

work ethic, commitment to teaching, detachment from professional circles, and underneath it all his sure-footed pursuit of compelling intellectual problems.

Ten individually written chapters follow the introduction, which range widely over the geographical and theoretical terrain of historical sociology. Although space limitations prevent any detailed description of these essays, some mention of the authors and a sample of their concerns is the least they deserve. The essays generally rise to a high standard, often providing useful summaries of books and research projects these authors have fashioned the Moore tradition. Brian Downing leads off with a chapter on the influence of war making on early modern state formation in Europe, the subject of a book that Moore described as “a big step beyond my *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*.” In the next chapter, Charles Tilly pursues the connection between warfare and state formation, turning the question to “Where do rights come from?” One is impressed anew by Tilly’s lucid and muscular prose.

Skocpol and Edward Friedman assess Moore’s arguments about the development of democracy in the U.S. Civil War and in China versus India, respectively. Michael Walzer provocatively links varied patterns of class and vanguard relations with different revolutionary outcomes. “The best revolutions,” for example, “are made by social groups capable of articulating their own collective consciousness and defending themselves against the initiatives of radical intellectuals.” The next two chapters introduce some variety into the set that deals mainly with European cases and nation-state units of analysis. Rebecca Scott compares plantation societies in Louisiana and in Cuba with respect to their varying capacities for collective action in labor struggles that bridged the color line. Here, too, we encounter some fascinating primary sources and actor voices. Judith Eisenberg Vichniac cogently compares the situation of Jews in France and in Germany, tracing historical differences in toleration, emancipation, and national traditions of citizenship that help account for their contrasting fates in World War II. Interestingly, Vichniac’s research was inspired by an unpublished paper Moore distributed to students in a seminar. The final three chapters, by Tony Smith, Peter Gourevitch, and George Ross, deal with contemporary development of democracy mainly in Europe.

There is little to criticize in these polished essays as a group, although attentive readers will find plentiful sources of demur and stimulation. But the volume does provoke reflection on the extent to which Moore’s legacy is fully realized in contemporary social science. Probably, the collection faithfully represents the tendency to focus mainly on Moore’s 1966 epic *Social Origins* to the relative neglect of such marvelous books as *Political Power and Social Theory* (1958), *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery and on Certain Proposals to Eliminate Them* (1972), and the remarkable *Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt* (1978). Besides its neglected breadth and variety, there is in Moore’s work a compelling spirit of moral paradox: Revolution is accomplished by violence, even as it seeks to eliminate the suffering and slow death of official violence by oppressive regimes. Capitalist democracy creates and extends human rights in tandem with new and insidious inequalities. No amount of methodological sophistication, causal explanation, cost-benefit analysis, or academic piety will dispel these contradictions. The power of Moore’s writing stems in important part from his insistence on embracing paradox rather than supplanting it with the investigator’s normative preferences—as, perhaps, is the style of “committed” social science lately. With all the undeniable progress in historical sociology since he revived the field 30 years ago, we must return to Moore’s writing for a sense of irony.

---

*The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics: National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement*, edited by **Barry D. Adam, Jan Willem Duyvendak,** and **André Krouwel**. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999. 381 pp. \$59.95 cloth. ISBN: 1-56639-644-1. \$22.95 paper. ISBN: 1-56639-645-x.

**DAVID JOHN FRANK**  
*Harvard University*  
[frankdj@wjv.harvard.edu](mailto:frankdj@wjv.harvard.edu)

---

This collection provides the most comprehensive overview of national gay and lesbian movements available to date, with portraits of gay and lesbian political organizing in 16 countries across the five continents. The cases include usual suspects, such as Australia and Britain, but also movements in less frequently considered countries, such as Brazil, Romania, and Japan.

The appearance of such a broad survey is good news for social movement theorists, who have tended to heap attention on a few social movements while ignoring many others. The new terrain provides fresh ground for testing established theoretical ideas (say, regarding the importance of political opportunity structures—in many countries, dictators have been able to ice even the possibility of a lesbian and gay movement). The new terrain also highlights the significance of some more recent theoretical ideas (including those placing identities at the forefront of concern—as contributor Brown points out, the constitution of persons known as “gays” and “lesbians” is the first condition for the rise of an Argentinean movement). What’s more, the collection is good news for lesbian and gay studies, which has tended to be much richer in abstract ideas than in empirical, especially comparative empirical, investigations.

Theoretically, the collection’s signal strength is its demonstration of the importance of national polities in constituting gay and lesbian movements in different eras and countries. Strength, tactics, issues, posture, success: All such movement characteristics arise in and are affected by historically contingent national characteristics. This is clear in the Dutch movement, for instance, which has the peculiar distinction of being one of the very oldest (the first group was organized in 1911) and most successful (having won registered partnership and antidiscrimination laws), even as it has been one of the least publicly assertive. Shuyf and Krouwel, in an enlightening chapter, attribute the apparent contradiction to the culture and organization of the Dutch polity throughout most of the twentieth century: Divided at its roots, the polity has seen compromise and accommodation made the basic imperatives of Dutch political life.

Substantively, the collection’s strength lies in the variation it demonstrates between lesbian and gay movements. Substantial differences exist across eras and countries in the relationship between lesbians and gay men, for example (relations are more acrimonious in Spain), and in the incorporation of lesbians and gays into the Left (they are more securely incorporated in France). Also, striking variation appears in representations of homosexual desire. One representation depicts homosexual desire as a fixed and stable identity, while another represents it as a fluid and evanescent taste. Epstein’s superb chapter chronicles oscillations between these

two representations in the U.S. movement, whereas Green suggests that in Brazil, the “passive” male partner is affixed with identity while the “active” partner merely has taste. (I am simplifying here, of course.)

These strengths are substantial, and they make the book a worthy read for all students of social movements, gender, and sexuality. But naturally the book has blemishes. In particular, I found the collection ineffective in explaining the global aspects of the “worldwide mobilization” (as it is called on the cover). In many kinds of countries, over the course of just a few decades, lesbian and gay movements have sprung up. And despite sharp differences between them, the movements share a host of characteristics, such as the annual Pride celebration and the struggle for nondiscrimination legislation. What changed in the world such that all these movements in all these countries became possible in such a short span of time? The editors address this question briefly, with a discussion of capitalism. Their idea is that the rise of capitalism promotes urbanization and the breakdown of traditional, familial, religious, and community constraints on sexuality and gender, thereby creating space for lesbian and gay politics. But in many countries, such as France, capitalism appeared decades (even centuries) before the first stirrings of a lesbian and gay movement. Thus the causal relationship is hard to discern. I would argue that the emergence of an international human rights discourse, together with its implications for the independence and autonomy of women, has had much more direct effects on the possibilities for lesbian and gay activism than has capitalism. (Nearly all the authors do mention human rights at least in passing.)

There is also some variation in the richness of the individual chapters. The variation is correlated partly with the extent of the existing body of scholarship (the shoulders on which these scholars stand) and partly on the extent of the phenomenon under investigation. Where the lesbian and gay movement is large and varied, that is, and heir to a long history, there is much grain to mill. On the other hand, where the movement is barely underway, a more speculative approach is required.

Whatever lacunae exist in the book, they are better seen as the inevitable marks of a pioneering work than as flaws. *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics* is a highly readable work, and one that provides the most systematic

attempt to date to deal in a serious and comparative way with a powerful wave of activism. Given the obvious skill and commitment of the volume's authors, we can expect that these chapters represent but a foretaste of the feast to come.

---

*On the Fringe: Gays and Lesbians in Politics*, by **David Rayside**. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998. 356 pp. \$49.95 cloth. ISBN: 0-8014-3321-5. \$19.95 paper. ISBN: 0-8014-8374-3.

SABINE HARK  
*University of Potsdam*  
[bark@rz.uni-potsdam.de](mailto:bark@rz.uni-potsdam.de)

---

It's a long way from the Stonewall Inn on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village, New York City, to London's Downing Street No. 10. Chris Smith, one of the three openly gay politicians portrayed by David Rayside in his cross-national comparative study on gays and lesbians in politics, has run the gamut. After Britain's Labour victory of May 1, 1997, Smith was appointed to the Cabinet as Secretary of State at the Department of National Heritage. Thirty years ago lesbians and gays as well as transgendered people were forced into the underworld of Mafia-controlled bars; still today many lesbians and gays around the world are taught to despise their sexual identities, but a few openly gay and lesbian politicians have been able to walk the tightrope of legislative politics. The extent to which they can be successful beyond their personal careers, however, remains to be seen.

Rayside's project is to assess the relevance of legislative politics in achieving equality for lesbians and gays. Rayside compares different legislative struggles fought by lesbians and gays in Britain, Canada, and the United States, analyzing in detail the nationally bound "opportunity structures"—that is, the permeability of the political system, the relationship between executive and legislature, the pattern of party cohesion, the nature of the electoral system. He argues that "sexuality" is a key political arena at the intersection of private and public spheres on which social relations are defined and democratic rights as well as political, economical, and cultural resources are distributed. Drawing implicitly on the insight that complex power structures and legal arrangements determine

even the most intimate aspects of people's lives, Rayside demonstrates the need for legal change without losing sight of the hazards of the legislative journey.

Although lesbians and gays have indeed come a long way, he concludes, they are still minor players on the fringes of mainstream political processes, occasionally given access to political institutions but without political power. Becoming a player in these processes, Rayside argues, is necessary, although making gains is possible only under very particular circumstances.

Most essential, yet difficult, is to maintain the links between political insiders and outsiders of the gay and lesbian movements. *On the Fringe* is exceptionally well written, unpretentious, jargon-free, and very clearly organized. Rayside does not bother his readers with abstract theory and dry methodology. He makes substantive use of direct quotation, thereby qualifying his interpretations through the comments of those interviewed. Based on about 350 unstructured interviews with political activists both within and outside the mainstream political processes, Rayside draws a complex map of the different national political contexts, histories, cultures, and political styles. He is thus able to demonstrate clearly how important it is to take these differences into account to understand political processes. By neglecting that "sexuality" is a key site for ordering social relations, political science and the sociology of social movements have thus far not concerned themselves extensively with sexual minority issues. In this regard, *On the Fringe* is a long overdue contribution not only to our understanding of lesbian and gay politics but to the workings of the national political systems in general.

There is, however, a major weakness in Rayside's otherwise convincing arguments. Arguing forcefully for the necessity of legal change, he sometimes forgets that any rights gained are always already politicized and therefore as much a means of perpetuating existing hierarchies as transforming them. If, however, as other political theorists have argued, the "homosexual" has been constructed as the nation's other, the struggle for inclusion in established civil rights will depend not only on successfully walking the tightrope between mainstream and movement politics, but also on investigating the entanglement of rights in historically given structures of inclusion and exclusion. *On the*