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1 Introduction

GAY AND lesbian movements have a century-long history since the founding of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in a Berlin apartment in 1897. Early initiatives to advance the citizenship rights of gay and lesbian people dissolved in the Holocaust, however, and the authoritarian forms of moral and sexual regulation that swept both the communist world and the Western democracies in the mid-twentieth century almost suffocated the attempts to start over after World War II (Adam 1995: chap. 3). Contemporary movements trace their origins to Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Paris, and Los Angeles, where a few brave individuals renewed efforts in the 1950s to carve out small gay-friendly spaces in the chilly climate of post-war reconstruction. The tidal change that transformed gay and lesbian movements from a handful of scattered, low-profile organizations to a worldwide phenomenon was catalyzed by the rise of the New Left in the 1960s and 1970s. The New Left grew out of the civil rights movement, which was struggling to advance African Americans in the United States at the same time that nationalist movements in Africa and Asia were throwing off colonialism. The New Left included student movements not only in North America, Western Europe, and Japan but also in Mexico and Czechoslovakia (Wallerstein 1989). Out of these transformations emerged environmental and feminist movements and a new critique of family, gender, and sexual repression in the form of gay liberation and lesbian feminism. By the 1990s virtually every urban center in North America, the European Union, Australia, and New Zealand and many major cities in Latin America, eastern Asia, and South Africa had a variety of gay and lesbian organizations.

The International Lesbian and Gay Association, founded in 1979, continues to receive inquiries from places that have never before had any form of organized gay or lesbian presence. With the fall of the Soviet government in 1991, groups quickly emerged in Moldova and Siberia. Letters arrived from the provinces in China, from sub-Saharan Africa, and from Bolivia, India, and Indonesia. Pioneering volumes edited by the International Lesbian and Gay Association (International Gay Association

1985; International Lesbian and Gay Association 1988; Hendriks, Tielman, and van der Veen, 1993) have gathered together participants' experiences from around the world. Journalists have documented international aspects of these experiences through impressionistic traveler's accounts (Miller 1992) or reprints from existing stories in the gay press (Likosky 1992), while Rex Wockner has built the most effective gay and lesbian news distribution system on current affairs from around the world. And scholars like Dennis Altman (1971, 1996) have consistently offered an international, comparative eye toward developments in gay and AIDS movement trends.

This collection, *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics*, seeks to provide not simply an account of the existence of gay and lesbian movements but also a systematic understanding of how and why they have come about. Although movements exist around the world, they vary tremendously in their form and objectives. Same-sex bonding in many cultures does not necessarily entail a sense of personal identity or an idea of a community of shared interests. The content and meaning of "gay" or "lesbian" are contested terrain, varying within and among societies. How homosexually interested people come together, organize, and identify group objectives, then, differs immensely from place to place; this volume seeks to sort out and make sense of many of these differences. One of the ways to do this is to employ the tools of social theory to determine how social analysis can improve the understanding of movement successes and failures, but the experiences of gay and lesbian movements can also test the viability of theories that claim to offer new insight into social movement development.

At the same time, the social conditions that have limited the development of movements affect the ability to carry out a comparative analysis. Because the growth of gay and lesbian studies has been possible in only a very few places in the world, basic research has yet to be done on gay and lesbian movements in many countries, and movements are only embryonic (or not yet existent) in several major cultural areas, including the Arab world.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

Although the study of social movements has expanded enormously in recent decades in both Europe and the United States (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988; Klandermans, Kriesi, and Tarrow 1988; Koopmans 1995), there has been a surprising neglect of gay and lesbian movements among social movement theorists (Duyvendak 1995). Studies of gay and lesbian movements have been mostly restricted to particular geographical

areas or historical periods, and comparative surveys and analyses are rare (Adam 1995).

Social movements have been studied from various perspectives: in particular, the resource mobilization approach (Oberschall 1973; W. Gamson 1975; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Aya 1990) and the political process or political opportunity structure approach (Tilly 1978; McAdam 1982; Kitschelt 1986; Tarrow 1989; Kriesi 1991; Kriesi et al. 1992). Both approaches tend to assume that actors behave rationally, maximize their benefits, and minimize their costs by responding instrumentally to opportunities in the environment. This sets them apart from the classical approach (Adorno et al. 1950; Smelser 1962; Gurr 1970) and the new social movement approach (Touraine 1978; Melucci 1980, 1989), in which psychological or cultural factors play a larger role.

As the emergence of emancipation movements shifted the boundaries of the political, blurring the demarcation of the political and private spheres, the lines between the state and civil society faded as well. Social movements put forward political demands in the moral sphere and moral demands in the political sphere (J. Gamson 1989). New social movements have forced the traditional political actors not simply to mediate interests but also to address the cultural construction of difference and issues around the "good life" (Offe 1985).

Still, new social movement theories are not without their problems (Adam 1993), especially when applied to gay and lesbian movements. A somewhat syncretic thesis on the origins of the new social movements, drawn from the work of Jürgen Habermas (1975), Henri Lefebvre (1976), Claus Offe (1984), Carl Boggs (1986), and Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1986) might follow these lines: crises of advanced capitalist societies, which were "managed" in the postwar era by the modern Keynesian state, have been displaced onto crises of social reproduction. In other words, the ossification of electoral and party systems combined with the bureaucratization of trade unions have resulted in a displacement of political activity onto new sites. Habermas (1987: 392), in particular, asserts that the purpose of new social movement mobilization is "primarily one of . . . defending and restoring endangered ways of life," namely addressing issues of "quality of life, equal rights, individual self-realization, participation, and human rights." New social movement theory typically postulates that popular mobilization in the current era has been characterized by a shift toward

- attempts to decolonize the life-world of intrusions by the economic and political spheres,
- the mobilization of largely middle-class constituencies, and

- the rise of a new “cultural politics” oriented less to “bread-and-butter” issues than toward questions of identity, rights, and autonomy (Adam 1993, 1997)

Although the imagery of contemporary movement practice advanced by this version of new social movement theory describes the evolution of the gay and lesbian movement toward “networks composed of a multiplicity of groups that are dispersed, fragmented, and submerged in everyday life” with “short-term and reversible commitment, multiple leadership, temporary and ad hoc organizational structures” (Melucci 1989: 60), this theory is only partly applicable to gay and lesbian mobilization. Gay and lesbian organizations

- are not simply protective of existing lifestyles but also innovative of new ways of living,
- remain fully engaged with the state in order to change traditional moral regulation,
- are much more than middle-class or first-world mobilizations,
- vary widely in organizational form from the formal, federal model of Italy and Denmark to the spontaneity of OutRage and Queer Nation, and
- address virtually every sphere of life including the workplace and labor unions, street violence, housing and domestic relationships, delivery of health and social services, organized religion, and cultural representations in mass media and education (Adam 1995: 178).

And the gay and lesbian movement is not simply an example of “identity politics,” a claim that applies, at most, to its “cultural” or nationalist face rather than to the whole of gay and lesbian movement practice.

MOVEMENTS AND MODERNITY

In the late twentieth century, lesbians, gay men, and their movements have tended to be cast by their allies as embodying a progressive social formation akin to other new social movement constituencies. Their adversaries have shared this conception by interpreting them as a leading sign of modernity, encoding them into an opposing antimodernist discourse that draws on a millennium of antihomosexual thought in the West. There is nothing “essential” or “necessary” about these identities. Manifestations of same-sex desire in societies studied by anthropologists and classicists show social characteristics that share few, if any, of the traits assigned by either contemporary sign system (Adam 1985a; Greenberg 1988). Discourse analysis might claim that the homosexual/hetero-

sexual opposition and the constructions of these terms over time show how Western subjectivities continue to be reproduced through symbolic universes that make these distinctions real. At the same time, an approach that ignores social structure cannot account for the ways in which discourses of homosexuality evolve, shift, and reconstitute each other in history. Social conflicts over representation index structural processes where opposed social groups deploy, promote, or combat representations in struggles over economic, political, and cultural benefits. Moreover, it is only in the twentieth century that homosexual desire has acquired a historical subjectivity such that its adherents can themselves enter into the fray as sociohistorical actors able to affect the differentiation process.

To encapsulate a good deal of historical and sociological analysis into a few sentences, the development of a modern capitalist world system over the last half-millennium has reorganized both the public and private spheres in ways that have shaped the emergence of gay and lesbian peoples and movements around the world (D’Emilio 1983; Adam 1985b). The modern world system has reorganized and incorporated indigenous economies into wage/labor systems, thereby breaking the hold of traditional kinship codes as the primary productive and redistributive systems in societies. This reorganization has permitted greater personal autonomy, initially for men and eventually for women, in the choice of spouse or domestic partner. It has allowed the ascendancy of romantic love ideologies and of subjective feeling as a “ground” for personal bonding. It has moved vast majorities of people from rural to urban life. It has opened public spaces where men, and less often women, have been able to encounter each other outside existing community and kin ties. And on this new terrain have grown the social networks that have become gay and lesbian worlds functioning as “oases of refuge and intimacy in a depersonalized, atomized world” (Adam 1995: 13–14). Just as for nineteenth-century Jews, the comparatively recent historical visibility of lesbians and gay men has associated them with modernity in public discourse.

Changes in the modern world system have also contributed to the formation of reactionary social forces aimed at not only reinforcing the preeminence of traditional morality and culture but “disciplining” upstart and “undeserving” emergent social groups as well. As Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer (1985) point out, the nation-state might usefully be thought of as the site where social groups defined variously by race, language, religion, gender, and sexuality forge a hegemony over a territory. Hegemonic social groups, in turn, institutionalize their own cultures as national cultures, thereby generating a range of subordinated and minority groups who must find a place in an alien world. The consolidation of an intense antisodomy orthodoxy at the apogee of the feudal period in the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Boswell 1980) solidified ecclesiastical doctrines into an official morality and culture that entered into the formation of nation-states of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. These doctrines also played no small role in differentiating and labeling a portion of the national citizenries as a people apart, marked by their (homo)sexuality.

Orthodox discourses, in cultures with Judeo-Christian or Islamic heritages, interpellate "homosexuals" as a sign of decadence and chaos; modernized reactionary discourses combine this meaning with its rejection of modernity. The adherents of antihomosexual world views have come from a range of social groups disturbed or threatened by modernity—usually traditional elites fearful of change and declining social classes resentful of groups on the rise. This kind of sociologic was already evident in the reaction of British elites to the French Revolution (Corrigan and Sayer 1985), where a general crackdown on dissenters encompassed homosexual men as well (Adam 1995:12). In the twentieth century, reactionary forces such as Nazism and McCarthyism have attacked gay men and lesbians along with such other symbols of the modern as Jews and socialists. And it is a symbolic logic that is drawn on by homophobic forces, from the Colorado human rights repeal campaign of 1992 to the death squads in Colombia and Brazil.

Little wonder, then, that early gay and lesbian movements aligned themselves with Enlightenment values of secularization, science, humanism, democracy, and personal autonomy in an effort to break free from the stifling orthodoxies of the medieval era. This discursive system has grounded the political orientation of much of the twentieth century, in which gay and lesbian movements have attempted to intervene in a field of contenders who wield constructions of homosexuality over the heads of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people, often with baleful consequences. Within this general historical context, local conflicts play out within the "game plan" bequeathed by Western tradition.

MOVEMENTS AND POSTMODERNITY

In advanced, industrial societies in the 1980s and 1990s, the Keynesian welfare state has increasingly given way to neoliberal restructuring in a globalized marketplace (Adam forthcoming). The social dislocation accompanying these changes exerts a complex range of forces on gay/lesbian and other social movements. The initiatives taken by the Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan governments spawned a generation of state imitators around the world (often with the coercive "encouragement" of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund). A rhetoric of "belt

tightening" and "downsizing" has accompanied economic policies that have imposed a heavy burden of unemployment and have partially dismantled the "social safety net." A "family values" rhetoric has supplemented economic policies in order to privatize social responsibilities once assumed by the state and in order to target gay and lesbian people and single mothers as the lightning rods for the anxieties generated by this heightened economic insecurity. The emergence of AIDS in the 1980s created another site of contention over family, sexuality, and the provision of state services (Altman 1986, 1996; Patton 1990; Adam 1992; Kinsman 1992). In the post-Communist era, capitalist elites no longer feel the threat of socialism and test the limits of tolerance that citizens have for greater economic discipline and fewer payoffs. In the 1990s the rightward trend echoes in a resurgence of political movements that thrive on resentment and nostalgia for simpler and more prosperous times.

It is in this neoliberal, "restructured" era that a discourse on post-modernism has arisen. Queer theorists have sought to reconceptualize gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered peoples and identities in a post-modern framework where the grand narratives of modern movements, focused on equality and emancipation, give way to a paradoxical affirmation and deconstruction of difference (Seidman 1996). At the same time that gay and lesbian people have been embracing the symbols of queer nationality to an unprecedented degree, the idea of queer ethnicity has met its strongest critics (J. Gamson 1995). It is not altogether surprising that gay and lesbian movements have encountered the greatest resistance to the realization of the rights and freedoms of full citizenship in the countries where that the modernist agenda has been subjected to thoroughgoing reconsideration—the United States and the United Kingdom—whereas in the Netherlands and Scandinavia, the "queer" challenge has found little resonance.

The essays in this collection show how gay and lesbian identities, cultures, and movements have flourished in (or been impeded by) various national environments. While full-fledged participation in the rights and freedoms of liberal democracy has been increasingly realized, especially in northern Europe, the struggle continues elsewhere against forces that continue to marshal premodern rhetoric. The proponents of postmodernism typically presume that liberal democratic pluralism is already fully realized, in order to read the fall of "grand narratives" as the sign of a new social field of personal freedom, irony, and playfulness. Yet in a neoliberal era, there are many classes and regions of people who react defensively against the changes around them, often by reaching for the comforting rhetoric of tradition and conservatism. This is clear enough in the New Right constituencies of the United States, as well as in the alliances

among church, business, and often foreign (usually U.S.) corporate interests in Latin America. There is no guarantee of historical progress that inevitably consigns fascism, nationalism, or fundamentalism to the margins. Reactionary forces have triumphed at various times in the twentieth century with devastating consequences. With leftist alternatives beleaguered by the sorry history of Communism, reactionary discourses enjoy a particular prominence as citizens of the contemporary era seek to understand and resist the forces of globalization, class polarization, and social dislocation. It is in this context that gay and lesbian movements continue to act within a tradition of the advancement of democratic rights—in some societies relatively complacently, where liberal democracy seems inalterably entrenched, in others more vigorously, where rights must be continually reaffirmed and reconstructed. It is remarkable that as some queer theorists critique gay and lesbian identities as confining or dispensable, from the vantage point of the urban subcultures of the First World, groups are coming together under the gay, lesbian, and sometimes transgendered banner in such places as the Philippines, Korea, Ecuador, El Salvador, Bulgaria, and Turkey, even though homosexual interests have traditionally found quite different expression in these cultures.

MOVEMENTS AND NATIONAL CULTURES

This collection offers national portraits of sixteen countries, from each of the five inhabited continents, with histories of gay and lesbian political organization. As such, it is the most comprehensive and systematic overview of gay and lesbian movements around the globe that has appeared to date—but there is still much to be done. Because the growth of gay and lesbian studies has been possible in very few places in the world and movements are only nascent (or not yet existent) in a number of countries—especially in Asia and Africa—primary research has yet to be done on gay and lesbian movements in many countries. In addition, lesbian groups that have worked outside of gay and lesbian organizations, especially when they have been low-profile “tendencies” within women’s movements, have been somewhat elusive to scholarly documentation. Our hope is that this volume will stimulate more work specifically (1) on movements in countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and eastern and southern Europe, (2) on lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered groups, (3) on organizations rooted in minority cultures in advanced industrial societies (such as Aboriginal, Africana, Arabic, Latino, and south Asian), and (4) by indigenous authors.

What the chapters herein reveal are the ways that national traditions

shape discourses through which homosexually interested people come to understand themselves and their “rightful” place in the societies in which they live. These essays show that any sense of commonality that might be evoked by the widespread adoption of such terms as “gay,” “lesbian,” or “bisexual” must be tempered by the diversity within and among national cultures. And they demonstrate a Foucauldian point: that gay and lesbian movements are both *a part of* and *apart from* the societies around them, both resisting and participating in—even reproducing—dominant public discourses. The authors of these chapters contend that some societies, such as those in Japan and France, allow social movements only the rhetoric of sameness and inclusion, forcing the discontented to advance themselves in those terms to be credible at all. Some movements, such as those in the Netherlands and the Czech Republic (as well as those in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland), have been so integrated into the institutional structures of the state that opposition has largely given way to a sense of participation, citizenship, and perhaps co-optation. Other movements—especially where the battle lines are strongly drawn, as in the United States and the United Kingdom—have a strong sense of almost “ethnic” separateness and an ambivalent oscillation between an affirming pride in a transgressive identity and a wish to deconstruct it (J. Gamson 1995). This paradox is lodged in the heart of the category “queer.”

The conclusion to this collection picks up the comparative theme to explore questions of (de)mobilization and national identity in this movement with worldwide presence.

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