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7 The Private and the Public: Gay and Lesbian Issues in Political Science

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The public and the private sphere

Gay and lesbian movements' attitudes towards the state are ambivalent, to say the least: on the one hand, gays and lesbians politicize issues related to the private sphere, on the other hand, they demand that the state not make any claim on what they consider their 'private' affairs. Clearly, some gay and lesbian movements are looking for a more inclusive definition of the public, while others are after a more restricted definition of the public and, consequently, the political. But what is 'the political'? And what then is 'the private'?

We read in textbooks that political science examines those human activities and institutions that are related to the exercise of power and the regulation of conflict in the allocation of scarce resources.¹ Since power and conflict are part and parcel of all human (inter)action, the textbooks need to define political activities more precisely. So, it is argued, human behaviour is considered political only insofar as it is related to the public sphere, that is, to the state and society. Public power relations, the acquisition and exercise of power, political authority and the social counterforces that challenge power-holders are all claimed to be relevant phenomena for political scientists. The separation of the private from the public realm is what characterizes the process of modernization of politics and distinguishes liberal democracy from other political systems.

The public realm seems, for most textbooks, to be a self-evident given; precise analyses of shifts in the relationship between the private and public spheres are rare in mainstream political science. For instance, many political scientists will simply state that sexual behaviour or orientation is not to be considered 'public'. Yet, religious and political public institutions have attempted for centuries to regulate the most intimate expressions of human nature, such as sexuality, and condemned, prosecuted and murdered 'sodomites'. These institutions thereby ordained (homo)sexuality a public matter.

The Constituent Assembly of Revolutionary France in 1791 was the first political authority in modern European history to omit the 'crime of sodomy' from the penal code and the ensuing Code Napoléon upheld this secularized view of criminal law. Recriminalization of same sex behaviour occurred, however, in 1871 in the German states, unified under the Prussian regime and its legal system; other

European countries soon followed suit. As a response to this increasing oppression in Northern Europe since the late nineteenth century, several 'scientific' sexual reformist organizations emerged and strove to integrate homosexuals into heterosexual society by activating a public debate (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974; Weeks, 1977).

A second wave of political oppression was instigated by both Communists and anti-Communists. The destruction of Hirschfeld's Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäres Komitee (Scientific Humanitarian Committee) and the murder of Ernst Röhm and other SA leaders in 1934 by German Fascists are well-known examples. In the Soviet Union, Stalin outlawed homosexuality in 1934 after a period of relatively liberal legislation that was instituted in 1917. In the United States, McCarthy's inquest to root out 'dangerous communist elements' marked the most vigorous government persecution of homosexuals in modern America.

The repressive social climate evidenced by McCarthy's witchhunt eventually triggered the emergence in the late 1960s of 'new' gay and lesbian movements in the United States and elsewhere. These radical movements shifted the boundaries of the political even further; stimulated by the feminist movement, gays and lesbians intentionally blurred the lines between the political and private spheres by claiming that 'the personal is political'. Lesbians and gays put homosexuality on the political agenda.² Furthermore, starting in the 1970s gays and lesbians 'openly' gained a foothold in political parties and local councils, mostly in West European countries. Then, AIDS struck in the 1980s. As this epidemic became the mobilizing force and reoriented gay political activism towards public spending on health, relations between the state, civil society and 'private life' changed once again. This time the authorities were forced to give explicit information to the public on very 'intimate' sexual behaviour in order to prevent the spread of HIV.

Since the 1960s, social movements such as the gay and lesbian movement have been putting forward political demands in the moral and social sphere, seeking to politicize civil society and asking for equality before the law (Offe, 1985). At the same time, social movements have been challenging the state's authority and demanding maximum autonomy from official institutions and interventions (Samar, 1991). It is precisely this intriguing ongoing battle on the boundaries between the private and the public (Meijer and Duyvendak, 1988) that political scientists should analyse.

Departing from this deeply ambivalent relationship between (homo)sexuality and traditional political institutions, this chapter will focus on the attention given to homosexuality within the field of political science. Additionally, we shall deal with the question of the extent to which the 'political sphere' is incorporated in the field of gay and lesbian studies. Finally, we shall try to explain why homosexuality is such a difficult topic in political science and why politics is such a troubling factor in gay and lesbian studies.

No sex please, we're political scientists

Traditionally, political science is strongly oriented towards historical and judicial aspects of politics: the format and function of formal political institutions constitute

the core of political science. Institutionalists focus on both the constitution and the political impact of the legislature, legal system, state and other administrative, political and economic institutions. In the institutional framework, formal laws and structures are examined to explain actual political behaviour.

This static approach to politics and the need for more comparative concepts provoked a counter-reaction in the 1950s and 1960s. The so-called 'behavioralist revolution' in political science shifted scholarly attention to values, attitudes and behaviour. Behaviouralism concentrated on what actually happened within the legal framework and political institutions, rather than on normative statements of what the best institutions are and what ought to happen. In order to analyse political behaviour, behaviouralists collected empirical data for statistical analysis. This 'scientific' approach sought to establish law-like generalizations about political phenomena (Easton, 1965; Wiarda, 1991).

The sharp distinction behaviouralists made between moral or ethical arguments and 'scientific' argumentation provoked a reaction from scholars, who argued that this empiricism was mere 'data-crunching' that had no explicit theoretical focus and neglected the moral underpinning of social interactions. In the early 1970s, this radical criticism of the dominant behaviouralist paradigms of political science emanated especially from neo-Marxist scholars who argued that scientific analysis should be combined with a critical stance towards society. Additional criticism, expressed by post-structuralists, was directed at the manner in which 'empirical facts' were presented as 'objective'; they showed that these facts were socially constructed and therefore 'subjective' by definition.

The revival of Marxism reintroduced the concept of the state into mainstream political science. Behaviouralist theories, stressing the characteristics, attitudes and behaviour of individuals, were unable to explain cross-national differences. Thus, social scientists were forced to reincorporate institutions into their explanations (Evans et al., 1985). These neo-institutionalists now define institutions more broadly as either the 'rules of the game' or as the 'patterns of behaviour', in order to include in their analyses both formal organizations and the informal rules and procedures that structure political behaviour. In the neo-institutional approach a wide range of state and societal institutions are considered to influence the way in which actors pursue both their interests and 'values'.

An opposite shift occurred in the 1980s, coinciding with a wave of 'new right' thinking: the new paradigm regards individual and collective behaviour as a result of a rational utility-maximizing choice between 'given' alternatives. This rational choice approach, which considers individuals as decontextualized 'atoms', has had a strong influence in political science to this very day.

The neglect of (homo)sexual issues in political science is partly due to the field's initial institutional focus on the function and form of constitutions, parliaments, courts and other political organizations. Under the implicit assumption that sexual orientation and activity have little or no bearing on the political process and structures, (homo)sexuality was practically absent from political science until the 1970s. Only when the behaviouralist approach became dominant were some studies concerning gay and lesbian issues undertaken. With respect to sexual orientation,

the behaviouralists no longer analysed homosexuality from a social-psychological perspective or from a judicial angle; instead they related the phenomenon to the social structure and organization of society (Lautman, 1977). Additionally, neo-Marxists and (neo-)structuralists devoted some attention to sexuality issues, yet focused primarily on the dominant (heterosexual) discourses and practices in capitalist society as explanations for the repression of (homosexual) minorities.³ Apart from these analyses at the periphery of political science, political science kept silent. Moreover, due to the recent dominance of the rational choice approach, mainstream political science almost disappeared once again from the field of sexuality.

We may therefore conclude that the conceptual tools of political science have not often been applied to analyse homosexuality and its social and political manifestations. As an American survey showed, the amount of research on gay and lesbian topics being undertaken by political scientists is very limited and many do not consider it 'serious political science'. Gay and lesbian politics and courses on lesbian and gay themes are largely marginalized in most political science departments in the United States (Ackelsberg and Rayside, 1995).

The gap between political science and gay and lesbian studies has not been bridged from the latter side, either. Most perspectives have failed to consider the 'official' political context and institutions. In the initial stage in the 1970s, gay and lesbian studies considered almost everything 'political' and consequently the concept had a different meaning in most gay and lesbian studies than it did in political science. The broader concept favoured by gays and lesbians, who considered the personal as being part of the political, did not result in a more inclusive definition within mainstream political science. On the contrary, after a brief interlude in the 1970s, political science opted for a more limited definition of its object in the 1980s. Furthermore, the methods used in the analyses in gay and lesbian studies deviated from the general trend in political science towards more quantitative analysis. Lesbian and gay studies is mainly qualitative: scholars trained in a constructivist tradition are reluctant to collect and use what they consider to be 'quasi-objective' quantitative data. This divergence in conceptualization as well as research method contributes to the estrangement of gay and lesbian studies from mainstream political science.

However, some recent developments seem to announce a somewhat brighter future. Some openings for gay and lesbian studies seem to be occurring, especially in social movement research, with its strong focus on 'identities', and in political theory. Additionally, recent research in gay and lesbian studies attempts to apply the dominant theories and methods of political science. In order to put this general picture in perspective, the remainder of this chapter gives an overview of some relevant debates and literature on lesbian and gay issues within the different subdisciplines of political science.

Analyses of the legislative process and public policy

As argued above, the study of the political institutions of the state, Parliament and government has traditionally marked the boundary of political science. Still, some

studies addressing issues related to (homo)sexuality have been published. For example, an historical overview of the legal regulation of sexuality, including homosexuality, can be found in Posner (1992; see also Plummer, 1981). A recent and interesting comparative research project regarding the differences in legislation on homosexuality is Tielman and Hammelburg's 1993 study, 'World Survey on the Social and Legal Position of Gays and Lesbians'.⁴ While these studies analyse existing laws and formal regulations on homosexuality, the institutional analyses lack investigations of how these laws come into existence (see also Chapter 6 on law in the present book). An interesting yet underdeveloped field of institutional analysis is the study of the voting behaviour of (individual) parliamentarians. These parliamentary studies could show which politicians and political parties facilitate or hamper gay and lesbian emancipation; yet longitudinal and cross-national research is not available. The most vigorous government persecution of homosexuality in the United States, McCarthy's prosecution of 'dangerous elements', has been studied only cursorily (see, for example, D'Emilio, 1983; Katz, 1976). In Europe, only one study of voting behaviour of members of the British House of Commons on homosexuality has been conducted, that of Read et al. (1994). Although other studies (Laver, 1995; Laver and Hunt, 1992) have analysed the position of political parties on moral issues, such as abortion and homosexuality, with the help of expert surveys, rigorous enquiries are lacking.⁵

Furthermore, the analysis of the impacts of different political systems, different electoral processes (majoritarian versus proportional representation), various voting procedures in parliaments, and other political institutions on the aggregation and mediation of the interests of gays and lesbians is still almost completely ignored by political scientists. The effects, for example, of different types of welfare statism on issues related to homosexuality – such as the Christian Democratic parties' dominance in Italy, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, which resulted in welfare statism where social rights are attached not to individuals (as is the case in Social Democrat-dominated Scandinavia) but to the family (Bussemaker and Kersbergen 1994) – have remained largely unexplored.

Additionally, there are few studies of the influence of political institutions on the positions of gays and lesbians in society at large, and vice versa. In electoral studies, for example, constituencies are primarily broken down into class and religious denomination; gender and sexual identity are seldom used as variables (for an exception see Norris, 1987). This is a surprising situation since electoral studies and analyses of coalition formation, which are at the core of contemporary political science, could shed some light on developments in permissiveness as well as repression of gays and lesbians. For example, the growing electoral success of extreme right-wing politicians and parties and the increasing strength of other anti-democratic and conservative forces can easily result in a more repressive climate. The presence of xenophobic or Fascist parties in the national parliaments of Belgium, France, Italy and Romania is an indicator that political repression of homosexuality still lurks around the corner. But gays and lesbians are not just 'passive victims' of electoral shifts. Political scientists could also pay attention to the gay and lesbian vote (the 'lavender vote'), which can be of decisive importance, especially in local elections in majoritarian electoral systems.

Political developments at the electoral and governmental level are particularly interesting in relation to public policy studies. When an official response from authorities was required in reaction to the rapid spread of HIV, the reactions differed significantly from one industrial country to the next. The disease actually generated a renewed sense of solidarity among gays. This led to the development of community AIDS organizations (Altman, 1994) and scholarly interest in the impact of AIDS on the gay and lesbian movement (see, for instance, Gamson, 1989). A large number of (comparative) studies of local (Joseph, 1992) and national policies on homosexuality and especially AIDS-prevention and related health policies emerged.⁶

Research concerning the legal protection of lesbians and gays shows that anti-discrimination laws differ substantially from country to country.⁷ More often, rather than taking a positive stance, public authorities have attempted to repress explicit visibility of gay and lesbian lifestyles. The policy positions of authorities on issues such as 'gay marriage' or domestic partnership and parenthood and adoption by lesbians and gays have received some scholarly attention.⁸

In political science in general much attention is paid to the mass media's influence on policy-making, and mass-communication studies have developed into an important discipline in social science. However, only a few studies on gay and lesbian issues take the mass media into account (Berridge, 1991; Siegel, 1991). In contrast to the propensity of some popular media to 'accuse' persons of homosexuality, thereby 'destroying their careers', political authorities have often attempted to censor expressions of lesbian and gay identities. Many countries have official Boards of Censorship or other institutions to uphold dominant ideologies. This official censorship, especially in relation to pornography, is an interesting subject for investigation that lacks the attention it deserves (Dupagne, 1994; Kimmel, 1990). In particular, the conflict between this type of state regulation and the democratic principles of freedom of expression deserves more attention in relation to homosexuality.

The same topic, the freedom to be 'out', is pertinent in two other policy fields as well: the armed forces and local politics. National policies on homosexuality in the armed forces has only recently attracted much attention (Enloe, 1993). Following Bill Clinton's 1992 election promise to address the position of gays in the armed forces, some American studies of this subject were conducted (Cole and Eskridge, 1994) and these have led to some comparative reflection (Butler et al., 1993). In contrast to the armed forces, densely populated urban areas were always considered tolerant environments for lesbians and gays. The field of local policies, however, is largely unexplored in relation to homosexuality (Cooper, 1994; Tobin, 1990). This is all the more surprising as recent social and political developments may threaten the city's supposed tolerance. In this respect it would be interesting to study popular attitudes and official policy positions in the cities in Western Europe where xenophobic and racist parties have gained a substantial number of seats in local councils (Antwerp, Marseilles, Rotterdam and some cities in Northern Italy).

In conclusion, the manner in which different political regimes deal with (homo)sexuality is rarely a subject of empirical research and comparative enquiry

in the dominant fields and approaches of political science. Still, where political science and sociology meet there have been some promising developments.

Political sociology

Political sociology researches the relation between the society and the state, focusing among others things on the social context of political decision-making, social movements, and the composition and behaviour of political elites. It emphasizes the way social structures are reflected in and reinforced by political institutions. Political sociology sometimes reverses this causality and investigates how political behaviour is related to social factors such as economic stratification and cultural, lingual, ethnic and religious groups. Some of these societal 'cleavages' are politicized, others are not. Conflicts and fundamental change seem to be 'normal' in the development of societies; consensus and stability are the exceptions (Bernard, 1983; Dahrendorf, 1958). Even if a large majority of the population fundamentally shares the dominant values and norms of a given society, the social order is challenged every once in a while by individuals or collectivities who feel deprived, discriminated against or dominated by others and see opportunities to change this. Thus, political sociological tools of analysis are well designed to study the social norms that regulate sexuality and the social and political institutions that structure and enforce these norms. Given its research topics, this subdiscipline of political science might provide insight into both public attitudes towards gays and lesbians and gay and lesbian political self-organization.

The discrepancy between conventional social norms governing sexuality and actual sexual behaviour in the United States first became apparent after the publication of Kinsey's reports (Kinsey et al. 1948, 1953) showing that homosexual activity was more widespread than assumed. This finding had an enormous emancipatory impact on American society. The liberalization of public attitudes towards homosexuality and lesbian and gay self-organization eventually resulted from broader societal developments rather than from Kinsey's publications. Significant economic growth and technological developments have radically changed the socio-economic structure of advanced capitalist societies since World War II, while the expansion of the welfare state increased living standards, eroding traditional class divisions and religious structures. Furthermore, the traditional fabric of society disintegrated as a result of increased social as well as geographical mobility, higher levels of education, and processes of urbanization and secularization. These developments have impinged on the long-term evolution of norms and values. For many younger citizens in the Western world who were raised in the affluent American society or the European welfare state, identity, personal development and lifestyle have become more important than material welfare. The general direction of value change, in which independence, self-fulfilment, individuality and emancipation are the key concepts, is usually referred to in political science as post-materialism (Inglehart, 1977, 1990). Research into the general population's attitudes towards homosexuality has shown that an increasing number, especially of the younger cohorts of the population, now regard sexual

freedom as more important than traditional sexual morality. Within the older age cohorts a large proportion still rejects a homosexual lifestyle, but in comparison with other minorities, gays and lesbians are 'tolerated' better than previously by a large part of the general population (Thomassen, 1994).

In this more permissive context, gay men and lesbians are more visible than ever before, and their level of mobilization is quite impressive (Duyvendak, 1995a). In a nutshell, gay and lesbian movements attract people by new types of 'identity politics' that replace traditional interest mediation on the basis of, for example, an ideology related to class or religion. More precisely: identities are the interests around which the gay and lesbian movements mobilize. Like racial, ethnic, religious and (other) sexual minorities, gays' and lesbians' demands try to strike a balance between the right to be proudly different and the right simply to be treated as equals.

Diversity and heterogeneity are new ideals for many, often conflicting, groups. This plurality of interests makes representation and binding decision-making difficult. The question of policy-making in a multicultural, multisexual society seems to be the most urgent one facing political scientists, but amazingly enough, it has been left mainly to political theorists to struggle with these types of issue (see the section on political philosophy and political theory).

The topic of identity is, however, relevant not only from the perspective of multiculturalism. It is also important for political scientists to understand how a positive gay or lesbian self-identity is formed through subcultural activity and, conversely, how a common sexual preference may function as an incentive for individuals to mobilize and organize. The gay liberation movements of the 1960s gave sexual identities a political meaning by challenging the dominant cultural and religious beliefs with a 'coming out'-strategy (Altman, 1971). Since 'identity formation' has been the pivotal topic in theorizing about (new) social movements in recent years, these studies are highly useful for analyses of other social cleavages based upon identity rather than material interests, e.g., new religious movements, ethnic movements and movements of the elderly and handicapped. The development of the gay and lesbian movement offers a fascinating subject for political science from an empirical point of view, as well as from a more theoretical angle. There remains, however, a remarkable discrepancy: while political science research on social movements has expanded enormously since World War II, research on the gay and lesbian movements has lagged behind, and while theories on new social movements ('identity movements') abound and cross-national research in this field is booming, even here the study of gay and lesbian movements remains somewhat underdeveloped.⁹ Studies of the history of these movements have largely been restricted to a particular geographical area, while comparative research has been carried out only since the mid-1980s.

Nevertheless, research on the gay and lesbian movement from a social movement theory perspective has generated some case studies and comparative research.¹⁰ The comparative analyses reveal striking similarities in the development of subcultures and movements that cut across all political differences. At least in all Western capitalist countries, from the 1980s onwards there has been an enormous boom in cultural activities and the number and range of social movement

organizations. These cross-country similarities do not mean, however, that the identities espoused by gays and lesbians in the various countries are identical as well. In some countries these identities have been strongly politicized whereas in other countries 'the personal' is not considered to be 'political' at all either by gays and lesbians or by society at large (Adam et al., 1999).

In some of the literature it is argued that lesbians and gays played the decisive role in 'gay liberation': the liberation of homosexuality is in this reasoning caused by the rise of the gay and lesbian movement itself (Cruikshank, 1992). The claim of 'self-liberation' seems to be exaggerated, however, since the start of the movement often followed rather than preceded the liberalization of opinions in society and politics (Duyvendak, 1994). Having said that, we must add that each movement did appear to influence the further transformation of dominant values in both politics and society as soon as it was established.

Unfortunately, data on the facilitation of the gay and lesbian movement by political parties are lacking, as are reliable data on the political representation of homosexuals in politics. There is one notable exception to this rule: an issue of the *Journal of Homosexuality* devoted exclusively to the connections between *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* (Hekma et al., 1995). Gays and lesbians have been active, have even made political careers within several political parties in Western countries. Yet political activism within the traditional political structures has received little attention. Nor has the influence of lesbian and gay activism within political parties on the ideology or policy of the parties been analysed. The sole exception is a comparative analysis of party platforms in 27 countries (for a description see Budge et al., 1987) which gives data that can be used to identify party emphasis on (sexual) minorities and traditional moral values such as family, divorce and abortion.

So political sociology provides fertile theoretical and methodological ground for analysing lesbian and gay issues, as testified by the growing number of studies on homosexuality within this subdiscipline.

Political history

The field of political history pays somewhat more attention to homosexuality than other subdisciplines do. Some of the better-known general accounts of the history of (homo)sexuality give a contextualized overview, including political factors, of the 'transformation of intimacy' (D'Emilio and Freedman, 1988; Giddens, 1992; Seidman, 1991; Weeks, 1981, 1985, 1995). Many more authors and works could be mentioned, but this section focuses only on accounts that deal with political history in relation to (homo)sexuality (see Chapter 4 on history for a more complete overview).

In the United States, Katz (1976) studied the history of homosexuality from the sixteenth century to the mid-1970s. The history of the modern American movement in its formative stages, from the Mattachine Society's founding in Los Angeles in 1950 to the Stonewall riot in 1969, is analysed by D'Emilio (1983). The events at Stonewall have become, in the minds of most American authors, icons of the birth

of lesbian and gay social organization, whereas in reality homophile movements had existed for decades. The Dutch COC (Cultural and Recreational Centre) was founded as early as 1946. Similar groups were created in Denmark (1948), West Germany (1949), Sweden (1951), Belgium (1954), France (1954) and Britain (1959). In the Netherlands, books by Tielman (1982) and Schuyf (1994) extensively describe the emerging gay and lesbian movement. The situations in the United States and the Netherlands (Krouwel, 1994) show that there is a strong correlation between the strength of the movement and the extent to which the movement and the issues it is fighting for are documented. In both countries significant attention has been given to the history of (homo)sexuality,¹¹ though the political context does not get the attention it deserves in the work of professional sociologists and historians.¹²

Studies in the field of political history in Germany have dealt with the negative attitude towards homosexuality related to the ideology and politics of the left-wing parties (KPD and SPD) in the Weimar Republic (Eissler, 1980) and the struggle for sexual reformation and gay rights in Wilhelminian Germany and the opposition to the movement by 'morality-movements' (Fout, 1992). Books concerning the (modern) gay and lesbian movement directly are rare, though there is increasing interest in the history of the movement.¹³

In France the situation is little better. No attention has been paid to the history of the gay and lesbian movement since its decline in the 1980s. Whereas the work of Girard (1981) covers the movement's rise in the 1960s and 1970s, only Duyvendak (1995b) and Martel (1996) deal with the movement's decline in the 1980s. Still, the rise of AIDS-related movements such as Act Up is better analysed and understood.¹⁴ Books dealing with the history of (homo)sexuality in France mostly cover the rich gay and lesbian literary history; the political history is often neglected.¹⁵

In Great Britain the state of the art is somewhat more positive: not only are there books dealing with sexuality in general (Giddens, 1992) and the history of homosexuality in particular (Weeks, 1977, 1981, 1985); there are also some (other) movement-specialist published accounts as well.¹⁶

In the ongoing battle at the boundaries of the private and the public, (auto-)biographies of politicians in whose lives homosexuality played an important part are another underdeveloped field. The most well-known accounts are usually those of political scandals and *causes célèbres* in which politicians' homosexual activity was the cause of the scandal (Allen et al., 1990). These political scandals are at the thin line between the public and private realm when a public figure visibly violates the sexual mores of his or her society. From the events at the German court of William II in 1907, described in Steakley (1975), to the case of Jeremy Thorpe, the leader of the British Liberal Party who was forced to resign after being charged with conspiracy to murder his homosexual lover (Gaster, 1988), the political role of 'accusations of homosexuality' clearly emerges.

In summary, while the politico-historical analyses of gays and lesbians in the Western world are developing, the political history of lesbian women and gay men in other parts of the world, such as Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, Central and South America and the Middle East, as yet remains largely unwritten.

Political philosophy and political theory

The last part of this chapter is not the least important. On the contrary, political theory and philosophy might perhaps even be considered the most flourishing part of the discipline.¹⁷ Building on the abundance of literature on identity politics,¹⁸ many authors dealing with multiculturalism – communitarians and liberals alike – discuss the meaning of communities, often including sexual ones. But whereas, for instance, Kymlicka, in distinguishing between types of culture in his trend-setting books *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995a) and *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (1995b), defines gay and lesbian cultures out of the field of multiculturalism, other authors¹⁹ put gays and lesbians at the heart of postmodern, multicultural politics.

Many of these authors are American. The absence of European authors, except for some British authors who have contributed to new theoretical developments such as queer theory and the sexual citizenship debate,²⁰ is quite striking. Even in the battle over Foucault's intellectual heritage, apart from his French biographer Didier Eribon (1989, 1994), Americans are preponderant.²¹ This is in sharp contrast to the epistemological and political debate of the 1980s on (de)constructivism and essentialism, where continental Europeans were among the leading contributors. Their absence is the more remarkable since 'queer theorizing' might be considered the direct offspring of the deconstructivist position; the first elaborating on the anti-'naturalist' and historical perspective of the latter. At best, some of the constructivist scholars in Europe show a sceptical attitude toward recent postmodern theorizing (see, for instance, Hekma, Chapter 5 in this book).

This shift from continental Europe towards the English-speaking world actually occurred during the past decade. Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s Europeans still dominated the Marxism debate in gay and lesbian circles, the first real shift became manifest with the constructivism/essentialism debate. Although important conferences dealing with these different approaches were held in Europe, Americans increasingly became the main contributors. In the 1990s, continental Europe lost its intellectual avant-gardist position. The paucity of articles by Europeans in, for instance, the *Gay and Lesbian Reader* is not due only to American chauvinism; it also shows that the main locus of theory development has shifted from one side of the Atlantic to the other.

Yet this is more than just a geographical shift. In fact, there seems to be a deepening cleavage in the kinds of theories developed in continental Europe and the United States (whereas Britain is, again, somewhere in between). As good political scientists, we claim that the differences in theorizing should be related to diverging political contexts. Whereas the Americans, mainly due to the catastrophe of AIDS, developed new political strategies and new 'queer' practices (Act Up, Queer Nation), in most European countries equal rights politics set the agenda. Some European countries have seen a different line of development. Here the authorities reacted just as slowly and homophobically as the US authorities to the AIDS crisis (for instance in France and Britain), resulting in the development of radical and new political 'queer' practices as well. In most European countries, however, gay and lesbian movements on the one hand and political authorities on

the other proved capable of co-operating, leading to a 'normalization' tendency in both political practices and political theory (Duyvendak, 1996).

The rise of postmodernism in political theory (at least in the USA) has resulted in openings for gay and lesbian studies. In particular, 'queer theory' made gay and lesbian studies more prominently represented on the English-speaking political science stage (Phelan, 1994, 1997). The scholars who are developing queer theory are, however, not necessarily political scientists by training. It is most striking that scholars originating from cultural studies and the arts are in the forefront of this development of 'queering' and 'politicizing' theory (see Chapter 11, by Hoogland). In so doing, they are also causing turmoil in the field of political theory, which had excluded issues of gender and sexuality for such a long time.

Conclusion

Though gay and lesbian movements struggled for shifts in the boundaries between the private and the public, gay and lesbian voices and topics were for a long time neglected in political science. Moreover, scholars who carried out research on homosexuality seldom paid serious attention to the political context and usually did not apply the dominant theories, approaches and topics within political science.

Following the analyses of this chapter, the lack of attention paid to homosexuality in mainstream political science seems to be caused by a number of elements. First, we have the general homophobic attitude in academia, which was articulated in political science, with its ambition to be 'respectable'. Secondly, the difference in the definition of politics between political science on the one hand and gay and lesbian studies on the other explains why they seldom met. Although the boundaries of the concepts of 'private', 'public' and 'politics' have been shifting all the time, most political scientists favoured a rather narrow delimitation of politics, defining homosexuality out of their field. Thirdly, there is a paradigmatic gap between mainstream political science and gay and lesbian studies that shows up in divergences in methodology, epistemological presuppositions and the connections between theory and empirical research. This gap is not easy to bridge.

Some changes are occurring, however. A substantial amount of historical research is being carried out in which the political context is increasingly taken into account. Most important, however, is the contribution of gays and lesbians to the fields of political sociology and political theory, particularly compared with the rather weak position of gay and lesbian topics in public policy analysis. Most of the progress has been made in the fields of political science which border on either philosophy or sociology. The core of political science research on political institutions, election studies and mass communication studies and public policy analyses address homosexuality only marginally or ignore it completely. The political science community is still hesitant to acknowledge that the study of homosexuality can be of theoretical and empirical importance to the field. Scholars of lesbian and gay phenomena, on the other hand, still have to recognize that political science offers interesting tools and perspectives for their analyses of the rapidly growing lesbian and gay community throughout the world.

Notes

- 1 See Dahl (1963), Lasswell (1930), Schattschneider (1942).
- 2 See, for instance, Adam (1987), Duberman (1993).
- 3 See Adam (1978), Altman (1971), Gay Left Collective (1978), Hocquenghem (1978), Miel (1980).
- 4 There are many case studies that describe the development of legislation on equal treatment of gays and lesbians (see Chapter 6, on law). A more general investigation into the legal principles of gay rights and anti-discrimination can be found in Riggle (1994) and Schacter (1994).
- 5 There are interesting unpublished studies on the position of parties with regard to homosexuality, for example, Vierhout (1976) on the Dutch case.
- 6 See, for instance, Altman (1986), Bayer (1991), Duyvendak (1995c), Duyvendak and Koopmans (1991), Favre (1992), Herdt and Lindenbaum (1992), Misztal and Moss (1990), Pollak (1988, 1994), Pollak et al. (1991), Vleeskruier (1992).
- 7 For an overview see Waaldijk et al. (1991). For country studies see Hendriks et al. (1993) and Sylvestre (1994).
- 8 See, for instance, Bucher (1992), Rimmel (1993), Rubinfeld (1994), Stoddard and Fein (1990), Sullivan (1996).
- 9 For instance, the book edited by Laraña, Johnston and Gusfield, *New Social Movements. From Ideology to Identity* (1994), does not deal with the gay and lesbian movement at all, nor do Dalton and Kuechler (1990).
- 10 See Taylor and Whittier (1993) and Tarrow (1994) for interesting case studies; for a few comparative analyses see Plummer (1992, 1995), Adam (1987) and Duyvendak (1995a, 1995b).
- 11 See Cruikshank (1992), Duberman (1993), Duyvendak (1993), Duyvendak et al., (1992), D'Emilio (1992), Marcus (1992), Marotta (1981), Warner and Koenders (1987) and further under the section political sociology in this chapter.
- 12 See D'Emilio and Freedman (1988), Hekma et al. (1989), Oosterhuis (1992), Seidman (1992).
- 13 See, for instance, Salmen and Eckert (1989), Steakley (1975) and Stümke (1989).
- 14 See Arnal (1993), Pollak et al. (1991).
- 15 With the exception of Copley (1989), Mossuz-Lavau (1991), Mendès-Leite (1994) and, of course, Foucault (1976), no books dealing with the political historical context of sexuality have been published.
- 16 See Hollibaugh (1980), Jeffrey-Poulter (1991), Kaufman and Lincoln (1991).
- 17 Since there is no separate chapter on philosophy, political philosophy is understood here in a rather broad way.
- 18 See, for instance, Bech (1992), Butler (1990, 1991), Cohen (1991), Duyvendak (1991), Epstein (1990), Fuss (1989), Weeks (1985).
- 19 Such as Aranowitz (1995), Fuss (1991), Phelan (1994, 1997), Nicholson and Seidman (1995), Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990, 1993), Seidman (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997), and Warner (1993).
- 20 See, for instance, Cooper (1994), Evans (1995), Herman (1995), Weeks (1995), Wilson (1995).
- 21 See, for instance, Bersani (1995), Blasius (1992, 1994), Halperin (1995), Miller (1993).

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