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"Special" lgbt parties and movements and their political strategies in european democracies

The article is dedicated to analysing the "special" LGBT parties and LGBT movements/organizations and their political strategies in European participatory democracies. The researcher argued that LGBT party is not a traditional phenomenon of European democracies, while LGBT problems are usually outlined in activities of LGBT movements and organizations, which are divided into political (affiliated with political parties) and apolitical (not affiliated with political parties). All LGBT organizations in European democracies use common tools and working methods, but different strategies or models of interaction with the political environment.

Keywords: "special" party, LGBT party, LGBT movement, LGBT organization, strategy or model of interaction with political environment, democracy.

«Спеціальні» лгбт-партії і рухи та їхні політичні стратегії у європейських демократіях

Стаття присвячена аналізу «спеціальних» ЛГБТ-партій і ЛГБТ-рухів/організацій і їх політичних стратегій у європейських представницьких демократіях. У дослідженні аргументовано, що ЛГБТ-партії не є традиційними феноменом європейських демократій, натомість ЛГБТ-проблеми зазвичай окреслюються в діяльності ЛГБТ-рухів та організацій, які поділяються на політичні (афілійовані з політичними партіями) та аполітичні (не афілійовані з політичними партіями). Всі ЛГБТ-організації у європейських демократіях використовуються спільні інструменти та методи діяльності, але різні стратегії чи моделі взаємодії з політичним середовищем.

Ключові слова: «спеціальна» партія, ЛГБТ-партія, ЛГБТ-рух, ЛГБТ-організація, стратегія чи модель взаємодії з політичним середовищем, демократія.

Nowadays, as G. Marks, L. Hooghe, M. Nelson and E. Edwards[1] state, the existence of two dimensions of party-electoral competition structuring in European representative

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[1] G. Marks, L. Hooghe, M. Nelson, E. Edwards, *Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality*, "Comparative Political Studies" 2006, vol 39, nr 2, s. 155–175.

democracies can be traced. The following political scientists S. Bartolini and P. Mair[2], S. Lipset and S. Rokkan[3], G. Evans and S. Whitefield[4], H. Kitschelt, Z. Mansfeldova, R. Markowski and G. Toka[5], argue that the first one deals with the classical ("old") sociopolitical division on the basis of material values (among them one can name economic redistribution, welfare and state regulation of economy) and is incorporated in division of the traditional "left-right spectrum" parties. The second approach (non-economic, cultural or world-view based) as the researchers S. Flanagan and A-R. Lee[6], M. Franklin[7], R. Inglehart[8], H. Kitschelt[9], G. Evans and S. White-field[10], H.-D. Klingemann[11], J. Zielinski[12] believe, concerns a "new" division of politics on the grounds of post-materialistic values (among them one can single out ecological, communal, world-view and life-style values, protection of rights and liberties of various spheres of population, migration issues and protection of national heritage and others) and is often incorporated in division of political parties beyond the traditional "left-right spectrum", in particularly the so-called "special" parties or parties of specialized/special political interests[13]. "Special" parties are those parties, which build their program activity on the basis of special/non-traditional values and interests, and which can or cannot have materialistic/post-materialistic character. The common and peculiar feature of these parties is their non-traditional and not widely spread program position and, consequently, too limited circle of voters and adherents. As a result, "special" parties are non-homogeneous, as among them it is impossible to single out political forces on the grounds of an equally problematic and organizational vector of their program activity and direction. That is why, within the range of "special" parties one can distinguish several groups, determined by separate principles of ideological or non-ideological positioning

[2] S. Bartolini, P. Mair, *Identity, competition, and electoral availability: The stabilization of the European electorate, 1885–1985*, Wyd. ECPR Press 2007.

[3] S. M. Lipset, S. Rokkan, *Cleavage structures, party systems and voter alignments: An introduction*, [w:] S. M. Lipset, S. Rokkan (eds.), *Party systems and voter alignments: Cross-national perspectives*, Wyd. Free Press 1967, s. 1–64.

[4] G. Evans, S. Whitefield, *Identifying the bases of party competition in Eastern Europe*, 'British Journal of Political Science" 1993, vol 23, s. 521–548.

[5] H. Kitschelt, Z. Mansfeldova, R. Markowski, G. Toka, *Post Communist Party systems: Competition, representation, and inter-party cooperation*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 1999.

[6] S. Flanagan, *Value change in industrial societies*, "American Political Science Review" 1987, vol 81, s. 1303–1318.; S. Flanagan, A.-R. Lee, *The new politics, culture wars, and the authoritarian-libertarian value change in advanced industrial societies*, "Comparative Political Studies" 2003, vol 36, s. 235–270.

[7] M. Franklin, *The decline of cleavage politics*, [w] M. Franklin, T. Mackie, H. Valen (eds.), *Electoral change: Responses to evolving social and attitudinal structures in Western Europe*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 1992, s. 383–405.

[8] R. Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*, Wyd. Princeton University Press 1977.

[9] H. Kitschelt, *Left-libertarian parties*, "World Politics' 1988, vol 40, s. 194–234.

[10] G. Evans, S. Whitefield, *Identifying the bases of party competition in Eastern Europe*, 'British Journal of Political Science" 1993, vol 23, s. 521–548.

[11] H.-D. Klingemann, *Die entstehung wettbewerbsorientierter parteiensysteme i Osteuropa*, [w:] W. Zapf, M. Dierkes (eds.), *Institutionenvergleich und institutionendynamik*, Wyd. WZB Jahrbuch 1994.

[12] J. Zielinski, *Translating social cleavages into party systems: The significance of new democracies*, 'World Politics" 2002, vol 54, s. 184–211.

[13] D. Baron, *Review of Grossman and Helpman's Special Interest Politics*, "Journal of Economic Literature" 2002, vol 40, s. 1221–1229.; G. Grossman, E. Helpman, *Special Interest Politics*, Wyd. MIT Press 2001.; N.-G. Martineau, *The Influence of Special Interests and Party Activists of Electoral Competition*, Wyd. Job Market Paper 2010.

and functioning. Namely, these are the so-called "special" LGBT-parties and LGBT-movements and organizations.

These are parties and movements or organizations, which promote the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people. In European countries there is an extremely small amount of such parties and movements/organizations, nevertheless their program position is rather specific, and requires analysis and determination, in particular within the context of describing the essence and specificity of LGBT-parties and LGBT-movements or organizations, as well as determining the attributes of electorate and social portrait of voters and adherents of these parties and movements/organizations.

LGBT-parties and LGBT-movements/organizations are formed due to the fact that in modern democratic countries, including European countries, LGBT-people's and LGBT-communities' rights are often violated, what can be reflected in physical, verbal and psychological outrage. That is why there is an acute need in existence of different political and apolitical organizations, which fight for LGBT rights or try to implement or broaden them, becoming a kind of a communication channel between society and authoritative institutions[14]. Moreover, LGBT-parties and LGBT-organizations/movements at the same time are the mechanisms of political socialization and political participation of LGBT-people and LGBT-communities. Indeed, at the level of European region the most influential political structure, which influences the way the political, social and economic, cultural and other rights of LGBT-people are implemented in practice, is "The European Parliament Intergroup on LGBT Rights". This is a non-formal forum of more than 150 members of the European parliament, who represent various parties and all the EU countries, except Latvia, Lithuania and Luxembourg, wishing to promote and protect LGBT-people's rights. However, protection of LGBT-people's interests at the national level is rather weaker, especially in the context of specially created parties and organizations, which are aimed at it. Besides, LGBT-positions and positions of other (not LGBT) parties and organizations, which compete and are in power in the European representative democracies are also weaker.

Among LGBT-parties in European representative democracies the following ones are usually singled out: «Party of Lavenders» in France, «Gay Rights Working Party» and «Green Party of England and Wales» in the United Kingdom. Some of them function even nowadays, for example, «Green Party of England and Wales», and some were active before, for instance, «Gay Rights Working Party» (it functioned in 1976–1986). They often take the structure of the Philippine LGBT-party "Ladlad" as a basis. Among crucial principles of European LGBT-parties are: to provide LGBT-communities and LGBT-people equal opportunities in the employment sphere and equal treatment in educational and medical centers, restaurants, hotels, entertainment centers and state institutions; to implement loyal gay-friendly attitude

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[14] J. Čaušević, *Brojevi koji ravnopravnost znače. Analiza rezultata istraživanja potreba LGBT osoba u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Wyd. Sarajevski otvoreni centar 2013, s. 36, 49.

towards LGBT-people on the part of state officials; to create favorable micro-financial and economic situation for LGBT-people, in particular for those, who are poor and disabled; to establish centers of legal and psychological help for LGBT-people, who suffer from different kinds and types of sexual discrimination.

The position of the British party "Green Party of England and Wales" is rather peculiar, as being environmentalist/ecological party, it, simultaneously, promotes protection of people's and citizens' liberal freedoms, in particular LGBT-people's rights, animals' rights and reforming policy concerning drugs[15]. The "Green Party of England and Wales" is oriented on left-liberal voters[16], and sometimes portrays itself as a "radically socialistic" one. During the elections of 2015 the party offered a specific "LGBTIQ manifest" under the name "Equality for All"[17], where all LGBT-issues were divided into several sectors as: legislation, education, refugees, "transrights", international affairs, culture, asceticism, intersexual rights, and asexual rights. To solve LGBT-issues, the party calls all teachers for studying the LGBT-issues, as well as reforming the public sector pension scheme, ending the "wife's veto" epoch and changing a marriage into an "actually equal" institution. Also in the manifest they envisaged support for polygamy and polylove affairs[18]. And it relies on the fact that the "Green Party of England and Wales" backs up official same-sex marriages. Curious to relate, but nowadays the "Green Party of England and Wales" is the only European LGBT-party, which is represented in the UK national parliament, local authorities and European Parliament. However, in general it is quite obvious that LGBT-parties in democratic Europe are almost unrepresented, do not have any support, and sometimes do not even participate in elections. Such parties are absolutely unusual to Central-Eastern European countries and partly native to Western European countries.

However, the niche of LGBT-parties in European representative democracies, again exceptionally in Western European countries, to some extent is occupied and/or overlapped by some LGBT-movement, which are affiliated with traditional (within the "left-right spectrum") political parties. Among them one can find: "GayLib" and "Homosexualités et Socialisme" in France, "LGBT + Liberal Democrats", "LGBTory", "LGBT Labour", "LGBTQ* in UKIP" in the United Kingdom, "Open Moderates" in Sweden, "GaySVP" in Switzerland, "Finish Kasary – National Rainbow Coalition" in Finland, "Lesbians and Gays in the Union" in Germany.

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[15] S. Birch, *Real Progress: Prospects for Green Party Support in Britain*, "Parliamentary Affairs" 2009, vol 62, nr 1, s. 53–71.; J. Burchell, *Here Comes the Greens (Again): The Green Party in Britain during the 1990s*, "Environmental Politics" 2000, vol 9, nr 3, s. 145–150.; N. Carter, C. Rootes, *The Environment and the Greens in the 2005 Elections in Britain*, "Environmental Politics" 2006, vol 15, nr 3, s. 473–478.; R. Jones, *Can Environmentalism and Nationalism be Reconciled? The Plaid Cymru/Green Party Alliance, 1991–1995*, "Regional & Federal Studies" 2006, vol 16, s. 315–332.; A. McCulloch, *The Green Party in England and Wales: Structure and Development: The Early Years*, "Environmental Politics" 1992, vol 1, nr 3, s. 418–436.; C. Pattie, A. Russell, R. Johnston, *Going Green in Britain? Votes for the Green Party and Attitudes to Green Issues in the Late 1980s*, "Journal of Rural Studies" 1991, vol 7, nr 3, s. 285–297.

[16] C. Rootes, *Britain: Greens in a Cold Climate*, [w:] D. Richardson, C. Rootes (eds.), *The Green Challenge: The Development of Green Parties in Europe*, Wyd. Routledge 1995, s. 76.

[17] *Equality for All*, "Green Party of England and Wales" (Retrieved 3 May 2015).

[18] N. Duffy, *Green Party wants every teacher to be trained to teach LGBTIQ issues*, "Pink News" 1 May 2015.

"GayLib" in 2002–2013 – is the LGBT-conservative right-of-center intraparty faction of the French "Union for a Popular Movement"[19]. In January 2013 "GayLib" spit off the "Union for a Popular Movement" due to the party leaders' opposition to the same-sex marriages and adoption. After that "GayLib" started negotiations concerning the affiliation process with the party "Union of Democrats and Independents", which supported the approval of the right for same-sex marriages. Another French LGBT-organization "Homosexualités et Socialisme", which was created in 1983, is the LGBT-socialistic left intraparty faction of the French "Parti Socialiste in France"[20].

In the United Kingdom the ideological positioning of LGBT-movements/organizations, affiliated with traditional (within the "left-right spectrum") political parties is much more variegated. For instance, the "LGBT + Liberal Democrats", is the LGBT-organization and the intraparty faction of the liberal party "Liberal Democrats" and supports gender and sexual equality of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals and other sexual minorities[21]. Nevertheless, "LGBTory" is the LGBT-organization and the interparty faction of the Conservative party and on its behalf (together with other non-political LGBT-movements), organizes annual events, concerning the LGBT-rights in the United Kingdom.[22] The "LGBT Labour", which is rather often called "Gay Labour Group", is the LGBT-organization, an intraparty faction of the socialist Labour Party and on its behalf and on the behalf of the Labour movement carries out various events concerning promotion rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people. Finally, "LGBTQ* in UKIP" is the LGBT-organization, an intraparty faction of the right-of-center, Eurosceptic and populist party "The United Kingdom Independence Party" and on the behalf of the latter it backs up the idea of establishing safe living conditions in the United Kingdom for the minorities of different sexual orientation and gender identity, represents the interests of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people, who are the party members[23]. Of great interest is the fact that all LGBT-movements, affiliated with political parties in the United Kingdom, officially participate in selection of candidates to their own political parties, in particular in the light of holding electoral campaigns.

Due to the fact, that all LGBT-movements and organizations in democratic countries in Europe are affiliated with differently ideological political parties, they try to achieve their goals and realize their tasks with the help of different methods and instruments. However, even despite this fact, LGBT-movements are more often affiliated with right or right-of-center

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[19] X. Jardin, *Dictionnaire de la Droite*, Wyd. Larousse 2007, s. 138.

[20] F. Martel, *Le Rose et le Noir: Les homosexuels en France depuis 1968*, Wyd. Éditions du Seuil 2008, s. 265.; J.-P. Azema, *Vivre et Survivre dans le Marais*, Wyd. Le Manuscript 2005, s. 506.

[21] D. Rayside, *On the Fringe: Gays and Lesbians in Politics*, Wyd. Cornell University Press 1998.; A. Russell, E. Fieldhouse, *Neither Left Nor Right: The Liberal Democrats and the Electorate*, Wyd. Manchester University Press 2005.; H. Dawson, *Using the Internet for Political Research: Practical Tips and Hints*, Wyd. Elsevier 2003.

[22] *Annual Review of the Human Rights Situation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex People in Europe*, Wyd. ILGA-Europe 2014, s. 176.

[23] E. Miftari, *Human Rights Do Not Recognize Political Ideology: Political Parties and the Human Rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People*, Sarajevo 2015, s. 15–16.

traditional parties. For instance, it is peculiar of such LGBT-organizations as "GayLib" in France "LGBTory", "LGBTQ* in UKIP" in the United Kingdom, "Finish Kasary – National Rainbow Coalition" (within the National coalition party) in Finland, "Lesbians and Gays in the Union" (within the Christian Democratic Union) in Germany, and also "GaySVP" in Switzerland, which is a national conservative or even nationalistic and Eurosceptic oriented one, as it adheres to the principles of the Swiss People's Party[24]. Ideological position of LGBT-organization "Open Moderates" in Sweden is not the exception in this context (during 1970s – early 2000 the organization was called "Gay Moderates"), and it is affiliated with the liberal and conservative right-of-wing "Moderate Party"[25]. However, it does not mean that LGBT-movements are strictly ideologically fixed, as in their majority they acknowledge their openness and readiness to cooperate with all parties and organizations, politicians and public figures, who strive for solving political aspects of LGBT-issues. Therefore, it means that LGBT-movements and organizations affiliated with traditional political parties, complete their tasks bilaterally – both within the parties, and within their public/non-political activity. Their crucial tasks and objective priorities are: constant modernization of family law legislation, which create better conditions and opportunities for LGBT-people to start families and raise children; promotion of transgender people's rights; solution of international LGBT-issues, in particular those concerning migration policy; implementation of antidiscrimination measures towards lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people in everyday life; creation of free and equal labor market for LGBT-people; maintenance of an adequate level of public health service (especially for people affected by HIV), social services and end of life care for LGBT-people and others.

Even despite all this, "special" LGBT-parties and LGBT-movements and organizations affiliated with traditional (within the "left-right spectrum") political parties, cannot place all LGBT-issues on the political agenda and as a result cannot solve them. It is stipulated by the fact that "special" LGBT-parties are absolutely or almost unrepresented in democratic European countries, especially in Central-Eastern European countries, thus they are not able to ensure support for their programs and courses via electoral means. Besides, LGBT-organizations affiliated with traditional political parties are weakly functional, as the latter primarily try to solve issues within the typical "left-right spectrum" (in particular, when it concerns economic redistribution, welfare and state regulation of economy), and LGBT-problems are relegated to the background as a kind of "residual" categories. Considering this, in democratic European countries the most widely-spread have become not political LGBT-organizations, but such public/non-political

[24] D. Skenderovic, *The radical right in Switzerland: continuity and change, 1945-2000*, Wyd. Berghahn Books 2009, s. 95, 123–172. ; O. Mazzoleni, *The Swiss People's Party and the Foreign and Security Policy Since the 1990s*, [w:] *Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right*, Wyd. Ashgate 2007, s. 223.; *Switzerland: Selected Issues*, Wyd. International Monetary Fund 2005, s. 97.

[25] P. V. Jakobsen, *Nordic Approaches to Peace Operations: A New Model in the Making?*, Wyd. Taylor & Francis 2006, s. 184.; C. Garsten, M. L. De Montoya, *Transparency in a New Global Order: Unveiling Organizational Visions*, Wyd. Edward Elgar Publishing 2008, s. 43.; J. P. Arnason, B. Wittrock, *Nordic Paths to Modernity*, Wyd. Berghahn Books 2012, s. 104.; H. Halilovich, *Places of Pain: Forced Displacement, Popular Memory and Trans-local Identities in Bosnian War-torn Communities*, Wyd. Berghahn Books 2013, s. 208.

LGBT-movements and organizations, which are not affiliated with any political parties. Among them the most popular in Western European countries (currently exist or have existed recently) are: "International Human Rights Tribunal" in Austria, "Cypriot Gay Liberation Movement" in Cyprus (and "Initiative Against Homophobia" in Northern Cyprus), "LGBT Denmark" and "Copenhagen Pride" in Denmark, "Friðarbogin" ("Peace Arch") on the Faeroe Islands, "Pink Rose" and "Seta" in Finland, "ACT UP", "Arcadie", "AGLA France", "Inter-LGBT" and "SOS Homophobie" in France, "Lesbian and Gay Federation" in Germany, "LGBT Qaamaneq" in Greenland, "Campaign for Homosexual Law Reform", "Gay and Lesbian Equality Network" (GLEN), "Gay Doctors Ireland" (GDI), "National Lesbian and Gay Federation" and "Union of Students in Ireland" (USI) in Ireland, 'Samtökin'78" in Iceland, "Arcigay" in Italy, "COC Nederland" in the Netherlands, "Norwegian National Association for Lesbian and Gay Liberation" (LLH) in Norway, "National Federation of Lesbians, Gays, Transsexuals and Bisexuals" in Spain, "Fag Army" and "Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights" in Switzerland, "Unity Bangor LGBT", "Black Gay Men's Advisory Group", "Gay and Lesbian Humanist Association" (GALHA), "Campaign for Homosexual Equality", "Gay and Lesbian Youth Northern Ireland" (GLYNI), "Homosexual Law Reform Society", "Intersex UK", "The Lesbian & Gay Foundation", "LGBT Network", "Equality Network", "LGBT Youth Scotland", "Outright Scotland", "Peter Tatchell Foundation", "OutRage!", "Queer Youth Network" (QYN) and "Stonewall" in the United Kingdom (especially in Northern Ireland and Scotland)[26] and many others.

Activity of such movements and organizations in Western European countries is firstly aimed at deepening the development of LGBT-people and LGBT-communities, as well as at institutionalization of personal, political, social and economic, cultural, religious liberties and freedoms, restricted by them. In particular, such organization as "LGBT Denmark", functions with the aim at broadening political, social, cultural and work equality at different life levels for gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people, and stands against all types of LGBT-people discrimination and functions as a kind of lobby for the purpose of exerting pressure on legislators and politicians in such spheres of everyday life as marriage, adoption, and lesbian artificial insemination. Greenland organization "LGBT Qaamaneq" sets itself similar tasks. LGBT-organization "Seta" in Finland also focuses on the similar goals and even awards the annual prize the "Apple of Objective Information" to people or organizations, which improve conditions for LGBT-minorities or spread objective information concerning sexual diversity and gender. French non-political LGBT-organizations are determined by the fact that in all ways they try to represent gays and lesbians as ordinary members of the French society, though they agree with statement made by M. Sibalis, according to which all homosexuals must be divided into

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[26] P. Scott-Presland, *Amiable Warriors: A history of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality and its times*, Wyd. Paradise Press 2015.; J. Weeks, *Coming out: homosexual politics in Britain, from the nineteenth century to the present*, Wyd. Quartet Books 1977, s. 210.; A. Grey, *Quest for Justice: Towards Homosexual Emancipation*, Wyd. Sinclair-Stevenson 1992.

two groups: a) those, who are characterized by outrageous and irregular behavior; b) those, who position themselves as dignified, moral and respectable people[27]. As a result, fighting for LGBT-people's rights, French LGBT-organizations, in particular such as "Arcadie", very often resist ostentation of romantic adherence within LGBT-communities[28]. On the other hand, "SOS Homophobie" mainly deals with the issues, concerning national programs of providing support to LGBT-people, including creation of anonymous "hot lines", formation of specialized systems of comments on the web sites etc.[29]. The main tasks of the organization are to provide support to those who have become the victim of homophobia and take measures of homophobia prevention. Moreover, in the final accounting the organization aspires to establish equality between homosexual and heterosexual couples, equal attitude towards all people, despite their sexual orientation[30]. Irish "Gay and Lesbian Equality Network" (GLEN) focuses on the absolutely identical goals, in particular to achieve complete equality on the sexual grounds. However, Italian "Arcigay" occupies rather specific-radical position and often protests against the opposition to homosexuality and LGBT-people's rights on the part of the Vatican[31]. Individual attention should be paid to non-political LGBT-organizations in the United Kingdom. Their number is just about the biggest one in Europe. Secondly, they issue almost the most radical personal and political issues. This is stipulated by the fact that LGBT-parties and LGBT-movements and organizations have been determined, as those affiliated with political parties. Thus, for example, such organization as "LGBT Youth Scotland", provides a wide range of services and opportunities for young people, families and professionals for the members of LGBT-communities, and adheres to the program principle, according to which any young LGBT-person must be involved into the social life of Scotland and must have safe and socially-favorable upbringing and must be able to unlock their potential. The main task of "Intersex UK" is normalization of boys' and girls' harmonic schemes, including kids and teenagers, who are intersexual, contribution to personal autonomy, lobby for the increase of private education expenses and access to identification documents with gender markers. Another one British organization "OutRage!", comes out for "the end of homophobia" and "LGBT-violence", elimination of the stereotype that LGBT-people are "odd", and on the contrary wants to establish and bring into common use the principle, as to which all people must have right for "sexual freedom, choice and self-determination"[32].

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[27] M. Sibalis, *Gay Liberation Comes to France: The Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire (FHAR)*, «French History and Civilization» 2005, vol 1, s. 265–276.

[28] N. Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present*, Wyd. Vintage Books 1995, s. 392.

[29] *Victims Assistance*, «SOS Homophobie Association 20 ans» (Retrieved 2014-08-07).

[30] *The SOS Homophobie Association Goals*, «SOS Association 20 ans» (Retrieved 2014-08-08).

[31] R. Aldrich, G. Wotherspoon, *Who's who in contemporary gay and lesbian history: from World War II to the present day*, Wyd. Psychology Press 2001, s. 170.; M. A. Malagreca, *Queer Italy: contexts, antecedents and representation*, Wyd. Peter Lang 2007.

[32] I. Lucas, *OutRage!: an oral history*, London 1998.

In representative democracies of Central-Eastern Europe public/non-political LGBT-movements and organizations, which are not affiliated with political parties, are represented by the following structures as: "Gemini" in Bulgaria, "Zagreb Pride" in Croatia, "Association of Gay Christians" ("Geikristlaste Kogu") in Estonia, "Háttér Support Society" and "Labrisz Lesbian Association" in Hungary, "Lithuanian Gay League" in Lithuania, "Campaign Against Homophobia" and association "Lambda Warszawa" in Poland, "Accept" and "Be An Angel" in Romania, "Gay Lesbian Info Centre" in Serbia and many others. The activity of these movements and organizations in Central-Eastern European countries, first of all, is aimed at creating LGBT-communities, rising people's awareness of LGBT-problems, instilling respect for LGBT-communities' rights (especially by means of informational and educational campaigns, control over violation of LGBT-communities' members' rights and freedoms), and by means of propaganda and lobby for institutionalized formalization of their rights and liberties (in particular by means of exerting influence on governments and political organizations to construct effective mechanisms in favor of LGBT-communities and creation of favorable conditions for preservation of LGBT-communities mobilization), including society, economy, politics, religion, business etc. Therefore, LGBT-organizations and movements in Central-Eastern Europe are firstly committed to support spiritual and personal up-growth of LGBT-individuals, ensure their psychological and physical health and formalization of their rights and freedoms. First of all, it is stipulated by the fact, that in Central-Eastern European region, in comparison with Western European region, LGBT-people's rights are greatly restricted, and same-sex marriages are banned or are not permitted or institutionalized by national legislation. Moreover, such LGBT-organizations in the majority of the countries stand for pulling through homophobia and discrimination, which have permanent connection with the issues of sexual orientation and gender equality.

Despite the region of Europe, though it is mainly inherent to democratic countries of Western Europe, the main key instruments/mechanisms of non-political LGBT-organizations' activity are the following: conferences, excursions, exhibitions, demonstrations, integration parties, lectures and seminars, meetings with politicians and scientists, political lobby, legal and psychological assistance, publishing LGBT-materials, leaflets and press, monitoring of international practice concerning person's and individual's rights realization, cooperation with the similar organizations from other countries, HIV/AIDS and drug-addiction prevention and protection, cultural and social events within LGBT-communities, antidiscrimination measures and many others. Political LGBT-organizations have got accustomed to appeal to analogous instruments, however they mainly operate with lobbying for LGBT-issues within the traditional political parties environment, especially if the latter are represented in national parliaments or bodies of local authorities, and to some degree influence the involvement of LGBT-people to electoral and/or managerial processes. LGBT-parties have a wider range of means of persuasion, as being collective bodies of LGBT-communities and LGBT-people, they try to implement

their political and social and economic ideas by means of parties in the process of elections. In spite of the low or even zero popularity level and frequency of LGBT-party formation in Europe, in particular in Central-Eastern Europe, we must consider it as the highest level of institutionalization of LGBT-organizations. Moreover, making conclusions, concerning the usage of various instruments and mechanisms of LGBT-organizations' activity, we argue that in their rhetoric they appeal to such notions as homophobia, transphobia, sexism, gender inequality, racism, political freedom, censorship, religious discrimination, unfair detention, freedom of association, sentence death, asylums and refugees, trade unions' rights, self-determination of oppressed people, tortures, genocide, military crimes, crimes against humanity, poverty etc.

A very low number of LGBT-parties and LGBT-movements and organizations in representative democracies can be explained by the fact that LGBT-issues are often raised by "non-specialized", but traditional political parties and organizations. In particular, it is subject to the issues of same-sex marriages, organization and realization of LGBT-parades (as the protest movement), implementation of events aimed at decreasing discrimination of LGBT-communities and so on. The interesting point is that the abovementioned processes are simultaneously implemented/financed by both LGBT-parties and movements/organizations and non-LGBT-parties of various ideological bents, depending on appropriateness and political situation. However, another point is of great importance: carried out events and measures to a great extent contribute to formation of "social capital" of the very LGBT-organizations, as they generate "the feeling of identity" of LGBT-communities[33]. Especially, it is characteristic of those countries where carrying out of various LGBT-events, in particular LGBT-parades, faces the resistance on the side of local and national bodies of authority, as it can be seen in Latvia and Poland.

Analysis of LGBT-parties and LGBT-organizations (political and apolitical), as well as instruments and mechanisms of their activity gives an opportunity to single out three strategies or models of interaction between such organizations and political environment. The first strategy or model is the "moral policy", which presupposes that policy towards gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people represents influence of various religious groups, party competitiveness, and peculiarity of participation in political parties. "Moral policy" includes two very significant problems: formation around religious convictions or party adherence[34]. That is why in every separate case at least one part describes LGBT as a "moral" or an "immoral/sinful" phenomenon[35]. The second strategy or model depicts "gradual changes", which stipulate that politics represent groups of interest's resources, elites' values and last political events. According

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[33] R. Holzhacker, *National and transnational strategies of LGBT civil society organizations in different political environments: Modes of interaction in Western and Eastern Europe for equality*, "Comparative European Politics" 2010, vol 0, nr 0, s. 2.

[34] D. Morgan, K. Meier, *Politics and morality*, "Social Science Quarterly" 1990, vol 61, s. 144–148.

[35] P. Sabatier, *An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein*, "Policy Sciences" 1988, vol 21, s. 129–168.; D. Haider-Markel, K. Meier, *The politics of gay and lesbian rights: Expanding the scope of the conflict*, "Journal of Politics" 1996, vol 58, nr 2, s. 332–349.

to this strategy groups of interest (in our case LGBT-organizations) get accustomed to strive for gradual changes on the basis of restricted lobbying for their interests on the side of political elites. D. Haider-Markel and K. Meier state that in accordance with this strategy LGBT-policy resembles policy of groups of interest, when some groups of interest (in this case LGBT-communities and movements) correlate with loyal political elites, and other groups of interest (which are in opposition to LGBT-rights) acquire the opportunity to broaden the sphere of conflict into the electoral scope[36]. The third strategy or model has been singled out by the researcher R. Holzhacker[37], who argues that this is a "highly profile politics", which uses external strategies to appeal to mass public as to the problem of LGBT-rights; insider strategies – to create groups of supporters to lobby for LGBT-rights within governments; and transnational strategies – to hasten changes of LGBT-rights.

Taking all the aforesaid into consideration, we argue that LGBT-parties in European representative democracies are not widely spread and represented. This pertains to Central-Eastern Europe and mainly Western European countries. A bit more prevailing are LGBT-organizations affiliated with traditional political parties, but even they are not extended and usually function in Western European countries. However, the key transmitters of the LGBT-issues in democratic European countries are traditional (within the "left-right spectrum") parties, as well as apolitical LGBT-movements and organizations not affiliated with political parties. In general, they all use the strategies of "moral policy", "gradual changes" and "highly profile policy", though achieve their goals in different ways.

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[37] R. Holzhacker, *National and transnational strategies of LGBT civil society organizations in different political environments: Modes of interaction in Western and Eastern Europe for equality*, "Comparative European Politics" 2010, vol 0, nr 0, s. 1–25.

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