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# The Pi Sigma Alpha Undergraduate Journal of Politics

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Forty-Fourth Edition

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# Editor's Preface to the Spring Edition

Here at Elon University, we are extremely grateful to host *The Pi Sigma Alpha Undergraduate Journal of Politics*. We are proud to present the Spring 2022 issue and congratulate all authors published in this issue for their high achievement.

This publication seeks to highlight the intellectual curiosity that leads to innovative scholarship in all subfields of political science, scholarship that addresses timely questions, is carefully crafted, and utilizes diverse methodologies. We are committed to intellectual integrity, a fair and objective review process, and a high standard of scholarship as we showcase the work of undergraduate scholars, some of whom pursue questions that have been traditionally ignored in scholarship but that drive our discipline forward.

Following the lead of the American Political Science Review (APSR) Editorial Board, we are excited to publish research in the areas of “American politics, comparative politics, international relations, political theory, public law and policy, racial and ethnic politics, the politics of gender and sexuality and qualitative and quantitative research methods.” This publication also values the relationships formed through student-faculty collaboration and aims to build a culture of scholarship that expands beyond the college campus. We hope to encourage and empower students to seek out knowledge and pursue their potential, contributing to scholarship in a variety of disciplines.

This year, we thank our advisors Dr. Baris Kesgin and Dr. Aaron Sparks for their support, without which the issue would not have been possible. We would also like to thank the entirety of the Political Science and Policy Studies Department at Elon University, especially Dr. Laura Roselle; our Faculty Advisory Board; and all the students who shared their exceptional work with us this semester.

We are excited to present the Spring 2022 edition of the *Journal*. Thank you for your continued support and readership of our publication; we hope you enjoy the edition.

Sincerely,

*The Editorial Board at Elon University*

# Submission of Manuscripts

The *Journal* accepts manuscripts from undergraduates of any class and major. Members of Pi Sigma Alpha are especially encouraged to submit their work. We strive to publish papers of the highest quality in all areas of political science.

Generally, selected manuscripts have been well-written works with a fully developed thesis and strong argumentation stemming from original analysis. Authors may be asked to revise their work before being accepted for publication.

Submission deadlines are September 15th for the Fall edition and February 15th for the Spring edition. Manuscripts are accepted on a rolling basis; therefore, early submissions are strongly encouraged.

Students may submit their work through Elon University's submission portal, found here: <https://www.elon.edu/u/academics/arts-and-sciences/political-science/psa-journal/>

Alternatively, students may email [psajournalelon@gmail.com](mailto:psajournalelon@gmail.com) with an attached Word document of the manuscript. In the body of the email, students are asked to include their name and university, the title of the manuscript, and the closest subfield of political science to which their manuscript pertains (American politics, comparative politics, international relations, political theory, or policy studies). Due to the time committed to the manuscript review process, we ask students to submit only one manuscript per submission cycle.

Submitted manuscripts must include a short abstract (approximately 150 words) and citations/references that follow the *APSA Style Manual for Political Science*. Please do not exceed the maximum page length of 35 double-spaced pages, which includes references, tables, figures, and appendices.

The *Journal* is a student-run enterprise with editors and an Editorial Board that are undergraduate students and Pi Sigma Alpha members at Elon University. The Editorial Board relies heavily on the help of our Faculty Advisory Board, which consists of political science faculty from across the nation, including members of the Pi Sigma Alpha Executive Council.

Please direct any questions about submissions or the Journal's upcoming editions to the editors at Elon University: [psajournalelon@gmail.com](mailto:psajournalelon@gmail.com).

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# The Log Cabin Republicans and the Construction of Male Citizenship in the GOP

Molly Lamendola, Fairfield University

*This research paper observes the difference in rhetoric surrounding the construction of traditional male citizen pillars by the activist group known as the Log Cabin Republicans and the Republican Party. By observing the progression of LCR's mission statements from 1996 to the present, we can see that the Log Cabin Republicans were attempting to prove that sexuality did not affect the traditional male citizenship pillars. By comparing the LCR's Mission Statements to the developing party platforms of the GOP from 1996 to the present, it's seen that the GOP believed that sexuality directly affected someone's ability to take part in marriage and soldiering traditions and thus, was not a compatible pillar of traditional male citizenship.*

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## INTRODUCTION

The Log Cabin Republicans [LCR]<sup>1</sup> is the nation's oldest and largest<sup>2</sup> Republican organization dedicated to LGBTQ+ issues. Operating since the 1970s, the LCR is a membership organization that attempts to work within the Republican party to shift party values to include homosexuality within other aspects of traditional male citizenship. Because of the zeitgeist of the late 20th and early 21st century, with the passage and repeal of the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" bill banning queer service members and the fight for equal marriage rights, they shifted to focus on these issues. This is observed through their "Issues" page from 1996 to the present day.

As a group that is mostly comprised of white, Christian men, LCR members are demographically aligned with the Republican party, but due to their homosexuality status are part of the group of "compromised citizens", a minority within the Republican party and within the nation<sup>3</sup>. They are therefore unique in terms of activist groups as they attempt to work within traditional conservative spaces to shift inclusion to include queer men within traditional male citizenship. But how do they go about accomplishing this? They do so by attempting to shift the traditional pillars of male citizenship.

Political scientist Rogers Smith stated that though the white, male, Christian, straight sect of the population is the minority in the world's population and often in the United States, they are constructed as the natural citizen in the American state. In his book, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since The 1960s*, Robert Self goes further than Smith to break up the idea of traditional male citizenship into distinct pillars: breadwinning, soldiering, and heterosexuality. Breadwinning is the ability a man must

provide for his wife and family, soldiering is the ability for a man to serve overseas, and heterosexuality is not engaging in any same sex relations (Self 2013). I argue that the Log Cabin Republicans are attempting to place themselves within this archetype of "traditional male citizenship" through attempting to establish homosexuality with the pillars of breadwinning and soldiering, thus making heterosexuality an interchangeable pillar. I also argue that as members of the Republican Party, they don't wish to argue that breadwinning and soldiering shouldn't be traditional male citizenship pillars, but simply that inclusion should shift to give gay men access to traditional citizenship.

For this paper I altered Self's pillars to replace the pillar of "breadwinning" with the pillar of "marriage." Though breadwinning is, as stated above, a man's ability to provide for his family, I believe this pillar is directly impacted by a man's ability to marry and thus have a family first and foremost. They cannot provide for a family if they are not included within a traditional heterosexual family. Therefore, studying access to marriage over a citizen's ability to provide for his family is the most opportune comparison. Thus, for this paper, I observe the three pillars of traditional male citizenship as: marriage, soldiering, and heterosexuality.

Through reviewing the Log Cabin Republicans' Mission Statements, it is observed that they believe sexuality is not impacted by the other pillars of male citizenship. Therefore, homosexuality is compatible with both traditional male citizenship pillars: marriage and soldiering. In comparison, the GOP believes that the pillars of male citizenship: soldiering, marriage, and heterosexuality, are co-dependent. To show this theory, this paper highlights the shifting views of both the Republican Party and the LCR through an analysis of their mission statements. The analysis of the Log Cabin Republicans'

mission statements from 1996 to 2021, and a comparison to the Republican Party’s mission statements from 1996 to 2016, show how both the Log Cabin Republicans and the GOP were attempting to maintain most aspects of male citizenship. Where they differed is that the Log Cabin Republicans maintain their belief that the pillar of heterosexuality is interchangeable with homosexuality and the GOP believes that homosexuality is incompatible with soldiering and marriage, and thus homosexuality is an incompatible pillar of traditional male citizenship (Figure 1).

In historical and sociological literature, the study of queer citizenship has only looked at their relationship with the nation at large, and thus the total of American society. The literature has been focused on rediscovering queer history and aligning it with bureaucratic development in the nation. Unlike this paper, these sources observe how the state regulated queer citizenship by using homosexuality to define who could be naturalized and who could incur state benefits (Canaday 2009). Further, though the literature surrounding male citizenship does touch upon homosexuality as a pillar, it observes it through the larger scope

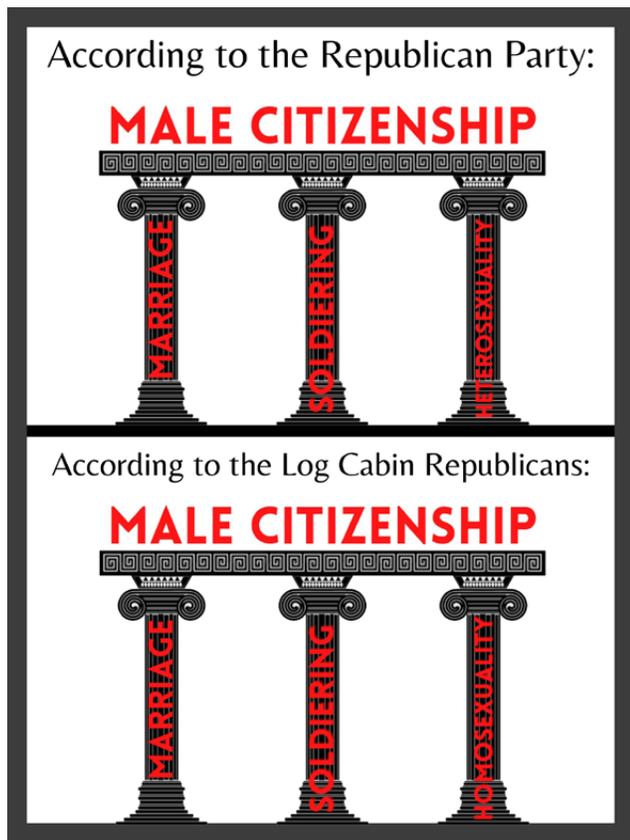
of American citizenship and thus includes observation of queer people who sought to shift all three pillars of male citizenship and not just the heterosexuality pillar (Self 2013). This paper seeks to fill a gap in studying the Conservative LGBTQ+ group through analysis of the largest organization dedicated to their values.

This paper expands the traditional definition of citizen towards ascriptive identities rather than shared beliefs. In previous literature, it is shown that American history is defined by the passing and repealing of naturalization, immigration, and voting laws that withhold citizenship from those who are not white, rich, and married men. Such laws would expand the word citizen into different categories, thus separating and limiting the rights each “citizen” would receive based on their background (Smith 1997). Aristotle famously stated that the designation of a citizen referred only to “men who had some share in the political life of their polis, not to all who lived there.” Despite the fact that the Revolutionary War and the goal of removing the “fixed, ascriptive hierarchy” established under the British Monarchy was accomplished, the rich, white, land-owning men were surrounded by social hierarchies, and thus were impacted by the limited scope of “citizenship” within the United States. For over 80 percent of U.S. history, American laws have established barriers to citizenship by defining certain cohorts as “legally ineligible” for citizenship, based simply on race, nationality, or gender (Smith 1997). But, as stated above, this removal of rights is not simply connected to a citizen’s civic rights, but which aspects of American society they can participate in, such as serving in the military and participating in marriage.

Further, and what is central for this study, is that all homosexual acts resulted in loss of citizenship privileges. This paper stands apart from previous research completed on citizenship, as it attempts to remove the problem of intersectionality within the study of citizenship and observe a group that is part of the “natural citizen” category, other than their sexuality status. By observing the Log Cabin Republicans efforts to shift away from the heterosexuality pillar to instead include a homosexuality pillar, this paper fills a gap in understanding how sexuality impacted citizenship in the late 20th, early 21st century, and how the GOP believes sexuality impacts citizenship.

Following a section on methodology and sources, the first section of this paper focuses on the Log Cabin Republicans language surrounding queer inclusion in the military and their effort to repeal the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy. The second section shifts to look at the Republican Party’s language surrounding queer military inclusion, their support of the DADT policy and a comparison to the LCR’s statements. The third and fourth section shifts to look at same sex marriage policy and language through the LCR firstly, and then the Republican Party. These sections illustrate the overarching struggle between the two groups between the redefinition of male citizenship, whether homosexuality could

Figure 1. SEQ Figure \\* ARABIC 1: Diagram Showing the Male Citizenship Pillars According to the Republican Party and to the Log Cabin Republicans



Illustrated by Molly Lamendola using Canva.

be an interchangeable pillar of the traditional male citizenship structure, or if the heterosexuality pillar is co-dependent on the marriage and soldiering pillars, thus disallowing any structural changes within the Republican party. The conclusion summarizes the findings and discusses future scholarship possibilities surrounding the impact of the same sex marriage decision and the repeal of DADT on the Republican Party and the traditional male citizenship structure.

## METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The central goal of this paper is to observe the discourse between the LCR and the GOP surrounding same-sex marriage and queer military service, thus attempting to outline the underlying question whether pillars of male citizenship are interdependent on each other. Therefore, my method of analysis is a close reading and content analysis of the LCR's mission statements from 1996 to 2021 and the GOP party platform from 1996 to 2016. The Log Cabin Republicans' mission statements were accessed using Archive.org's "Wayback Machine" to access the LCR's website through the past few years. The year 1996 was chosen as the start date as it is the year for which the earliest mission statement or "issue overview" is available utilizing this resource. The mission statement and "issue overviews" were chosen as a point of analysis as they remain a standard of belief across all chapters of the LCR and provide an adequate insight into the belief system of the organization at certain moments chronologically. Further, the website source was chosen as the LCR updated the website often to showcase their shifting belief system over time. Similarly, the Republican Party platform from 1996 to 2016 was chosen to coincide with the years of analysis for the LCR, and for documenting the belief system of the Republican party during certain points chronologically. Further, I utilized news articles to illustrate the context surrounding the decision making of these public facing beliefs and the era at which they were in.

I read through the Log Cabin Republican's websites and the GOP party platforms thoroughly to review their overarching goals but shifted to finding specific mentions of queer military service and same sex marriage. Since I'm working within a small window of time, I was able to utilize all the GOP party platforms from 1996 to 2016, and then select sections that related to same-sex marriage and queer military service. To find these sections I utilized the search terms of "homosexuality," "gay," and "same-sex" within paragraphs that had the search terms "marriage" or "military." For the Log Cabin Republicans, I looked through their mission statements from 1996 to 2021 for language relating to the GOP's party platform to find if there was overlapping language, and if so, which ideas and themes connected the two. I then used the "Issue" section of their website and completed a discourse analysis with their statements and the GOP's statements, looking for mentions of queer military service and same-sex marriage. I created a document adding statements from both the GOP and the Log

Cabin Republicans connected to either queer military service or same-sex marriage and compared rhetoric and verbiage between the two. Furthermore, I was interested in a quantitative analysis of the GOP's platforms and the LCR's mission statements, and thus compared the number of lines each group gave to these issues from 1996 to the present. I created a chart highlighting this comparison to better understand the possible connection between the number of lines given to the issues of queer military service and same-sex marriage, and how much importance each group placed on these issues. This paper hypothesizes if the issue was of a distinct importance to either the Log Cabin Republicans or the GOP, then they would give the issue more lines within their statements.

## Log Cabin Republicans and Military Service

To the GOP and, in turn, to the Log Cabin Republicans, military service is a pinnacle aspect to male citizenship. Robert Self states that soldiering provides the opportunity for the nation to put their "best" citizen forward and a "mirror for the nation to gaze upon itself," (Self 2013). Going further with this, the act of disallowing queer service members from participating within military service highlights the GOP's belief that anyone who is not heterosexual should not be 'gazed upon', that they are not the nation's 'best.' Even more central to this study is that as the GOP believes homosexuality is incompatible with military service, they must also believe homosexuality is incompatible with the traditional male citizenship structure, as these pillars are co-dependent.

The "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy passed in 1994 codifying the GOP and the nation's position on queer service members. DADT allowed the military to discharge service members that "engaged in homosexual acts or who disclose they are gay", but supervisors were only allowed to ask about sexual orientation with "a good reason." With the military defending the policy as it "reduces sexual tension" (Cassens 1998). Many groups, like the Log Cabin Republicans, stepped forward to challenge this position legally, calling it unconstitutional, but every federal appeals court upheld the policy. The Log Cabin Republicans saw their best opportunity to challenge DADT after the Supreme Court ruled in *Lawrence v. Texas* that the Texas statute making sodomy a crime violated the Due Process Clause (Oyez 2003). In December 2004, after the *Lawrence v. Texas* ruling, twelve queer people expelled from the military filed a lawsuit in Boston to contest their release from service. C. Dixon Osburn, the Executive Director of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network who advised the plaintiffs, stated that he believed the "gay ban can no longer survive constitutionally" and that it existed "just to accommodate prejudice." This group was following the model the Log Cabin Republicans had established when they filed a similar suit in October of that same year. In October, LCR supported a group of plaintiffs not yet discharged from service, but who wanted to file a suit out, "of fear of the military finding out their sexual orientation if they are gay and lesbian," (Associated Press International 2004).

Other than the legality of the situation, many found the LCR's approach at the time to be a direct reaction to the political climate surrounding the 2000 Presidential election and support of their cause in the Republican Party. The Log Cabin Republicans supported President George Bush in his 2000 election but would eventually pull support from in during the 2004 election due to his continued lack of support for the LGBTQ+ community. When President Clinton put the policy in place in 1994, the Pew Research Center reported that only 45% of survey participants agreed LGBTQ+ service members should be banned from service (Pew Research Center 2020). It's important to note that in 2004, 46% of "Conservatives" stated they would support gay military service members (Kiefer 2021). By 2010 when this policy was repealed, the 46% shifted down to 28% Conservatives and 40% Republican's generally (Pew Research Center 2020). Though it is not known if the LCR were aware of this percentage of support, it seems as if they at least understood that DADT was a largely supported policy in the Republican Party. Thus, they do not specifically mention their direct support of a total repeal of DADT in any of their statements of purpose from 1996 to the repeal in 2010. What they do say repeatedly is that they align with the Republican Party in that they support a strong national defence. They state this quite clearly in 2005 when they state, "We are loyal Republicans. We believe in low taxes, limited government, strong defense, free markets, personal responsibility, and individual liberty," (Log Cabin Republicans 2005). Even in 2021, their mission statement remains, "We are loyal Republicans. We believe in limited government, strong national defense, free markets, low taxes, personal responsibility, and individual liberty."

In 2004, under the "Issues" section of their website, they state that "The United States Military's Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy must be changed," but do not call for total repeal of the act. They do state that this is "blatant discrimination" that damages "military readiness and weakens national defense," (Log Cabin Republicans 2004). They continue by stating that the policy leaves the United States at risk of losing the "best and brightest" by excluding a group of people from defending the United States. They state a specific instance when seven Arabic linguists were removed from the military's Defense Language Institute for being gay despite complaints from the military that they were short Arabic linguists, asserting that the military is wrong in believing that allowing openly gay service members would hurt "unit cohesion" and evidencing 24 other countries that allowed openly gay service members (Log Cabin Republicans 2004). The LCR also point out that many use the policy to avoid military service as "a sizable percentage of those kicked out of the armed forces for being homosexual are actually heterosexual" and that millions of the military's budget is spent investigating violations of DADT.

The LCR highlight their inclusion within the conservative movement when they state that homophobia won't impact unit cohesiveness. Specifically, "...if some heterosexual

members of the United States military have moral objections to homosexuals, that won't impact unit effectiveness," as research has been done that effectiveness as nothing to do with the unit's respect of each other (Log Cabin Republicans 2004). This separates the LCR from other gay rights organizations. They're not saying the Department of Defence needs to make the military accepting of LGBTQ+ people or stop discrimination all together, but they do need to shift to accommodate queer individuals within the military and thus within the traditional aspect of male citizenship. I think this is a strategic position as to not alienate themselves from the more conservative members of the Republican party or even politicians trying to gain support from both the LCR and the more conservative members of the party (Log Cabin Republicans 2004). This "Gays in the Military" section remains the same until 2006.

In 2006 the issues page changes from nine points against DADT to 14 (Table 1). Further in 2006, though many of the general positions and reasoning stays the same, some of the language is changed and the reasons become significantly more quantifiable. They continue the same discussion surrounding the fact that 24 nations already have openly gay service members. But the language on points they discussed in early years has changed significantly. Instead of stating, "Even if some heterosexual members of the United States military have moral objections to homosexuals, that won't impact unit effectiveness", they state that the "...decrease in gay and lesbian discharges during wartime clearly shows that arguments about unit morale and cohesion have no basis," (Log Cabin Republicans 2006). They state that if the service of gay military members were "detrimental" to unit cohesion, then discharges would increase during times of war. They go further to state that the repealing of DADT might help unit cohesion as more trusting bonds would be formed when all service members could be honest. Also, instead of stating that DADT has allowed heterosexual service members the ability to lie about their sexuality to leave the service has been edited to instead place blame on the "witch hunts" by the Department of Defence. They state that these investigations are "improper" and "harassment" that is "potentially leading to the discharge of heterosexual service members." Their emphasis on a continued point that DADT is not just wrong, but it harms the military's readiness, recruiting strategy and budget is seen throughout their 2006 issue statement and highlights an increasing assertiveness that a limited, heterosexual military is harmful for national defence (Log Cabin Republicans 2006). This showcases their continued allegiance with the idea that they agree with the GOP that the national defense and soldiering is a pinnacle aspect of American society and should be given the right number of focus/finances. However, they simply believe queer service members should participate within this structure and disallowing their access is harming the overall structure of "soldiering."

The Log Cabin Republicans keep this page through 2006 and 2007 but add a section on the growing support of military officials and lawmakers in 2007. They mention the New York

Times Opinion piece written by General John Shalikashvili, who was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff when the policy was implemented, titled “Second Thoughts on Gays in the Military.” In the piece he states that the new wars in the Middle East require an increase in military members, and thus a re-evaluation of the policy is needed (Shalikashvili 2007). They also sight the recent support of Republican Senator John Warner (R-VA) who interjected when Joint Chiefs Chairman Peter Pace stated he opposed homosexuality. Warner stated, “I respectfully but strongly disagree with the chairman’s view that homosexuality is immoral.” The Log Cabin Republicans were clear in their previous reasonings that morality should not be a part of the decision, as what is best for the military and the service members should be held first. By mentioning the morality behind homosexuality, they are stating a new desire for homosexuality to be morally accepted within the Republican party and with it, support of the DADT repeal (Log Cabin Republicans 2007). But, with the addition of the new military and political supporters, this version of the LCR “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” page remains the same through 2007 to 2010 when Congress repeals the policy (Log Cabin Republicans 2008).

**The GOP and “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”**

To better understand what the LCR were responding and reacting to, we must see what the rhetoric the GOP were using surrounding DADT. In the 1996 GOP Party Platform, the party uses six paragraphs to discuss “Rebuilding America’s Strength” and eight to discuss “The Men and Women of Defense” but use just two lines to discuss queer military inclusion. They state, like the LCR, that “Republicans are committed to ensuring the status of the United States as the world’s preeminent military power.” They also seem to agree that military readiness has been below par and there have been budget shortfalls, which are

all things the LCR would state would be helped by repealing DADT. But the GOP states quite clearly in 1996, “We affirm that homosexuality is incompatible with military service,” (The American Presidency Project 1996). In 1992, in their section “The Men and Women of Defense,” they state that “Unlike the Democrat Party and its candidate, we support the continued exclusion of homosexuals from the military as a matter of good order and discipline,” (The American Presidency Project 1992). However, they do not mention exclusionary military service in their 1988 party platform (The American Presidency Project 2020). By 2000, they include their stance on gay service in the “A Military for the Twenty-First Century” and state that the military is not a place for “social experiments” and state that they “affirm traditional military culture” and that “homosexuality is incompatible with military service,” (The American Presidency Project 2000). Though they do state in their “Upholding the Rights of All” section that they “...oppose discrimination based on sex, race, age, religion, creed, disability, or national origin and will vigorously enforce anti-discrimination statutes,” they leave out any mention of discrimination based on sexuality (The American Presidency Project 2000). This is the first time that the GOP mentions that queer military inclusion would be a stand against tradition, not that it is just incompatible. This is a clear shift within their language and belief that queer inclusion would go against traditional male citizenship. If, like Self states, the soldier is the opportunity for “the nation to gaze upon itself” with the soldier acting as the perfect male citizen, the GOP is not just stating that they do not believe queer citizens can adequately fulfil this role (Self 2013). They continue this in both 2004 and 2008, stating that “homosexuality is incompatible with military service” but state that this is due to their affirmation of traditional military culture (The American Presidency Project 2004). Another shift occurs in 2008, when they state that maintaining a heterosexual military is to “protect our servicemen and women” (The American Presidency Project 2008). This is the first and only time that the desire to “protect” service members is stated as a concern within the inclusion of gay service members, and as it is the platform written closest to the repeal of DADT, I believe it is directly related to that. After the 2012 platform, there is no mention of queer military service within the party’s platform. What the GOP begins to do instead is drop the idea of safety or that inclusion is bad for national defense and instead toward a rationale of protecting traditional military culture. They state that they “reject the use of the military as a platform for social experimentation and will not accept attempts to undermine military priorities and mission readiness,” (The American Presidency Project 2012). They increase this statement further in their 2016 platform by stating, “We reject the use of the military as a platform for social experimentation and will not accept or continue attempts to undermine military priorities and mission readiness. We believe that our nation is most secure when the president and the administration prioritize readiness, recruitment, and retention rather than using the military to advance a social or political

Table 1. Number of lines mentioning LGBTQIA+ Military Service Within the Party Platforms of the GOP and the Mission Statements/Issues of the Log Cabin Republicans

Years	Log Cabin Republicans	The Republican Party
1992	N/A	1
1996	0	2
2000	0	3
2004	59	1
2008	50	1
2012	0	1
2016	0	7

agenda. Military readiness should not be sacrificed on the altar of political correctness,” (The American Presidency Project 2016). The phrase “altar of political correctness” stands apart from the sentence as it points out that though the GOP lessened their hard rhetoric surrounding gay service members to not turn off this voting group but to please conservatives within their ranks by rallying against political correctness.

In 2016, gatekeeping military service from certain individuals was a renewed political discussion. In April 2019, President Donald Trump instituted a ban on trans individuals serving in the military. In a report from the Palm Center, a non-partisan group that studies LGBT military issues stated that the policy, “. . . is a perfect parallel to the failed ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ policy, also sold as not being a ban although designed to systematically push gay people out of military service — or at least keep them silent and invisible,” (Jackson and Kube 2019). Two lower court injunctions blocked the policy until the Supreme Court voted 5-4 to reinstate it in early January and a U.S. appeals court reinstated it again in June despite the multiple suits (Chung and Stempel 2019; Lopez 2019). In the early days of his presidency, President Joe Biden reversed the ban with an executive order, but in a poll days after, many Republicans stated their opposition to transgender people serving in the military (Jarvis 2021). In January 2019, in reaction to the first Supreme Court decision, the Log Cabin Republicans released a press release that stated, “Transgender military personnel have served their country honorably and openly for the past two and a half years, and all indicators point to our national defense being stronger for their presence – the most salient indicator being that the disputed policy actually permits the continued service of transgender personnel who came out in light of the 2016 policy,” (Log Cabin Republicans 2019).

### **Log Cabin Republicans and Soldiering**

One might ask why military inclusion seems to be so important to the Log Cabin Republicans and why they would fight so hard for their right to serve. Firstly, as they state that a strong military defense is part of their main platforms, that there is an aspect regarding the fact that they want to participate in what they trying to preserve and just garner true equality. But there could be a deeper implication to this, as within traditional male citizenship. There is a belief that “military manhood” and patriotism was the very foundation of the United States’ image. This is since the male citizen, as the “natural citizen” is supposed to be the best the nation can offer and an opportunity for “the nation to gaze upon itself,” (Self 2013). The Vietnam war played a significant role in pushing the importance of this “military manhood” concept and became a symbol both political parties utilized to “conceptualize freedom, equality, and the citizen’s relationship to the state,” (Self 2013). Though the LCR and the GOP would argue in favor of a strong military force after 9/11, the GOP’s position still doesn’t shift to include queer individuals in their idea of “military manhood.” This was seen within the Vietnam War as well, as the draft did not include heterosexual

individuals as “American officials and ordinary citizens alike imagined the armed services to represent a masculinity that gay men were believed not to embody.” This can be applied generally to military service and especially to the post-9/11 era. This can especially be seen if we compare the language used by the Department of Defense in 1966 and the Republican Party platform we already looked at. In 1966 the DoD stated, “The homosexual is considered unsuitable for military service and is not permitted to serve in the armed forces in any capacity” while the GOP states that “homosexuality is incompatible with military service,” (The American Presidency Project 2000; Self 2013).

### **The Log Cabin Republicans and Marriage**

On June 26, 2015, the Supreme Court ruled 5-4 in the landmark *Obergefell v. Hodges* case that it was a violation of the 14th amendment for states to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages. Justice Anthony Kennedy delivered the opinion of the court, stating that liberty was guaranteed in the Constitution and since the petitioners wished to have liberty through the freedom to marry someone of the same sex and having their marriages deemed lawful, then not allowing them to do so was a violation of the Constitution. He also went on to discuss how changes within the marriage institution and the legal definition of marriage and who can marry has changed over the last few centuries, as the nation has grown and matured. Justice Kennedy stated that these “developments in the institution of marriage over the past centuries were not mere superficial changes. Rather, they worked deep transformations in its structure, affecting aspects of marriage long viewed by many as essential,” (Supreme Court 2015).

The language used in Justice Kennedy’s majority opinion mirrors the Log Cabin Republican’s early rhetoric surrounding gay marriage. On their website, they have a page under their “Issues” section titled “The Case for Civil Marriage,” which they adopt verbatim from 2004 to 2011. Here they discuss the point Justice Kennedy brought up, regarding how the institution of marriage has changed overtime as more people were included into the fold over time. They continue that many of those who oppose same-sex marriage state that they want to respect the “tradition” of marriage. “If this argument sounds familiar, it is,” the LCR write, adding, “[s]egregationists used to say the same thing during the Civil Rights struggle four decades ago,” (Log Cabin Republicans 2004). They go on to claim that same-sex marriage should be legalized using messaging strategies directed at those within the Republican party. They state that allowing same-sex marriage would lead to more stable relationships and any opposition is just prejudice that “gay men are more promiscuous than heterosexuals.” They add that marriage encourages monogamy and long term committed relationships, both things that the Republican Party wants, so allowing same-sex couples to participate in that would be something they should support, “How can the religious right disagree with this point?” they ask (Log Cabin Republicans 2004).

2004 was an important year for the Log Cabin Republicans and their campaign for Marriage Equality. The Log Cabin Republicans had endorsed President Bush in the 2000 election but withheld their support in the 2004 election. They had always had a tense relationship with President Bush and the Bush family as they had pulled support from George H.W. Bush after the 1992 Republican Convention where the GOP ran a staunch anti-gay campaign to try and stand apart from the Clinton campaign. Former White House Communications Director Pat Buchanan gave a speech that night where he stated that the GOP stands with President Bush “against the amoral idea that gay and lesbian couples should have the same standing in law as married men and women,” (Buchanan 1992). This speech was largely contrasted by Mary Fisher’s speech on the HIV/AIDS epidemic that had killed 100,777 people between 1981 and 1990. 59% of said death were gay men (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 1998). Fisher worked within the Ford Administration and then became a political activist after contracting HIV from her husband. As it was believed that only gay men could contract the virus, Fisher worked to prove that anyone could contract it, stating that, “Though I am female and contracted this disease in marriage and enjoy the warm support of my family, I am one with the lonely gay man sheltering a flickering candle from the cold wind of his family’s rejection,” (Fisher 1992). She was later coined the “Republican princess” by The New Republic (Jackson and Kube 2019). Despite her speech, many believed the convention to be an “explicit attack on gay rights” and the Log Cabins pulled support from Bush in 1992, largely because of the convention’s rhetoric, and Bill Clinton won the election (Jordan 1992). Despite the LCR’s pulled support, during Clinton’s administration, the Defense Against Marriage Act was signed in 1996 and defined marriage as the union between a man and a woman, specifically “the word ‘spouse’ refers only to a person of the opposite sex who is a husband or a wife,” (Legal Information Institute 2020). By 2000, when George W. Bush was running for office, it seemed to just be a continuation of the anti-gay rhetoric, but he later changed his mind after meeting with the Log Cabin Republicans in April 2000. Leaving that meeting he stated, “I hope Republicans, conservative Republicans, understand that we judge people based upon their heart and soul,” (Miller and Barabak 2000). By February of 2004, however, Bush stated that he would support a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage and called it “the most fundamental institution of civilization.” He pushed Congress to work quickly as to protect the marriage institution from some “activist judges,” (Stout 2004a). By September of 2004, the Log Cabin Republicans had pulled their support from George W. Bush’s re-election campaign stating that the White House was “disloyal” to them and their interests (Stout 2004b). But Bush still won in a landslide, and despite the LCR’s efforts, the Republican party remained strongly committed to opposing same-sex marriage equality for years to come.

What is important about the Log Cabin Republican’s efforts within the fight for marriage equality is that they tried and failed to prove that heterosexuality was a movable pillar within traditional male citizenship. They did not dispute the importance of marriage within citizenship, nor the discourse regarding two-parent households or similar non-traditional family set-ups, they simply stated they wished for access to the marriage tradition. If shifting to observe the GOP’s rhetoric surrounding same-sex marriage, it can be observed that the LCR had no impact on the GOP’s same-sex marriage platform. The GOP continue to believe that heterosexuality is a pinnacle aspect of marriage and thus a homosexuality is incompatible with traditional male citizenship, as seen within their party platform, their convention speeches and Republican Presidents.

### GOP and Gay Marriage

Unlike within the rhetoric surrounding DODT and queer military access, the GOP begins the debate by establishing marriage as a tradition. Unlike their rhetoric surrounding soldiering, they establish the belief in a one man, one women marriage within each platform from 1996 to 2016, but do so briefly, giving just a few lines to the topic (Table 2).

In 1992 the GOP stated that they would oppose any law that recognizes same-sex marriages and in 1996 the Defense of Marriage Act was signed to establish this officially (The American Presidency Project 1992). In 1996, they stated, “We reject the distortion of those laws to cover sexual preference, and we endorse the Defense of Marriage Act to prevent states from being forced to recognize same-sex unions,” (The American Presidency Project 1996). This was the same year of Patrick Buchanan’s speech where he stated that he stood with President George H.W. Bush, “against the amoral idea that gay and lesbian couples should have the same standing in law as married men and women” and the platform highlights this sentiment within the Republican Party. By 2000, the GOP expanded on its brief same-sex marriage opposition pledge,

Years	Log Cabin Republicans	The Republican Party
1996	0	5
2000	0	4
2004	46	14
2008	44	9
2012	0	8
2016	0	10

now devoting four sentences (compared to one previously) in its platform (Table 2). They state that they value the traditional definition of marriage and that states shouldn't be forced to recognize other "living arrangements as marriages," (The American Presidency Project 2000). What stands out in their 2000 statement is that they add, "We rely on the home, as did the founders of the American Republic, to instill the virtues that sustain democracy itself," (The American Presidency Project 2000). By establishing the connection to the founding fathers, and the "virtues that sustain democracy" they seem to be clearly stating that gay men and women should not just be barred from marriage and the social construct of citizenship, but they should be knowingly barred from citizenship and the opportunities of democracy. They continue that, "For the same reason, we do not believe sexual preference should be given special legal protection or standing in law." By 2004, the pledge to oppose same-sex marriage increases from four to twelve sentences, with an entire section devoted to "Protecting Marriage." They stated their support of President Bush's constitutional amendment to protect marriage. The GOP adds further that the welfare of children should be considered, and any benefits given to married couples should be restricted to just "one man and one woman" marriages (The American Presidency Project 2004). They call the Defense of Marriage Act a "common sense law" and state that any attempts to "redefine marriage in a single state or city could have serious consequences throughout the country," (The American Presidency Project 2004).

By 2008, Republicans focus their platform on the appointment of "Constitutionalist Judges" that will not attempt to undermine traditional marriage laws. They continue their 2004 rhetoric surrounding the impact on children and state that "Because our children's future is best preserved within the traditional understanding of marriage, we call for a constitutional amendment that fully protects marriage as a union of a man and a woman," (The American Presidency Project 2008). But other than that, they do not specifically say that they are against same-sex marriage, just that the Republican party has been at the forefront of protecting traditional marriage and that it should be up to the people to vote on any redefinition of marriage. By 2012, they returned to their more forceful language, saying,

*We reaffirm our support for a Constitutional amendment defining marriage as the union of one man and one woman. We applaud the citizens of the majority of States which have enshrined in their constitutions the traditional concept of marriage, and we support the campaigns underway in several other States to do so, (The American Presidency Project 2012).*

With the Supreme Court's decision to establish gay marriage, the language of the GOP's platform changes again in 2016. They now have a section on Religious Freedom's connection to gay marriage and state their support for the First Amendment Defense Act that "will bar government

discrimination against individuals and businesses for acting on the belief that marriage is the union of one man and one woman," (The American Presidency Project 2016). This stands out, as they are putting the access to liberty from gay men and women second to the liberty of those with specific values. They go further to state that the American family, and the traditional American family, one man and one woman, is the "foundation of civil society." They stated that the traditional family is fundamental to the "progress of our Republic" again establishing a clear overlap between access to citizenship and access to marriage. They go one step further in 2016 to state that strong families, and thus families created by one man and one woman "advance the cause of liberty by lessening the need for government in their daily lives," (The American Presidency Project 2016). They state clearly that they do not support the Supreme Court's redefinition of marriage and wish the decision to be left up to the states once more (The American Presidency Project 2016).

### **Log Cabin Republicans and Marriage Citizenship**

"Gay men sought to step fully inside the circle of citizenship," Robert Self writes, continuing that "...in making their case to do so further destabilized inherited assumptions about American manhood and the heterosexual breadwinner ideal," (Self 2013). This is key to understanding why marriage is so important to both the LCR and the GOP despite what their differences might be in defining marriage. Marriage is an entrance to masculinity and breadwinning; it allowed gay men the opportunity to step away from their image of "sexual perversion" and into the white-picket American dream. In her book, *American Marriage: A Political Institution*, political scientist, Priscilla Yamin states that 2004 was a battle for the "soul of the nation" quoting the head of the Georgia Christian Coalition. She also calls upon George W. Bush's State of the Union address to highlight that 9/11 re-established this belief that despite everything shaken up in a post-9/11 world, there was an effort to keep traditions strong. Bush went on to state that there are "unseen pillars of civilization" and, likely, was referring directly to marriage and family. Yamin describes the idea that during this time, both sides, either pro-restricting marriage or pro-expanding, shifted their tone significantly as conservatives focused on government regulation and the liberals on morality. This is something we can see clearly in GOP party platforms, but not so clearly in the LCR's statements, as they seem to step more towards the left with their language (Yamin 2012).

Further, like the GOP's battle against queer soldiers, "traditional marriage" was a concept utilized often in marriage debate. The GOP used it and even some queer liberals utilized the "traditional marriage" concept to state that marriage was a tradition same-sex couples did not need to be involved in. Therefore, the language in the Defense of Marriage Act states that it is intended to "protect the institution of marriage" therefore, protect the traditional concept of marriage. The Log Cabin Republicans, who want to conform to conservative,

traditional beliefs, see marriage as another standard to “normative citizenship.” Since they wish to be a part of the traditional male citizenship group, they need access to marriage to fulfil this desire or the Republican Party will not see them as traditional male citizens.

## CONCLUSION

This paper observed male citizenship through the lens of both the Log Cabin Republicans, a LGBTQ+ advocacy group within the Republican Party, and the Republican Party. Both groups believed that soldiering and marriage were fundamental pillars of male citizenship, but they differed on their belief whether homosexuality could be an interchangeable pillar to male citizenship. The Log Cabin Republicans believed homosexuality could be an interchangeable pillar, as they utilized rhetoric to attempt to prove tradition wouldn't be impacted by queer inclusion. The Republican Party does not believe the pillars of traditional male citizenship to be interchangeable and believes heterosexuality to be intertwined within the concepts of marriage and soldiering. This is highlighted in their party platform language from 1996 to 2016.

When looking at the pillar of soldiering, the Log Cabin Republicans stand against the Republican Party's belief that “homosexuality is incompatible” with military service (The American Presidency Project 1996). They attempted to prove this to the Republican Party by utilizing language that highlights their place within the party, and with shared values as the GOP, by stating that queer service members would not hurt national security nor hurt relationships within the unit. The LCR even goes as far as to say that the Department of Defence doesn't need to make the unit inclusive, just accessible to queer individuals (Log Cabin Republicans 2004). The Republican Party begins by stating that military service is simply “incompatible” with military service, but then shift to language that implies queer inclusion would stand against military tradition.

When observing the male citizenship pillar of marriage, the Log Cabin Republicans maintained their stance that marriage is a right they should be granted and that the definition of marriage is not traditional, but has been a constantly shifting entity throughout history. Unlike with soldiering, they attempt to argue this to the larger Republican Party by utilizing political means and pulling support from Presidential candidates who supported the Defence Against Marriage Act. The Republican Party maintained its belief that “traditional marriage” is between one man and one woman throughout 1996 to 2016. Once Obergefell v. Hodges was established, their language switches to focusing on the protection of religious freedoms but continues their belief that marriage is between one man and one woman.

Therefore, despite the effort of the Log Cabin Republicans to establish homosexuality as a pillar of male citizenship through the shifting of the marriage and soldiering pillars, the Republican Party continues to believe heterosexuality must remain a part of traditional male citizenship. Thus,

highlighting the GOP's belief that queer citizens have no place within traditional male citizenship at all.

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## NOTES

- 1 The Log Cabin Republicans chose their name, "Log Cabin Republicans" derived from the wish to emulate the early Republican party under President Abraham Lincoln who sought "liberty and equality under the law" above all else (Log Cabin Republicans 2021).
- 2 Since 1977, the group has expanded to "thousands" of members across 26 states and has segmented its organization into 35 chapters (Log Cabin Republicans 2020).
- 3 In his book *All for the Family*, Robert Self points out that gay men and women in the 60s possessed a "compromised citizenship" status and that the activists understood that their compromised citizenship was simply due to fear of sexual deviancy and the belief that homosexuality was a mental disorder (Self 2013).