excluded

from an identification that they believed largely applied to men, adopted the term “lesbian” in the 1960s and 1970s. The acronym LGBT first appeared in the late 1980s and was intended to include bisexuals and transgender individuals, groups theretofore marginalized in the gay community. The acronym has evolved and expanded over time. This book uses LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender), LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer), and LGBTQ+. More recent iterations expand to LGBTQIIAA+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, intergender, asexual, ally, and beyond). Though sections of this narrative refer to eras before the adoption of these acronyms, it is an impartial and current method of identifying this community and is therefore used throughout.

- 3 David France, interview with the author, September 16, 2013, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Robert Cohen, conversation with the author, May 2013, New York, notes in the author’s possession.
- 6 See, for example, Robert Cohen, “‘Two, Four, Six, Eight, We Don’t Want to Integrate’: White Student Attitudes Toward the University of Georgia’s Desegregation,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 80, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 616–45; Robert Cohen, *Freedom’s Orator: Mario Savio and the Radical Legacy of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Robert Cohen and David J. Snyder, eds., *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).
- 7 I taught this unit at a large Brooklyn high school to four different Participation in Government classes over the course of a week. Each class met four times.
- 8 George Chauncey, *Why Marriage?: The History Shaping Today’s Debate over Gay Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 95.
- 9 California’s Proposition 8, a ballot referendum that passed in November 2008, amended the state constitution to ban same-sex marriage. Its passage heightened a simmering debate about the legality and morality of same-sex marriage nationwide. See Chapter 6 for more detail.
- 10 “Attitudes on Same-Sex Marriage,” Pew Research Center, May 14, 2019, <https://www.pewforum.org/fact-sheet/changing-attitudes-on-gay-marriage/>; Justin McCarthy, “Record High 60% of Americans Support Same-Sex Marriage,” Gallup, May 19, 2015, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/183272/record-high-americans-support-sex-marriage.aspx>.
- 11 Supreme Court of the United States, “*Lawrence v. Texas* (02-102),” Legal Information Institute, June 26, 2003, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/02-102.ZO.html>.

- 12 “Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama,” The White House, January 21, 2013, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/01/21/inaugural-address-president-barack-obama>.
- 13 The act was repealed one year later.
- 14 Tal Kopan and Eugene Scott, “North Carolina Governor Signs Controversial Transgender Bill,” CNN, March 24, 2016, <https://www.cnn.com/2016/03/23/politics/north-carolina-gender-bathrooms-bill/index.html>.
- 15 Adam Liptak, “In Narrow Decision, Supreme Court Sides With Baker Who Turned Away Gay Couple,” *New York Times*, June 4, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/04/us/politics/supreme-court-sides-with-baker-who-turned-away-gay-couple.html>.
- 16 Dave Philipps, “New Rule for Transgender Troops: Stick to Your Birth Sex, Or Leave,” *New York Times*, March 13, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/13/us/transgender-troops-ban.html>.
- 17 President Joe Biden overturned that ban with a January 2021 Executive Order that “immediately prohibit[ed] any service member from being forced out of the military on the basis of gender identity.” (Lolita C. Baldor and Zeke Miller, “Biden Reverses Trump Ban on Transgender People in Military,” AP News, January 25, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/biden-reverse-ban-transgender-military-f0ace4f9866e0ca0df021eba75b3af20>).
- 18 Talya Minsberg, “‘Boys Are Boys and Girls Are Girls’: Idaho Is First State to Bar Some Transgender Athletes,” *New York Times*, April 1, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/01/sports/transgender-idaho-ban-sports.html>. The state also banned transgender individuals from amending their birth certificates to reflect their gender identity.
- 19 Gloria T. Alter, “LGBTQ+ Issues in Social Education: Understanding, Inclusion, and Advocacy,” *Social Education* 81, no. 5 (2017): 277–8.
- 20 Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Marilynne Boyle-Baise and Carl A. Grant, “Citizen/Community Participation in Education,” in *Critical Issues in Social Studies Teacher Education*, ed. Susan Adler (Greenwich, CT: Information Age, 2004), 145–64; David Kobrin, *Beyond the Textbook: Teaching History Using Documents and Primary Sources* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996); Gloria Ladson-Billings, “Crafting a Culturally Relevant Social Studies Approach,” in *The Social Studies Curriculum: Purposes, Problems, and Possibilities*, ed. E. Ross (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001), Chapter 10.
- 21 Stephen Thornton, *Teaching Social Studies That Matters: Curriculum for Active Learning* (New York: Teachers College, 2005).
- 22 Though the terms social studies and history are often used interchangeably, they have different pedagogical meanings. History education, as defined by the

American Historical Association in 1899, focuses on strict historical learning. Social studies, meanwhile, encompasses a wider lens of study including, but not limited to, history, geography, civics, and economics. Though history is a part of social studies, its importance is weighted equally with the discipline's other components. The following chapters focus on historical learning and US history classes, but because US history classes are part of a larger course of social studies learning in high schools around the country, they consider social studies literature, resources, and pedagogy and the philosophy behind the discipline, as well.

- 23 Unless otherwise noted, the information and analysis in this book refers to high school classes.
- 24 Geneva Gay, "Social Studies Teacher Education for Urban Classrooms," in *Critical Issues in Social Studies Teacher Education*, ed. Susan Adler (Greenwich, CT: Information Age, 2004), 75–96.
- 25 John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). D'Emilio is the former chair of the Committee on LGBT History.
- 26 Stuart Biegel, *The Right to Be Out* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
- 27 David Campos, "Battling the Bullying of LGBTQ+ Students," *Social Education* 81, no. 3 (October 2017): 288–95.
- 28 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 29 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, May 30, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 30 Stephen Thornton, interview with the author, June 24, 2014, New York, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 31 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

1 Making History: The LGBTQ+ Movement's Evolving Struggle for Acknowledgment and Inclusivity

- 1 Patricia A. Cain, "Litigating for Lesbian and Gay Rights: A Legal History," *Virginia Law Review* 79, no. 7 (October 1993): 1551–641.
- 2 Craig Kaczorowski, "Mattachine Society," GLBTQ archive, accessed March 19, 2018, http://www.glbtqarchive.com/ssh/mattachine_society_S.pdf.
- 3 Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Cragg, "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth," *American Sociological Review* 71, no. 5 (October

2006): 724–51; Timothy Stewart-Winter, “Queer Law and Order: Sex, Criminality, and Policing in the Late Twentieth-Century United States,” *Journal of American History* 102, no. 1 (June 2015): 61–72.

4 “Our Story,” PFLAG, accessed March 16, 2018, <https://www.pflag.org/our-story>.

5 Ibid.

6 Lambda Legal began in 1973 as “a band of volunteer lawyers struggling to break new ground for LGBT people in the American justice system”; it uses the court system to win rights and recognition for the LGBTQ+ community. The National LGBTQ+ Task Force was founded in 1973 to fight legal barriers to opportunity and equality. The National Center for Lesbian Rights began in 1977 as “a national legal organization committed to advancing the civil and human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people and their families through litigation, legislation, policy, and public education.” Lastly, the Human Rights Campaign is a political action committee founded in 1980 to promote LGBTQ+ equality. “Lambda Legal History,” Lambda Legal, accessed March 16, 2018, <https://www.lambdalegal.org/about-us/history>; “About: Mission and History,” National LGBTQ+ Task Force, accessed March 16, 2018, <http://www.thetaskforce.org/about/mission-history.html>; “Mission and History,” National Center for Lesbian Rights, accessed March 16, 2018, <http://www.nclrights.org/about-us/mission-history/>; “HRC Story: Mission Statement,” Human Rights Campaign, accessed March 16, 2018, <http://www.hrc.org/hrc-story/mission-statement>.

7 Mark Z. Barabak, “Gays May Have the Fastest of All Civil Rights Movements,” *Los Angeles Times*, last modified May 20, 2012, <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/may/20/nation/la-na-gay-rights-movement-20120521>.

8 “Lambda Legal History,” Lambda Legal.

9 Ibid.

10 “About: Mission and History,” National LGBTQ+ Task Force.

11 “ACT UP Accomplishments and Partial Chronology,” ACT UP, accessed March 16, 2018, <https://endaids.actupny.com/the-community>.

12 Curriculum change is a slow process regardless of the subject matter. Other reform movements’ achievements, which most states include in their standards in the twenty-first century, met with resistance when textbook publishers first began including this information in their resources. There was, though, more of a push among advocates to include this information in the curriculum. Jonathan Zimmerman, “Where the Customer Is King: The Textbook in American Culture,” in *A History of the Book in America, Volume 5: The Enduring Book: Print Culture in Postwar America*, eds. David Paul Nord, Joan Shelley Rubin, and Michael Schudson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 304–24.

13 “Gay Liberation Front: Manifesto,” Fordham University, accessed January 18, 2019, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/pwh/glf-london.asp>.

- 14 "About Mission and History," National LGBTQ+ Task Force.
- 15 "HRC Story: HRC Foundation," Human Rights Campaign, accessed March 16, 2018, <https://www.hrc.org/hrc-story/hrc-foundation>.
- 16 Clifford Rosky, "Anti Gay Curriculum Laws," *Columbia Law Review* 117, no. 6 (October 2017): 1478.
- 17 Jay Clarke, "Gay Rights Fight Shaping Up in Miami," *Washington Post*, March 27, 1977, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1977/03/27/gay-rights-fight-shaping-up-in-miami/e4f596c1-f8e0-4785-b528-599077a478ba/?utm_term=.04a11f177c6e.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Stuart Hinds, "Anita Bryant: Hate Monger Descends on Kansas City," *Phoenix Newsletter*, October/November 2015, <https://library.umkc.edu/content/images/glama/timeline/1977-bryant.pdf>.
- 20 Rosky, "Anti Gay Curriculum Laws."
- 21 Ibid., 1479.
- 22 Ibid., 1480.
- 23 Ibid., 1477.
- 24 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. This is a significant difference between the gay rights movement and the African American Civil Rights Movement in the mid-twentieth century. In the latter, children and young adults participated in protests and marches, most famously in Birmingham in 1963. The African American Civil Rights Movement also made school desegregation a central issue. Early gay rights organizations like the Mattachine Society and the Gay Liberation Front prioritized legislation and discriminatory practices that targeted adults.
- 25 NCLR Annual Report 2016–17, National Center for Lesbian Rights, accessed March 16, 2018, <http://www.nclrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NCL17CA-AR-Web-Version-No-Donors.pdf>. The Utah law, which was successfully repealed in 2017, was one of those passed in the wake of "Save Our Children."
- 26 "Cultivating Respect: Safe Schools for All," PFLAG, accessed March 16, 2018, <https://www.pflag.org/cultivating-respect-safe-schools-all>. PFLAG received a grant from Suburu in 2017 to update this program's materials.
- 27 "Creating Safe and Welcoming Schools For All Children & Families," Welcoming Schools, accessed March 16, 2018, <http://www.welcomingschools.org>.
- 28 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.

- 32 Jennings asserted that there is a connection between GLSEN's emerging success and the increase in GSAs. In response to a question about proof of GLSEN's early success, he replied, "The rapid spread of Gay Straight Alliances and things like that." Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 33 "History and Accomplishments," GSA Network, accessed March 28, 2018, <https://gsanetwork.org/about-us/history>.
- 34 Ibid. The type of support system does not exist in the same cohesive way for curriculum development, but the success of GSA offers proof of its necessity and effectiveness.
- 35 "Read, Watch, Collaborate: GLSEN PD for Educators," GLSEN, accessed April 13, 2018, <https://www.glsen.org/educate/professional-development>.
- 36 "Our Approach," GSA Network, accessed March 28, 2018, <https://gsanetwork.org/about-us>.
- 37 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 38 Ibid. Jennings stated, "Virtually every major LGBT organization I can think of has some kind of program dealing with schools now."
- 39 "Staff," Our Family Coalition, accessed April 20, 2018, <http://www.ourfamily.org/about/our-staff>; "Welcoming and Inclusive Schools Program," Our Family Coalition, accessed April 18, 2018, www.ourfamily.org/schools/wisp.
- 40 "Time to Thrive," Human Rights Campaign, 2018, accessed April 20, 2018, timetothrive.org.
- 41 Learning for Justice was founded as Teaching Tolerance. The organization changed its name in 2021, stating, "The fact is, tolerance is not justice. It isn't a sufficient description of the work we do or of the world we want." (Jalaya Liles Dunn, "Our New Name: Learning for Justice," Learning for Justice, February 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/magazine/our-new-name-learning-for-justice>.)
- 42 "Program History," Welcoming Schools, accessed April 18, 2018, <http://www.welcomingschools.org/our-program/history/>.
- 43 This number changes as Learning for Justice creates new resources and changes the content on its website. The number sixty-seven is accurate as of March 2021. Twenty-nine of those lessons are for high school social studies, history, and civics classes.
- 44 "Lessons," Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons?keyword=&field_topic%5B6%5D=6.
- 45 Kisha Webster, interview with the author, July 8, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

- 46 Steven Lee Myers, "Ideas & Trends; How a 'Rainbow Curriculum' Turned into Fighting Words," *New York Times*, December 13, 1992, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/12/13/weekinreview/ideas-trends-how-a-rainbow-curriculum-turned-into-fighting-words.html>.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Josh Barbanell, "Under 'Rainbow,' a War: When Politics, Morals and Learning Mix," *New York Times*, December 27, 1992, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/12/27/nyregion/under-rainbow-a-war-when-politics-morals-and-learning-mix.html>.
- 49 Lally Weymouth, "Mrs. Cummins's Triumph," *Washington Post*, January 8, 1993, accessed April 25, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1993/01/08/mrs-cumminss-triumph/4b23129f-a0e3-49ed-a11c-64e473b45d09/?utm_term=.1f338993de2e.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Myers, "Ideas & Trends," *New York Times*.
- 52 Joseph A. Fernandez with John Underwood, *Tales Out of School: Joseph Fernandez's Crusade to Rescue American Education* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), 239.
- 53 "The Rainbow, Revised," *New York Times*, January 30, 1993, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/01/30/opinion/the-rainbow-revised.html>.
- 54 George Will, "Just Another Kind of Love," *Washington Post*, December 6, 1992, accessed April 25, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1992/12/06/just-another-kind-of-love/42ef9eca-5f3b-4bf2-9a6c-780b8bb14ecc/?utm_term=.80b0e305c59b.
- 55 Peter Schmidt, "N.Y.C. Debate over 'Rainbow' Curriculum Still Raging in Many Board Races," *Education Week*, March 24, 1993, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/1993/03/24/26board.h12.html>.
- 56 Myers, "Ideas & Trends," *New York Times*.
- 57 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 58 William Celis III, "Schools Across U.S. Cautiously Adding Lessons on Gay Life," *New York Times*, January 6, 1993, <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/01/06/us/schools-across-us-cautiously-adding-lessons-on-gay-life.html>.
- 59 "LGBT History Month: Rodney Wilson," Pride Center of Vermont, October 31, 2017, <http://www.pridecentervt.org/news/item/lgbt-history-month-rodney-wilson>.
- 60 Rodney Wilson, "Knowing LGBT History Is Knowing Yourself," *The Advocate*, October 1, 2015, <https://www.advocate.com/commentary/2015/10/01/knowning-lgbt-history-knowing-yourself>.
- 61 Ibid. Although June was already established as LGBT Pride Month, the founders of LGBT History Month intended to differentiate their educational movement from

- the celebration of LGBT identity. They chose October because October 11 was already designated as Coming Out Day.
- 62 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, July 25, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 63 Original LGBT History Month Committee Members, "Op-ed: The Story Behind the First LGBT History Month," *The Advocate*, September 2, 2015, <https://www.advocate.com/commentary/2015/09/02/op-ed-story-behind-first-lgbt-history-month>.
 - 64 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, July 25, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 65 "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Pride Month: About," Library of Congress, accessed July 30, 2018, <https://www.loc.gov/lgbt-pride-month/about/>.
 - 66 Kevin Jennings stated that he believes that LGBT History Month was important for promoting the idea that LGBT history had a place in students' education. Although he asserted that this history should be taught throughout the year and not just within the confines of this month, the establishment of a commemorative month and the positive reception it received was meaningful. (Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, July 25, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.)
 - 67 Original LGBT History Month Committee Members, "Op-ed: The Story Behind the First LGBT History Month."
 - 68 Ibid.
 - 69 Wilson, "Knowing LGBT History Is Knowing Yourself"
 - 70 Kari Hudnell, "GLSEN Statement on the Start of LGBT History Month," GLSEN, October 1, 2015, <https://www.glsen.org/article/glsen-statement-start-lgbt-history-month>.
 - 71 Maria Newman, "Board Adopts a Curriculum About AIDS," *New York Times*, January 19, 1995, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/01/19/nyregion/board-adopts-a-curriculum-about-aids.html>.
 - 72 "About," Illinois Family Institute, accessed July 30, 2018, <https://illinoisfamily.org/about/>.
 - 73 Laurie Higgins, "Back to School: Teachers Who Exploit Their Position," Illinois Family Institute, August 13, 2013, <https://illinoisfamily.org/education/back-to-school-teachers-who-exploit-their-position/>.
 - 74 Barbara Anderson, "Clips from a Minnesota Child Protection League Presentation," presentation, Southwest Metro Tea Party, November 18, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vFIxKtcaOJA>.
 - 75 "About," Focus on the Family, accessed July 30, 2018, <https://www.focusonthefamily.com/about>.

- 76 “Capturing Children’s Minds,” True Tolerance—a Project of Focus on the Family, accessed July 30, 2018, <https://www.truetolerance.org/2011/capturing-childrens-minds/>.
- 77 Peter Sprigg, “Homosexuality in Your Child’s School,” Family Research Council, 2006, <https://downloads.frc.org/EF/EF06K26.pdf>.
- 78 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 79 John D’Emilio, email interview with author, July 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, digital files/notes in the author’s possession. D’Emilio is the author of *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States* and a former professor at University of Illinois, Chicago.
- 80 Kisha Webster, interview with the author, July 8, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 81 Emily Hobson, interview with the author, June 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

2 Building a Model: LGBTQ+ History and Higher Education

- 1 “The History of LGBTs at Yale,” Yale University Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://lgbs.yale.edu/history-lgbs-yale>.
- 2 “LGBT Studies,” Hobart and William Smith Colleges, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://www.hws.edu/academics/lgbt/history.aspx>.
- 3 Toni McNaron, *Poisoned Ivy: Lesbian and Gay Academics Confronting Homophobia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).
- 4 UCLA psychologist Evelyn Hooker’s work on gay men’s psychological health led to homosexuality’s removal from the DSM IV as a psychiatric disorder and UCLA doctors performed some of the first gender reassignment surgeries.
- 5 “History,” UCLA Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Studies, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://lgbtqstudies.ucla.edu/about/history/>.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 “The History of LGBTs at Yale,” Yale University Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies.
- 8 “About CLAGS,” CLAGS Center for LGBTQ+ Studies, accessed April 23, 2018, clags.org/about-clags/.
- 9 John D’Emilio, interview with the author, July 7, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Emily Hobson, interview with the author, June 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

- 10 Among those not mentioned are Kent State University, Webster College, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Cornell University, and several schools in the University of California system. In addition, UMass Amherst collaborates with Mount Holyoke College, Smith College, Amherst College, and Hampshire College on a Five-College Queer and Sexuality Studies course. This list is not exhaustive.
- 11 Lists on this topic are inconclusive, with different institutions included in different compilations. Moreover, the number of universities offering this minor changes each year; available lists might not be updated as often as necessary. There were more than thirty colleges and universities offering LGBT studies minors at the time of this writing.
- 12 “The History of LGBT Studies at Maryland,” University of Maryland, accessed June 16, 2014, <http://www.lgbts.umd.edu/lgbthistory.html>.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 The program lists fifty-two courses in its course descriptions. Sixteen courses counting toward the LGBT studies minor and certificate were offered in the fall 2020 semester. “Department of Women’s Studies,” University of Maryland, accessed October 1, 2020, <http://wmst.umd.edu/academics/courses>; “Fall 2020 WMST, LGBT, & Black WMST Undergraduate Courses, Department of Women’s Studies,” University of Maryland, accessed October 1, 2020, <http://wmst.umd.edu/academics/courses>.
- 15 “LGBT Studies: History,” Hobart and William Smith Colleges, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://www.hws.edu/academics/lgbt/history.aspx>.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 San Diego State University was the second institution to offer this major in 2012. “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Studies | What Can I Do with This Major?,” San Diego State University, accessed April 24, 2018, https://go.sdsu.edu/student_affairs/career/lesbiangaybisexualtransgender.aspx. City College of San Francisco became the first community college to offer this major in 2012, as well. “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Studies AA Major—Active,” City College of San Francisco, accessed April 24, 2108, <http://www.ccsf.edu/dam/ccsf/documents/OfficeOfInstruction/Catalog/Programs/LesbianGayBisexualandTransgenderStudies/LesbianGayBisexualandTransgenderStudiesMajor.pdf>.
- 18 “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Studies AA Major—Active,” City College of San Francisco, accessed October 1, 2020, <https://ccsf.curricunet.com/Report/GetReport?entityId=1137&entityType=Program&reportId=29>. Among these courses is a history course entitled “LGBT American History.” The course description states, “Survey of the origins, development, and current status of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender reform and liberation movements in the United States, with particular emphasis since WWII. Includes the lives, communities, organizations, and resistance movements created by LGBT peoples

- from diverse racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds.” “History,” City College of San Francisco, accessed October 1, 2020, <https://www.ccsf.edu/academics/ccsf-catalog/courses-by-department/history>.
- 19 LGBTQ+ Studies, “About,” DePaul College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, accessed April 23, 2018, <https://las.depaul.edu/academics/lgbtq-studies/about/Pages/default.aspx>.
 - 20 Jason Derose, “DePaul University to Offer Minor in ‘Queer Studies,’” NPR, accessed April 22, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5173232>.
 - 21 LGBTQ+ Studies, “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Studies,” University of Colorado Boulder, accessed May 12, 2014, <http://lgbt.colorado.edu>.
 - 22 Berkeley Academic Guide, “About the Program,” Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies, accessed April 21, 2018, <http://guide.berkeley.edu/undergraduate/degree-programs/lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender-studies/>.
 - 23 Steven Lee Myers, “Ideas & Trends; How a ‘Rainbow Curriculum’ Turned into Fighting Words,” *New York Times*, December 13, 1992, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/12/13/weekinreview/ideas-trends-how-a-rainbow-curriculum-turned-into-fighting-words.html>.
 - 24 Don Romesburg, Stacie Brensilver Berman, David Duffield, Daniel Hurewitz, Rachel Reinhard, and Wendy Rouse, “Words That Shape the World: Historians, Teachers, and Partnerships for LGBT History” (panel discussion, American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 5, 2018). Historians at this panel debunked the perception that LGBTQ+ history courses are prevalent at universities, claiming that though some institutions offer LGBTQ+ history courses, the majority do not and where they are offered there are few faculty members with the expertise to teach them. In a separate conversation, Emily Hobson, a history professor at University of Nevada, Reno, asserted the same. (Emily Hobson, interview with the author, June 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.)
 - 25 “HIST 490:004 Special Topics in American History: U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Histories,” Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, accessed June 16, 2014, <http://clgbthistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/HIST-490-U.S.-LGBT-Histories1.pdf>.
 - 26 “Syllabi,” Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender History, accessed April 23, 2018, <http://clgbthistory.org/projects/syllabi>.
 - 27 Trudy Ring, “Morehouse to Offer Course in Black LGBT History, Culture,” *The Advocate*, December 20, 2012, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.advocate.com/society/education/2012/12/20/morehouse-offer-course-black-lgbt-history-and-culture>.
 - 28 Emily Hobson, interview with the author, June 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Wendy Rouse, interview with the author, October 26, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcripts in the author's possession. The FAIR Education Act (2011) is a California law mandating that K–12 teachers incorporate LGBTQ+ history in their social studies curriculum. See Chapters 6 and 7.
- 31 Wendy Rouse, interview with the author, August 8, 2020, Ridgefield, CT, tape/notes/transcripts in the author's possession.
- 32 Wendy Rouse, interview with the author, October 2, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcripts in the author's possession; Wendy Rouse, interview with the author, August 8, 2020, Ridgefield, CT, tape/notes/transcripts in author's possession.
- 33 Wendy Rouse, interview with the author, August 8, 2020, Ridgefield, CT, tape/notes/transcripts in the author's possession. Rouse's program is more than three years old, and its students are beginning to finish their credentialing programs and enter the classroom. The initial results are positive. She reported that alumni reach out to ask for LGBTQ+ history resources for their classrooms and attend professional development sessions, but that it will take a couple more years before the impact of San Jose State's social science major can truly be measured.
- 34 Wendy Rouse, interview with the author, August 8, 2020, Ridgefield, CT, tape/notes/transcripts in the author's possession.
- 35 Lyndsey Schlax, conversation with the author, March 16, 2016.
- 36 John D'Emilio, interview with the author, July 7, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 37 Emily Hobson, interview with the author, June 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Emily K. Hobson and Felicia T. Perez, "Questions, Not Test Answers: Teaching LGBT History in Public Schools" in *Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History*, ed. Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 77–91.

3 Expanding Awareness: LGBTQ+ Content in Students' Lives

- 1 Deborah Hastings, "L.A. Law Kiss Hailed by Gay Rights Group," Associated Press, February 9, 1991, accessed April 30, 2018, <https://apnews.com/62a4f9c94e3839eddb95916ee43d54f6>.
- 2 GLAAD Media Institute, *Where We Are on TV '19–'20* (New York: GLAAD Media Institute, 2019), <https://www.glaad.org/sites/default/files/GLAAD%20WHERE%20WE%20ARE%20ON%20TV%202019%202020.pdf>, 8. The 2019–20 report included the full slate of television, cable, and streaming platform programming and offers

a complete picture of representation on TV. The 2020–1 report found a decrease in representation on television, largely in scripted cable shows. The report attributed that decrease to production shutdowns and irregular filming patterns related to the Covid-19 pandemic, and therefore, hopefully, not indicative of an ongoing downward trend (Raina Deerwater, “Where We Are on TV 2020–2021,” GLAAD, January 14, 2021, <https://www.glaad.org/blog/glaads-where-we-are-tv-report-despite-tumultuous-year-television-lgbtq-representation-holds>).

- 3 GLAAD Media Institute, *Where We Are on TV '19-'20*, 10, 12, and 16. GLAAD also reported that the number of bisexual characters decreased despite a growing number of LGBTQ+ people identifying as bisexual.
- 4 GLAAD Media Institute, *Where We Are on TV '19-'20*, 4.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Pew Research Center, *A Survey of LGBT Americans: Attitudes, Experiences and Values in Changing Times* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2013), http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/06/SDT_LGBT-Americans_06-2013.pdf; Proctor & Gamble and GLAAD, *LGBTQ Inclusion in Advertising and Media: Executive Summary* (New York: GLAAD, 2020), https://www.glaad.org/sites/default/files/P%26G_AdvertisingResearch.pdf.
- 7 “Great LGBTQ+ Inclusive Picture and Middle Grade Books,” Welcoming Schools, accessed April 15, 2018, <http://www.welcomingschools.org/pages/books-inclusive-of-LGBTQ+-family-members-and-characters/>.
- 8 Carolyn Kellogg, “Once Controversial, ‘Heather Has Two Mommies’ Is Now Collectible,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 11, 2017, accessed April 15, 2018, <http://www.latimes.com/books/jacketcopy/la-ca-jc-heather-has-two-mommies-20170511-story.html>. According to this article, *Heather Has Two Mommies* was the ninth most challenged book of the 1990s. *Heather Has Two Mommies* was one of the books at the heart of the Children of the Rainbow controversy.
- 9 Leslea Newman, “Kids Books,” Leslea Kids, accessed April 23, 2018, <http://www.lesleakids.com/mommy.html>.
- 10 Sherri Machlin, “Banned Books Week: And Tango Makes Three,” New York Public Library, September 23, 2013, accessed April 23, 2018, <https://www.nypl.org/blog/2013/09/23/banned-books-week-and-tango-makes-three>.
- 11 J. J. Austrian, *Worm Loves Worm* (New York: HarperCollins, 2016).
- 12 “Great LGBTQ+ Inclusive Picture and Middle Grade Books,” Welcoming Schools.
- 13 Malinda Lo, “LGBTQ+ YA by the Numbers: 2015–2016,” Malinda Lo, accessed April 23, 2018, <https://www.malindalo.com/blog/2017/10/12/lgbtq-ya-by-the-numbers-2015-16>. Lo breaks this down further on her website, looking at gender representation and more specific LGBTQ+ content. In this earlier study Lo found seventy-nine books focusing on LGBTQ characters and issues in 2016.

- 14 Malinda Lo, "A Decade of LGBTQ YA since Ash," Malinda Lo, May 14, 2019, <https://www.malindalo.com/blog/2019/3/18/a-decade-of-lgbtq-ya-since-ash>. In this report, too, Lo evaluated gender representation and genre. She also makes clear that the books in her report forefront LGBTQ+ characters and themes; they are not peripheral to the story.
- 15 Danika Leigh Ellis, "The 38 Best Queer YA Novels," *Vulture*, June 21, 2018, <https://www.vulture.com/2018/06/38-best-lgbtq-ya-novels.html>.
- 16 GLSEN, *The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools* (New York: Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network, 2020), 60.
- 17 Christine Gentry, conversation with the author, March 4, 2021, Brooklyn, NY, communication, transcript, and notes in the author's possession.
- 18 "Diverse Gender Expression and Gender Non-Conformity Curriculum in English Grades 7–12," National Council of Teachers of English, July 1, 2014, <https://ncte.org/statement/gender-curriculum-7-12/>.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 "About," National Council of Teachers of English, accessed October 19, 2020, <https://ncte.org/about/>.
- 21 "Safe Schools Program for LGBTQ Students," Mass.gov, accessed October 19, 2020, <https://www.mass.gov/info-details/safe-schools-program-for-lgbtq-students#inclusive-curriculum-materials->.
- 22 Leslea Newman, GLSEN, The Matthew Shepard Foundation, and Candlewick Press, "He Continues to Make a Difference: Commemorating the Life of Matthew Shepard," GLSEN, 2014, accessed October 19, 2020, <http://www.glsen.org/matthewshepard>, 19. The social studies aspects of this lesson are discussed in the next chapter.
- 23 "Love, Simon: Coming Out & Invisible Identities Lesson," GLSEN, accessed October 19, 2020, <https://www.glsen.org/article/love-simon-coming-out-invisible-identities-lesson>.
- 24 Christine Gentry, conversation with the author, March 4, 2021, Brooklyn, NY, communication, transcript, and notes in the author's possession. Gentry mentioned applying this lens to *Twelfth Night*, Circe in Homer's *Odyssey*, and nonfiction articles, among other works.
- 25 Christine Gentry, conversation with the author, March 4, 2021, Brooklyn, NY, communication, transcript, and notes in the author's possession.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Lauren Jensen, email conversation with the author, October 25, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, communication and notes in the author's possession.
- 28 Rebecca McBride, email conversation with the author, October 21, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, communication and notes in the author's possession.

- 29 Lauren Jensen, email conversation with the author, October 25, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, communication and notes in the author's possession.
- 30 Christine Gentry, conversation with the author, March 4, 2021, Brooklyn, NY, communication, transcript, and notes in the author's possession.
- 31 "Health Education," New York City Department of Education, accessed October 19, 2020, <https://www.schools.nyc.gov/learning/learn-at-home/activities-and-supports/health-education>.
- 32 "Sex and HIV Education," Guttmacher Institute, October 12, 2020, <https://www.guttmacher.org/state-policy/explore/sex-and-hiv-education#>. Those states include California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, Maryland, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington. According to GLSEN's survey, 5.1 percent of all students surveyed and 26.6 percent of students who claimed their school conveyed positive representations of the LGBTQ+ population learned about gender and sexuality in health classes. (GLSEN, *The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools*, 60.)
- 33 "Sexual Health Education," Washington State Department of Health, accessed October 19, 2020, <https://www.doh.wa.gov/CommunityandEnvironment/Schools/SexualHealthEducation>. States such as Iowa, Colorado, and California have similar laws.
- 34 "Home," FLASH, accessed October 19, 2020, <https://www.etr.org/FLASH/>.
- 35 "Lesson Selection Tool," FLASH, accessed October 19, 2020, <https://www.etr.org/FLASH/>.
- 36 Kathe Taylor, *Comprehensive Sexual Health Education Data Survey* (Olympia, WA: Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2019), <https://www.k12.wa.us/sites/default/files/public/communications/2019-12-Sexual-Health-Education-Data-Survey.pdf>, 4.
- 37 "Toward Understanding ... Some of Us Are Lesbian or Gay," ReCAPP, 2007, accessed August 1, 2018, <http://recapp.etr.org/recapp/index.cfm?fuseaction=pages.LearningActivitiesDetail&PageID=170>.
- 38 "Who We Are: About Advocates for Youth," Advocates for Youth, 2021, accessed May 4, 2021, <https://www.advocatesforyouth.org/about/>.
- 39 "I Am Who I Am," Advocates for Youth, 2005, last modified December 8, 2017, <https://advocatesforyouth.org/wp-content/uploads/3rsrcurric/documents/7-Lesson-6-3Rs-IAMWhoIAM.pdf>.
- 40 "About Us," Safe Schools Coalition, accessed August 1, 2018, http://www.safeschoolscoalition.org/about_us.html#OurMission; "Stories," sex, etc., accessed August 1, 2018, <https://sexetc.org/sex-ed/info-center/stories/>.

4 Creating Community: LGBTQ+ Content in Social Studies Classes

- 1 Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1916), 9.
- 2 Jo Ann Webb, "U.S. Department of Education Continues Work after First-Ever Federal Summit on Bullying," US Department of Education, August 16, 2010, accessed April 26, 2018, <https://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/us-department-education-continues-work-after-first-ever-federal-summit-bullying>.
- 3 "U.S Education Department Releases Analysis of State Bullying Laws and Policies," US Department of Education, December 6, 2011, accessed April 26, 2018, <https://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/us-education-department-releases-analysis-state-bullying-laws-and-policies>.
- 4 "Laws & Policies," stopbullying.gov, September 2017, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://www.stopbullying.gov/laws/index.html>.
- 5 "After Rutgers Suicide Columnist Promises 'It Gets Better,'" National Public Radio, October 5, 2010, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=130349924>.
- 6 "Our Misson/Vision/People," It Gets Better Project, accessed January 29, 2019, <https://itgetsbetter.org/initiatives/mission-vision-people/>.
- 7 GLSEN began conducting its National School Climate Survey in 1999. This survey, which consistently spotlights the harassment and bullying LGBTQ+ students face at school and the resources necessary to help them, is one of the most frequently cited statistical sources in studies of and articles about LGBTQ-related bullying.
- 8 Sue Hyde, "School Doors Open, with Deadly Consequences," National LGBTQ Task Force, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://www.thetaskforce.org/school-doors-open-with-deadly-consequences/>.
- 9 "LGBTQ Youth," stopbullying.gov, September 24, 2017, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.stopbullying.gov/at-risk/groups/lgbt/index.html>.
- 10 Anne O'Brien, "Inclusive Anti-Bullying Policies Create a Safer Environment for LGBT Students," George Lucas Educational Foundation, October 27, 2015, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://www.edutopia.org/blog/inclusive-anti-bullying-policies-create-safer-environment-lgbt-students-anne-obrien>.
- 11 Diana Hess, "Teaching About Same-Sex Marriage as a Policy and Constitutional Issue," *Social Education* 73, no. 7 (2009): 344–9; Kevin Jennings, "'Out' in the Classroom: Addressing Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Issues in Social Studies Curriculum," in *The Social Studies Curriculum*, ed. E. Wayne Ross (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 255–64; Stephen Thornton, "Silence on Gays and Lesbians in Social Studies Curriculum," *Social Education* 67, no. 4 (2003): 226–30.

- 12 “Policy Maps,” GLSEN, updated August 2020, accessed October 2, 2020, <https://www.glsen.org/policy-maps>. In comparison, by August 2020 five states had laws mandating LGBTQ+-inclusive history curricula.
- 13 GLSEN, *The 2013 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation’s Schools* (New York: Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network, 2014); “Growing Up LGBT in America: HRC Youth Survey Report Key Findings,” Human Rights Campaign, 2012, https://assets2.hrc.org/files/assets/resources/Growing-Up-LGBT-in-America_Report.pdf?_ga=2.144728948.1389147936.1533265876-1406905136.1424747565.
- 14 GLSEN, *The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation’s Schools* (New York: Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network, 2020), xiii.
- 15 Ibid., 16.
- 16 Ibid., 66. Of those who had access to sex education, 22.9 percent said it included LGBTQ+ topics (61).
- 17 GLSEN, *The 2019 National School Climate Survey*, 57. Nearly half (48.9 percent), though, said they had access to LGBTQ+ topics in their school library.
- 18 GLSEN, *The 2019 National School Climate Survey*, 60. In 2017, 35.2 percent of respondents reported learning LGBTQ+ topics in their academic classes. (GLSEN, *The 2017 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation’s Schools* (New York: Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network, 2018), 58.)
- 19 GLSEN, *The 2019 National School Climate Survey*, 62. 42.3 percent of respondents said they could identify more than ten teachers or staff members who supported LGBTQ+ students and 42.4 percent said that the administration at their school was very or somewhat supportive.
- 20 In 2017, 11.4 percent of total respondents reported learning LGBTQ+ history and 58.5 percent of those who experienced positive representations did so in history classes (GLSEN, *The 2017 National School Climate Survey*, 59). In 2019, for comparison, those numbers were 11.6 percent and 60.3 percent.
- 21 “About Project Look Sharp,” Project Look Sharp, last modified April 2018, https://www.projectlooksharp.org/?action=about_pls.
- 22 Sox Sperry, interview with the author, June 13, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 23 “Who We Are,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed July 31, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/who-we-are>.
- 24 Jinnie Spiegler, interview with the author, July 16, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

- 25 "Introduction: Understanding Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights as Human Rights," Human Rights Resource Center, 2000, <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/edumat/hreduseries/TB3/details.htm>.
- 26 Daryl Presgraves, "Schools across the Country Celebrate 10th Anniversary of GLSEN's No Name-Calling Week," GLSEN, January 20, 2014, <https://www.glsen.org/article/10th-anniversary-glsens-no-name-calling-week>.
- 27 GLSEN, "ThinkB4YouSpeak Guide for Educators of Grades 6–12," GLSEN, 2008, accessed July 17, 2015, <http://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/Guide%20to%20ThinkB4YouSpeak.pdf>.
- 28 "What's So Bad about That's So Gay?," Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/whats-so-bad-about-thats-so-gay>.
- 29 "Challenging Gender Stereotyping and Homophobia in Sports," Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/challenging-gender-stereotyping-and-homophobia-in-sports>.
- 30 "Creating an LGBT-Inclusive School Climate," Teaching Tolerance, 2013, accessed August 1, 2018, <https://www.tolerance.org/sites/default/files/2017-11/Teaching-Tolerance-LGBT-Best-Practices-2017-WEB-Oct2017.pdf>.
- 31 "The History and Impact of Anti-LGBT Slurs," Anti-Defamation League, 2010, accessed August 1, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/media/6788/download>.
- 32 "Understanding Homophobia/Heterosexism and How to Be an Ally," Anti-Defamation League, accessed July 16, 2015, <http://www.adl.org/education-outreach/lesson-plans/c/understanding-homophobia-heterosexism-ally.html#.VbBf1Iu4n5Y>.
- 33 "Transgender Identity and Issues," Anti-Defamation League, 2014, accessed October 6, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/media/4767/download>.
- 34 "Words Really Matter," Human Rights Resource Center, 2000, accessed August 1, 2018, <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/edumat/hreduseries/TB3/details.htm>.
- 35 "Media Construction of Social Justice: Case Study: Gay Affirmative or Gay Negative?," Project Look Sharp, 2014, accessed July 17, 2015, <http://www.projectlooksharp.org/?action=justice>.
- 36 Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*, 53.
- 37 Sox Sperry, interview with the author, June 13, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 38 Leslea Newman, GLSEN, The Matthew Shepard Foundation, and Candlewick Press, "He Continues to Make a Difference: Commemorating the Life of Matthew Shepard," GLSEN, 2014, accessed October 19, 2020, <http://www.glsen.org/matthewshepard>, 1. Newman was also the author of *Heather Has Two Mommies*, the book at the center of the Rainbow Curriculum controversy.

- 39 “Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed July 6, 2015, <http://www.adl.org/education-outreach/lesson-plans/c/matthew-shepard-and-james-byrd-jr.html#.VbBUYu4n5Y>.
- 40 “Critiquing Hate Crimes Legislation,” Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/critiquing-hate-crimes-legislation>.
- 41 Kisha Webster, interview with the author, July 15, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 42 Youth in Motion, “Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin Curriculum Guide,” Frameline, 2012, accessed July 15, 2015, https://ticketing.frameline.org/_uploaded/curriculumguidebrotheroutsider_377065.pdf.
- 43 “Caitlyn Jenner and the Power of Coming Out,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed July 16, 2015, <http://www.adl.org/education-outreach/lesson-plans/c/caitlyn-jenner-and-the-power-of-coming-out.html#.VbBfg4u4n5Y>.
- 44 “Introduction: Understanding Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights as Human Rights,” Human Rights Resource Center, last modified 2000, <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/edumat/hreduseries/TB3/details.htm>.
- 45 ADL, GLSEN, and StoryCorps, “In-Group, Out-Group: The Exclusion of LGBT People from Societal Institutions,” GLSEN, 2011, accessed August 1, 2018, <https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/UV%20Lessons.pdf>, 27.

5 Two Steps Forward: LGBTQ+ History Resources and the Obstacles They Face

- 1 Kristi Rudelius-Palmer, interview with the author, September 14, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 2 Vermont legalized civil unions shortly before these lessons were published.
- 3 Kristi Rudelius-Palmer, interview with the author, September 14, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 The Learning Network, “Teaching and Learning about Gay History and Issues,” *New York Times*, last modified June 2016, <https://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/11/22/teaching-and-learning-about-gay-history-and-issues/>.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 “The Invisibility of LGBT People in History: ‘Peculiar Disposition of the Eyes,’” Anti-Defamation League, accessed July 31, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/media/6779/download>.
- 8 “Activism: Marsha P. Johnson,” PBS Learning Media, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fp18.lgbtq.marsha.p.johnson/activism-marsha-p-johnson/support-materials/>.

- 9 Debra Fowler and Miriam Morgenstern, interview with the author, April 23, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 10 "The Lavender Scare," Berkeley History-Social Science Project, 2013, accessed April 23, 2018, <http://ucbhssp.berkeley.edu/content/lavender-scare>.
- 11 "The Role of Gay Men and Lesbians in the Civil Rights Movement," Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/the-role-of-gay-men-and-lesbians-in-the-civil-rights-movement>.
- 12 Debra Fowler, interview with the author, June 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 13 "When Did It Happen" was accessible online on GLSEN's website in July 2015; however, as of May 2016 it was no longer accessible online and searches for this lesson yield an error message. Searches for other GLSEN materials, including resources on *Lawrence v. Texas* and diversity within the LGBT community, end in similar results, indicating that GLSEN updates, and takes down, its curricular offerings.
- 14 "When Did It Happen: An LGBT History Lesson," GLSEN, 2009, accessed July 1, 2015, http://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/When%20Did%20it%20Happen%20Lesson%20Plan_0.pdf.
- 15 "LGBTQ History Timeline," GLSEN, accessed October 7, 2020, <https://www.glsen.org/activity/lgbtq-history-timeline-lesson>.
- 16 Peter Denegre, "Is Everyone Protected by the Bill of Rights?" Thirteen ed online, 2011, accessed August 1, 2018, <https://www.thirteen.org/edonline/lessons/billofrights/>.
- 17 "AIDS and HIV Activism," ONE Archives, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.onearchives.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/one-archives-foundation-los-angeles-aids-crisis.pdf>.
- 18 "LGBTQ Equality, 1950–1970," ONE Archives, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://www.onearchives.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/one-archives-foundation-coming-out.pdf>. This lesson focuses on the Mattachine Society, ONE, Inc., Daughters of Bilitis, Gay Liberation Front, and Radicalesbians. The site also has a separate lesson on Daughters of Bilitis and the ways they supported lesbians in the 1950s.
- 19 "LGBTQ Civil Rights," ONE Archives, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://www.onearchives.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/one-archives-foundation-civil-rights.pdf>.
- 20 "Stonewall Riots," Stanford History Education Group, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://sheg.stanford.edu/history-lessons/stonewall-riots>. One of the primary sources is a speech by Sylvia Rivera, a transgender woman whose role in the

Stonewall riots and the LGBTQ+ movement as a whole is essential, though often unacknowledged in classrooms.

- 21 “The LGBTQ Movement and the Stonewall Riots,” PBS Learning Media, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fp18-socst-lgbtq-stonewall/the-lgbtq-movement-and-stonewall-riot/>.
- 22 “The Stonewall Uprising,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/media/12966/download>.
- 23 “I Now Pronounce You ... Same-Sex Marriage Legislation,” Human Rights Resource Center, 2000, accessed July 1, 2015, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/TB3/act6/act6f.html>.
- 24 “Marriage Equality: Different Strategies for Attaining Equal Rights,” Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/marriage-equality-different-strategies-for-attaining-equal-rights>.
- 25 This lesson, like others in the ADL Curriculum Connections collection, uses an oral history interview and the accompanying resources from the Unheard Voices program as a key resource for students.
- 26 “Winning the Right to Marry: Historic Parallels,” Anti-Defamation League, 2010, accessed August 1, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/media/6790/download>.
- 27 “Wedding Cake, Same Sex Marriage, and Discrimination,” Anti-Defamation League, 2018, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/media/10779/download>.
- 28 Carolyn Laub, interview with the author, July 9, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Kisha Webster, interview with the author, July 8, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 29 “Zinn Education Project,” Howard Zinn.org, accessed August 2, 2018, <https://www.howardzinn.org/related-projects/zinn-education-project/>.
- 30 Jack Bareilles, “Women, Gays, and Other Voices of Resistance,” in *Voices of a People’s History of the United States: Teacher’s Guide*, ed. Gayle Olson-Raymer (New York: Seven Stores Press, 2005), 235–46.
- 31 “Our Mission,” Facing History and Ourselves, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.facinghistory.org/about-us>.
- 32 “LGBTQ History and Why It Matters,” Facing History and Ourselves, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.facinghistory.org/educator-resources/current-events/lgbtq-history-and-why-it-matters>.
- 33 “Unheard Voices: Stories of LGBT History,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed July 21, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/media/4699/download>.
- 34 “Unheard Voices: Stories and Lessons for Grades 6–12,” GLSEN, 2011, accessed July 31, 2018, <https://www.glsen.org/unheardvoices.html>.
- 35 John D’Emilio, interview with the author, July 7, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

- 36 “Lorraine Hansberry: LGBT Politics and Civil Rights,” Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/lorraine-hansberry-lgbt-politics-and-civil-rights>.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 “Lorraine Hansberry,” PBS Learning Media, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fp19.lgbtq.hansberry/lorraine-hansberry/>.
- 39 “Pauli Murray,” PBS Learning Media, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fp20-vid-pauli-murray/pauli-murray/>.
- 40 “Pauli Murray: Fighting Jane and Jim Crow,” Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/pauli-murray-fighting-jane-and-jim-crow>.
- 41 “James Baldwin: Art, Sexuality, and Civil Rights,” Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/james-baldwin-art-sexuality-and-civil-rights>.
- 42 “James Baldwin,” PBS Learning Media, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fp18-lgbtq-baldwin/james-baldwin/>.
- 43 “Bayard Rustin: The Fight for Civil and Gay Rights,” Learning for Justice, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/lessons/bayard-rustin-the-fight-for-civil-and-gay-rights>.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 PBS Learning Media and ONE Archives also offer lessons on Bayard Rustin.
- 46 “Alan Turing: True to Himself,” GLSEN, 2015, accessed August 2, 2018, <https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/Alan%20Turing%20True%20to%20Himself-Final.pdf>. Alan Turing was a British mathematician and cryptanalyst whose work broke the Nazi Enigma code during the Second World War. Turing was openly gay and was punished for his sexual orientation in the 1950s. He committed suicide in 1954.
- 47 “We’Wha,” PBS Learning Media, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fp20-we-wha/wewha-first-person-classroom/>. In Zuni culture, lhamana were nonbinary individuals who were elevated above other members of their tribe because they embodied multiple spirits. The term “Two Spirit,” coined in the 1990s, refers to transgender and nonbinary indigenous people.
- 48 “Audre Lorde,” PBS Learning Media, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fp19.lgbtq.lorde/audre-lorde/>.
- 49 “Alain Locke,” PBS Learning Media, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fp20-alain-locke/alain-locke-first-person-classroom-understanding-lgbtq-identity-educators-toolkit/>.
- 50 “History Unerased,” History UnErased, accessed May 5, 2021, <https://unerased.org/>.
- 51 “Curriculum,” History UnErased, accessed May 5, 2021, <https://unerased.org/resource/curriculum>.

- 52 Miriam Morgenstern, interview with the author, June 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 53 David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Jonathan Zimmerman, *Whose America? Culture Wars in the Public Schools* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- 54 Carolyn Laub, interview with the author, July 9, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 55 Kisha Webster, interview with the author, July 15, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 56 Sox Sperry, interview with the author, June 13, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 57 Jinnie Spiegler, interview with the author, July 16, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 58 According to Clifford Rosky's article in the *Columbia Law Review*, "the phrase 'no promo homo' was originally coined by Nan Hunter to describe the Briggs Initiative, a 1978 California ballot proposal allowing the termination of any public school teacher who engaged in 'advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging, or promoting of private or public homosexual activity.'" (Rosky, "Anti Gay Curriculum Laws," *Columbia Law Review* 117, no. 6 (October 2017): 1468.)
- 59 "No Promo Homo Laws," GLSEN, accessed April 11, 2017, <https://www.glsen.org/learn/policy/issues/nopromohomo>. Six states maintained "No Promo Homo" laws at the start of 2020. A US district court declared South Carolina's "No Promo Homo" law unconstitutional in March of that year, ruling it violated the Fourteenth Amendment.
- 60 "Alabama Code Title 16. Education § 16-40A-2," FindLaw, accessed July 31, 2018, <https://codes.findlaw.com/al/title-16-education/al-code-sect-16-40a-2.html>.
- 61 "Texas Health and Safety Code § 85.007. Educational Materials for Minors," FindLaw, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://codes.findlaw.com/tx/health-and-safety-code/health-safety-sect-85-007.html>.
- 62 Paige Hamby Barbeauld, "'Don't Say Gay' Bills and the Movement to Keep Discussion of LGBT Issues Out of Schools," *Journal of Law and Education* 43, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 137–46.
- 63 Emily Hobson, interview with the author, June 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 64 John D'Emilio, interview with the author, July 7, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

6 The FAIR Act: A Legislative Victory for LGBTQ+ History Education

- 1 “Past Legislation,” California Legislative Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Caucus, accessed March 16, 2016, <http://lgbtcaucus.legislature.ca.gov/legislation>.
- 2 Jo Michael, interview with the author, July 30, 2014, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in author’s possession.
- 3 “Issues: Non-Discrimination,” Equality California, accessed June 27, 2015, <http://www.eqca.org/site/pp.asp?c=kuLRJ9MRKrH&b=4026611>.
- 4 Matthew Bajko, “40 Years Ago, San Francisco Adopted Historic Gay Rights Law,” *Bay Area Reporter*, April 12, 2018, <https://www.ebar.com/news/news//258422>; Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement (American Social and Political Movements of the 20th Century)* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
- 5 Les Ledbetter, “Bill on Homosexual Rights Advances in San Francisco,” *New York Times*, March 22, 1978, <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/03/22/archives/bill-on-homosexual-rights-advances-in-san-francisco.html>.
- 6 “Gay Events Timeline 1970–1999,” SOIN Sexual Orientation Issues in the News; “California’s Senate Votes Bill Repealing Sexual Prohibitions,” *New York Times*, May 2, 1975, <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/05/02/archives/californias-senate-votes-bill-repealing-sexual-prohibitions.html>. The California state assembly referred to the bill as the “Consenting Adult Sex Bill.”
- 7 Jane Gross, “California Governor, in Reversal, Signs a Bill on Gay Rights in Jobs,” *New York Times*, September 26, 1992, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/09/26/us/california-governor-in-reversal-signs-a-bill-on-gay-rights-in-jobs.html>.
- 8 The Clinton administration created the Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell policy and the Defense of Marriage Act in the early to mid-1990s, in addition to state laws that supported discriminatory practices aimed at the LGBTQ+ community.
- 9 Gross, “California Governor, in Reversal, Signs a Bill on Gay Rights in Jobs.” California’s law was preceded by laws in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Hawaii, Connecticut, Vermont, and New Jersey.
- 10 Eric Astacaan, “1999 Legislation,” California Legislative Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Caucus, accessed March 16, 2016, <http://lgbtcaucus.legislature.ca.gov/1999-legislation>.
- 11 “Past Legislation,” California Legislative Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Caucus.
- 12 “Just the Facts: California’s Population,” Public Policy Institute of California, April 2020, <https://www.ppic.org/publication/californias-population/#:~:text=No%20race%20or%20ethnic%20group,the%202018%20American%20Community%20Survey>. Those numbers shifted by 2020. Latinos (39 percent) and Asians

- (15 percent) make up a larger proportion of the population, and 37 percent of Californians are white.
- 13 Micah Cohen, "In California, Growing Diversity First Made Its Mark," *New York Times*, October 8, 2012, <https://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/10/08/in-california-growing-diversity-first-made-its-mark/>.
 - 14 Gregory B. Lewis, "Black-White Differences in Attitudes towards Homosexuality and Gay Rights," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 75.
 - 15 "Changing Faiths: Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion," Pew Research Center, April 25, 2007, <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2007/04/25/changing-faiths-latinos-and-the-transformation-of-american-religion/>.
 - 16 Marisa Abrajano, "Are Blacks and Latinos Responsible for the Passage of Proposition 8? Analyzing Voter Attitudes on California's Proposal to Ban Same-Sex Marriage in 2008," *Political Research Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (December 2010): 927.
 - 17 "Timeline: Proposition 8," *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 2012, <https://www.latimes.com/local/la-prop8-timeline-story.html>.
 - 18 Jesse McKinley and Kirk Johnson, "Mormons Tipped Scale in Ban on Gay Marriage," *New York Times*, November 14, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/15/us/politics/15marriage.html>.
 - 19 Chris Cillizza and Sean Sullivan, "How Proposition 8 Passed in California—and Why It Wouldn't Today," *Washington Post*, March 26, 2013, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2013/03/26/how-proposition-8-passed-in-california-and-why-it-wouldnt-today/>.
 - 20 Ibid.
 - 21 Rachel Reinhard, interview with the author, January 29, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in author's possession.
 - 22 California State Assembly, "AB 537 Assembly Bill—Chaptered," *Legislative Counsel's Digest*, February 18, 1999, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/99-00/bill/asm/ab_0501-0550/ab_537_bill_19991010_chaptered.html.
 - 23 Sheila Kuehl, "Letter to School Superintendents," GSA Network, December 18, 2002, <https://www.gsanetwork.org/files/resources/SKLetter.pdf>.
 - 24 California State Senate, "SB 1437 Amended," *Legislative Counsel's Digest*, May 1, 2006, http://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=200520060SB1437.
 - 25 Lori Arnold, "Gov. Schwarzenegger Vows to Veto Gay-Friendly Curriculum Bill," *Christian Examiner*, June 9, 2006, <http://www.christianexaminer.com/article/gov.schwarzenegger.vows.to.veto.gay.friendly.curriculum.bill/43205.htm>; "Governor Says He Will Veto Bill Protecting Students and Fostering Tolerance in Schools," Equality California, May 25, 2006, <http://www.eqca.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=kuLRJ9MRKrH&b=4025925&ct=5195357>.

- 26 Roger Brigham, "Kuehl Waters Down Textbook Bill," *Bay Area Reporter Online*, August 10, 2006, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?article=1069&sec=news>.
- 27 Senate Judiciary Committee, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," Sacramento, CA, April 5, 2011, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/sb_48_cfa_20110404_134404_sen_comm.html. The quote from then-governor Arnold Schwarzenegger is cited in this document.
- 28 Senate Judiciary Committee, "Discrimination: The California Student Civil Rights Act," *SB 777 Senate Bill—Bill Analysis*, April 9, 2007, ftp://leginfo.ca.gov/pub/07-08/bill/sen/sb_0751-0800/sb_777_cfa_20070418_124057_sen_comm.html, 4.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 30 "Governor Signs Six LGBT Bills, Secures Protections for LGBT Youth," Equality California, October 12, 2007, <http://www.eqca.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=kuLRJ9MRKrH&b=4026083&ct=5198249>.
- 31 Assembly Committee on Education, "Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation in Instructional Services and Programs," Bill Analysis AB 222—As Amended March 24, 1999, April 7, 1999, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/99-00/bill/asm/ab_0201-0250/ab_222_cfa_19990407_112400_asm_comm.html, 4.
- 32 Roger Brigham, "Kuehl Waters Down Textbook Bill," *Bay Area Reporter Online*, August 10, 2006, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?article=1069&sec=news>.
Morrow's contention was wrong; in 2003 CA made sexual orientation a protected class.
- 33 Karen England, "Outrageous Homosexual Bill Passes California Senate—SB 777 a Serious Assault on Religious Freedom and Morality in Schools," *Christian News Wire*, May 24, 2007, <http://www.christiannewswire.com/news/933623242.html>.
- 34 Campaign for Children and Families, "They're BAACCKK: California 'Gay' Brainwashing Bills (SB 777 and AB 394)," Americans for Truth, March 26, 2007, <https://americansfortruth.com/2007/03/27/theyre-baacckk-california-gay-brainwashing-bills-sb-777/>.
- 35 California State Senate, "SB 777 Senate Bill—Chaptered," *Legislative Counsel's Digest*, February 23, 2007, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/07-08/bill/sen/sb_0751-0800/sb_777_bill_20071012_chaptered.html; "Governor Signs Six LGBT Bills, Secures Protections for LGBT Youth," Equality California; Senate Judiciary Committee, "Discrimination: The California Student Civil Rights Act," *SB 777 Senate Bill—Bill Analysis*.
- 36 "Governor Signs 3 Gay Rights Bills, Vetoes 2," *GSA Network*, October 15, 2009, <http://www.gsanetwork.org/news/governor-signs-3-gay-rights-bills-vetoes-2/101509>; Mark Tran, "Arnold Schwarzenegger Signs Law Establishing Harvey Milk Day," *The Guardian*, October 13, 2009, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/oct/13/schwarzenegger-law-harvey-milk-day>.

- 37 Mark Leno, "California's FAIR Education Act: Addressing the Bullying Epidemic by Ending the Exclusion of LGBT People and Historical Events in Textbooks and Classrooms," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking*, inaugural issue (Fall 2013), 106.
- 38 GLSEN, *The 2013 National School Climate Survey The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools* (New York: Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network, 2014), xx; the sentiment is also expressed in Leno, "California's FAIR Education Act."
- 39 A former community activist who once held Harvey Milk's seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Leno was elected to the California state assembly in 2002 and the state senate in 2008. Leno had proven himself a staunch advocate for LGBTQ+-related issues and had an established relationship with the organizations promoting the bill.
- 40 Senate Rules Committee, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," Sacramento, CA, March 29, 2011, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/sb_48_cfa_20110408_104724_sen_floor.html, 4.
- 41 California Legislative Information, "SB-48 Pupil Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," California Legislative Information, July 14, 2011, http://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201120120SB48.
- 42 "Senator Mark Leno Introduces FAIR Education Act," Equality California, December 13, 2010, <http://www.eqca.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=kuLRJ9MRKrH&b=4869041&ct=8971441>. The It Gets Better Project, established the same year, similarly encouraged LGBTQ+ youth to make connections, build community, and believe in their value as individuals.
- 43 California State Senate, "FAIR Education Act: Senate Third Reading," 2011, https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201120120SB48.
- 44 Senate Committee on Education, "Instruction and Instructional Materials: Sexual Orientation," Sacramento, CA, March 23, 2011, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/sb_48_cfa_20110322_113330_sen_comm.html, 5-6.
- 45 Susan Brinkmann, "California's 'Pro-Gay Indoctrination' Bill Advances in Same Week that Priest Is Accused of 'Anti-Gay Indoctrination,'" *WOG Blog*, March 30, 2011, <http://www.womenofgrace.com/blog/?p=7547>.
- 46 Carolyn Laub, "FAIR Education Act's 1st Victory!," *GSA Network Blog*, March 23, 2011, <https://www.gsanetwork.org/news/blog/fair-education-act's-1st-victory/03/23/11>.
- 47 Senate Judiciary Committee, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," 5.
- 48 California Legislative Information, "SB-48 Pupil Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content."

- 49 Assembly Committee on Education, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," Sacramento, CA, June 22, 2011, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/sb_48_cfa_20110621_104537_asm_comm.html, 3.
- 50 Senate Judiciary Committee, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," 4; and Senate Rules Committee, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," 9. The Judiciary and Rules Committees' analyses of the bill include quoted material from organizations outside of the state government that submitted documentation in support of or opposed to the FAIR Act.
- 51 Senate Rules Committee, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," 10.
- 52 Senate Judiciary Committee, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," 8.
- 53 "Pro-Family Response to Jerry Brown's Signing of SB 48," SaveCalifornia.org, July 14, 2011, <http://savecalifornia.com/7-14-11-pro-family-response-to-jerry-brown-signing-lgbt-role-models-bill.html>.
- 54 Los Angeles Times Editorial Board, "Gays in Textbooks: Best Told by Historians, Not by Politicians," *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 2011, <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/apr/08/opinion/la-ed-textbook-20110408>.
- 55 Leno, "California's FAIR Education Act."
- 56 Roland Palencia, "Letter to Governor Jerry Brown: EQCA Urges Your Signature Re: SB 48- F.A.I.R. Education Act (Leno)," Equality California, July 7, 2011, <http://www.eqca.org/atf/cf/%7B34F258B3-8482-4943-91CB-08C4B0246A88%7D/SB%2048%20EQCA%20Governor%20Letter.pdf>.
- 57 "Governor Signs FAIR Education Act—LGBT History Bill," KQED News, accessed July 16, 2018, <https://www.kqed.org/news/33986/governor-signs-fair-education-act-lgbt-history-bill>.
- 58 Adam Bink, "Stop SB 48 Campaign: 'We're Working on an Initiative,'" Equality on Trial, 2011, accessed June 2, 2015, <http://www.equalityontrial.com/category/fair-education-act/page/2/>.
- 59 Cillizza and Sullivan, "How Proposition 8 Passed in California—and Why It Wouldn't Today"; Seth Hemmelgarn, "EQCA: No Illusion on Stop SB 48," *Bay Area Reporter Online*, September 1, 2011, <http://ebar.com/new/article.php?sec=news&article=6005>; Cynthia Laird, "EQCA to Fight SB 48 Referendum," Edge Media Network, July 30, 2011, http://www.edgemedianetwork.com/news/local/news/122766/eqca_to_fight_sb_48_referendum; Patrick Range McDonald, "Stop SB 48 Campaign Seeks to Repeal California's Gay History Law," *LA Weekly*, July 25, 2011, <http://www.laweekly.com/news/stop-sb-48-campaign-seeks-to-repeal-californias-gay-history-law-2390481>.

- 60 Jim Christie, "California Orders Gay History in School Textbooks," Reuters, July 14, 2011, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-gays-california-history/california-orders-gay-history-in-school-textbooks-idUSTRE76D7QT20110715>.
- 61 "Governor Ignores Thousands of Phone Calls; CCG Evaluating Next Step," Catholics for the Common Good, July 14, 2011, <http://ccgaction.org/node/1084>.
- 62 "Urgent: Help Stop Radical Bill from Manipulating Our Kids," DefendChristians.org, September 27, 2011, <http://defendchristians.org/news/urgent-help-stop-radical-bill-from-manipulating-our-kids>.
- 63 "Pro-Family Response to Jerry Brown's Signing of SB 48," SaveCalifornia.org, July 14, 2011, <http://savecalifornia.com/7-14-11-pro-family-response-to-jerry-brown-signing-lgbt-role-models-bill.html>.
- 64 "Group Fighting California's Gay-Inclusive Education Law Short on Signatures, Accused of Violations," The American Independent Institute, September 2011, <http://www.americanindependent.com/197541/group-trying-to-repeal-cas-lgbt-inclusive-education-law-short-on-signatures-accused-of-violations>.
- 65 "SB 48 and the Churches," Stop SB 48, 2011, accessed June 20, 2015, <http://archive.constantcontact.com/fs078/1100422530046/archive/1107189511593.html>.
- 66 "Stop SB 48 Petitions Now Available," Pacific Justice Institute, July 28, 2011, <http://www.pacificjustice.org/press-releases/stop-sb-48-petitions-now-available>.
- 67 Lisa Leff, "Calif. Gay History Referendum Faces Uphill Battle," Associated Press, September 3, 2011, <http://news.yahoo.com/calif-gay-history-referendum-faces-uphill-battle-220939816.html>.
- 68 Hemmelgarn, "EQCA: No Illusion on Stop SB 48."
- 69 Seth Hemmelgarn, "Decline to Sign Campaign Developing," *Bay Area Reporter Online*, August 4, 2011, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=5912>.
- 70 Rick Jacobs, "Letter to the Editor: Courage Campaign Asks for Truth in Dialogue about SB 48," *San Diego Gay & Lesbian News*, August 24, 2011, <http://sdgln.com/tags/courage-campaign?page=1#sthash.aMzVtPzP.dpbs>.
- 71 Hemmelgarn, "Decline to Sign Campaign Developing."
- 72 Cillizza and Sullivan, "How Proposition 8 Passed in California—and Why It Wouldn't Today."
- 73 "Equality Organizations Launch Coalition to Protect FAIR Education Act," Equality California, August 25, 2011, <http://www.eqca.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=kuLRJ9MRKrH&b=6493233&ct=1119989>.
- 74 "Hate Groups Backing FAIR Education Act Referendum Must Be Exposed," Equality California, August 30, 2011, <http://www.eqca.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=kuLRJ9MRKrH&b=6493233&ct=1120262>.
- 75 "Group Fighting California's Gay-Inclusive Education Law Short on Signatures, Accused of Violations," The American Independent Institute; Roland Palencia,

- “Letter to Fair Political Practices Commission,” EQCA, September 28, 2011, <http://www.eqca.org/atf/cf/{34f258b3-8482-4943-91cb-08c4b0246a88}/SB%2048%20COMPLAINT%20TO%20FPPC%2009-28-2011.PDF>.
- 76 Wyatt Buchanan, “Group Fighting LGBT Teachings Fails Petition Drive,” *SF Gate*, October 13, 2011, <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Group-fighting-LGBT-teachings-fails-petition-drive-2327869.php>.
- 77 Adam Bink, “Stop SB 48 Campaign: ‘We’re Working on an Initiative.’”
- 78 Kevin T. Snider, “Request to Prepare Circulating Title and Summary Using the Amended Language,” State of California Department of Justice: Office of the Attorney General, December 21, 2011, [http://oag.ca.gov/system/files/initiatives/pdfs/11-0093%20\(i1038_11-0093_ais_\(stop_sb_48\)\).pdf](http://oag.ca.gov/system/files/initiatives/pdfs/11-0093%20(i1038_11-0093_ais_(stop_sb_48)).pdf).
- 79 Leno, “California’s FAIR Education Act.”
- 80 Ashley Chiappiano, interview with the author, January 15, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in author’s possession.
- 81 New Jersey State Legislature, “An Act Concerning Instruction and Instructional Materials in Public Schools and Supplementing Chapter 35 of Title 18A of the New Jersey Statutes,” Trenton, NJ, January 31, 2019, https://www.njleg.state.nj.us/2018/Bills/PL19/6_.HTM.
- 82 General Assembly of the State of Colorado, “House Bill 19–1192,” Denver, Colorado, May 28, 2019, https://leg.colorado.gov/sites/default/files/2019a_1192_signed.pdf, 2 and 7.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Oregon Legislative Assembly, “House Bill 2023,” Salem, Oregon, May 23, 2019, [https://olis.leg.state.or.us/liz/2019R1/Downloads/MeasureDocument/HB2023/Enrolled, 1](https://olis.leg.state.or.us/liz/2019R1/Downloads/MeasureDocument/HB2023/Enrolled,1).
- 85 101st General Assembly, State of Illinois, “HB0246,” Springfield, IL, August 9, 2019, <https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/fulltext.asp?DocName=10100HB0246&GA=101&SessionId=108&DocTypeId=HB&LegID=114183&DocNum=0246&GAID=15&Session=>
- 86 “Vote: Senate Floor: Third Reading—Final Passage,” LegiScan, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://legiscan.com/NJ/rollcall/S1569/id/768662>; “Vote: Assembly Floor: Third Reading—Final Passage,” LegiScan, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://legiscan.com/NJ/rollcall/S1569/id/780779>.
- 87 “HB 19–1192: Inclusion of American Minorities in Teaching Civil Government,” Colorado Education Association, accessed October 14, 2020, <http://scorecard.coloradoea.org/2019/bills/hb-19-1192/>.
- 88 “2019 Session: House Bill 2023,” *The Oregonian*, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://gov.oregonlive.com/bill/2019/HB2023/>. Oregon’s bill passed 51–7 (twelve Republicans in favor) in the House and 21–5 (five Republicans in favor) in the Senate.

- 89 "Vote: Third Reading in the House," LegiScan, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://legiscan.com/IL/rollcall/HB0246/id/820403>; "Vote: Third Reading in the Senate," LegiScan, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://legiscan.com/IL/rollcall/HB0246/id/870676>.
- 90 "LGBTQ Inclusive Curriculum Bill Approved by Illinois Gov. JB Pritzker," Equality Illinois, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.equalityillinois.us/%EF%BB%BF-lgbtq-inclusive-curriculum-bill-approved-by-illinois-gov-jb-pritzker/>.
- 91 "Governor Phil Murphy Signs LGBTQ-Inclusive Curriculum Legislation—Second in the Nation," Garden State Equality, accessed October 14, 2020, https://www.gardenstateequality.org/curriculum_legislation.
- 92 Scott Weiser, "Legislation Expands Mandatory Civics and History Education to Include Asians and LGBTQ Minority Groups," *Complete Colorado*, April 12, 2019, <https://pagetwo.completecolorado.com/2019/04/12/legislation-expands-mandatory-civics-and-history-education-to-include-asians-and-lgbtq-minority-groups/>.
- 93 Phillip Van Slooten, "LGBTQ-Inclusive Curriculum Laws Take Effect in N.J., Ill.," *Washington Blade*, September 9, 2020, <https://www.washingtonblade.com/2020/09/09/llo/lgbtq-inclusive-curriculum-laws-take-effect-in-n-j-ill/>. The same article mentions that counties in Maryland and Virginia passed similar curricular mandates.
- 94 Hannan Adely, "Can Parents Opt Out of New Jersey's LGBTQ Curriculum Law?" *North Jersey*, June 26, 2019, <https://www.northjersey.com/story/news/education/2019/06/26/teaching-lgbtq-in-schools-can-nj-parents-opt-out/1549151001/>.
- 95 "Oregon Law Now Requires Schools Teach LGBTQ Curriculum to All Ages," *Pulpit and Pen*, July 23, 2019, <https://pulpitandpen.org/2019/07/23/oregon-law-now-requires-schools-teach-lgbtq-curriculum-to-all-ages/>.
- 96 "OREGON: Ask Governor Kate Brown to Veto Legislation Mandating LGBT Content in ALL School History, Geography, Economics and Civics Curriculums," Family Policy Alliance, June 5, 2019, <https://familypolicyalliance.com/issues/2019/06/05/oregon-ask-governor-kate-brown-veto-legislation-mandating-lgbt-content-school-history-geography-economics-civics-curriculums/>.
- 97 New Jersey, Colorado, Oregon, and Illinois's laws were meant to go into effect in the 2020–1 school year.

7 Victory Deferred? Implementing LGBTQ+ Curriculum Laws

- 1 Carolyn Laub, "It Doesn't Inevitably Get Better: Implement the FAIR Education Act," GSA Network, January 17, 2013, <https://www.gsanetwork.org/news/it-doesn't-inevitably-get-better-implement-fair-education-act/011713>.

- 2 Ibid.
- 3 GLSEN, *The 2013 National School Climate Survey The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools* (New York: Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network, 2014); Laub, "It Doesn't Inevitably Get Better: Implement the FAIR Education Act"; Mark Leno, "California's FAIR Education Act: Addressing the Bullying Epidemic by Ending the Exclusion of LGBT People and Historical Events in Textbooks and Classrooms," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking*, inaugural issue (Fall 2013).
- 4 Lyndsey Schlaw, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 5 David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Jonathan Zimmerman, "Where the Customer Is King: The Textbook in American Culture," in *A History of the Book in America, Volume 5: The Enduring Book: Print Culture in Postwar America*, eds. David Paul Nord, Joan Shelley Rubin, and Michael Schudson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
- 6 Janice Law Trecker, "Women in U.S. History High-school Textbooks," in *Sex Bias in the Schools: The Research Evidence*, eds. Janice Pottker and Andrew Fishel (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1977), 148.
- 7 Elizabeth Weingarten, "Is This the End of the Crusade for Gender-Equal Curricula?," *The Atlantic*, June 15, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/06/is-this-the-end-of-the-crusade-for-gender-equal-curricula/530493/>.
- 8 Sierra Mannie, "Why Students Are Ignorant about the Civil Rights Movement," *The Hechinger Report*, October 1, 2017, <https://hechingerreport.org/students-ignorant-civil-rights-movement/>.
- 9 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "What Was the Civil Rights Movement?," PBS, accessed October 16, 2020, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/what-was-the-civil-rights-movement/>.
- 10 Teaching Tolerance, *Teaching the Movement: The State of Civil Rights Education in the United States in 2011* (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011), 8 and 17.
- 11 California State Senate, "FAIR Education Act: Senate Third Reading," 2011, https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201120120SB48; Senate Committee on Education, "Instruction and instructional materials: sexual orientation," Bill Analysis, last modified December 13, 2010, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/sb_48_cfa_20110322_113330_sen_comm.html.
- 12 Rachel Reinhard, interview with the author, January 29, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Don Romesburg, interview with

- the author, June 16, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Jamie Scot, interview with the author, February 26, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Senate Rules Committee, "Instruction: Prohibition of Discriminatory Content," Bill Analysis, last modified March 29, 2011, http://leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/sb_48_cfa_20110408_105410_sen_floor.html.
- 13 Assembly Committee on Education, "Instruction: Prohibition of discriminatory content," Bill Analysis, last modified June 22, 2011, http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/sen/sb_0001-0050/sb_48_cfa_20110621_104537_asm_comm.html.
 - 14 Geoffrey Kors, interview with the author, March 26, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. Oregon and Illinois's laws specifically refer to adopting textbooks that include LGBTQ+ history and individuals.
 - 15 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, June 16, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Jamie Scot, interview with the author, February 26, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 16 Hayley Penan, "Fair Education Act," *The Notice*, June 3, 2013, <http://thenoticeca.com/2013/06/03/fair-education-act/>.
 - 17 See Chapter 5 and Appendix C for more information on resources available to teachers.
 - 18 Jamie Scot, interview with the author, February 26, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. Scot left ONE Archives while this was still a work in progress. As she described the process, curriculum developers combed through US history textbooks to find entry points throughout the timeline to integrate LGBTQ+ history so that it would be woven throughout the year.
 - 19 Jo Michael, interview with the author, July 30, 2014, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 20 Rachel Reinhard interview with the author, January 29, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 21 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, June 16, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 22 Jamie Scot, interview with the author, February 26, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 23 Ibid.
 - 24 Rachel Reinhard, interview with the author, January 29, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 25 Jamie Scot, interview with the author, February 26, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 26 Zimmerman, "Where the Customer Is King: The Textbook in American Culture."
 - 27 "Curriculum Frameworks & Instructional Materials," California Department of Education, last modified December 28, 2017, <https://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/cr/cf/>.

- 28 “History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools: 2005 Edition with New Criteria for Instructional Materials,” California Department of Education 2005, reposted June 5, 2009, <https://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/cr/cf/documents/histsocsciframe.pdf>; Don Romesburg, conversation with the author, June 16, 2015.
- 29 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, June 16, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Matthew S. Bajko, “CA Schools Already Teaching Gay History,” Bay Area Reporter Online, April 21, 2011, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?article=5645&sec=news>.
- 32 Don Romesburg, Leila J. Rupp, and D. M. Donahue, *Making the Framework FAIR: California History-Social Science Framework Proposed LGBT Revisions Related to the FAIR Education Act* (San Francisco, CA: Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, 2014), 6.
- 33 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, June 16, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, March 11, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession. As per Romesburg, once the Framework changes are approved the state legislature must move to open the standards for revision; thus, the committee’s work will not be done when the Framework is approved. The Framework is instructive for textbook publishers, though, with these amendments leading to significant changes in the resources available to teachers.
- 36 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, March 11, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 37 “New California History-Social Science Framework Approved by State Ed Board: LGBT Advocates and Scholars Applaud the New Standards,” ACLU San Diego and Imperial Counties, July 14, 2016, <https://www.aclusandiego.org/lgbt-framework/>.
- 38 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, May 30, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 39 Stacie Brensilver Berman, “Books Have Their Own Stories: LGBTQ History in United States History Textbooks, 1990–2015,” in *Comparative Perspectives on School Textbooks: Analyzing Shifting Discourses on Nationhood, Citizenship, Gender, and Religion*, ed. Alexander Wiseman and Dobrochna Hildebrandt-Wypych (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).
- 40 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, May 30, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession. Romesburg also stated that the state oversees the textbook approval process for kindergarten through eighth grade, but districts determine which books high schools use. There is less awareness, then, of

the content in high school textbooks than elementary and middle school books. He also expressed the hope that California rejecting books that did not comply with the Framework would compel publishers to include more LGBTQ+ history in future editions.

41 Ibid.

42 “2017 History-Social Science Adoption,” California Department of Education, last modified October 9, 2018, <https://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/hs/im/hssadoptedprograms.asp>. Two books were not adopted, both of which were published by Houghton Mifflin. According to Don Romesburg, that company was slower to accept and adopt changes than others and had not made substantive enough revisions by the deadline.

43 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, May 30, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

44 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, August 6, 2020, Ridgefield, CT, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, August 6, 2020, Ridgefield, CT, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

48 Ibid.

49 “LGBTQ History,” Berkeley History-Social Science Project, accessed October 23, 2020, <https://ucbhssp.berkeley.edu/teacher-resources/lgbtq>.

50 “Home,” Teaching LGBTQ History, accessed October 24, 2020, <http://www.lgbtqhistory.org/>.

51 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, August 6, 2020, Ridgefield, CT, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

52 Don Romesburg, interview with the author, June 16, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

53 Rachel Reinhard, interview with the author, January 29, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Don Romesburg, interview with the author, February 6, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Jamie Scot, interview with the author, February 26, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

54 Jamie Scot, interview with the author, February 26, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

55 Rachel Reinhard, interview with the author, January 29, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

56 General Assembly of the State of Colorado, “House Bill 19–1192,” Denver, Colorado, May 28, 2019, https://leg.colorado.gov/sites/default/files/2019a_1192_signed.pdf.

- 57 Equality Illinois, Illinois Safe Schools Alliance, a program of Public Health Institute of Metropolitan Chicago, and The Legacy Project, "Inclusive Curriculum Implementation Guidance, Condensed Edition," Illinois Inclusive Curriculum Advisory Council, accessed October 17, 2020, <https://www.isbe.net/Documents/Support-Students-Implementation-Guidance.pdf>, 2.
- 58 "How to Use the Search Portal," Illinois Inclusive Curriculum Advisory Council, 2021, accessed May 6, 2021, <https://icl.legacyprojectchicago.org/search>.
- 59 "Virtual Professional Development Sessions," Illinois Safe Schools Alliance, 2020, accessed May 6, 2021, <https://www.ilsafeschools.org/virtual-pd-sessions?emci=b1d2deb2-33f7-ea11-99c3-00155d039e74&emdi=4df6b9d4-cb12-eb11-96f5-00155d03affc&ceid=2304351>.
- 60 Ashley Chiappiano, interview with the author, January 15, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 61 The twelve schools represent urban, suburban, and rural districts. The student populations among the schools differ, as well, in terms of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and grade levels. (Ashley Chiappiano, interview with the author, January 15, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.)
- 62 Ashley Chiappiano, interview with the author, January 15, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 63 GSE hosted a conference for educators in October 2020 to share LGBTQ+-inclusive resources.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Melanie Burney, "LGBTQ Education Is Now Mandatory in N.J. Schools. Here's How Teachers Are Preparing," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 20, 2020, <https://www.inquirer.com/education/nj-lgbtq-education-curriculum-lesson-plans-mandate-20200120.html>.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, *2018 History and Social Science Framework, Grades Pre Kindergarten to 12* (Malden: Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2018), 135–6.
- 68 "Safe Schools Program for LGBTQ Students," Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, accessed October 17, 2020, <https://www.doe.mass.edu/sfs/lgbtq/>.
- 69 "New York State Grades 9–12 Social Studies Framework," New York State Education Department, January 2015, <http://www.nysed.gov/common/nysed/files/programs/curriculum-instruction/ss-framework-9-12.pdf>. State Senator Brad Hoylman introduced an LGBTQ+ curriculum bill in 2019. It languished in committee.
- 70 NYC Department of Education, "Hidden Voices: LGBTQ+ Stories in United States History," *WeTeachNYC*, accessed March 11, 2021, <https://www.weteachnyc.org/>

media2016/filer_public/e4/6e/e46e71d1-f2ca-4ce3-89d2-6ce2db1decda/hv_lgbtq_v13_ada.pdf.

- 71 “LGBTQ+ Curriculum Project for NYC Department of Education Completed,” American Social History Project: Center for Media and Learning, September 18, 2020, <https://ashp.cuny.edu/news/lgbtq-curriculum-project-nyc-department-education-completed>.

8 Compelled to Act: Teachers Who Include LGBTQ+ History

- 1 See Chapter 5.
- 2 Lyndsey Schlaw, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Kisha Webster, interview with the author, July 8, 2015, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 3 States with laws prohibiting the discussion of LGBTQ+ issues in schools include Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas.
- 4 Gloria T. Alter, “Discovery, Engagement, and Transformation,” *Social Education* 81, no. 5 (2017): 279; “No Promo Homo Laws,” GLSEN, accessed December 12, 2017, <https://www.glsen.org/learn/policy/issues/nopromohomo>; Emily K. Hobson and Felicia T. Perez, “Questions, Not Test Answers: Teaching LGBT History in Public Schools,” in *U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History*, eds. Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 77–91.
- 5 I interviewed thirteen teachers. One ultimately opted against having their stories included in this book. Some of the teachers’ names were changed at their request.
- 6 Finding teachers to interview was difficult, especially because though there are thousands of teachers, relatively few focus on LGBTQ+ history consistently or in depth, if at all. I knew only one of the teachers prior to conducting this study. The others I located in a variety of ways: friends and colleagues introduced me to educators whom they thought might teach this material, I initiated a social media campaign to spread my interview request through a web of contacts in different regions, and I reached out to teachers whose efforts on this topic were the subjects of articles I read. I interviewed each educator multiple times; the conversations lasted between sixty and ninety minutes.
- 7 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, September 6, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, September 25, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Will Scott, interview with the author, August 16, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

- 8 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, August 10, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Mitchell James, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Melanie Wells, interview with the author, August 17, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 9 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Felicia Perez, conversation with the author, September 25, 2016; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 10 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, August 10, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Olivia Cole, interview with the author, September 6, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, September 25, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Mitchell James, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Felicia Perez, interview with the author, August 14, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, September 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 11 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. According to Kevin Jennings, one of the reasons he founded the organization that would become GLSEN in 1990 was to unite teachers across the country attempting to establish GSAs or discuss LGBT issues in a school-based setting something, he recalled, few teachers did and for which there was little support. Jennings asserted that any discussion around this issue throughout the 1990s was, in many places, taboo.
- 12 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 13 Dana Rosenberg, email exchange with the author, September 25, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, electronic files in the author's possession.
- 14 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 15 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, August 14, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 16 Will Scott, interview with the author, August 16, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 17 Ibid.

- 18 Will Scott, interview with the author, November 15, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 19 Kevin Jennings, interview with the author, January 3, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 20 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 21 Mitchell James, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 22 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. James lives in a state that, as of 2019, mandates LGBTQ+-inclusive curriculum.
- 23 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, August 17, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 24 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, August 10, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 32 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, September 25, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 33 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 34 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 35 Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. Fox relocated after the 2017–18 school year.
- 36 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, September 27, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 37 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 38 See Chapter 5.

- 39 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 40 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 41 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 42 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 43 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 44 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 45 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 46 Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 47 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 48 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 49 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 50 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 51 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 52 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 53 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 54 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 55 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 56 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 57 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Mitchell James, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's

- possession; Will Scott, interview with the author, August 16, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 58 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 59 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, September 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 60 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 61 Sandra Schmidt, "Queering Social Studies: The Role of Social Studies in Normalizing Citizens and Sexuality in the Common Good," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 38, no. 3 (2010).
- 62 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 63 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 64 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

9 Innovations at the Grassroots Level: LGBTQ+ History in High School Classroom Instruction

- 1 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, August 10, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Olivia Cole, interview with the author, September 6, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Mitchell James, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 2 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 3 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 4 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

- 5 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 6 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 7 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 8 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 9 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Will Scott, interview with the author, November 15, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 16 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 17 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 18 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 19 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 22 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 25 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Among the organizations creating classroom resources on LGBTQ+ history, the Human Rights Resource Center and Learning for Justice offer lessons connecting the battle for same-sex marriage with the struggle for interracial marriage.
- 28 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 29 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 30 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 33 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 34 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 35 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 38 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 41 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

- 46 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 49 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 50 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 51 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 52 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 55 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. Schlax offers her curriculum to any teacher starting their own LGBTQ+ history elective.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 58 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 61 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 62 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 63 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 64 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, October 21, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 65 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 66 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

- 67 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 68 Will Scott, interview with the author, November 15, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 69 Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 70 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession
- 71 Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Gloria Ladson Billings, "Crafting a Culturally Relevant Social Studies Approach," in *The Social Studies Curriculum: Purposes, Problems, and Possibilities*, ed. E. Ross, chapter 10 (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001); Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997).
- 72 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 73 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 74 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 75 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 76 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

10 Impact at the Grassroots: Challenges and Rewards in Teaching LGBTQ+ History

- 1 David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Jonathan Zimmerman, "Where the Customer Is King: The Textbook in American Culture," in *A History of the Book in America, Volume 5: The Enduring Book: Print Culture in Postwar*

- America*, ed. David Paul Nord, Joan Shelley Rubin, and Michael Schudson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
- 2 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 3 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Will Scott, interview with the author, November 15, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 4 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, September 6, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Will Scott, interview with the author, November 15, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Melanie Wells, interview with the author, August 17, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 5 Among the other teachers interviewed, four teachers replied that several teachers at their school include LGBTQ+ history, albeit in different ways. Three others stated that they received support from colleagues who did not teach an integrated curriculum themselves. Two worked in schools where there was little interaction between department members.
 - 6 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 7 Ibid.
 - 8 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 9 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 10 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 11 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
 - 12 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

- 13 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 14 Will Scott, interview with the author, November 15, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 15 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 16 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 17 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 18 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 21 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 22 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 23 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 24 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 25 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, January 26, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 26 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 27 "Why Class Size Matters Today," National Council for Teachers of English, April 1, 2014, accessed January 21, 2018, <http://www2.ncte.org/statement/why-class-size-matters/>.
- 28 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 29 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 30 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. Schlax is not alone in this contention. Scholars and university professors concerned about the lack of LGBTQ+ history in

- schools also focus on the dearth of college and university-based options available to teachers who wish to or might be able to include this material (Daniel Hurewitz, Don Romesburg, and Wendy Rouse, “Words That Shape the World: Historians, Teachers, and Partnerships for LGBT History,” presentation, American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 5, 2018).
- 31 Will Scott, interview with the author, November 15, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 32 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 35 States with “No Promo Homo” laws present their own distinct challenges and obstacles in this case.
- 36 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Don Romesburg, interview with the author, March 11, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 37 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 38 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 39 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, January 26, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 40 Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 41 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 42 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 43 Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 44 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 45 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, January 26, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author’s possession.

- 48 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 49 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 50 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 53 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 56 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 57 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, September 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 58 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 59 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 60 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 61 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 62 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 63 Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 64 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, September 6, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 65 Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession. According to Fox, the Black Student Union in his district hosts their own graduation ceremony each year in addition to the school-wide graduation. His students built on that idea in seeking an LGBTQ+ graduation ceremony.
- 66 Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

- 67 Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 68 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, December 8, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Olivia Cole, interview with the author, September 6, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 69 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Felicia Perez, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 70 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 71 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, September 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 72 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Fred Fox, interview with the author, August 7, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Mitchell James, interview with the author, October 30, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, January 12, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Casey Sinclair, interview with the author, November 22, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 73 Melanie Wells, interview with the author, September 20, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 74 Olivia Cole, interview with the author, September 6, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 75 Will Scott, interview with the author, November 15, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 76 Courtney Anderson, interview with the author, November 1, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Hasmig Minassian, interview with

- the author, November 23, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Felicia Perez, interview with the author, September 25, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 77 Hasmig Minassian, electronic correspondence with the author, February 4, 2018, Brooklyn, NY, electronic files in the author's possession.
- 78 Don Romesburg, "Words That Shape the World: Historians, Teachers, and Partnerships for LGBT History," presentation, American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 5, 2018.
- 79 Hasmig Minassian, interview with the author, September 25, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Dana Rosenberg, interview with the author, December 6, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 80 Courtney Anderson, email conversation with the author, October 27, 2020, Brooklyn, NY, communication/notes in the author's possession.
- 81 Melanie Wells, email conversation with the author, July 20, 2020, Ridgefield, CT, communication/notes in the author's possession.
- 82 Lyndsey Schlax, interview with the author, March 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 83 Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, November 16, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Danny M. Cohen, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession; Will Scott, interview with the author, August 16, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 84 Mitchell James, interview with the author, August 8, 2017, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.
- 85 Fred Fox, interview with the author, May 24, 2016, Brooklyn, NY, tape/notes/transcript in the author's possession.

Conclusion: The Future of LGBTQ+ History Instruction

- 1 Jonathan Zimmerman, "Where the Customer Is King: The Textbook in American Culture," in *A History of the Book in America, Volume 5: The Enduring Book: Print Culture in Postwar America*, eds. David Paul Nord, Joan Shelley Rubin, and Michael Schudson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
- 2 As I discuss this work with an increasing network of people, I find more teachers who excitedly respond that they include this information and/or wish they could devote more time to it. In addition, people outside education circles have put me in contact with teachers they know who focus on this material. It is a sign of progress

-