

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

When States Come Out

In the last two decades, the LGBT movement has gained a momentum that is arguably unprecedented in speed and suddenness when compared to other human rights movements. This book investigates the recent history of this transnational movement in Europe, focusing on the diffusion of the norms it champions and the overarching question of why, despite similar international pressures, the trajectories of socio-legal recognition for LGBT minorities are so different across states. The book makes the case that a politics of visibility has engendered interactions between movements and states that empower marginalized people – mobilizing actors to demand change, influencing the spread of new legal standards, and weaving new ideas into the fabrics of societies. It documents how this process of “coming out” empowers marginalized social groups by moving them to the center of political debate and public recognition, and making it possible for them to obtain rights to which they have due claim.

Phillip M. Ayoub is Assistant Professor of Politics at Drexel University. Ayoub's doctoral dissertation received the biennial 2013–2014 award for the best dissertation from the European Union Studies Association, as well as the 2014 Kenneth Sherrill Award for the best dissertation in the field of sexuality and politics, and the 2014 award for the best dissertation in the field of human rights from sections of the American Political Science Association. He is also the recipient of Cornell University's 2011 Kahin Prize and co-recipient of the 2014 Esman Prize for distinguished scholarship. His articles have appeared in the *European Journal of International Relations*, *Mobilization*, the *European Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Human Rights*, and *Perspectives on Europe*.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - *When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility*

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Advance Praise for *When States Come Out*

"This innovative book breaks new ground in the study of human rights, international relations, social movements, and identity politics. Phillip Ayoub provides a deep and rigorous multi-method analysis of a critical issue at the frontiers of the struggle for human dignity."

Alison Brysk, Mellichamp Professor of Global Governance,
University of California, Santa Barbara

"A revolution has swept across the countries of Europe, transforming LGBT persons from criminal degenerates into upstanding and even celebrated members of society. But the revolution has not changed all countries equally. Some have moved quickly to grant LGBT citizens the same rights and protections accorded to their fellows. Other countries have showed greater reluctance, and even now fall short of equal incorporation. Accounting for the overall trends and especially the enduring variations are Phillip Ayoub's central tasks, and he fulfills them brilliantly in this masterful and incisive book."

David John Frank, Professor of Sociology and Courtesy Professor
of Education and Political Science at the University of California, Irvine

"*When States Come Out* is a masterful analysis of the domestic and transnational currents of Europe's LGBT politics. Based on a rich trove of new qualitative and quantitative data, Ayoub's compelling argument shows how and why the politics of visibility is at the center of the human rights and dignity movement."

Peter J. Katzenstein, Walter S. Carpenter, Jr. Professor of
International Studies, Cornell University

"This brilliant study provides a compelling answer to the question of what drives policy success of LGBT movements in particular and of social movements, more generally. Phillip Ayoub anchors his empirically rich, meticulously researched, and theoretically sophisticated argument in the idea that norm visibility is the key to policy success. This book is a must-read for scholars and activists interested in how marginalized groups gain agency and generate political change."

Sabine Lang, Associate Professor, Jackson School of International
Studies, University of Washington, and author of *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 2012)

"Why, like their counterparts in the United States, have some European Union states advanced LGBT rights much more rapidly than others in recent years? In *When States Come Out*, Phillip Ayoub marries a sophisticated theoretical framework to a wealth of empirical data to advance a compelling argument about the importance of transnational norms and the domestic politics of visibility to shaping real progress on the rights of sexual minorities. This is an important contribution not only to the literature on LGBT politics, but also to that on comparative social movements and the politics of social change more broadly."

Robert Singh, Professor of Politics, Birkbeck College, University of London

"*When States Come Out* sheds new light on longstanding questions about the conditions under which weak, marginalized, and stigmatized groups are able to bring about political and social change. Focusing on the inconsistent diffusion of rights and recognition for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people across European Union states, Phillip Ayoub draws on a wealth of evidence to

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

demonstrate the important role of individual and collective visibility in provoking both recognition of but also resistance to justice and equality for LGBT people. His analyses lead to important and often surprising insights about the sources and consequences of both movement victories and setbacks, offering reasons for optimism at the same time as they deliver sobering reminders about continued persecution and barriers to justice.”

Dara Z. Strolovitch, Associate Professor, Department
of Politics, Princeton University

“There are many well-trained scholars of social movements; many others who are experts on European transnational politics; and still others who specialize on the LGBT movement. But there is no one who has encompassed all three more elegantly than Phillip Ayoub has done in this richly documented, carefully researched, and intellectually inspiring book. More than a consummate exercise in comparative research, and more than an in-depth inquiry into the LGBT movement in both parts of Europe, it is also a profoundly enlightening inquiry into the factors that produce cultural openness to diversity and those that inhibit it.”

Sidney Tarrow, Emeritus Maxwell M. Upson Professor of Government at
Cornell University, and author of *Power in Movement* (Cambridge, 2011)
and *The Language of Contention* (Cambridge, 2013)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics

Editors

- Mark Beissinger *Princeton University*
 Jack A. Goldstone *George Mason University*
 Michael Hanagan *Vassar College*
 Doug McAdam *Stanford University and Center for Advanced Study
in the Behavioral Sciences*
 Sarah Soule *Stanford University*
 Suzanne Staggenborg *University of Pittsburgh*
 Sidney Tarrow *Cornell University*
 Charles Tilly (d. 2008) *Columbia University*
 Elisabeth J. Wood *Yale University*
 Deborah Yashar *Princeton University*

- Ronald Aminzade, *Race, Nation, and Citizenship in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of Tanzania*
 Ronald Aminzade et al., *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*
 Javier Auyero, *Routine Politics and Violence in Argentina: The Gray Zone of State Power*
 Phillip M. Ayoub, *When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility*
 W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*
 Amrita Basu, *Violent Conjunctures in Democratic India*
 Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*
 Charles Brockett, *Political Movements and Violence in Central America*
 Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*
 Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*
 Christian Davenport, *How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa*
 Christian Davenport, *Media Bias, Perspective, and State Repression*
 Gerald F. Davis, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, and Mayer N. Zald, *Social Movements and Organization Theory*
 Donatella della Porta, *Clandestine Political Violence*
 Mario Diani, *The Cement of Civil Society: Studying Networks in Localities*
 Todd A. Eisenstadt, *Politics, Identity, and Mexico's Indigenous Rights Movements*
 Daniel Q. Gillion, *The Political Power of Protest: Minority Activism and Shifts in Public Policy*

(continued after Index)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

When States Come Out

*Europe's Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility*

PHILLIP M. AYOUN



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility
Phillip M. Ayoub
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107115590

© Phillip M. Ayoub 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Ayoub, Phillip, 1983– author.

Title: When states come out : Europe's sexual minorities and
the politics of visibility / Phillip M. Ayoub.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016. |

Series: Cambridge studies in contentious politics |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016008235 | ISBN 9781107115590 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781107535893 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Gay rights – Europe. | Gay liberation movement – Europe. |

Sexual minorities – Political activity – Europe. | Identity politics – Europe. |

BISAC: POLITICAL SCIENCE / Government / General.

Classification: LCC HQ76.8.E85 A96 2016 | DDC 323.3/264094–dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2016008235>

ISBN 978-1-107-11559-0 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-53589-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs
for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not
guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

*For my parents,
Reinhild and Anwar Ayoub*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Preface and acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xix
1 Introduction	I
2 The politics of visibility and LGBT rights in Europe	21
3 Transnational movement: Opportunities, actors, and mechanisms	53
4 Complying with new norms: LGBT rights legislation	87
5 Internalizing new norms: Attitudes toward sexual minorities	127
6 Poland and Slovenia’s responses to international norms	158
7 Visibility in movement and transnational politics	199
<i>Methodological appendix</i>	225
<i>References</i>	247
<i>Index</i>	271

Figures

1.1	Variation in attitudes toward homosexuality across EU states	<i>page 9</i>
1.2	Variation in LGBT rights legislation across EU states	10
2.1	(In)direct and mediated channels of norm diffusion and compliance outcomes	37
2.2	Processes of internalization	43
2.3	Internalization outcomes based on conditions of threat and channels of visibility	43
2.4	Variation in attitudes toward homosexuality between new and old EU states	50
2.5	Variation in objections toward homosexual neighbors between new and old EU states	50
3.1	Influence of European institutions on state compliance	57
3.2	Influence of European institutions on societal internalization	58
3.3	Number of LGBT social spaces (restaurants, cafes, bars, and clubs) in Berlin and Warsaw, 1990–2004	68
3.4	Number of LGBT organizations (political, religious, and health groups) in Berlin and Warsaw, 1990–2004	68
3.5	“Solidarność Gejów,” Berlin, 2009	74
3.6	“Catholics We Love You,” Warsaw, 2010	78
3.7	European frames in Warsaw, 2006	78
4.1	Mapping the introduction of LGBT rights legislation in EU states, 1980–2010	89
4.2	Expected change in the predicted probability of passing LGBT legislation when norm brokers exist in new EU states	110
4.3	International dynamics of “passing” same-sex marriage	122
5.1	Mapping attitudes toward homosexuality in EU states, 1990–2010	129

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe’s Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility
Phillip M. Ayoub
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Figures xi

5.2	Correlation between aggregate attitudes and combined channels in new EU states	144
5.3	Religiosity and perceived threat	150
5.4	National pride and perceived threat	150
5.5	Effect of pro-LGBT legislation on societal attitudes	154
6.1	The “defend the nation” frame	176
6.2	NOP symbols	185
6.3	Type of norm reception process described by respondents (%)	191

Every effort has been made to contact the relevant copyright-holders for the images reproduced in this book. In the event of any error, the publisher will be pleased to make corrections in any reprints or future editions.

Tables

3.1	Political opportunity structures, mobilizing structures, transnational actors, and mechanisms	<i>page 64</i>
4.1	European LGBT organizations' reliance on external funding sources	93
4.2	Predicting pro-LGBT legislation in Europe, 1970–2010	107
4.3	EU-12 determinants of year passing anti-discrimination, criminal law, and partnership legislation, 1970–2010	114
4.4	EU-15 determinants of year passing anti-discrimination, criminal law, partnership, and parenting legislation, 1970–2010	116
5.1	Predicting tolerance toward homosexuality in the EU	142
5.2	Predicting tolerance toward homosexuality in new and old EU states	147
5.3	Predicting the effect of pro-LGBT legislation on tolerance toward homosexuality	152
6.1	Transnational social channels and norm brokers	167
6.2	Legal framework for LGBT people in Poland and Slovenia	168
6.3	Church authority and national vulnerability in Poland and Slovenia	175
6.4	Slovenian mobilization in the public sphere, 2000–2009	183
A.1	Dependent and independent variables summarized (Chapter 4)	233
A.2	Descriptive statistics and correlations (Chapter 4)	236
A.3	Dependent and independent variables summarized (Chapter 5)	237
A.4	Descriptive statistics and correlations (Chapter 5)	239

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface and acknowledgments

Like many students of social movements, I first became interested in the LGBT rights movement through personal experience. This project dates back to 2004–2006, when I was completing a master's degree in Berlin at a time when many Berliners were organizing to participate in marches for LGBT equality in various Polish cities. It was in Berlin that I came across a flier concerning a march in Warsaw, which sparked a long curiosity about the transnational nature of LGBT politics and the questions it raises. The political behavior that seemed obvious to many of the participants challenged fundamentals of what I had learned of politics in the classroom: what was rational about marching for rights in a foreign context, where such rights would not benefit you directly? Why did such activism meet forceful resistance in some cases and not in others? The uneven diffusion of legal rights and societal recognition across states – the goals of the movement – also puzzled me.

During the decade I spent thinking about the issues related to this book, I would be amazed most of all by the striking changes that occurred around the globe. Under the right conditions, it seemed, LGBT people could be their own emancipators (in some sense of that word), in that their visibility could be the path toward rights. Moreover, these politics of visibility were transnational in nature, as so many varied states – including ones that many observers thought of as highly unlikely – adopted new LGBT rights norms into the framework of the state. The contentious politics of visibility thus became the subject of this endeavor, and this book is about the political power of coming out for individuals, groups, and states. It is a story of how local activists can channel transnational support to affect domestic politics, a story about

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

how a norm can become salient, and about how people can come out under broader conditions of visibility.

For all the words in this book, I could easily devote as many to thanking the various people who have made it possible. It is only fitting that I begin by thanking the many unnamed activists who offered me their time and insight as interviewees. So many of the LGBT activists who shared their stories for this book taught me the truth of the statement articulated so elegantly by author-activist bell hooks: “All the great movements for social justice in our society have promoted a love ethic” (2001, 98). To love and to be loved has driven the mobilization of the many people who comprise a truly great social movement of our times. It has been a privilege to learn from people who led and lead the struggle; their work and stories will inspire me for years to come.

My greatest intellectual debts go to the members of my doctoral committee who, throughout my six years of graduate studies at Cornell University, provided valued mentorship and invested long hours to guide this book project. In meeting their high demands, I received far more guidance than is typical or expected. Peter Katzenstein was an exceptional mentor. He replied to emails within minutes (whether at 7 a.m. or 11 p.m.), put Goethe on my reading list, and struck that fine balance between vigorously demanding excellence and voicing sincere encouragement and praise. His skill as an advisor is already legendary, but I would argue that the legend is an understatement, as his work ethic and his commitment to his students – both in their professional development and in their personal lives – are truly remarkable. They have left an undeniable mark both on this book and the role I have come to fill as a scholar.

To Sid Tarrow I owe an incredible debt of gratitude, not least for influencing this book's focus on contentious politics. Early on, he told me quite directly that I was “writing about movements” and left me little room to explain how this might not be the case. Judging by the series home this book has found for itself, he was, of course, correct. The breadth and richness of his insights – often going back to the French Revolution – and the plethora of time he has invested in my work have made the outcome much better. Matt Evangelista was enthusiastic about the subject of this book from the start, and the combination of intellectual and moral support that he provided was of great importance to me as I conducted my research. LGBT politics is only now beginning to capture the attention of political scientists (still far too little attention, but more than when I stumbled into his office in 2007), but Matt encouraged the project from the start. Concerned

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface and acknowledgments*

xv

that my courses were not covering much of the work specifically related to gender and LGBT politics, Matt and I went over such readings together, discussing each piece as I wrote the earliest drafts of the prospectus. In response to my later drafts, he always asked the difficult questions while simultaneously showing excitement for my work. I doubt that this book's topic would have developed without Matt's early enthusiasm, and I know that the outcome would have been weaker without his input.

Sarah Soule offered brilliant comments on my various projects, while simultaneously helping me to navigate the pragmatic elements of the profession. Her understanding of sociology and politics is astonishing, and she helped me hone in on the feasible dimensions of this project and execute them. Even when I was in Europe conducting research, I could schedule phone meetings with her to vet the first iteration of my ideas in brainstorming sessions. I have an extraordinary amount of respect for Sarah's scholarship, kindness, and humility, all of which shine through in the better parts of this completed work. Finally, Chris Anderson has graciously supported my fascination with European politics; like Sarah, he also imparted a great deal of knowledge concerning methodology. Together, these five individuals have guided the stronger parts of this work.

At Cornell University, I benefited from the dedication and advice offered to me by Tom Pepinsky, Peter Enns, Jessica Weeks, Chris Way, Jonathan Kirshner, Alex Kuo, and Syd van Morgen. Historian Holly Case, who has read every word of this book, has always encouraged and improved my work. Her East European Circle gave me an interdisciplinary platform to present and vet ideas. Jay Barry at the Cornell Statistical Consulting Unit was willing to talk through my models from afar. It is impossible to list all the graduate student friends who inspired my intellectual trajectory, so I will focus on a few: Deondra Rose, Chris Zepeda-Millán, Jaimie Bleck, Idrissa Sidibe, Julie Ajinkya, Ben Brake, Igor Logvinenko, Don Leonard, Pablo Yanguas, Desmond Jagmohan, Janice Gallagher, Tariq Thachil, Pinar Kemerli, Simon Gilhooley, Sinja Graf, Robert Braun, Sophia Wallace, Martha Wilfahrt, Jen Hadden, Lucia Seybert, Jennifer Erickson, and Noelle Brigden. Of my accomplishments in graduate school, these friendships have been the most valuable; they have shaped how I understand politics and society (especially concerning marginalized peoples), and they have taught me that the best scholars are those who also leave the library to experience the world around them.

I revised much of this book during the three years after I left Cornell University. Under the warmth of the Tuscan sun, I found so much

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

Preface and acknowledgments

clarity during my Max Weber postdoctoral fellowship at the European University Institute in Florence. I benefited greatly from energizing conversations with my friends and colleagues, including Donatella della Porta, Ludivine Broch-Hinks, Franziska Exeler, Eirini Karamouzi, Akis Psygkas, Mary Anne Madeira, Valerie McGuire, Philip Balsiger, Pablo Kalmanowitz, Zoe Lefkofridi, Alyson Price, and Laurie Anderson. At my current home at Drexel University, my generous colleagues have offered me the most enthusiastic and stimulating environment. Special thanks is owed to Zoltán Búzás, Amelia Hoover-Green, Erin Graham, George Chicciariello-Maher, Rose Corrigan, Melissa Mansfield, and Scott Barclay for helping me to cross the finish line.

Many scholars from other campuses have commented on and encouraged me in this project, notably David Paternotte, Agnès Chetaille, Beth Kier, John McCarthy, Jeff Checkel, Anna Grzymała-Busse, Verta Taylor, Markus Thiel, Kelly Kollman, Isa Engeli, Samantha Majic, Jocelyn Viterna, Shawn Schulenberg, Lisa Dellmuth, David Frank, and Jasna Magic. Alison Brysk and Dara Strolovitch made large commitments of time to prepare outstanding and invaluable comments, as well as travel to Philadelphia for the book workshops hosted by Drexel University. They deserve special thanks. For influencing my early academic trajectory, I thank Sabine Lang and Christine Ingebritsen at the University of Washington, and John Stephens and Christiane Lemke at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

I am so grateful for the efforts of Lew Bateman, my editor at Cambridge University Press, for putting his weight behind this project and shepherding it through review and production. The anonymous readers for the press were incisive and brilliant in their comments, which played a tremendous role in guiding the revisions. Kathleen Kearns' meticulous eyes did an exceptional job to help me edit this work. Olaf Hajek, the renowned and talented artist, offered to create the cover because he was committed to the story being told. I thank him for his generous gift. I thank Cambridge University Press, Sage, and Routledge for permission to use portions of my earlier work (Ayoub 2013, 2014, 2015a), in parts of Chapters 3, 4, and 6, respectively. This research was generously supported by an Alexander von Humboldt Chancellor Fellowship, a Fulbright Schuman Fellowship for the European Union, a Michelle Sicca Research Fellowship (Cornell), a Luigi Einaudi Fellowship (Cornell), and three Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships for Polish.

Between 2009 and 2012, I spent twenty-five months in Europe to conduct research for this book. During that time, I incurred many debts to

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface and acknowledgments*

xvii

the people and institutions that warmly welcomed me. For their intellectual feedback and for hosting me as a guest researcher, I thank Michael Zürn, Ruud Koopmans, Martin Binder, and Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt at the Wissenschafts Zentrum Berlin; Ingo Peters and Thomas Risse at Free University Berlin's Center on Transnational Relations; David Paternotte at the Université Libre de Bruxelles; and Martin Nagelschmidt at Humboldt University's Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences. I thank Lena Renz for her able research assistance in transcribing interviews and helping to compile and clean my legislation data set, as well as Jakob Tesch for coding work on the attitudinal data set, and Christine Hammell and Ryan Spavlik for help in formatting the manuscript.

I also benefited from valued friendship during my many stints in the field. I want to thank Blanca Biosca, Olga Brzezinska, and Brigid O'Shea for standing by me whenever the process felt difficult. They are the ones who put up with me as I tuned out of conversation to scribble a new idea into my notepad, and who graciously accepted that I would always travel with my laptop. Remo Kaufmann, Volker Hagen, Olly Hopwood, the M18 crew (Robert Radu, Alex Rahn, Christoph Schippel, and Björn Weiss), Mikael Ronsmans, Tomasz Koko, Olaf Szymanski, Greg Czarnecki, Hanna Schmidt Hollaender, Jordan Long, Laurent Fierens Gevaert, and Bruno Selun made me feel at home in Germany, Poland, and Belgium. I thank the Alexander von Humboldt group from China, Russia, and the United States, especially Emily Yates, Emilie Mathieu, Sarah Kelly, Özge Guzelsu, Jack Giesecking, and Johanna Schuster-Craig, for the enriching experiences we shared as we trekked all over Germany (from coal mines to the Chancellery).

Thanks also go to my oldest friends, Nate Fronk, Matt Simo, Krista Johnson, Rachel Streeter, Caitlyn Clauson, and Graham Van der Zanden, who have stayed in my life and have fervently pretended to be interested in my work (as well as read it) for more than ten years. Nate has read almost every chapter and deserves special thanks for his unwavering support. My grandmother's sisters – Edith Gier, Gaby Gier, Anneliese Dörr, Waltraud Königsberger, and Ria Mäder – who live(d) along the Franco-German border and experienced war and the rebuilding of Europe, taught me the fundamentals about the European project. I attribute my scholarly interest in Europe to them and to my siblings, Miriam and Darren Ayoub.

Finally, this book is for my father and mother. Though my father believed in me beyond any realistic measure of my capabilities, his motivation and encouragement are responsible for all the better things I have achieved in life. This book is one of them, and I thank him for it. He

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility

Phillip M. Ayoub

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

Preface and acknowledgments

passed away shortly before I defended the dissertation version in 2013, in what was (and continues to be) a very painful and difficult reality to accept: to say goodbye to a wonderful man who left us far too soon. Before he passed, I was able to show him a draft of the dissertation's dedication page to him. In his typical style, he rejected any credit, saying, "It should be for your mother," rightly for the wonderful inspiration and model of excellence she has been in my life. After some debate I was able to appease him by promising him my mother would get due credit next time. And that was how he pushed me higher again. It was the pivotal nudge to write this book, which is for both of them.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe’s Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility
Phillip M. Ayoub
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Abbreviations

ACT UP	AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power
CCOO	Comisiones Obreras [The Workers’ Commissions]
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands [Christian Democratic Union of Germany]
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe(an)
COC	Cultuur en Ontspanningscentrum [Center for Culture and Leisure]
CoE	Council of Europe
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union [Christian Social Union of Bavaria]
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EU	European Union
EVS	European Values Study
FRA	European Agency for Fundamental Rights
GDR	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
IGLYO	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer Youth and Student Organization
ILGA	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association
ILGA-Europe	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association Europe
KPH	Kampania Przeciw Homofobii [Campaign against Homophobia]
KUL	Institute of Family Life and Culture, Slovenia
LGBT	lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans
LPR	Liga Polskich Rodzin [League of Polish Families]

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11559-0 - When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the
Politics of Visibility
Phillip M. Ayoub
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

LSVD	Lesben-und Schwulenverband in Deutschland [Lesbian and Gay Federation Germany]
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NOP	Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski [National Rebirth of Poland]
NUTS	Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics
ONR	Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny [National Radical Camp]
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość [Polish Law and Justice Party]
RFSL	Riksförbundet för homoseksuellas, bisexuellas och transpersoners rättigheter [Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights]
SDS	Slovenska Demokratska Stranka [Slovenian Democratic Party]
SLD	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej [Polish Democratic Left Alliance]
SRP	Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Self-Defense of the Polish Republic]
TFP	The American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property
TGEU	Transgender Europe
WWII	Second World War