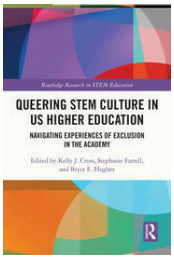
CHAPTER SAMPLER

Pride Around the World

Contents



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7 Invisible and Exhausted on the Margins of Academia

Zoe Reidinger

Land acknowledgment

Writing a chapter about marginalization in academia would be hypocritical if I did not acknowledge the academic and lived experiences of indigenous folks. I work and live on stolen Nipmuc land. I live in Natick, Massachusetts, a town that was colonized by British settler colonists specifically for the conversion of the Nipmuc peoples to Christianity. Many parallels exist between the removal of the Indians from their tribal homes and moving them to Natick for residential conversion and the brutal practice of separating families and sending children to residential schools. Academia has been used to perpetuate violence, erasure, and miseducation and these stories also need to be heard. I did not write about the lives of indigenous faculty and students because I am not a part of these communities, and this is not my lived experience. However, if you are not familiar with some of these narratives, I highly recommend learning more about the history and also about the current lives of indigenous educators, students, engineers, and scientists.

Introduction

Invisible and Exhausted on the Margins of Academia

I spend a lot of my time thinking about invisible work in higher education and ways in which the invisibility makes life harder for those of us on the margins. This invisible labor remains an afterthought for others closer to the center of dominant culture who can afford to dismiss it. I am a white, queer, gender non-conforming person with a learning disability. I have been a non-tenure-track teaching professor in the biomedical engineering department for seven years. Overall, I struggle a lot with the tug-of-war between the parts of my workload for which I "get 'credit,'" and the pieces that I care deeply about but don't usually get recognized. Much of what I do doesn't end up falling neatly into quantifiable categories of my assigned load. I know many of my colleagues—particularly women, faculty of color, queer people, and

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other marginalized groups or combinations—are all too familiar with the emotional labor that is expected of us, but not counted as part of our workload. Work like checking in on our students' emotional health, advocating for their needs, pushing for changes to university policy, and the like often falls on the people who can identify with and empathize with these marginalized students.

This uncredited and unseen work frequently feels unbearably heavier and heavier. I am given more and more expectations and responsibilities above and beyond my already full workload. However, it is a weight I'm not willing to give up either, even though I feel like I am failing at parts of my job that are more visible because of all the unseen work that goes into making my classroom, and our campus, a place for all of our learners, especially the marginalized. When this concern was brought up in a campus-wide faculty meeting, a dean said that marginalized faculty frequently needed to be "saved from themselves" and advised us to do less of this invisible labor. Ultimately, here in this chapter, my goal is to demonstrate that the invisible work done by marginalized faculty is very work that a university needs to be doing in order to serve all of our students—not just the privileged—and the university needs to take into account this work when assigning our workloads.

Invisible, Extra Labor While Already Carrying an Extra Load as a Queer Person

As a marginalized faculty member, it has been my driving goal in my teaching, advocacy, and advising work to support students as whole people, with individual needs and identities. As a teaching professor, my department expects me to teach eight courses every academic year, although sometimes leadership counts approved departmental work as a course equivalent. In any given year, I will: Teach four or five classes; Serve as the academic advisor for between 55 and 80 students; Advise two separate year-long senior projects for 3-5 people each; Serve as the associate head of the university's teaching and learning center; and chair the program review committee in our department. All of my university service work supporting the queer student population can count as one course. This the work I detail in this chapter.

I detail how much of my emotional labor, intellectual labor, social capital, and time I dedicate to supporting the queer students on my campus with examples throughout this chapter, but I want to make clear who I am makes this extra labor even heavier because I'm burdened as a queer person in this society. One aspect that doesn't get factored into these discussions of workload is that life as a marginalized person is already stressful. As a queer person, I start every day with less energy to give at work. Queer people are already more likely than straight and cis people to take their own lives, experience domestic and sexual assault,

have substance abuse issues, and suffer from negative mental health issues such as anxiety, depression, and eating disorders (Haas et al., 2010; Medley et al., 2016). Many of these struggles stem from defense mechanisms developed to deal with the stress of being rejected and marginalized by dominant culture. These coping mechanisms work in the short term but end up being maladaptive overall.

It is so tiring to see politicians using my life and rights like a bargaining chip or a debate topic. It is exhausting seeing murders, mass killings, and violence on the news that directly affects my community. I am reminded that my identity means nothing at my workplace. Several times I have found myself in a faculty meeting, reeling over the death of a friend, or in shock over a horrific news story about the most recent state legislation trying to take away my rights, and questioning why we're even debating the wording of the course catalog. It's all so tiring, and it gives me less energy to give to my day, every day. My LGBTQ+ community is disproportionately affected by these issues when compared with the general population. This isn't to say that straight and cis people can't go through similar challenges, but the challenges are more frequent and more common in the queer community. Each one of the issues listed above have affected my life directly or very closely through my immediate circle of friends and family.

When I joined the university as a faculty member, I was asked if I wanted a mentor to help with the transition to becoming a professor at our school. I was already close with several people in my department, so I asked for a queer mentor to help me navigate all that comes with being a queer faculty member. What I was hoping for was advice on how to deal with being authentically me, navigating microaggressions and macroaggressions, ways to support students, getting (or not getting) respect from students and colleagues, uncredited emotional labor, and workload. I was not assigned a queer mentor. Instead, I was assigned a very lovely straight, white woman. We remain friends, however, she later left the university because of the lack of support, isolation, and harassment she experienced.

As a queer faculty member, the culminating impact of microaggressions is especially overwhelmingly heavy. They are often dismissed as "petty" complaints when brought up in the abstract, thus the term "micro"; they seem inconsequential. But these constant comments and presumptions wear away my energy every single day and for days after the fact as people often assume they know something about me because of my appearance or identity. In an informal poll of friends, every transmasculine expressing person I asked had stories about people assuming they were much younger than their real age, something that gets dismissed as a "silly" complaint because looking young is considered an admirable trait. It is not. I have been asked by students repeatedly when they can expect the "real" professor to come in and teach the class, my

class. The provost once pulled me aside at a social event to tell me it was for faculty only. People stop me to tell me about a trans acquaintance of theirs, or to tell me something they learned about sexuality in animals, as if I'm going to give them bonus points. Having to prove your worth as a professor, as an adult over and over, or having to figure out how to navigate a conversation full of stereotypes, are constant hurdles in my life. And they're exhausting.

Invisible, extra load on students

My queer students don't live in a bubble either. Everything I mentioned above disproportionately affects them, too. Over the last seven years, I have had students come to my office to talk about all sorts of struggles they are having. Some issues are a direct result of their identity, like losing financial support for school from their families after coming out, pending or current homelessness, experiencing suicide ideation, dealing with eating disorders, self-harm, substance abuse, or having to live with a homophobic roommate (The Trevor Project, 2019; CDC, 2018; Morton, Samuels, Dworsky, & Patel, 2018). Some of my students' struggles, like mine, are more abstract, such as hearing about the Pulse nightclub shooting or seeing politicians argue against non-discrimination bills on the Senate floor. Many of our students are struggling in ways that most instructors rarely see and that students are often not comfortable sharing. There are a multitude of factors that feed into this discomfort like stigma around discussing mental health even if one is a member of dominant culture, the perpetuation of a "suck it up" mentality in America, or the aforementioned singular focus on engineering being devoid of "non-standard" human identities (Yoder & Mattheis, 2016). With all these burdens, students who identify as queer or non-binary come into my classroom and my office with less to give than their classmates. These challenges, while more widespread than most realize in the population as a whole, are even more prevalent in marginalized communities. Yet little to no consideration is given in recognition of that. It's hard to imagine asking students who are struggling with these kinds of issues to just "stop worrying and focus on your work," and yet, we do that every day in higher education.

While the recent COVID-19 pandemic has been horribly challenging for college students overall, it's been even more difficult for queer students. I spent most of March 2020 making sure that my students (queer and not) had access to housing, food, and income when the university suddenly shut down. There were others taking part in this work to be sure, but it became my primary focus because I knew that many queer students were more likely to experience disproportionate hardship at the loss of their academic support system. Many queer students had to move back into unsupportive or violent households. They were more

likely to experience disruptions in access to technology. Half of the queer students surveyed by the Point Foundation were not out to the family with whom they suddenly had to live once their campuses closed (Conron, O'Neill & Sears, 2021).

Moving courses online also meant that students needed continued access to college student services and to their supportive communities. This support was needed even more when their communities experienced disturbing violent, homophobic digital and cyber-attacks. For example, the queer student group on my campus was Zoom-bombed with hate speech, and their Discord server was attacked with photos, video, and audio of murders, dead bodies, and other distressing unpleasant content. I was one of the first Discord moderators to wake up, so I had to experience the content firsthand as I deleted content, banned accounts, and locked the server down while also comforting students. None of this heavy labor falls "inside" my assigned workload.

I often end up feeling like any work I do outside of designing and testing biomaterials, researching engineering design, and making artificial blood vessels is outside of the scope of my job and that it doesn't really "count" in the university's view. However, I am not willing to do this job without all the work I put into supporting my students. I would not feel satisfied if I had to neglect my students in order to succeed.

Invisible, extra teaching labor

I spend most of my time and energy learning more about, implementing, and teaching my colleagues about inclusive engineering education practices. But I frequently struggle with self-doubt around the time and energy it takes to make my classes inclusive. Am I a bad engineer? Should I transition to a different job at my university? Maybe to the office of multicultural affairs, or become a marginalized student advocate, or a teaching consultant? Am I neglecting my duties if I spend this much time working to make my classroom, and this campus, a better place for our marginalized students, and more specifically, queer students? My classes are always full, and I have the second highest teaching evaluation score in my department, but what if I'm just not a good fit for teaching when the part I spend the most time and energy on is seen as a side project? These doubts are loudest when I feel overwhelmed and underappreciated, something that has been happening more and more as time has gone on.

Traditional methods of teaching engineering generally involve viewing our students as identical blank slates, rather than as people with identities and backgrounds that might impact the way they approach the material. In essence, this defaults to centering white, straight, cisgender, rich, able-bodied students—the historical majority in engineering—as the norm, meaning that all other students are aberrations. This identity-blind strategy

works out well for students inside those dominant and non-marginalized groups but leaves the remainder feeling unseen and unsupported. I know that if we are there to provide the help they need, our students will almost always exceed our expectations, and I want to see that through. In theory, this is exactly what every instructor should be doing in the classroom.

I have tried to create broader programs that appeal to and engage marginalized students and have repeatedly been shut down. A student-driven project I advised focused on creating a program for prospective queer students. It was similar to the one for students of color that they had participated in when touring our school. There were so many roadblocks placed in the way of this project by the admissions department that I started documenting the number of times I was told "No," simply to have a record of it. I have also repeatedly offered to create an upper-level course called Designing for Marginalized Populations, and I have repeatedly been told that it is too niche and no one would take it, despite my experience with student advisees that says otherwise.

Each year, I have around fifty academic advisees, in addition to my Insight Advisees, and I believe that the conversations we have are as important as what they learn in their classes. Many students have been assigned academic advisors as part of their student support team, but have either never met with them, or only see them once per year when they need to plan their class schedule. In contrast, I believe that my time with my advisees should be spent discussing what they like to do in their spare time, what they want to do with their lives, and helping them connect those ideas in areas of the field they might not even have known existed. I use these advising periods as a time to check in, see how school is going, and see what they have on their plates.

Because I make myself approachable, I often have students who come to me instead of their assigned academic advisor because their advisor hasn't responded to their request for a meeting or has otherwise made it difficult to schedule a meeting with them. I know that the more barriers you put in between students and these resources, the more you filter out the students who need that help the most, simply because they don't have the time, energy, or ability to overcome those obstacles. Advisors who are not responsive, available, or friendly are rewarded for this behavior because their workload is lessened when students give up on asking for help. Academic advising is as much a part of my job as teaching, and it allows me to help level the playing field for the students who need it the most.

A student who graduated in 2016, wrote me to say:

> "I have thought a lot about what I want to say, and I've had a difficult time writing this as something more formal, so I'm just going to write this to you directly as a friend. You were probably the single

most influential professor and friend I had during my time at Worcester Polytechnic Institute. In a time when I was struggling to care about most things in my life, you showed that you cared about me and believed in my success. And because you always met me with such empathy and compassion, I, in turn, also felt motivation to put in the work to succeed. After you put so much time and energy into supporting me, I didn't want to disappoint you - I wanted to achieve and hopefully exceed expectations so that it was known in some way that the time and energy and support was worth it. And that didn't stop with the classes I took that you taught - it extended into all others I was taking. It later extended into finding my first, second, and third jobs. I value so much all the ways you supported me through the especially tough years. It's honestly made all the difference."

Invisible, extra service labor

I was the faculty advisor for the Alliance, the LGBTQ+ student organization on campus for five years before a friend graciously offered to co-advise with me. Together, we have co-advised for 2 years. I serve as a mentor, advocate, and liaison to the broader campus for these students. They come to me with questions they don't feel like they can ask anyone else, or issues they don't know how to solve. Sometimes I am able to direct them to resources that are specifically tailored to their needs, or other people who are knowledgeable about the queer experience and able to help. This support network is slowly increasing over time. However, sometimes I don't have anyone to refer them to, and I have to get the ball rolling on creating something to support queer students on campus in a new way.

One highlight of being an advisor for the Alliance, though, is getting to meet so many amazing and lovely queer students. During the pandemic, they have done so much to support each other. They've set up a buddy program for checking in on each other, created a weekly hangout Zoom where they talk or play games, and an educational group where they teach each other skills. These things are all student-run and have very little to do with me.

But I also have seen many of our queer students deal with terribly difficult issues firsthand. In the past seven years, I have seen two out of four presidents of the queer student group take a leave of absence from school and not return to higher education. While there are always extenuating circumstances, I do not believe it is that common for the leaders of our student organizations to leave the university without other factors at play.

Sometimes, I accompany the student to a meeting with campus police to back them up in a discussion about why something is a big deal and needs police assistance, like parents showing up to harass and misgender

a student in the lobby of their dorm. Sometimes, I serve as a known ally and advocate for a student when they have to go into a space that I know is queer supportive and knowledgeable, but they aren't so sure of, like reporting sexual assault to our dean of students. Sometimes, I provide training to an entire department or office on how to correctly and professionally handle queer issues like name changes, pronouns, or access to bathrooms. Sometimes, I provide support for students that isn't particularly queer related but addresses a problem that is more common among queer students like bringing in leftovers from home to leave in a fridge outside my office for food insecure students to take home. Sometimes, I connect students with others like themselves, especially when they feel particularly alone like a student who recently got top surgery but doesn't feel 100% male.

In order to help these students, I have become familiar with the resources available on and off campus. I participated in the Student Support Network training held by the student counseling center, and later joined the Student Success and Wellbeing Committee headed by the director of the counseling center as one of only two faculty on the committee. I have walked several students to the counseling center and called the center even more times from my office to schedule an immediate appointment on a student's behalf. I have worked with campus police and the Care team, a group of staff on campus who work with individual students in need. I have sat with students, at their request, as they reported assault. I work with many offices on campus to make these resources more available and accessible.

I have worked to institute lasting change for our vulnerable queer students but sometimes change is pushed back. I've fostered support through programs and committees like the Safe Zone committee, the Turn the Curve committee, and the Leading for Change committee. Each of these took enormous efforts to coordinate and none of them hold meetings anymore. Sometimes this was because the people running them no longer had the energy needed to keep them going. None of them were headed by someone who could put "Queer Student Support" in their job description, so when they got overwhelmed, it was one of the things that they had to let go so they could focus on their other workload. Sometimes, it was because someone on campus asked that they stop.

When I first started as a professor, I took our Safe Zone training. I was disappointed by how much it focused on lesbian and gay students while leaving out transgender, asexual, and other students. I was also very concerned by how much it focused on discussing whether the Bible said being gay was wrong instead of taking queer people's right to exist as a given and discussing issues they might face at the university instead. Afterwards, I reached out to the organizer and asked if I could help revamp the program, and he was happy to have help. It turns out he had

wanted to change it for a while, but never had the energy. I recruited some students from the queer student group, and we worked on updating the training to fit the needs of today's students. We ended up working over a whole weekend, and I paid them in what currency I had access to: pizza and time with my dog. The Safe Zone committee ran this training for several years, and every time it was offered, it filled up. We even trained a group of over 200 police officers, consisting of campus police from our university as well as several nearby universities, and some city police.

Eventually, the new head of the office of multicultural affairs asked us to stop running the training, and to stop meeting as a committee, because Safe Zone fell under the purview of her office and she wanted to take it over. Our committee was hesitant because we had faced issues from this office for a while. For example, one year an event that had been previously designed as a quiet reflection on queer history was instead turned into a drag show in a local church. Students were upset because the drag queens repeatedly misgendered them even when they were asked to stop. When I brought this up and when I also added some students were uncomfortable that it was hosted in a church, I was told that I clearly didn't understand gay culture and that I was ignoring the intersectionality of gay Christians. We were wary of handing over leadership of Safe Zone training. We were right to worry. The training was never offered again.

Our committee had to move underground and change our name. We were still supporting our queer students, but from the basement of the international house. Everyone involved from the office of multicultural affairs has since left the university, and after a year when the default person to contact about queer issues on campus was either me or a small handful of other staff, the office is now full of real allies and advocates. However, even though we have discussed what an Active Ally training could look like as a replacement for the old Safe Zone training there hasn't been much movement on it. Once again, this feels like something I should be doing to support our students, but I simply don't have the energy or time.

One support program I love that my school runs is Insight Advising. This program is set up so that all first-year students are given a faculty or staff member to turn to as a friendly adult on campus. We serve as advisors and support for these students as a supplement to their general advisor. On-campus students are given their advisor based on what floor of each dorm they live on, and for the last several years I have been an advisor for the gender-inclusive floor, which has now expanded to be an entire gender-inclusive dorm. When students are filling out their residential housing interest form, one of the questions asks if they would like to opt into being selected for housing that is assigned without regard to gender. This was run as a test four or

five years ago after students complained about the "trans tax" being levied against transitioning or gender-nonconforming students who were forced to live in and pay for more costly single-occupancy dorms because there was no campus policy allowing for mixed-gender housing. I was one of the advisors for the first cohort and year after year, I am impressed and buoyed by these students. Because of this policy, these floors are disproportionately, but not exclusively, populated by queer students.

As an Insight Advisor, I run programming once a week on many topics, ranging from normalizing failure, talking about hopes and fears, and how to cook food in the microwave (a program I call "How Not to Get Scurvy"), but an equally important part of the job is to just be there for the students. It seems that I am the most help when I am "just" hanging out and answering questions about life or academics. During non-pandemic times, I try to be in the common room one day a week for a few hours so the students can pop by and ask questions or just hang out. Some days are uneventful, and we chat about nonsense, but some days the fact that I am already there and they know my face makes it much more likely that they will come to me with a serious issue or something that has been bothering them.

When students step foot on campus for the first time, they usually have no idea what is about to happen, but by sharing my humanity with them, they begin to see me as a source of support and not just a distant authority figure. These students have questions about schedules and classes, yes, but also about life. They worry about careers, priorities, and relationships. By being an approachable professor, I can help them through this life transition. I have advised some of these students in the LGBTQ+ community on the gender-inclusive floor for several years, and many do not have any positive adult role models in their life. We know that not having adult support, and not being able to imagine a happy life for yourself, are two big predictors for negative academic and mental health outcomes (Kosciw, Greytak, Zongrone, Clark, & Truong, 2018). This knowledge drives my work.

The best method to accomplish this that I have found is to develop a base of mutual respect and understanding with my students, so that I can tailor my support to their needs. I do this by learning more about them as human beings, and by sharing parts of my life with them in return, like my hobbies, identities, and funny stories from my past. Once, I was telling my students about all of the queer children's books I own because my mom gets them for me for Christmas every year (a very Southern was of saying "I know you are an enormous homosexual, but you can still make me grandbabies"). The students suggested that I bring some down to the dorm and read to them. This tradition started with just a few students, but soon grew to involve half the floor as they told their friends how soothing and fun it was.

A few years later, the university research journal wrote up a feature on me and my teaching as part of their faculty highlight section. This was a mostly visual piece, focused on my box of gadgets I use for hands-on teaching, my copious office greenery, my queer kids' books, and the watercolor on the wall of Jake the Dog from Adventure Time saying, "Sucking at something is the first step towards being sorta good at something." After this feature was published, the journal received, and published, a letter to the editor about how my story time practice was inappropriate and unsafe.

There were a few people who reached out to me to ask if I was okay, and, to be honest, I was fine. I am in a marginalized community so I hear this stuff all the time and have grown a thicker skin. A friend complained to the journal after that letter was published, and the journal did reach out to me to see if I would write a comment back, but I was too busy with coursework and tired from just trying to live my life, so I didn't. No one did either. The letter went unchallenged in the following edition. This felt like yet one more thing I should have done, but just couldn't muster the energy for. Now, this moment highlights for me that the university is happy to use me for press as they promote ground-breaking teaching strategies and student support, but they aren't willing to protect me when backlash happens.

Despite being used by a university that won't defend me or give me credit or time for all the work I do to create an equitable environment they have no interest in fostering, I persist in my work. As a professor and as an advisor, my goals are not only to teach students about biomedical engineering and mentor them along the way, but also to make sure they are given as close to an equitable educational opportunity as we can offer. This process has to start on the ground floor: before we can focus on Bloom's Taxonomy, we have to make sure that Maslow's hierarchy of needs is being met for each person.

An Insight Advisee from 2016 emailed two years after working with me to say that I was "a real catalyst in helping [them] adjust to [their] first year at college and [I] helped [them] all bond to the point that the group lives together and hangs out on a daily basis." This type of feedback makes me feel like my work is worth it and is one of the reasons I love being an Insight Advisor.

Invisible, extra research labor

I was asked to be a principle investigator (PI) on an NSF grant about studying queer students and how pedagogy affects their learning. We know that transgender students feel unwelcome in STEM majors and drop out more frequently than their cisgender peers and we were interested in investigating how teaching practices can affect this. I already had strong ties to the queer student community on campus and I also

was well-versed in engineering education literature and queer communities. Even though I was asked to join only a few days before the grant application was due, I was assured that it was mostly done. They claimed they just wanted me to look it over. I read through it, fixed a bunch of the LGBTQ+ terminology, and strengthened some of the sections on queer theory, but overall, I was excited. We received funding and started to work on the grant. We interviewed university administrators, faculty, staff, and LGBTQ+ students, focusing most of our time with trans students. My excitement slowly decreased, however.

In the beginning of the grant period, there was an imbalance since I was not part of the group that wrote the first round of the grant. This was not a problem initially but set up a situation where I continued to feel subordinate. Keep in mind the power dynamics at play from my perspective: the other two PIs were both former department heads, tenured professors, straight, and cisgender. I was a non-tenure track assistant teaching professor who is queer and gender non-conforming. I was placed in a more precarious and uncomfortable position when it came to speaking up. When I brought up that I was feeling tokenized and discounted, I was asked why I felt that way, but then my concerns were dismissed. I was simply told, "I'm sorry you feel that way. We aren't tokenizing you." Despite my academic and real-life expertise in this area, and the various ways I could contribute to developing our work on this grant, I continued to feel ignored and isolated.

I started realizing that I was being tokenized, ignored, and excluded as I became more and more disillusioned with the process. We worked on the grant over two summers and eight academic terms. However, in a term when I could not spare extra time and energy for the grant because I was teaching three classes, advising two senior projects, and preparing to leave to teach for our university abroad, I was told that if I didn't put in more effort, my salary on the grant would be used as travel funds for the other PIs. As a marginalized member of the team, I feel like this was a symptom of a much larger problem: treating me as a subordinate on a grant in which I was an equal.

Over the two-year period of the grant, these feelings of exclusion and subordination grew. Our meetings and email chains were frequently unproductive and unfocused. Then I found that decisions were made without my input. There were continued communications outside of our meeting time that did not include me. As the grant continued, weekly meetings were cancelled but somehow abstracts of our work were still being submitted to conferences. There were several occasions where I had set aside time to edit or work on a draft, but it was not sent to me until the deadline; sometimes I received the document after it was already submitted.

Three articles and three conference presentations came from this grant. I was only included as a co-author on one manuscript and one

conference presentation despite working on all of them. This was also reflected when we were asked how we wanted to be introduced at a conference. I asked the two PIs what their introductions were going to be like and they said their introductions were not very long or detailed so I provided my base information (i.e., department and position). When we were introduced, each of them had provided detailed lists of accomplishments and positions, and then mine only listed my position and title. During the same presentation, the first slide had been modified from the draft I had seen. The list of authors was separated with the two PIs listed, then two students, then me. This may seem insignificant to some people, but it only added to my feelings of exclusion and marginalization.

I grew uncomfortable talking and sharing sensitive information about the oppression and marginalization in the LGBTQ+ communities because of the climate of disrespect that was fostered in our meetings. Students, faculty, staff, and strangers were all targets of these gibes. For example, when one student who was being interviewed, they were mocked for not being "manly" enough to change his own tire. A particularly insensitive comment was made about how everyone should know how to do it, but especially men. This kind of behavior went against our stated goals of the project which focused on the experience of students who do not conform to the expectations of gender forced onto them. Another time, when meeting over lunch, my colleague forced us to stop discussing our work to look at a large, hairy man walking down the sidewalk with his shirt off so he could laugh at him and question "how he could" leave the house like that? These are not the only examples. Many times, during meetings, students were misgendered, even after repeated correction, and colleagues were mocked for asking for accommodations for mental health challenges or disabilities. The nature of this grant, paired with this hostile climate, made it difficult to truly investigate such a delicate and sensitive topic.

Marginalized populations are frequently asked to donate their time and energy as emotional labor while majority populations are still the loudest voices discussing these issues in these spaces. This was my main concern all along, and why I wanted to be part of the grant to begin with. Queer students, trans students, and students of color are all exhausted from performing this emotional labor and being exploited without support or acknowledgment. This is what I meant when I said I felt tokenized; I felt like my interpretation of the data and viewpoints were not heard, and a false narrative seen through rose-colored glasses was being presented. I was the only one supporting these marginalized populations.

In the end, I felt tokenized, exploited, disrespected, and exhausted. I brought up these issues as we worked together, but nothing seemed to change. I ended up writing a letter to my co-PIs but I never received a response, or any indication that they had even read the letter. I am

glad I wrote it, because it helped me put my thoughts and feelings onto paper, and I hope it helped them understand where I was coming from, but I never saw any concrete change as a result of it.

Conclusion

I push for these changes, in part, because I do have privilege, and privilege allows for risk-taking. I have the privilege of having a full-time teaching professorship in a department that supports exploratory teaching strategies, and a department head who values diversity, equity, and inclusion. I have the privilege of being a white, able-bodied person with a Ph.D. in academia.

> "I tell my students what Toni Morrison said: When you get these jobs that you have been so brilliantly trained for, just remember that your real job is that if you are free, you need to free somebody else. If you have some power, then your job is to empower somebody else. This is not just a grab-bag candy game."

Many consider engineering to be a neutral space—a level playing field—but my teaching, student advising, and scholarship shows that by reframing our discipline to better appreciate individual identities, we can strengthen the field through the addition of multiple perspectives, while also providing better support for all of our students.

I know I don't technically have to do any of this extra labor, but I also know that I don't want to be the person I would become if I ignored this work in favor of my "actual" job. I am consistently asked by my department head, peers, and administrators to do more of this extra work but then when evaluated yearly, I am told that I need to be "saved from myself" and told that I'm not doing enough departmental work (i.e., teaching, advising, and committee work). If I have to tell my students I do not have time to listen to their problems or if I brush them off, if I knew there were issues causing my students pain and did nothing to make our campus a better, safer, more equitable place, I have no interest in being the kind of "better" faculty whose yearly evaluations earn "higher" marks. No interest at all.

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5 Unjust spaces and educational institutions

Key questions about research into gender and sexuality and the role of the ally

Introduction

I begin this chapter by observing how despite the journey toward an ultimate success of marriage equality, educational institutions continue to represent spaces which eclipse LGBTQI+ self-identifying individuals and families, particularly where there is legislative "push back" constraining the human rights of transgender students. This discriminatory situation highlights the rationale and urgency of researching diversity in gender and sexuality and documenting LGBTQI+ lives (Dyck, 2012; Kosciw et al., 2016; Ullman & Ferfolja, 2015; United Nations, 2016; Wimberly, 2015). More broadly, I examine the role of critical social research for the public good, particularly with respect to marginalized populations. Here, I expand on the utility of queer, trans and feminist lenses to interrupt norms and unpack the complexity and messiness of qualitative research and the role of the LGBTQI+ ally. Detailing the advantages and limitations of insider and outsider research, I ask, which researchers should be accorded the opportunity to work with LGBTQI+ communities? I then move to the question of ethics in conducting LGBTQI+ research, including the role of reflexivity, flexibility and project design. Finally, I discuss the importance of shifting from risk-assessment, which embodies participants as vulnerable subjects, to a framework of trust, in collaboration with LGBTQI+ communities, to showcase their creativity, resilience and empowerment.

Realities simmering beneath marriage equality: LGBTQI+ students, gender injustice and the surveillance of toilets

Despite the existence of marriage equality in the USA, Canada and Australia, UN human rights experts have repeatedly articulated their concerns regarding harassment, bullying and exclusion of LGBTQI+ young people in schools and higher education (UNESCO, 2016; United Nations Human Rights, 2019). Data reviewed for the UN's Out in the Open (2016) report indicated that high numbers of LGBTQI+ young people and children in North America and Australia are affected by school-based homophobic and transphobic verbal or physical harassment and/or bullying (Centers for Disease Control and

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Prevention (CDC), 2011; Egale Canada, 2011; US Commission on Civil Rights, 2011). These students, especially transgender students, were also more likely to encounter such discrimination at school rather than at home or in community settings (see Takács, 2006). More recently, reporting that Canadian schools and universities continue to be characterized by homophobia, transphobia and biphobia, Egale Canada (2020) called for provincial and national frameworks across educational institutions to support developments in LGBTQI+ inclusion, access knowledge and equity. This commitment reinforced the necessity for researching gender and sexual diversity through a multipronged approach, including projects to generate awareness of historical injustice against the LGBTQI+ community, especially the effect of colonization on two spirited cultures and identities, heteronormative curricula and lack of protection through policies and protocols. In the USA, Kosciw et al. (2018) found that 60% of LGBTQI+ student's school experiences involved discriminatory policies and practices; more particularly, the survey revealed that transgender and gender non-conforming students were not permitted to use their preferred gender pronoun and were required to use a bathroom/locker room, which corresponded to their legal sex. In Australia, given the lack of LGBTQI+ representation in school curricula, Robinson et al. (2014) found that transgender young people, in particular, sought information to better understand their identities via the internet and in the larger community. Further, Telethon Kids Institute (Strauss et al., 2017) researched transgender young peoples' experiences and recommended that schools and universities:

- openly discuss gender diversity in classrooms (at age-appropriate levels)
- provide information about gender diversity
- include transgender representation in the curriculum.

Despite civil rights' gains, such as the legalization of same-sex marriage, which have led to shifting family structures and increased cognizance of LGBTQI+ issues in educational contexts (Wimberly, 2015), legislation surrounding the rights of transgender individuals, especially in the USA, has been subject to significant political "push-back" and legal battles. On a positive note, the First Amendment of the US Constitution, Title IX from Education Amendments, as well as state and local laws, protect transgender students' access to equal opportunities, such as "the right to use locker rooms and restrooms that are consistent with the student's gender identity" (National Education Association (NEA), 2016, p. 3). Consequently, under then President Obama's rule, in May 2016, the US Department of Justice and Education provided guidance to school districts nationwide, reiterating how Title IX protects transgender students from school-based bullying, discrimination and harassment; the accompanying document described good policy and practice, offering an affirmative approach, to respect transgender students' identities (Hirschfeld & Apuzzo, 2016; Lambda Legal, 2017). In parallel, in 2016, Californian Governor Jerry Brown passed the first state-wide legislation requiring that all single bathrooms

be defined as "gender neutral" (The New York Times, 2017, p. 4), extending the historic School Success and Opportunity Act, which supported full participation of transgender students in activities, sports and access to facilities matching their gender identities (Harvard Law Review, 2014; Transgender Law Centre, 2013). This political allyship was fundamental to enacting social change to support LGBTQI+ students.

Nonetheless, Obama's federal advice represented a warning across the USA for public school administrators who, in 2015, began controversially creating policies restricting transgender students by obliging them to use private changing rooms and shower facilities (The New York Times, 2017), a practice which has been associated with stigmatization, humiliation, trauma and deprivation of transgender students' rights (Tobin & Levi, 2013). A case in point in 2016 was North Carolina, where a far-reaching House Bill 2 barred transgender people from using locker rooms and bathrooms, which did not match with the sex indicated on their birth certificate. Although this legislation has since been repealed, state-based discriminatory rhetoric against transgender students flourished. For example, 30 US states considered passing legislation which ignored anti-discrimination policies, thereby limiting transgender students' rights or preventing transgender people from using bathrooms and locker rooms, which did not align with their biological sex (National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), 2019). Aligned with such discriminatory cases against transgender people, in 2017, the Trump administration rescinded Obama's federal guidance for protecting transgender students, suggesting that state and local government are the most important stakeholders for developing educational policy (Hersher & Johnson, 2017; Simmons-Duffin, 2020).

Trump's administrative decision reinforced some school boards' attempts to de-democratize educational spaces for transgender students, by reducing LGBTQI+ civil rights and legislative gains (Moreau, 2018). Given the pervasiveness of heteronormativity and restrictive gender binaries in many educational institutions, such maneuvers were in some respects, unsurprising. Wimberly (2015) argued that "Most schools function as heteronormative institutions, which overwhelmingly maintain that opposite sex relationships coupled with male dominance and female submission, represent the natural and standard matter of behaving and interacting" (p. 7). In addition, political "push back" from school boards incited local and state litigation, such as the notorious case of Gavin Grimm, who, after a four-year lawsuit, supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, won against the Gloucester County school board; a federal judge deemed that the school board had violated Gavin's constitutional rights by not allowing him to use the boys' bathroom at his Virginia high school (Associated Press, 2019; Truong, 2019; Williamson, 2017).

But, according to Phillips (2017), to state that the legal situation regarding the rights of transgender students has been resolved would be misguided. Many challenges remain, suggesting that research is required to better understand how to implement inclusive policies, due to the perception of some

stakeholders that the needs of non-transgender students will be adversely affected. Understanding the sociocultural context in which teaching and learning occur also requires navigating the impact of power, which is produced and resisted across educational sites; such negotiations produce subjects which are imbued with needs and aspirations, in relation to a multiplicity of factors, such as sexuality, gender, ethnicity dis/ability, class, language, location, family structures and history (Ferfolja et al., 2018). The situation is further complicated, with the law continually in evolution and many states in legal disputes regarding guidance from the federal government.

Given the urgency of investigating diversity and documenting LGBTQI+ lives, numerous academics have also conducted research specifically into how public restroom facilities or toilets in schools represent sites of gender surveillance, bullying and contention (Airton, 2009; Browne, 2004; Davies et al., 2019; Ingrey, 2012; Rasmussen, 2009). In this vein, because gender is performed and surveyed from birth, the daily routine of using public facilities represents a broader example of gender injustice and the disciplinary gaze over transgender students (Foucault, 1977; Lorber, 1991; Platt & Milam, 2018). Extending Foucauldian- and Butlerian-inspired work on gendered washroom facilities regarding toilets as spaces of disciplining and regulating gender (Cavanagh, 2010; Ingrey, 2012, 2013). Davies et al. (2019) argued for advocacy and policy to achieve a more inclusive school environment and affirmative experience for transgender students. Through Butlerian and Foucauldian frameworks (Butler, 2006; Foucault, 1977, 1982), Davies et al. depict transgender students not only as subjects who are oppressed through institutional discourses, but also as agents who can be supported through affirmative action to feel comfortable with their gendered and embodied selves. Specifically, Davies et al. called for the implementation of gender-neutral washroom facilities, which will support transgender students to escape the all-consuming surveillance of the Panopticon and experience new realities at school (Cavanagh, 2010; Foucault, 1977; Ingrey, 2012). Such theoretical approaches widen the research lens regarding school toilets, shifting from bullying incidents to a whole school approach of allyship embedded in curriculum and safe forums, where children are encouraged to discuss diverse bodies meaningfully and routinely (Slater et al., 2018). More precisely, in everyday practice, Smoyak (2016) suggested looking toward public spaces where gender-neutral bathrooms have been historically unproblematic. "No airline on which I've ever flown has a designated male or female toilet. At parks, where there are portable toilets, there are no gender designations" (p. 15).

Critical social research for the public good: toward queer, trans and feminist approaches

As mentioned previously, a specific body of critical social research regarding gender injustice in school and public toilets has been undertaken for the public good, over approximately a decade, with objectives of achieving societal

accountability and positive education and health outcomes for transgender students (e.g., Airton, 2009; Cavanagh, 2010; Davies et al., 2019; Ingrey, 2012, 2013; Rasmussen, 2009; Slater et al., 2018). This vein of critical social research, in which the researcher adopts the role of ally for participants who may be marginalized, takes inspiration from the Frankfurt School, which, beginning in the 1930s, developed critical theory as a means of interrogating societal power, relations and contradictions, particularly under capitalist democracies (Anyon, 2009; Browne, 2017). Although there are many ways of designing critical social research, often such studies are integrated with activism as researchers merge theory with practice in an attempt to improve social systems and raise the "collective consciousness" (Carspecken, 2016, p. 66).

To understand contemporary critical social research in its broader context of activism, contestation and politics in Western countries, it is important, more generally, to historically consider epistemology and language (Carspecken, 2016; Felluga, 2015; Mettler, 2016). For example, in 1930s Germany, during the Nazi regime, members of the Frankfurt School first employed the term "critical theory" as they engaged with banned authors, such as Marx and Freud, whose ideas were considered incompatible with fascism. In a post-Marxist tradition, Paulo Freire (1970), whose initial work targeted poor South American populations with low literacy levels, emphasized emancipation for oppressed groups via praxis – a fusion of critical theory, practice and activism (Andrews & Bawa, 2019). In France, from the 1950s, Foucault was driven over many decades by an attempt to highlight how each historical period involves a cacophony of contending and related discourses, which are shaped by respective times. Notwithstanding that issues such as misogyny existed in Ancient Greece, in support of non-normalized gender and sexuality, Foucault (1980) pointed to Ancient Greek society, where same-sex relations were more readily accepted than in Victorian, Colonialist and Industrialized eras.

From a Foucauldian tradition, examining how institutions have historically molded humans into subjects through normalization, division and stigmatization offers contemporary critical social researchers' opportunities to unearth and transform present inequities in educational sites (Ball, 1990). Subjection, from a historical viewpoint, involves regimes which highlight power, knowledge and normalization, thereby constructing prisoners as agents to be reformed, patients as units to be cured through physical diagnosis and sexuality as an aspect of the individual to be repressed, controlled or emancipated (Browne, 2017; Foucault, 1978). In this sense, Mertens (2012) contends that critical social researchers aiming to transform inequities must deepen their investigations by building trustworthy relationships with their participants in relation to methodology and methods, a position underpinned by the role of allyship in research. Extending this framework, Mertens (2017) argued that to respond to inequitable structures, critical social researchers must engage in transformation on multiple levels, which intertwine the personal and societal. "This process goes beyond self-examination to a critical analysis of the cultural blinders that might obscure our ability to contribute to positive impacts"

(p. 18). Similarly, Gewirtz and Cribb (2006) called for critical social researchers to engage in ethical reflexivity, which goes beyond description to untangle political and interpretive knowledge and its implications at all stages of the research journey.

> Indeed, evaluative judgements are made at every stage of the research process – in deciding what questions to ask, what evidence to record or collect, how to interpret that evidence, what findings and interpretations to emphasize and reporting the work, and in thinking about the practical policy implications of the research.
>
> (p. 142)

It is this belief in researchers as allies who critique the imperfections of society to promote social and legal improvements, which differentiates the critical researcher from their colleagues working in positivist or interpretive paradigm (Stahl et al., 2009).

In the USA, over several decades, Michelle Fine, in her role as a critical social researcher and editor, has collaborated alongside colleagues and disadvantaged communities to examine issues of race, color, class, gender and sexuality. This type of work typifies the ally perspective from the "ground up", which is characterized by praxis (theory and practice), emergent methodologies and a juxtaposition of participant voices against structural inequities (e.g., Fine, 1988, 1991, 2018; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Fine et al., 1997; Weis & Fine, 2005). In discussing her critical social research with marginalized communities, Fine (2018) suggested that her role as a researcher was not only to document the multiple voices of Black, Muslim, queer or homeless youth, but also to take responsibility for theorizing, historicizing and recirculating these stories through the legal system, classrooms, curricula, textbooks and media. "And the soul of the research must be the perspectives of those who have been pushed out, but these 'voices' must float in an intellectually and politically rich sea of critical analysis" (p. 18). During contemporary tumultuous times, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, under predominantly neoliberal, globalized governance, such work provides an entrée into examining how the methodology of critical social research can be widened through feminist, queer, trans, indigenous and intersectional lenses to interrupt injustice, illuminate the messiness of qualitative research and further explicate the role of the LGBTQI+ ally.

Since the 1980s, a suite of critical social researchers with feminist, queer, trans, indigenous and intersectional groundings have developed emergent methodologies, particularly through participatory qualitative methods, to engage more holistically with marginalized groups in ways that do not privilege the white, cisgender, heterosexual, male, Anglocentric and able-bodied approach (Chica, 2019; Guthrie, 2004; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1995; Lather, 1991; Kumashiro, 2012; Miller et al., 1988; Namaste, 2000; Pratt-Clark, 2012; Woodley & Lockard, 2016). Aiming to shift the balance of ideological power by offering a counter narrative to positivism and androcentric research,

these transformative paradigms highlight the construction of knowledge through action and the unveiling of lived experiences of minority groups (Reid, 2004). Although tensions exist in the field regarding what it means to engage in transformative research regarding genders and sexualities, queering methodologies can be used to shift mainstream scientific methods and have often been associated with qualitative methods, such as open-ended interviews, ethnographies and participant observation (Gamzon, 2014). For example, in his queer, qualitative paradigm, which focuses on troubling, normalized gender and sexuality, Kumashiro (2012) underscored that the goal is not to represent truth through "objective data" (p. 22), but to create a critical lens, which allows readers to acknowledge their own subjectivities when interpreting participants' stories. "My goal is to work against ways in which imposed interpretations and purported objectivity often do violence to the words and lives of the people being researched" (p. 22). To address the multifaceted and complex nature of oppression and othering, argued Kumashiro, critical social researchers must not only collaborate with their participants on the ground but also engage with a range of theoretical perspectives from queer, post-structuralist to feminist and more.

Similarly, underpinned by decolonizing, critical and feminist traditions, Tuhiwai Smith (2021) disrupted exploitative Western methods of researching Indigenous communities by employing ethical, respectful practice to develop Indigenous people as researchers in their own right. Utilizing the metaphor of the margin, Tuhiwai Smith drew on second-wave feminist and minority writers to examine how dominant groups utilize power to gatekeep against the integration of the "other". While first-wave feminism was represented by the suffragettes whose drive was to obtain women's right to vote, the second wave mainly evoked images of a homogenized group of white, able-bodied and middle-class women. The third wave of feminism was associated with an epistemology of intersectionality, which illustrated how individuals possess complex identities related to gender, sexuality, race and class (Crenshaw, 1993), thereby attempting to capture wider perspectives, such as those of black women (Fish, 2017). Tuhiwai Smith's post-colonial, transformative epistemology echoed Anzaldúa's (1999) themes of margins. In her hybrid, bilingual text Borderland/La Frontera, Anzaldúa self-identified as a Chicana-lesbian living in an ambiguous and ever-shifting emotional, geographical and sexual place of intersectionality, which included being a queer, white Mexican, lesbian, who rebelled against the indoctrination of her Catholic upbringing.

> For the lesbian of color, the ultimate rebellion she can make against her native culture is through sexual behavior. She goes against two moral prohibitions: sexuality and homosexuality. It is an interesting path, one that continually slips in and out of the White, the Catholic, the Mexican, the indigenous.
>
> (p. 41)

As a queer third-wave feminist scholar, Anzaldúa (1999) identified their gender as traversing borders, which were embodied by male and female aspects. Geographically, Anzaldúa's border land surfaced as a "dividing line", which represented an unnatural clash between cultures and determined "us" and "them" through places of safety and danger (p. 25). Critical, social research applying Anzaldúa's vivid concept of border crossing involves the innovative work of Blackburn (2005), who collaborated with a group of queer, black young people in the USA to examine how they asserted agency through language. Drawing on the concepts of discourse (Gee, 1999, 2004) and Ebonics (Williams, 1975), as a queer ally, Blackburn worked in a center alongside the participants to unearth the term Gaybonics, a borderland discourse, which these young people used to retaliate when they feared their social borders had been trespassed. Blackburn concluded that providing these marginalized young people with opportunities to explore access to power through their language use could counter the effects of homonormativity, sexism, racism and ageism. Examining how boys countered normalized classifications of gender to define and negotiate masculinities in Australian school settings, Martino and Pallotta-Chiarolli (2003) also grounded their exploratory work in post-colonial mestiza feminist scholarship, such as Anzaldúa (1987) and Trinh (1989), who aim to destabilize the white, cisgender, heterosexual metanarrative to privilege the complex, creative stories of individuals.

Over the past two decades, as queer theory, along with a third wave of feminist scholarship have gained currency, a caveat to momentum in critical social research has been the tension between some chapters of the feminist movement and transgender people. As per Hines (2019), politics, activism and community spaces linked to feminist and transgender theory are historically complex, due to essentialist claims that gender is based solely on biological data, thereby disputing the authenticity of transgender women within feminism (see Raymond, 1994). In fact, Hines has argued that the antagonism toward trans people, particularly trans women has become increasingly hostile due to multiple factors, such as:

- enhanced visibility of transgender people
- gains in transgender human rights
- significance of some anti-transgender feminists in media
- widening influence of social media in activist movements.

This exclusion of transgender women is typified by "surveillance" and "regulation" of the female body (Hines, 2019, p. 154), a process, which Ahmed (2006) equates to bodies transformed into fetishes of fear. Recently, despite this exclusion and prejudice, social critical researchers, using cross-disciplinary methods, have given voice to Black and Latinx trans women. For example, drawing on Ahmed's recommendation to gather data differently, as well as Korr's (2002) model of shifting places, spaces and genders,

Anthony (2019) utilized ethnographic methods to collaborate with Black and Lantinx trans women in Casa Ruby, a bilingual non-profit community center. Re-imagining these women's roles, skills and embodiment through the messiness of non-linear narratives, Anthony paints a cultural landscape of Black and Latinx trans women's experiences, which are interwoven with concepts of identity, space and place and ultimately compared to the lives of trans celebrities, such as Laverne Cox (a Black transgender woman, who is well known for her role in a popular television series). Anthony's study provides a grassroots' illustration of Serano's (2013) ideological quest for allies to help develop new queer communities, which welcome, rather than exclude transgender women:

> communities that celebrate difference rather than sameness; communities where all of us are listened to and valued for our unique perspectives; communities where every person is seen as a legitimate object of desire; communities where our gender expressions and presentations are not policed.
>
> (Serano, 2013, p. 30)

Insider/outsider research: who can research LGBTQI+ issues?

Although educational research has provided information about the experiences of LGBTQI+ adults, students and their families for more than three decades, the literature remains somewhat diffuse, given challenges, such as political contexts, religious and cultural norms and heteronormative environments, which can pose challenges for researchers wishing to develop a scholarly program, collect data and ultimately publish studies pertaining to diversity in genders and sexualities (Wimberley & Battle, 2015). Moreover, state Wimberly and Battle, not all higher degree institutions have researchers or students engaging with LGBTQI+ topics, and school authorities are often reluctant to provide researcher access to topics pertaining to gender and sexuality. In the Academy, profess Lange et al. (2019), despite a shift toward more LGBTQI+ research, there is still a tendency for knowledge about supporting LGBTQI+ people to be dominated by anecdotal evidence, highlighting white, able-bodied and middle-class populations with limited grounding in queer and trans epistemologies (see also DeBlaere et al., 2010; Hoogestraat & Glasby, 2019). Finally, although many organizations profess to value diversity and inclusivity, institutions can still represent a complexity of social and structural pressures for LGBTQI+ people, re-affirming that the creation of knowledge about genders and sexualities can be challenging and contested (Amaya & Gonzalez, 2019; Connell et al., 2017; Gedro, 2007). In this vein, a prevailing query regarding the production and dissemination of knowledge about LGBTQI+ topics has been, who is best placed to conduct this type of research: an insider or outsider?

According to Bettinger (2008), it is important for researchers investigating LGBTQI+ topics to gauge the impact of their research, particularly in relation to putting "stigmatized populations" at increased risk of exploitation compared to "less marginalized" participants (p. 1). Such considerations point to the necessity for researchers, particularly those who identify as white, cisgender and/or heterosexual, to consider how their personal characteristics may impact negatively on research participants, who self-identify through non-normative sexuality, sexual orientation, gender or gender expression (Bowman, 2007). Here, the debates surrounding etic and emic research are worthy of discussion. Outsider research from an etic perspective tends to reflect the viewpoints of an outsider, their values as well as understandings of reality (Ary et al., 2006; Gray, 2014). From a positivist paradigm, outsider research has traditionally been considered a scientific ideal, with researchers viewed as objective, accurate and distant from participants (Chavas, 2008; Ross, 2017). Characteristic of qualitative research, an emic perspective generally represents an insider's viewpoint of the group or culture under investigation, which aims to understand how the participants perceive reality and the phenomenon at hand (Given, 2008; Olive, 2014). Greene (2014) has argued that in the field of education, insider research has become increasingly popular, and, through reflective and reflexive processes, allows for more profound levels of introspection, which assist in recounting the narratives of participants. Some advantages of insider inquiry have been noted as: developing researcher credibility across the participants; flattening the hierarchical nature of power between researcher and participants; developing rapport with the participants (Berkovic et al., 2020).

Whether researchers who are non-LGBTQI+ should conduct studies concerning participants who identity as non-normative in terms of gender and sexuality has been a point of contention in the literature. Insider researchers, for example, can provide special knowledge of their group membership, which can facilitate data collection and analysis as well as rapport and understandings with the participants (Bettinger, 2008; LaSala, 2003; Ross, 2017). According to this perspective, a researcher who identifies as insider in the LGBTQI+ community would have more personal familiarity with the stigma and oppression or lived experiences, for example, non-monogamous relationships characteristic of some gay male coupling (LaSala, 2003). Similarly, there is a large body of scholarship emphasizing the challenges women researchers face when gathering data in a primarily male setting (see e.g., Harries, 2016; Skelton, 1998; Soyer, 2014; Vogel, 2019). However, more recent research has suggested that monogamy in gay male couples has been misrepresented in the literature due to its focus on non-monogamy, albeit heterosexual norms applied to same-sex relationships can result in stereotypes, prejudice and a misunderstanding of how participants uniquely experience cultural phenomena (Barton, 2020). Further, stating that neutrality in qualitative research is impossible, Simons (2014) argued that it is more appropriate to declare one's positionality and reflexively acknowledge

the advantages associated with being an insider researcher. For example, as an openly gay man, who researches sexual minorities, Simons acknowledges his capacity to develop increased trust through a shared identity with participants. Nonetheless, Simons highlighted some challenges for insider researchers, such as dilemmas pertaining to closeness of rapport, making assumptions about commonalities in cultural knowledge and recognizing the balance of power between interviewers and interviewees. This position echoes other results, highlighting challenges of insider research relating to the researcher's capacity to make clear judgments and participants' misinterpretations of the researcher's health-focused advice (Chavas, 2008; Berkovic et al., 2020).

Nonetheless, feminist scholars such as Fine (1994) and Haraway (1988) have argued that for qualitative inquiry to successfully uncover assumptions about scientific objectivity and universal veracities, a qualitative researcher must interrogate their complex and contradictory identity markers, as well as engage in a sustained reflexive and ethical process. In this respect, insider research, which acknowledges and unveils bias, can be useful for the inquiry process, especially for minority and Indigenous communities (Chavas, 2008; Salter, 2017). For example, without apologizing for the gender and sexuality politics, O'Loughlin (2019) developed a critical, auto-ethnographic project, which analyzed their personal experiences as a queer teacher in a heteronormative US education system. Integrating Anzaldúa's genre of "autohistoria" with concepts of gender performativity (Butler, 1990; Lugones, 2010), O'Loughlin explicitly acknowledged their positionality from an insider's viewpoint.

> I must admit to both the reader and myself that my goals in this post-intentional phenomenological study are not apolitical. . . . The truth is, I desire to collectively resist the colonial gender project and to heal personally from the ways that I have learned to reinscribe it.
>
> (O'Loughlin, 2019, p. 6)

Acknowledging their own biases, O'Loughlin importantly creates a liminal zone, providing space for resistance, transformation and personal healing.

However, more generally, scholars have also questioned the polarization of the insider/outsider divide in research, suggesting that the researcher's role is more aptly represented as a continuum (Chavas, 2008; Grace et al., 2006; Mercer, 2007; Ross, 2017). Here, it could be argued that both insider and outsider researchers must address similar methodological questions relating to their own positionality and that multiple factors affect researchers' status, making it relative and contextual (DeVault, 1996; Merton, 1972). In this vein, some scholars have distinguished between partial insiders, who share one aspect of identity with their participants or who have some distance from the group studied; complete insiders share deep experiences or multiple identities with their participants (Chavas, 2008;

Ross, 2017; Tilley, 1998). Moreover, as the unstable, shifting and ambiguous aspects of individuals' identities have become increasingly acknowledged in critical social research, the terms insider and outsider researchers have been deemed oversimplified (Greene, 2014; Hodkinson, 2005; Mercer, 1990). A watershed example from Song and Parker (1995), two researchers of Chinese-English and Korean-American heritage, highlighted that their positionalities were characterized by both commonalities and differences with their interviewees, making the notion of absolute insider or outsider inappropriate.

> Dichotomized rubrics such as "black/white" or "insider/outsider" are inadequate to capture the complex and multi-faceted experiences of some researchers . . . who find themselves neither total "insiders" nor "outsiders" in relation to the individuals they interview.
>
> (Song & Parker, 1995, p. 243)

Another salient example is from McDonald (2013), who, drawing on queer reflexivity (Butler, 1993; Sedgwick, 2008), has contributed to the insider/outsider literature, initially asking questions, such as:

- Can white researchers study participants of color?
- Can men investigate women's issues?
- Can straight researchers study members of LGBTQI+ communities?

McDonald's (2013) scholarship calls into question the binary categories of gender and sexuality, such as woman/man and straight/gay, as well as the insider/outsider dichotomy, thereby encouraging researchers to acknowledge the fluid and shifting nature of power dynamics during the research process. Highlighted through his auto-ethnographic narrative, McDonald evolves from identifying as a straight man to a gay man during the study and points out, how acts of disclosure or concealment of social identities, such as sexual orientation, can impact data collection or the research process more generally. Early in the field work, McDonald reflects on how he essentialized not only himself as straight (and kept this identity concealed) but also all of his participants as gay males. In his final reflections, McDonald urges researchers to avoid making broad assumptions about individuals' social identity markers, for they are fluid and shifting, with contextually embedded meanings. "Matching for embodied categories of difference" (p. 14), concludes McDonald, does not create a more authentic research account. McDonald's narrative of "coming out in the field" (p. 1) disrupts an accepted protocol that encourages researchers when interviewing in LGBTQI+ communities to identify their social identities, for example, by indicating that they are "straight" or "gay". Further, to better understand the insider/outsider continuum, researchers should observe their multiple identities over time, as well as those of their participants.

Researching LGBTQI+ communities: an ethics of pathology, protection, collaboration, trust and empowerment

Prior to the 1970s, research concerning LGBTQI+ folk was limited to studying homosexuality through a pathological, medical model, based on underlying assumptions, such as sexual orientation is:

- depicted through a binary lens of homosexuality versus heterosexuality
- defined solely through sexual activity
- static, on-going and formed at an early life stage (Bettinger, 2010).

Following the American Psychiatric Association's removal of "homosexuality" as a disorder from the second edition of its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* in 1973, new frameworks for conceptualizing sexuality, sexual orientation and gender identity as continua, with varying degrees of intensity and diversity, began to surface (Bettinger, 2010). Beginning in the 1970s, research paradigms also shifted more broadly from a positivist, deficit approach to a more affirming, constructivist model focused on gay rights to assist LGBTQI+ individuals against stigma and stereotypes (Bettinger, 2010; Graves, 2015; Wahler & Gabbay, 1997). Several decades later, as The Australian Psychological Society (2015) and The American Psychological Society (2020) condemned the historical psychological practices contributing to the prejudice and marginalization of LGBTQI+ individuals, researchers began to re-conceptualize participatory methodologies, which have led to more active collaboration with participants from non-normative genders and sexualities (Nic Giolla Easpaig & Fox, 2017; Nic Giolla Easpaig et al., 2018). Similar to the rise of the gay and lesbian movement from the late 1960s, whereby gay and lesbian people began to assume a more critical presence in social research, the transgender community has begun to resist medicalization and develop their own research agenda, which explores their lived experiences and marginalization (Price, 2011; Whittle et al., 2007). Because transgender people experience many human rights violations in research and clinical practice, over the past decade, a trans de-pathologization movement has been initiated to advocate for the removal of transsexuality from the diagnostic classification as a mental disorder (Schwend, 2020).

Nonetheless, research focusing on LGBTQI+ communities has been framed in a historical background of ethical contraventions, resulting in psychological or physical harm and the support of pathological procedures, such as conversion therapy (Tufford et al., 2012). It is these historical remains of mistreatment which have shaped the responses of ethics' boards regarding LGBTQI+ participants as vulnerable and in need of protection; despite ethics' boards being well intentioned, commented Tufford et al., their decisions often take an overly protective stance toward LGBTQI+ communities, which can block critical research inquiry. Bureaucratic ethical structures which constrain the conduct of LGBTQI+ studies must be interrogated concerning the impediments

they place on social methodologies, concurred Detamore (2016), who suggested critical questions, such as:

- "how can we gain the trust to engage our participants if we cannot engage them on their terms?
- What kinds of knowledges become hidden or lost when we are inhibited from these kinds of engagements?
- What might the relationship between the researcher and the researched produce without the hindrances of human subjects review boards?" (pp. 174–175)

Ultimately, commented Blair (2016), a balance must be established between protection, inquiry, accessibility and participation:

> it is important that a balance be struck between protecting the safety, dignity, and confidentiality of LGBTQ participants while still ensuring that they have equal access to participation in research and that their lives and experiences are not excluded from bodies of research under the guise of paternalistic protection.
>
> (p. 3)

To this effect, scholars have highlighted that researchers in the LGBTQI+ domain often work under conditions privileging narrow conceptions of sexuality, which have historically stigmatized non-normative sexual behavior and identities (Anderson, 2013; Kneale et al., 2019).

To counter bureaucratic imposts to addressing marginalization and inequality, numerous researchers have argued for a situated and care-based approach to ethics (Brannelly, 2018; Marx & Macleod, 2018). For example, a situated approach to ethics could involve researchers reflecting on the dynamics of power to weigh out the principles of confidentiality and anonymity. In this vein, with the aim of preventing a homophobic, racist or sexist attack, a researcher may be justified in overruling the principle of confidentiality. Further, research grounded in an ethics-based approach could privilege processes, such as:

- developing long-term, dynamic relationships with communities
- creating advisory roles for members of marginalized communities
- establishing local action to support co-negotiated changes with participants (Brannelly, 2018)
- understanding that terminology for referring to marginalized communities is provisional, dynamic and contextual (Bettinger, 2010)
- building a sense of trust with participants, particularly those who may be concerned about breaches of confidentiality, for example, queer people of color (DeBlaere et al., 2010).

As per Vincent (2018), who conducted research as an insider with transgender participants, drawing on community engagement for a flexible approach to project design can provide reassurance to participants while also offering advice to the researcher. Reicherzer et al. (2013) also advocated for examining power and privilege when conducting research with gender-marginalized communities. They argued that particularly for insider researchers, it is important to examine one's ulterior motives for undertaking a project to ensure that genuine intellectual inquiry is the motive, rather than one's own mental health requirements.

Recently, under polarized politics, through which global Neo-liberal leaders, such as Donald Trump, have attempted to back-track on human rights, some scholars have turned toward participatory action research with LGBTQI+ communities, providing hope for building trust and ultimately empowering participants. In this sense, researchers explicitly acknowledge their positioning as allies and/or activists and collaboratively design space for LGBTQI+ voices, which have often hovered in the background or been silenced in research (Deeb-Sossa, 2019). This type of work is known for its authenticity, which muddies the divisions between researcher and participants "permitting each to explore the complex humanity of both self and other. Instead of 'giving voice', researchers get to know others in meaningful and sustained ways" (Tillmann-Healy, 2001).

For example, denouncing the lack of knowledge regarding the experiences of transgender women, particularly those of color, Ruff et al. (2019) undertook a US-based photovoice action project, which allowed for shared power and collaboration as the participants took photos, thereby creating narratives to tell their stories. While research has traditionally focused on the challenges of transgender women of color, Ruff et al.'s results revealed the courage, strength and hope of participants through all-embracing, humanized stories. In addition, Oaks et al. (2019) designed a longitudinal, participatory project, which built sustainable links between local Californian communities and universities through forums, shared resources and partnerships. Rather than depicting LGBTQI+ communities as vulnerable, these authors collaboratively identified challenges with members of the communities, while highlighting their strengths, resilience and connectivity. Importantly, although participants were dispersed geographically through collaborative mechanisms, such as advisory councils and summits, this project led to increased allyship, activist skills and leadership in the LGBTQI+ communities.

Concluding remarks

This chapter observes how, despite the success of marriage equality, educational institutions continue to represent spaces, which eclipse LGBTQI+ self-identifying individuals and families, particularly when there is legislative "push back" constraining the human rights of transgender students. This discriminatory situation highlights the rationale and urgency of researching diversity

in gender and sexuality and documenting LGBTQI+ lives. The role of critical social research for the public good is examined, especially with respect to marginalized populations. More specifically, the chapter discusses the utility of queer, trans and feminist lenses to interrupt norms and unpack the messiness of qualitative research and the role of the LGBTQI+ ally, detailing the advantages and limitations of insider and outsider research (and the limitations of viewing these perspectives as dichotomous). The topic of ethics during the conduct of LGBTQI+ research is introduced, including the role of reflexivity, flexibility and project design. Finally, the chapter appeals for a shift from risk-assessment, which embodies participants as vulnerable subjects, to a framework of trust, in collaboration with LGBTQI+ communities, to showcase their creativity, resilience and empowerment.

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Introduction – Sport, Identity and Inclusion in Europe

Ilse Hartmann-Tews

Values of equal treatment and policies for inclusion and anti-discrimination have a long tradition in Europe and are clearly expressed in Article 2 of the Treaty on the European Union (Council of the European Communities & Commission of the European Communities, 1992) and Article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (EU, 2000).

In 2010, the first recommendations of measures dealing specifically with the challenge of combatting discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity were released by the EU Committee of Ministers (Council of Europe, 2010). The implementation of the respective recommendations in the member states was reviewed in two reports. The review report of 2019 concluded that a considerable number of member states had made substantial progress regarding the legal and social recognition of LGBT people (Council of Europe, 2019). It also indicated that discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation has been proscribed in legal documents across most European countries, whereas discrimination on grounds of gender identity has been covered to a lesser extent.

The development and implementation of LGBTQ anti-discrimination policies in Europe have been assessed annually by the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA). The so-called Rainbow Europe Index generally confirms the progress documented by the review report (ILGA-Europe, 2021). Political leadership and the greater visibility of the LGBTQ movement, combined with support and guidance from the Council of Europe, are identified as among the driving forces behind this progress. However, both the review report and ILGA have underlined the heterogeneity of the LGBTQ rights implemented across European countries and the fact that not all European countries are continually expanding anti-discrimination policies with regard to LGBTQ people.

Based on a demand for data on the human rights situation of European citizens, the Council of Europe launched a huge EU-wide survey in 2012, delivering, for the first time, comparable data on how LGBT people experience their daily lives. A second wave of this survey was conducted in 2019, now including intersex people and participants of a younger age (15 to 17 years; European Union Agency of Fundamental Rights, 2014, 2020). The results of the surveys revealed little progress in the way LGBT(I) people in the EU experience their human and

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fundamental rights in their daily lives. The surveys have uncovered variations in the extent of experienced homo- and transnegativity with regard to two reference points: areas of life and countries. Discrimination, harassment, and violence on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity vary between the areas of life covered in the report (i.e. education, work, housing, and healthcare) as well as across national contexts, predominantly in correspondence with the findings of the Rainbow Europe Index. Thus, the overall EU average result of little progress in curtailing homo- and transnegativity conceals important differences between member states (European Union Agency of Fundamental Rights, 2020).

(In-)Visibility of LGBTQ issues in sport in Europe

It is striking that both the EU surveys on LGBT(I) experiences did not include physical activity and sport as a specific area of life. However, the 2019 review report on the implementation of measures referred to sport in its section on "Trends and Challenges". Sport, in particular, is identified as "a hostile environment for LGBT persons where little real progress is being made compared to other areas" (Council of Europe, 2019, p. 14). Moreover, the fact that only very few professional athletes have come out as LGBT is interpreted as "a consequence of the lack of inclusive policies in the sports sector regarding SOGI [sexual orientation and gender identity]" (Council of Europe, 2019, p. 14). These observations, together with evidence from international research and LGBTQ advocacy work, are reflected in the Revised European Sports Charter (Council of Europe, 2021), which, in a section entitled "Sport for All", includes Article 10 "The Right to Sport". For the first time since the adoption of the European Sport for All Charter in 1975 and its update in 1992 and 2001 as the European Sports Charter, this includes a no-discrimination clause that specifically integrates sexual orientation as one of the grounds listed.

There has been a growing spectrum of international studies providing evidence that LGBTQ people regularly experience discrimination in physical education and sport (Denison et al., 2021). However, while there is a large body of research from North America, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia (Anderson et al., 2016; Anderson & Travers, 2017; Denison et al., 2021; Kavoura & Kokkonen, 2020; Krane, 2019), LGBTQ issues in sport in European countries still need to be critically assessed by scholars (Hartmann-Tews et al., 2021).

From a social science perspective, it is evident that sport is particularly predestined to be a homo- and transnegative area of life on the grounds of its specific characteristics as a societal system. The general mindset of sport, evident in all sports activities, is the communication of body-centred performance (Hartmann-Tews, 1996; Stichweh, 1990). This sport-specific mindset unfolds within the heteronormative gender order of society, which is reproduced and reinforced by the social structures and processes of the sports system. Heteronormativity is based on three interwoven beliefs: first, there are only two biologically natural and immutable sexes, male and female; second, there is a natural (sexual) attraction between

males and females; third, there is a hierarchical order between men and women, placing men and masculinity above women and femininity. A huge amount of critical research documents as to how sport reproduces heteronormativity through its structures and processes (e.g. sex segregation and gender verification tests; Krane, 2019). It is this general cultural matrix, reinforced by the sport-specific mindset, that gives rise to homo- and transnegativity and discrimination against LGBTIQ individuals.

As shown in reviews of research, there is a dearth of research on the situation of LGBTQ athletes in Europe (Denison et al., 2021; Kavoura & Kokkonen, 2020). This book intends to fill the gap with regard to a critical assessment of the situation of LGBTQ individuals in sport and inclusion policies in Europe.

Diversity

Comparative research on sports development and governance shows that historical contexts and political configurations of nations are evident in sports systems. Structures and governance of sports systems vary across Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, Oceania, and South America (Hallmann & Petry, 2013). The roots of modern sport in Europe refer to freedom of association, one of the central ideas of liberalism. Thereby, they differ from the features of the sports systems in, for example, the USA or Asia. The dominant policy framework of sports development in Europe is the autonomy of non-profit voluntary sports organisations (Chappelet, 2010). Based on this idea, there are many parallels in the development of organised sports and policy making across European countries. However, there are also significant differences between the countries. Variations can be identified with regard to the importance attached to leisure and grassroots sports compared to elite sports. Another crucial difference is the division of responsibilities for sports development between civil society (i.e. the non-profit voluntary sports organisations), the public sector (i.e. government), and the private market sector (Hartmann-Tews, 1996; Henry, 2009; Scheerder et al., 2017).

Although there is a dearth of research literature on LGBTQ issues in sport in Europe, research cooperation between researchers and advocacy policy practitioners in the context of LGBTQ issues in sport in Europe is increasing. Against this background, one of the intentions of this volume is to explore and critically assess the challenges and experiences of LGBTQ people in sport and sports inclusion policies with regard to LGBTQ people in various European countries.

Another central intention of the book is to raise awareness of and be sensitive towards the different experiences and challenges of LGBTQ individuals in face of the heteronormative and often hegemonic masculine social structures of sport in Europe and elsewhere (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Cunningham, 2019). Over the past decades, there has been growing evidence regarding the heterogeneity of sexual and gender identities, the potential intersections of both, and the mediating effects of gender, sexual and gender identity, and gender expression with regard to experiences of discrimination (Calzo et al., 2014; Harrison et al., 2012).

LGBTQ individuals and LGBTQ issues are the central reference points of the contributions. The term LGBTQ embraces lesbian, gay, and bisexual people, transgender individuals, and those who are identified as queer. The latter denotes a political stance and intentionally subverts the heteronormative gender order by providing a characterisation devoid of sex or gender categories. Little is known about the specific situation of intersex athletes in European sport, and none of the contributions or sections of the contributions are explicitly devoted to the specific situations and experiences of this group. Therefore, this book uses the acronym LGBTQ and does not include "I". However, there are various cases of exclusion of intersex elite sports athletes, most of them are black women, on the grounds of regulations that treat testosterone as the essence of masculinity. The social construction of these regulations indicates the fragility of heteronormativity and should be critically assessed by social scientists in the field of sport.

The authors of the chapters use terms and identity labels in ways that, to the best of our current understanding, are most appropriate for the people being discussed and the focus of their analyses. Moreover, the terms homonegativity and transnegativity are preferred to describe anti-LGBTQ sentiments and actions, and thus, we refrain from using the common terms homo- and transphobia. This is because phobia implies an irrational fear, which is often linked to avoiding a specific phobic context. By contrast, the terms homo- and transnegativity more adequately grasp the active enactment of negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviours (MacDonald, 2018).

Contents of the book

These reference points shape the structure of the book, and the chapters are organised into three parts. Part I situates the book as a contribution to the field of sport-related LGBTQ research, with an explicit focus on the situation in Europe. Part II focuses on country-specific issues, examining the experiences of LGBTQ people in sport and inclusion policies in seven European countries. Part III covers a variety of topics with regard to specific subgroups of LGBTQ people (gay men, lesbian women, and transgender people) and the (policy) contexts of sports in which they are involved (leisure sports and competitive sports).

Part I

The first section contains three chapters that map the field with regard to theoretical and methodological approaches for analysing LGBTQ issues in sport, empirical findings of research on the experiences of LGBTQ people in sport in Europe, and European LGBTQ sport advocacy policies.

Braumüller and Schlunski (Chapter 1) present a critical overview of the concept of LGBTQ and the theoretical approaches that researchers refer to when studying the situation of LGBTQ people in sport. In Chapter 2, Hartmann-Tews,

Menzel, and Braumüller present data from the Erasmus+ Outsport survey on the experiences of LGBTQ people in sport in Europe (based on a sample of 5,524 self-identifying LGBTQ people). The analysis takes into account the diversity of LGBTQ people, different sports contexts that reflect the broad scope of sports cultures, and the general legal and political situation of LGBTQ people in the EU member states. Complementing this section, Wachter and Torrance (Chapter 3) outline the development of the European Gay & Lesbian Sport Federation (EGLSF), highlight priorities, and explore areas of advocacy work being undertaken in relation to these priorities. They also pinpoint some internal and external cultural and structural constraints to establishing LGBTQ advocacy.

Part II

The second section is devoted to seven country-specific reports on the situation of LGBTQ athletes and policies of inclusion in the respective national sports systems. The chapters include contributions from Western Europe (UK/Scotland, France, Germany, and Austria), Eastern Europe (Hungary), and Southern Europe (Italy and Spain). The countries represent different policy frame configurations, including sports systems with little state intervention (Austria, Germany, and Italy) and countries with strong state involvement (France, Hungary, and UK/Scotland) (Willem & Scheerder, 2017). Moreover, these countries are located across the annual Rainbow Europe Index, representing various degrees of implementation of LGBTQ legal and political rights and different cultures of LGBTQ acceptance (Gerhards, 2010; ILGA-Europe, 2021). In the Rainbow Index of EU-27 plus UK, Spain (65%) and the UK (64%) are listed in the upper third of the index, while France (57%), Germany (52%), and Austria (50%) are positioned in the middle third, and Hungary (33%) and Italy (22%) are in the lower third (ILGA-Europe, 2021).

Each chapter includes brief information on the structure of the sports systems, the experiences of LGBTQ people in sports in each country based on the Outsport survey, and governments' and sport organisations' strategies for LGBTQ inclusion in sport. Although all the authors developed their chapters based on this frame of reference, the foci of the contributions vary according to central issues in the respective countries. The sequence of the country chapters is based on alphabetical order.

Staritz and Sülzle (Chapter 4, Austria) outline Austria's sports culture, with its inherent homonegativity and sexism, and examine the roots of homonegativity in different types of sports. Against this background, they show the struggle of various LGBTQ initiatives against discrimination in organised sports in Austria, with its invisibility of LGBTQ inclusion policies.

Huillard and Hartmann-Tews (Chapter 5, France) outline the central role of the French state and public administration in decision making regarding sports development and their influence in the establishment of equality and diversity standards. The different paths and paces that federations are taking to implement

LGBTQ anti-discrimination measures are illustrated through interviews with central stakeholders.

Hartmann-Tews and Csonka (Chapter 6, Germany) illustrate the effects of the missionary corporatist policy framework of sports in Germany on the development of LGBTQ anti-discriminatory activities. Within this framework, queer sports clubs and their federal networking conference (BuNT) play an important role in increasing the visibility of LGBTQ issues in sport and fostering inclusion policy.

Szlàvi (Chapter 7, Hungary) explores the obstacles that LGBTQ athletes, especially (cis and non-cis) women, are facing in Hungary, a country with decreasing equality rights for LGBTQ people. An account of initiatives aiming to challenge stereotypes and to make sports more inclusive completes the chapter.

Heusslein, Coco, and Bibbiani (Chapter 8, Italy) consider the conservative culture and low level of implementation of LGBTQ rights in Italy as the dominant frame for the homo- and transnegativity found in Italian sport. However, they identify several recent grassroots initiatives and voices that are beginning to signal a change towards a more LGBTQ-inclusive climate in sport.

Torrance (Chapter 9, UK) outlines the entrepreneurial sports policy configuration in the UK and the growing commitment of organised sports in England and Scotland to basic principles of diversity in sport based on the UK Equality Standard in Sport. The chapter discusses whether these developments correlate with improved experiences of LGBTQ athletes.

Gil-Quintana, Sáenz-Macana, López-Cañada, Úbeda-Colomer, and Pereira-García (Chapter 10, Spain) describe the trailblazing role of Spain with regard to the implementation of LGBTQ equality standards and its effects on sports development, while at the same time documenting prevailing homo- and transnegativity issues in physical activity and sport.

Part III

The third section covers selected thematic foci regarding LGBTQ issues in sport, mainly based on first-hand empirical research. The selection mirrors the main idea of the book by giving consideration to the diversity of LGBTQ experiences, including both sexual orientation (gay men and lesbian women) and gender identity (transgender and non-cisgender), and by analysing stakeholders' policies of inclusion and their effects in various fields (e.g. leisure sports and competitive sports).

In Chapter 11, Aldaz Arregui, Martinez-Merino, Usabiaga Arruabarrena, and Fernandez-Lasa analyse policies and strategies for the inclusion of LGBTQ people in physical activity and sport based on interviews with 43 sports managers in a province in Spain. The results add to the country report of Gil-Quintana (Chapter 10) and confirm international research on the (implicit) resistance of sports managers to engage in diversity management with respect to LGBTQ athletes. Elling and Cremers (Chapter 12) provide an overview of policy directed towards gay-inclusive cultures in men's team sports in the

Netherlands since 2008. They present findings of their research monitoring developments towards inclusive masculinity, which has resulted in ambivalent conclusions about the progress.

Soler-Prat, Vilanova, Solanas, Martos-Garcia, and García-Puchades (Chapter 13) provide an overview of research on lesbianism and sport in Europe and show that the heteronormative gender order has different impacts on lesbian women and gay men in sport. Against this background, they delineate the role of sport as a safe zone for the construction of lesbian women's identities. Pedra and Moscoso-Sanchez (Chapter 14) present the results of a qualitative study on the experiences of gay athletes participating at an international sports event, the OutGames, thus providing some clues on so-called dissonant or disruptive sports activities. In Chapter 15, Devís-Devís, López-Cañada, Pereira-García, Fuentes-Miguel, Valencia-Peris, and Pérez-Samaniego provide an overview of the small amount of research on trans people's experiences in physical activity and sport and the individual and sociocultural factors that structure their engagement. The results of a survey of 212 transgender people in Spain and a follow-up interview study with 43 of them are presented and added to the international evidence.

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2 The Histories of Pride

The Stonewall myth and gay liberation

Just before midnight on June 27, 1969, New York police raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village. Instead of dispersing to avoid arrest, patrons and those who quickly gathered outside fought back, throwing paving stones, cans, bottles and uprooted parking meters at the police. Reinforced by gays and lesbians living in the area, the raid turned into a full-blown riot, which continued the following two nights (Duberman 1993; Humphreys 1972; d'Emilio 1998; Murray 1996; McFarland 2012). Interpreted by activists as a major turning point in the history of the lesbian and gay movement, the "Stonewall myth" was born. The Stonewall riot in New York City in 1969 was regarded as *the* watershed event in the history of gay life in the United States leading John d'Emilio (1992) to divide gay history into two epochs – "before Stonewall" and "after Stonewall" (also Carter 2004; Tiemeyer 2013; Rimmerman 2015). While similar events had occurred elsewhere in the US during the 1960s it was the Stonewall riots which galvanized the imagination of gay liberation activists.[1] Jill Johnston (1994, p. ix), a *Village Voice* journalist and prominent lesbian activist, claimed that Stonewall

> was the event that catalyzed the modern gay and lesbian political movement. It changed the ways thousands, ultimately millions, of men and women thought of themselves … It represented the birth of an identity unprecedented in society.

Certainly equally, if not more, important gay resistance events had occurred prior to Stonewall from the mid-1960s onwards. For just one example: in Los Angeles the raid of the Black Cat bar and other Silver Lake bars led to the formation in 1967 of the organization called Personal Rights in Defense and Education (PRIDE). "PRIDE organized a protest march, and, when the march was not covered in the news media, began publication of a weekly newspaper, *The Advocate*" (Murray 1996, p. 62). Nonetheless, it was the Stonewall riots that galvanized a nationwide

lesbian and gay movement that celebrated the event in annual ritual parades. Armstrong and Crage (2006, p. 724) point out that the Stonewall riots are remembered "because they were the first to meet two conditions: activists considered the event commemorable and had the mnemonic capacity to create a commemorative vehicle." The "Stonewall myth" is, according to Armstrong and Crage, an achievement of gay liberation and it is remembered, "because it is marked by an international commemorative ritual – an annual gay pride parade" (p. 725). Murray (1996, pp. 63–64) suggests that New York's position as the media capital of the US more than anything else explains why an occurrence there, *sic* the Stonewall riots, became a generalized symbol for lesbian and gay defiance. The myth of Stonewall, according to Murray, was elevated to being a universal drama through a media hype.

But was the Stonewall riot such a big deal? d'Emilio (1998, p. 260) reinterprets Stonewall not as an "event of great historic significance but as a kind of queer shorthand for a larger historic phenomenon: 'the sixties'." In the late 1960s and early 1970s the time was ripe for a new style of lesbian and gay activism in the wake of the 1960s' New Left, Anti-Vietnam War, and not least, the Women's and Civil Rights movements (d'Emilio 1998, pp. 223ff). Departing from the more moderate, accomodationist and discrete tactics of the homophile phase, lesbian and gay movements were now ready to "take to the streets" entering into a more militant confrontational phase (Bernstein 2002, pp. 541ff; Rimmerman 2015, pp. 19ff) – gays and lesbians in the US would take their first steps out from the "closet." New York gay liberation activists took the initiative to a national Stonewall commemorative event by sending a call at the Eastern Regional Conference of Homophile Organizations (ERCHO) in Philadelphia on November 2, 1969 to homophile organizations across the country to host a demonstration on the last Saturday in June.

> We propose that a demonstration be held annually on the last Saturday in June in New York City to commemorate the 1969 spontaneous demonstrations on Christopher Street and this demonstration to be called Christopher Street Liberation Day. No dress or age regulations shall be made for this demonstration.
> We also propose that we contact Homophile organizations throughout the country and suggest that they hold parallel demonstrations on that day. We propose a nationwide show of support.
>
> (Carter 2004, pp. 230, 247)

Activists intended this first demonstration to be a protest against discrimination, police raids on gay bars, and anti-gay violence (Ghaziani 2008, p. 27). However, even at this initial stage conflicts emerged as to the form the event should take. On the one side, the more radical activists argued that:

> a march would display the community's political power and confront repressive politicians and public officials. Others championed cultural concerns of celebrating [the] gay community.
>
> (ibid.)

The solution was to do both. A weeklong series of cultural events was organized in conjunction with the march. From the very beginning these events combined politics with celebration and party. The New York march as well as the Los Angeles event combined elements of traditional protest politics with celebratory festive elements. But the events were different. McFarland (2012, pp. 52–56) describes the differences between the first Christopher Street Liberation parade in New York and the Christopher Street Freedom march in Los Angeles. The New York activists were more intent on emphasizing the political messages of the march. While there were festive elements of celebration, brightly colored pennants and Day-Glo signs everywhere proclaiming "Gay Pride," "Lesbians are Lovable," "Gay is Good," there were no floats, amplified music or go-go boys. "Instead marchers chanted slogans like '2, 4, 6, 8, Gay is just as good as straight!' and held signs to 'smash imperialism'" (p. 52). She reports that the New York "organizers were concerned to keep the march from becoming a carnivalesque parade, thinking that would take away from the seriousness of the event" (ibid.). Disco music and flamboyant costumes, it was felt, would detract from the contentious message of the march. Organizers in Los Angeles did not share these concerns. McFarland cites the coverage of the event by the *Advocate,* the largest nation-wide homosexual periodical at that time.

> Over 1000 homosexuals and their friends staged, not just a protest march, but a full-blown parade down world-famous Hollywood Boulevard. […] Flags and banners floated in the chill sunlight of late afternoon; a bright red sound truck blared martial music; drummers strutted; a horse pranced; clowns cavorted; "vice cops" chased screaming "fairies" with paper wings; the Metropolitan Community Church choir sang "Onward Christian Soldiers"; a bronzed and muscular male model flaunted a 7 1/2 foot live python. … Sensational Hollywood had never seen anything like it.
>
> (*The Advocate*, July 22–August 4, 1970, cited in McFarland 2012, p. 54)

According to McFarland, the *Advocate* "reported that there were five floats, one with a confrontational display of a gay man 'nailed' to a cross and another with an equally provocative large jar of Vaseline" (p. 54).

The Los Angeles event, with its official title "Christopher Street West: A Freedom Revival in Lavender" (p. 50), confronted head-on the dominant cultural mores and hetero-normative norms, but both events and the Pride

Week held at the same time in Chicago, were dramatic challenges to the homophile movement's accomodationist strategy of respectability and behind the scenes lobbying. According to McFarland what the events had in common was:

> the open display of gays and lesbians without regard to making the image palatable to mainstream society. In New York, that took the form of a protest march with festive elements to celebrate gay identity; in Los Angeles participants put on a parade to make this identity visible.
>
> (p. 58)

Armstrong (2002) highlights the historical importance of these first Pride marches in that they ushered in the lesbian and gay identity movement. These events in 1970 were unique in that they were the first time in history that large numbers of gays and lesbians expressed their sexuality openly in public, without "dialing down the gay" (Encarnación 2016, p. 18) – a collective "coming out." And according to Armstrong and Crage (2006), the 1970 Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstration in New York, Christopher Street West demonstration in Los Angeles, and Gay Pride week in Chicago were regarded as huge successes, which inspired and prompted activists in other cities to follow their lead. In 1971 larger events were arranged in the original three cities, and Dallas, Boston, Milwaukee and San Jose hosted their first celebrations. In 1972 even the reluctant gay liberation activists in San Francisco, "ambivalent about ceding vanguard status to New York" (p. 742), relented and staged their first commemorative parade. That year Ann Arbor, Atlanta, Buffalo, Detroit, Washington, D.C., Miami and Philadelphia also joined the ranks of cities commemorating Stonewall.

Pride goes nationwide across the US

Throughout the 1970s parades both grew in size and spread geographically across the United States, making Gay Pride celebrations a truly national event. Forty years after the first Pride events in 1970, McFarland (2012, p. 69) reports that Pride parades and marches are held in more than 100 cities across the country; not restricted to major urban centers with large and visible lesbian and gay communities, but spread across the spectrum of city size with the largest growth in cities with populations less than 500,000. She concludes that while the parades in the original founding cities and other major metropolitan centers garner the most media attention, Pride parades are now more often held in smaller cities such as Birmingham, Alabama and Las Cruces, New Mexico (p. 121).

Early in the development and geographical diffusion of Gay Pride celebrations it became evident that activists had discovered a form of collective action that blended unity and diversity.

> The language of *celebration* and *pride* emerged at this historical moment, with leaders committed to unifying the community, feeling a parade would be broadly palatable. A non-political Gay Pride celebration, activists argued, would be able to unite all spectrums of the community.
>
> (Ghaziani 2008, p. 27; emphasis in original)

The parade as a commemorative vehicle proved to be the solution for the US Lesbian and Gay Movement's diversification, division and fragmentation. Under the umbrella of the parade and its expression of an (ephemeral) all-embracing gay identity, and during this one day each year, lesbians could march with gay men, gays of color could participate under their banners, radical liberationist groups could march with more moderate activist organizations, etc. (Ghaziani 2008, p. 149). Armstrong (2002, p. 110; emphasis in original) argues, "by participating in the same parade, the contingents appeared unified. … *Everyone* brought one or more additional identities into the community with them." Subgroup challenges to the lesbian and gay movement could be (most often) temporarily diffused. Nonetheless, fissures in this symbolic show of unity bubbled under the surface as early as 1973 in the New York Christopher Street Liberation march when a transgender activist was denied the right to speak (Shepard 2010 p. 5). Only gradually over the next decades was the original lesbian and gay movement expanded to formally include first in 1993 bisexuals in conjunction with that year's "March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation," and later in the 1990s transsexuals, transgender and non-gender conforming persons began to be accepted in the movement (Ghaziani 2008). With the subsequent inclusion of queer and intersex as separate categories, the moniker now in the 2010s is frequently an inclusive LGBTQI catalog of identities.

During the 1980s and 1990s, at least in the more lesbian and gay friendly cities, political challenges took a step back and festive celebration took center stage. Gradually the names "gay liberation" and "gay freedom" were dropped in favor of the more politically ambiguous "gay pride," or just "pride." Marches in San Francisco and New York, for example, by the mid-1990s gathered hundreds of thousands of participants. In the large parades floats, dancers, drag queens and amplified music appeared. As the Gay Pride celebrations grew in size they became more attractive to corporate sponsoring. But these developments did not go without challenges. According to Benjamin Shepard (2010, p. 5), "demonstrations of ideological fissures had become a common fixture of the theater of the parade." In New York queer activists were arrested in 1998 while attempting to stop the participation of the mayor. In 1999,

> a float dubbed "Rudy's Sex Police" cruised down the parade route in a 1970s hotrod come blue squad car adorned with a papier-mâché

> replica of the major's face and a sign declaring, "Because Rudy Hates You". SexPanic members led the crowd in chants of "More Boody, Less Rudy! Keep New York Sexy!" until police ordered their hotrod off the parade route.
>
> (ibid.)

Innovative challenges to the Pride parades were played out within the parades, but also alternative events, which were sometimes complementary events, were launched in the 1990s. Lesbian Avengers in Washington, D.C. organized the first Dyke March in conjunction with the 1993 "March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation." While separatist lesbian marches had been held in San Francisco during the 1970s they had not become a tradition. After the success of the Dyke March in Washington D.C. local chapters of Lesbian Avengers launched Dyke Marches in June 1993 in San Francisco and New York, a week before the Pride parade. The tradition lives on today and has spread across the US. The Dyke Marches are staged to increase the visibility of lesbians and a critique of what lesbians perceive as the dominance of white gay men in Pride celebrations. Less robust than the tradition of Dyke Marches were the alternative events staged by Gay Shame in direct critique of what these activists perceived as the commercialization and mainstreaming of Gay Pride events. In Brooklyn 1998 queer activists boycotted the Gay Pride parade, which they saw as too commercial, by organizing their own Gay Shame festival. Gay Shame manifestations were later adopted in San Francisco.

Pride is exported

As we will see below, in some countries, most notably the UK, Pride-like events appeared already in the early 1970s. A few were partly in direct response to the Stonewall events but they were all broadly connected with the cultural changes linked to the 1968 protests and the "new social movements." The rhetoric of liberation sent powerful echoes across Western Europe in the 1970s. Initially, there seem to have been little or no active attempts to disseminate the concept of the Pride parade outside the United States. However, in a second phase of the spread of Pride events, an element of direct promotion was also introduced in the 1980s. A major vehicle for exporting the format of Pride celebrations across the globe is a non-profit organization – the US-dominated InterPride. In the fall of 1982 representatives from about half a dozen US Pride organizations gathered together in Boston to network and there founded the National Association of Lesbian and Gay Pride Coordinators (NAL/GPC), and in 1985 changed its name to the International Association of Lesbian and Gay Pride Coordinators (IAL/GPC). An annual conference has been held in different cities each year and attendance has steadily grown. At the 1999 conference in Glasgow,

Scotland the organization again changed its name to InterPride to consolidate and better reflect its international structure. InterPride licenses the title WorldPride, the first of which was held in Rome in July 2000 and the second in Jerusalem in 2006. In 2012, WorldPride was held in London, then it occurred in Toronto, Canada in 2014 and Madrid, Spain hosted a WorldPride in 2017.[2] In 2019, WorldPride will be held in New York, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Stonewall uprising in 1969.[3]

For the diffusion and standardization of Pride parades in Europe, EuroPride and the association European Pride Organisers Association (EPOA), have furthermore been crucial. The initiative for the first EuroPride in London 1992 came from local Pride organizers in London and Berlin, and it was supported by both ILGA-Europe and IAL/GPC. In 1993, EPOA was founded as a separate association with the purpose of bringing together European Pride organizers and licensing an annual EuroPride event.[4] Since 1992, EuroPride has been held almost every year, and when WorldPride has been organized in Europe they have been regarded by EPOA as EuroPride events.

Despite this later development in Europe, it is important to stress that the tradition of staging annual Pride parades originated in the US; it was from the US that the background script – "coming out" – was exported, as well as the format of an annual Pride parade and the means for symbolic projections to be made, such as the rainbow flag. To be sure, the rainbow flag, designed by San Francisco artist Gilbert Baker in 1978, has become the symbol *par excellence* worldwide representing the unity in diversity communicated in Pride parades. The ritual-like performances of the LGBT movements studied in this book were indeed influenced by impulses emanating from the US, *but* both the background scripts, as well as the foreground scripts, were translated by activists embedded in their specific national and local contexts. Local Pride organizers constructed the *mise-en-scéne*, the choreography of the actors so they could walk and talk the texts on the public stage. Just as comparative studies of US Pride events found significant differences in their ritual-like performances (see McFarland 2012; McFarland Bruce 2016), it is the differences (and similarities) that will be in focus in our study of Pride parades in seven European countries and Mexico. In the following pages we will briefly sketch the history of Pride celebrations in the countries and cities covered in our study, approximately in the order of when the first Pride-like march took place.

Pride parades in the United Kingdom

Inauspicious beginnings

The first UK Pride parades were organized during a period of significant tactical and strategic shifts in the British LGBT movement. The activities during the 1950s and 1960s were dominated by prudent and predominantly

backstage lobbying activities in London by the Homosexual Law Reform Society (HLRS) and somewhat more open but nevertheless rather cautious promotional work in the North of England by the North Western Homosexual Law Reform Committee (NWHLRC) (Lent 2001). This work led up to the Labour Government's passing of a new Sexual Offences Act in 1967, which legalized gay sex by consenting adults over 21 years of age. The legalization of homosexual sex did not extend to Scotland and Northern Ireland, and the Act still prohibited, for example, public displays of homosexual affection. Nevertheless, the victory led to reduced activity and the eventual decline of these organizations.

Around this time, however, British society, along with other Western democracies, went through rapid cultural changes, and British gay activists started to look across the Atlantic to the increasingly open and transgressive tactics starting to be used by their US peers. Two key figures, Aubrey Walter and Bob Mellors, travelled in the US during the summer of 1970 and returned to found the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) on October 13th the same year, inspired by the newly established American organization with the same name. The following month, in November, it organized its first demonstration, located in Highbury Fields, in support of a man facing charges for indecency (Adam 1995).

On August 28th, 1971, the GLF organized a march through London, and on July 1st, 1972 in London, the first British Gay Pride march to be organized close to the correct date (June 28th) in commemoration of the Stonewall events (Weeks 1990 [1977]). GLF was the main initiator, but several other emerging LGBT groups were part of the organizing committee. Peter Tatchell, one of the around 40 co-organizers of the event, says that the participants,

> didn't know what to expect. In those days most LGBT people were very closeted. They would never ever dare show their faces in public and identify with those persons. Many, many aspects of gay male life were still criminalized despite the partial de-criminalization in 1967. […] We were very gratified when between 700 and 1,000 people turned up. It began in Trafalgar Square and marched to Hyde Park where we held an impromptu gay day. Sort of a gay picnic in the park. People bought their own food drink and dope, and we played queer versions of traditional party games like oranges and lemons and spin the bottle. The march itself was very heavily policed. There was virtually one police officer for every single marcher. We were hemmed in quite tightly. Some police were openly abusive, calling us "queers, poofs, faggots, dykes." They treated us like criminals, which of course in many respects we still were. […]
>
> The response from the public was very interesting. […] About a third of the public were overtly hostile. They shouted abuse, threw coins, cans and bottles at us. Another third were more curious and

> bewildered. They were sort of shocked to see gay people dare showing their faces and they just wondered who we were and why we were doing it. But you couldn't really sense what their opinion was. They were gawping in disbelief that gay people would dare show their faces but they weren't hostile nor were they supportive. The other third did applaud and cheer us and smile and gave us thumbs up. That was quite surprising. […] When we got to the park the police ringed around one section of where we were, and stood in very aggressive poses with their arms folded and glaring at us clearly very hostile. But they didn't … You know, we thought they may try and arrest us when people kissed and cuddled but they didn't.

The march was part of a Gay Pride Week, and only one of numerous protest actions organized by the GLF. However, by this time GLF was already starting to dissolve. Weeks (1990 [1977]) outlines various internal tensions between factions in the diverse group, perhaps most pronounced around the relations between women and men, between feminists and those emphasizing "gay issues," as well as around socialism and the relation to the labor movement (also Plummer 1999). As the revolutionary imagination of 1968 lost its immediate force, GLF lost further momentum and by the end of 1973 it had practically disappeared. By then the organization of the London Pride week had been taken over by the less militant organization Campaign for Homosexual Equality (CHE) (Hughes 2006).

HIV and the Thatcher Government bring new impetus to Pride

Annual Pride parades continued, while the surrounding movement moved into a somewhat less energetic phase in the mid- to late 1970s. The beginning of the 1980s introduced two factors that changed the mobilizing context of the LGBT movement and, by extension, the Pride parades. First, the HIV epidemic emerged, which had direct disastrous effects and brought about increased hostility among the UK population toward gays. However, it had the side effect of contributing to a re-politicization of the movement and increased mobilization of straight allies (Engel 2001). Second, the election of the conservative government led by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher represented both a power shift in labor market relations away from the trade unions, and a political turn toward the promotion of conservative values. Meanwhile, in the early 1980s the Labour Party took a more explicitly supportive stance on gay rights issues, notably manifested by Labour controlled local governments, including London and Manchester.

During the extensive pit closures, vigorously resisted by the miners' unions, a number of lesbian and gay activists decided to organize in solidarity with the unions, which they regarded as fellow victims of the Thatcher Government's political agenda. In 1984 they founded the organization

Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners (LGSM), which raised funds from the LGBT community in support of the miners' strikes. (The story of this campaign was later transformed into the motion picture *Pride*, released in 2014.) Mike Jackson, who was part of the LGSM core group, described for us how the fundraising basically started at the 1984 Pride parade in London.

> The response we got from the lesbians and gays was astonishing, it was really, really supportive. Not only the money that the people put in the buckets but what people were saying was, because for a lot of people it wasn't just about the miners, it was about Thatcher, people hated Thatcher, and Thatcher had chosen fights with the miners. […] The miners were standing up against Thatcher, and that's what it was about, we wanted to get rid of Thatcher.

Apart from acting as brokers between different social movements, the activities of the LGSM also raised issues of class *within* the LGBT community that, according to Mike Jackson, had hardly been present before. The 1985 Gay Pride became perhaps the prime symbol of the alliance with a large number of miners attending the march. Mike Jackson remembers:

> Then in 1985 the miners came and led the Gay Pride march in London, which was astonishing really. You know nobody, nobody had anticipated that would happen and it was incredible. […] LGSM were a contingent on the march so we took our banners and we took our supporters and we took the miners and we were the largest single group on the march that year, it was huge, well over 1,000 people.

While the Thatcher Government represented a broad range of conservative values, it did not initially focus on implementing policies targeting on sexual minorities. However, in 1987–1988 the new anti-gay law "Section 28" was prepared, and eventually passed, which prohibited the promotion of homosexuality by schools and local authorities. According to Weeks (1990 [1977]), the law was an attempt by the national government to circumscribe the independence of local authorities in Labour dominated areas, such as London and Manchester, which in various policies supported lesbian and gay rights. Whereas the concrete impact of the law may have been limited, it sent a strong symbolic message against acceptance for sexual minorities. The conflicts around Section 28 also point to the predominance of two parties in British politics – Labour and Conservatives – which shapes the conditions for alliances between movements and political parties. Although the Labour Party temporarily became somewhat ambivalent on lesbian and gay issues toward the late 1980s, for fear of putting off traditional working-class voters, it has remained a crucial political ally for the LGBT movement. The Conservative Party long remained largely anti-LGBT,

although it has gone through a shift toward acceptance of gay and lesbian families, most pronounced under former Prime Minister David Cameron (Hayton 2010).

Pride goes commercial

Section 28 led to dramatically increased mobilization of the LGBT community and new organizations were founded, including in 1989 the campaigning and lobby organization Stonewall and the direct action group OutRage!. Peter Tatchell describes how the London Pride march grew dramatically from the late 1980s until 1997, peaking at around 100,000 participants. This high-point in popular mobilization paradoxically led to a takeover of the event by commercial interests, since it became too expensive for the organizers to pay for the bill for stewarding, policing, cleanup and fencing.

> Well, 1997 was the high point, but the organizers, because of its huge size, did lose I think about £60,000, and this was used by gay business people to say that the community was unfit to run LGBT Pride and that they should take it over. And that is what they did. […] So they began charging to go to the festival after the parade, which never happened before. The combination of commercialization and charging resulted in the numbers participating plummeting maybe down to 20,000 in the march and maybe 50,000 for the festival.

A sign of the increasing commercialization of London Pride was the decision by the local gay business consortia organizing the event to drop the term "Pride"; for three years, between 1999 and 2002, the event was called "London Mardi Gras" (a generic term for festival and carnival; Hughes 2006, p. 243). However, in 2003, London Pride was again taken back by civil society organizers and gradually regained legitimacy within the community. Apparently, however, the economy has remained a challenge for the organizers; the 2012 WorldPride (the one included in our statistical analyses in Chapters 4, 5 and 8) became a great disappointment for many after the organizers had to cancel several side events due to failure to raise sufficient funds to pay a number of key subcontractors for the event.[5] The authorities also banned all vehicles and floats since the organizers could not ensure the necessary safety precautions. After this debacle a new organizer took over Pride London: London LGBT+ Community Pride.

Regardless of the formal level of commercialism of its organizers, since the 1970s and early 1980s the London Pride parade has been criticized over the years for its increased level of commercialization. From a feminist position, some critics have also pointed to the dominance of a sexually hedonistic theme in the march – primarily expressed by gay men – at the expense of both the parade's critical edge as well as misrepresenting the political interests of its female participants (Laughland 2012).

UK Pride parades proliferate

Smaller Pride events also occurred in other locations in the UK from 1972 onwards. A week after the London Gay Pride Week in 1972, the local GLF in Birmingham organized a Pride Weekend, which included a small march of 20 people through the city (Knowles 2009). Pride weekends, including Pride parades, were organized annually for a few years, after which they disappeared. Pride festivals were again organized from 1983 onwards, but not including a parade until the year 2000. In Brighton, the first Pride parade was organized in 1973. In 1992, the parade was reintroduced as the Brighton Pride March and Brighton is today considered one of the main UK Pride events. Similar to the dissatisfaction expressed by some about the gay dominance in London, Brighton Pride has been ridden by internal struggles between women and, allegedly, a small number of powerful gay men blocking changes in the way the festival was organized (Browne and Bakshi 2013).

Manchester Pride is also considered to be one of the main Pride events in the UK. It started as a fundraising event for local AIDS organizations in 1985 (Williams 2016), which developed into Manchester Mardi Gras, run by the Village Charity since 1991. In its early years it was explicitly not a Pride event and the festival established close ties to the business community (Hughes 2006). The festival developed in an ambiguous context with a new generation of supportive Labour politicians in the 1980s, while police repression of gay people remained considerable far into the 1990s. In 2003 Manchester hosted the EuroPride event, and only after that changed its name into Manchester Pride.

In some regions of the UK it took a long time before any Pride parades were organized. For example, the Northern Ireland regional capital Belfast did not have its first Pride parade until 1991. Not unlike the Polish Pride parades, Belfast Pride is characterized by Nagle (2013) as expanding its scope beyond LGBT issues. "Pride has developed as a celebration of all forms of diversity to contest ethno-national polarization" (p. 86). In the still divided city, Pride bridges the nationalist/unionist split and, according to Nagle, may contribute to making city spaces more inclusive and even to reducing ethnic conflict. As noted by Drissel (2016), the Belfast Pride parade manifests as a clear counterpoint to the many sectarian parades in the region.

Since the early 2000s, Pride parades have cropped up in several UK cities, and the organization InterPride lists 60 different UK Pride events in its 2016/17 Pride Radar, including Black Pride in London, and the Sparkle Weekend in Manchester for transgender people (InterPride 2016).

History of Pride in Sweden

In Sweden, same-sex activities were decriminalized in 1944. However, as in other Western countries, post-war Sweden witnessed a surge in homophobic public sentiments, through hostile media anti-gay campaigns, and an increase

in prosecutions for homosexual acts with persons younger than 18 years (Rydström 2007b). It was during this period that the first association for homosexuals in Sweden was created, in 1950, as the Swedish section of the Danish *Forbundet af 1948* (The Federation of 1948). In 1952, this association was renamed *Riksförbundet för sexuellt likaberättigande*, RFSL (The Swedish Federation for Sexual Equality; today it is called The Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Rights), which has since then been the dominant organization for LGBT persons in Sweden. Until the early 1970s, RFSL was the only association that organized and represented gays and lesbians in Sweden, even though its members were predominantly male (Söderström 1999; Petersson 2000).

Activism within RFSL during the 1950s and 1960s had the same characteristics as the post-war homophile movement of most other Western countries. During the 1950s, the movement was engaged in a few public debates, but mostly it lobbied politicians and authorities behind the scenes. For example, RFSL demanded same-sex marriage (or, "homophile marriage") already in 1953 (Petersson 2000, p. 29). During the 1960s, political advocacy became less prioritized within the movement, and arranging social activities within the community became a more central activity.

Swedish gay and lesbian activists begin to take to the streets

Between 1969 and 1971, some contingents within RFSL were radicalized politically. The main inspiration was drawn from American "Gay Liberation" activism, but also from the general ideas of sexual liberation characterizing public debates and activism at the time. Important for this development in Sweden was the start of the gay magazine *Viking* in 1969, which in 1971 was renamed *Revolt mot sexuella fördomar* (Revolt against sexual prejudices). In the magazine, pornographic pictures and short stories were combined with political debates and reports from protests and activism in other countries. In 1970 an association independent from the RFSL was formed in the mid-size city of Örebro, calling itself the Gay Power Club. Together with the more radical activists within RFSL, these actors were central for pushing RFSL to a more radical analysis and the use of protest as a political means (Söderström 1999; Petersson 2000; Rydström 2007a; interviews with Stig-Åke and Jan-Eric).

The first demonstration staged by the gay and lesbian movement in Sweden was organized by the Gay Power Club in Örebro on May 15th, 1971. Even though the founder of this association was highly inspired by American "Gay Liberation" activism, this first demonstration (which attracted around 15 participants) was not staged as a Stonewall commemorative event. A second demonstration (attracting 30 participants) was staged a week later in Uppsala during a national conference of RFSL. The first Stonewall commemorative demonstration was staged yet a few weeks later, organized

by Gay Power Club but held in central Stockholm as "Christopher Street Liberation Day" on June 27th, 1971 (Wennerhag 2017).

In the reports from this demonstration in the subsequent issue of *Revolt*, it is claimed that "16 brave persons marched in Stockholm's first homosexual demonstration on Christopher Street Liberation day on the last Sunday of June." The author complained about the low turnout, which is ascribed to both inactivity on the part of the local RFSL groups and the fact that the event coincided with Midsummer, one of the major Swedish holidays (Wennerhag 2017). When interviewing Stig-Åke Petersson, one of the activists advocating a more radical approach within RFSL (and president of the federation in 1972–1973 and 1984–1988), he recalls the feelings of failure after the first Stonewall commemoration in Sweden. "There were so few people in the parade, only sixteen, so our enthusiasm dampened a little."

No new efforts to organize a gay liberation event were made in Sweden until September 3rd, 1977, when the first *Homosexuella frigörelsedagen* (Homosexual Liberation Day) took place in Stockholm. Since then, there has been an unbroken series of annual homosexual liberation demonstrations in Stockholm (the event after EuroPride 1998 was called Stockholm Pride).

In 1977 the Swedish gay and lesbian movement had grown and become more diversified. Alongside RFSL, new groups had been formed. Lesbian groups that were part of the left-wing oriented feminist movement were created in the mid-1970s in the major cities, under the name *Lesbisk Front* (Lesbian Front), critical to what was perceived as male dominance in RFSL. Radical left groups for gay men were also created during this time, for example *Homosexuella Socialister* (Homosexual Socialists). The main organizers of the first Homosexual Liberation Day in 1977 were RFSL Stockholm, *Lesbisk Front*, and *Homosexuella Socialister*. Especially the two latter groups were important for the movement's use of protest as a means to bring attention to their political agenda. Despite the previous years of radicalization, the movement had not staged any joint protests after the first attempts in 1971. The more left-wing oriented gay and lesbian groups had more experience staging protests, and brought their skills when organizing the Homosexual Liberation Day (Rydström 2007a; Hallgren 2008; interview with Stig-Åke).

Stig-Åke reflects over why the demonstration was called the Homosexual Liberation Day, and why the word "Pride" wasn't used:

> In 1977, "Pride" didn't exist as a concept [in Sweden]. […] At that time, we talked about "Gay Liberation." Maybe we sometimes talked about "Gay Pride" in very specific contexts, but overall it was "Gay Liberation." That's the reason why we choose to translate the "Gay Liberation" concept […]. When we began talking about the Homosexual Liberation Day, it was part of a strategy to make people use the word homosexual in a positive way.

The first Homosexual Liberation Day in Stockholm attracted 300–400 participants. From the very beginning, the demonstrations focused the situation for gays and lesbians in other countries, for instance in Finland, Greece, Austria, Chile and the Soviet Union. In 1979, the event was renamed as "the Homosexual Liberation Week," as it was broadened to not only be a demonstration, but a week full of other activities such as seminars, political debates and cultural activities. Representatives from all parliamentary parties were invited to a debate concerning gay and lesbian issues, which since then has been a standing feature. Gay and lesbian associations connected to some of the political parties were also created during this time, for example, *Homosexuella liberaler* (Homosexual Liberals) and *Gaymoderaterna* (the Gay Conservatives). Meanwhile, *Homosexuella Socialister* became more focused on lobbying the Social Democrats and the Left Party. RFSL primarily regarded the Left Party and the Liberal Party as easiest to work with. The attempts to create alliances with influential groups in society were, however, not limited to the main political parties; also, key individuals within religious institutions were addressed. For instance, in 1980, the first "homosexual divine service" was held during the Homosexual Liberation Week, which was organized by a pastor from the Swedish Lutheran state church (Rydström 2007a; interview with Stig-Åke; Wennerhag 2017).

During the 1980s, the number of participants in the demonstration in the Homosexual Liberation Week grew steadily; 2,400 participated in 1980 and 5,000 in 1985 (Wennerhag 2017). The activities of the gay and lesbian movement during the 1980s was, as in other countries, much affected by the AIDS epidemic, but it was also a time when the movement's strengthened connections with both political and cultural elites led to a few political gains, for instance anti-discrimination legislation. The early 1990s were characterized by campaigns for a civil partnership law, which was passed by the Parliament in 1995 (Rydström 2007a).

Pride consolidates in Stockholm

In 1998 EuroPride was held for the first time in Stockholm. In the preceding years, individual activists had made contacts with the European umbrella organization for Pride organizers, EPOA, and as a result it was decided that a separate association only working with EuroPride 1998 should be founded. From the beginning RFSL Stockholm had been the main organizer for the Homosexual Liberation Week (which in 1995–1997 had been renamed *Stockholms Homofestival*, Stockholm's Homo Festival), but a separate association was founded when EuroPride was organized. EuroPride in Stockholm 1998 was deemed a success, and around 10,000 people participated in the march. Shortly thereafter, a new association was founded for arranging Stockholm Pride in subsequent years, which consisted of LGBT organizations (e.g. RFSL), individual activists, and other

organizations (e.g. political parties and prominent civil society organizations). The experiences of EuroPride in 1998 thus led to both a permanent renaming of the Stockholm Homosexual Liberation Week into Stockholm Pride, and a new way of organizing the event (Wennerhag 2017).

Since 1998 Stockholm Pride has developed into one of Europe's largest Pride parades. In 2016, around 45,000 participants took part in the march, and around 10 times as many were reported as bystanders (Wennerhag 2017). In comparison to the first Homosexual Liberation Days during the late 1970s, which looked like other protest marches at the time and primarily featured activists holding political placards and banners, today's Stockholm Pride also contains carnivalesque elements with some participants dressed in colorful and extravagant costumes, and floats sponsored by organizations and companies. The main organizing principle of the parade, nevertheless, remains that participants march in specific sections, as members of various LGBT groups, civil society organizations, trade unions and professions, public authorities, and political parties. Victor, one of the organizers of Stockholm Pride in recent years, who has also taken part in EPOA meetings at the European level, stresses the significant presence of politicians and political parties as a feature that distinguishes the parade in the Swedish capital from parades elsewhere:

> I would say that half of the national parliament is walking in the Pride parade, more or less, and that turnout you probably wouldn't find in any other country. […] We have chosen to include the politicians, while others maybe only choose to make demands on politicians.

One important part of today's Stockholm Pride is "Pride House," which the week before the parade hosts around 200 events including everything from political debates and seminars to theater and movies. Here, LGBT organizations, trade unions, political parties and other civil society organizations arrange discussions regarding LGBT-relevant issues. Sandra, President of the Association Stockholm Pride in 2014–2016, believes that this distinguishes the Stockholm Pride from Pride events in many other countries. "We kind of invented Pride House. [Stockholm Pride] is something more, it is not only a parade, and it's not only clubs."

For the parade organizers and the LGBT organizations, Stockholm Pride is thus about combining the parade with both LGBT community-oriented social activities and political advocacy aimed at political parties and other influential actors. Ulrika, past President of the main Swedish LGBT organization RFSL and President of the Stockholm Pride association in 2005–2006, sees the opportunities for having political impact during Stockholm Pride as a crucial part of the event. She compares it to the Almedalen Week, the main annual gathering for politicians, journalists, interest organizations and lobbyists in Sweden held during a week in the beginning of July, where a host of actors launch political demands and campaigns.

> Stockholm Pride has grown tremendously. It's the biggest event in Stockholm, and that generates a lot of media attention. […] It's the Almedalen Week of the LGBTQ movement, one could say. We never launch anything during the Almedalen Week. We know it's no use because there we compete with a lot of moneyed actors that pay a lot when launching campaigns, which we are not able to do. We know that if we only wait three weeks and launch our demands during Stockholm Pride, then the newspapers will write about it anyhow and give our issues attention, without us having spent any extra money on it. This is because Stockholm Pride is such a large common manifestation that is regarded as a big common united front from a large group in society, and then the politicians want to be there.

The active use of the Pride parades in Stockholm as a vehicle for political advocacy could perhaps be seen in light of Sweden's relatively centralized and traditionally corporativist political system, where movements and interest groups have often cultivated strong ties to political parties and other influential actors. And it is in Stockholm that most political power is centered.

Pride travels nationwide

Despite Stockholm's role as national capital and politico-administrative center, later years have witnessed a major diffusion of Pride parades to other cities and towns in Sweden. The first Pride event outside of Stockholm was *Regnbågsfestivalen* (the Rainbow Festival), first held in 1995 in Sweden's third largest city Malmö (today called Malmö Pride).

In Gothenburg, the second largest city in the country, it wasn't until 2007 that the first *HBT-festivalen* (the LGBT Festival) was organized as a collaboration between five local cultural institutions (two museums and three theatres). The city previously had had numerous lesbian and gay protests, but all had been separate and no LGBT organization was at the time in a position to unify the disparate gay and lesbian organizations. According to Tasso, formerly the festival coordinator (and a former MP for the Left Party), the Gothenburg LGBT Festival initially distanced itself from the name "Pride" which was associated with Stockholm and commercialization. Nevertheless, the festival later renamed itself West Pride. The Gothenburg Rainbow Parade (surveyed in our study in 2012) was not organized until 2010. West Pride has developed in close collaboration with the City of Gothenburg and the festival has a prominent presence in the city space with a massive number of rainbow flags on public buildings, along the main boulevard, and on every vehicle running in local public transports. Gothenburg and Stockholm are the joint organizers of 2018 EuroPride.

In 2007 parades also started to be held in Eskilstuna and Sundsvall, and in 2008 in Uppsala and Karlstad. Since 2010 annual Pride parades have been established in an increasing number of cities. In 2016 Pride parades

or other types of events celebrating LGBT Pride were held in around 50 places in Sweden (RFSL 2016). Judging from InterPride's figures over where Pride events are held today globally, this would make Sweden the country having the most Pride events per capita today (InterPride 2016, p. 12). Furthermore, many Pride parades are staged in towns with smaller populations than 10,000 inhabitants, for example, Åmål, Mellerud, Ånge, Älmhult and Arvidsjaur.

The former President of RSFL, Ulrika, says that local RFSL chapters have initiated only around half of these Pride events:

> Sometimes it can be independent activists and sometimes a co-operation between RFSL and other organizations. Sometimes it is the local municipality, sometimes the local business association. […] The only thing we have said about this development is that it is great, but we think that it is important that it is based in the local LGBTQ movement. So that it is not something that a local business association or a local municipality does without co-operating with local LGBTQ persons. Because the purpose should be, one must hope, to improve the situation for LGBTQ persons in this specific location, or make visible their situation.

This development has not, however, taken place without conflicts within the movement. Some of these conflicts have been about the role, or even presence, of commercial business actors, while others have been about the presence of political parties that some activists deem to be unsuitable allies for the LBGT movement. For example in Stockholm, parts of the radical left have organized a small AnarchoPride some years, where neither companies nor politicians were welcome. Another case was the Uppsala Pride in 2012, which denied the Liberal Party to participate in the parade since it was framed as a socialist and queer feminist Pride festival. There have also been radical left "pink-black" sections at the parades in Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm, which sometimes have disturbed other participants from the police, military, migration authorities and moderate-right parties for being allegedly "anti-LGBTQ."

The Dutch Pink Saturday parades

Early tolerance

Pink Saturday parades appeared in an internationally unique political context for the Gay and Lesbian movement. The Netherlands did not only allow for same-sex sexual acts very early, already in 1811 (Hildebrandt 2014), the country has had a more or less continuous homosexual emancipation movement since 1911 with the founding of a Dutch division of the German *Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee* (Scientific Humanitarian

Committee). The motto of the organization, "through science to justice," exemplifies the Dutch movement's pre–World War II, as well as post-war, political strategy. Its early pre-war emphasis on human rights, reinforced by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) and its strategic use of academic information to convince influential people in society of the normality of homosexuality, has pervaded its history. The new organization for homosexual emancipation, CoC (a code name, Center for Recreation and Culture), was established in 1946. Reflecting the organization's "coming out process" it was renamed the Dutch Society for Homophiles in 1964 and in 1971 the Dutch Society for the Integration of Homosexuals (Hekma and Duyvendak 2011a; Hekma 2014). Its activities were internally centered on providing members with social meeting spaces and externally only its leaders lobbied for equal rights, together with taking a lead in starting international cooperation with the formation of the International Committee for Sexual Equality (ICSE). Interestingly, this international committee was strictly a European collaboration, mainly between three groups in West Germany, CoC and Der Kreis from Switzerland, but with connections to organizations and individuals in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France, Belgium and Britain. Working tenaciously behind the scenes during the early 1960s, in a more liberalized and secularized political climate, CoC's efforts were beginning to pay off. "Almost ten years before 'Stonewall' in the United States, the bud of Dutch tolerance towards homosexuality started to develop" (Schuyf and Krouwel 1999).

Dutch gays and lesbians reluctantly take to the streets

Within this solidly entrenched reformist political context in a country, which was beginning to accept homosexuality and the human rights of homosexuals, CoC was initially negative to Dutch Pride parades; they found no reason for homosexuals to demonstrate – "homosexuals are just normal people."[6] However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s a more radical wing in the gay and lesbian movement emerged, demanding "integration" of homosexuality in Dutch society – first the Federation of Student Working Groups on Homosexuality and later the lesbian groups Purple September and Lesbian Nation, and the male group Red Faggots (Hekma and Duyvendak 2007). This early radicalism, what Gert Hekma (2014, p. 67) calls a "Queer fire," burned out in the early 1980s when "gays and lesbians began the long march through the institutions."

CoC distanced itself from the first public homosexual demonstration near the Dutch Parliament in The Hague, January 1969 as well as the march in May 1970 in Amsterdam to commemorate the homosexual victims of World War II. However, after mounting pressure from within and challenged by radical groups outside of the organization, CoC slowly changed course to a more radical, albeit modest, left-wing direction. CoC gave its tacit support for an International Day of Liberation and Solidarity

demonstration in Amsterdam in June 1977. The initiative for this march came from Lesbian Nation (Hekma and Duyvendak 2011b). It was homosexual repression in the US, and not domestic developments, which prompted the first large public manifestation of the Dutch gay and lesbian movement. It was in reaction to Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual campaign against a newly passed antidiscrimination law in Dade County, Florida, and its subsequent rejection in a popular referendum.[7] A second International Liberation and Solidarity march was held in 1978 (Schuyf and Krouwel 1999). In the most LGBT friendly countries – the Netherlands, as in Sweden and the UK in our sample – international solidarity has often taken center-stage on their Pride parades' political agendas; in contemporary parades solidarity with homosexuals in "places where we cannot march" is often a dominant theme. In the Netherlands the historical first Pride demonstrations were manifestations against repression in the US. The Dutch Gay and Lesbian Movement paradoxically adopted and adapted the Pride ritual in the late 1970s as manifestations of their support for their "oppressed sisters and brothers" in the US.

In 1979 the more radical political groups within the movement decided that the Netherlands should also have an annual Pride Parade and The Pink Front, a coalition of lesbian and gay groups and organizations, was founded in 1979 primarily to organize Pink Saturday following the "Stonewall riot tradition."[8] Pink Saturday was initially the most visible expression of homosexuality in Dutch society (Schuyf and Krouwel 1999). This more radical wing fought no longer for acceptance and normality, they now demanded the right to be different embracing a more confrontational politics. The first two Pink Saturday Parades in 1979 and 1980, both in Amsterdam, mobilized more than 5,000 demonstrators. In order to focus the political relevance of the event, in 1981 the Front decided that the Pink Saturday should ambulate between the provincial cities in the country and held a demonstration in a town in the Catholic south. In 1982 in the city of Amersfoort, also a city in the Dutch "bible belt," the event was met with severe and unprecedented violence. While police stood passively by, local youths confronted the demonstration with 4,000 participants resulting in 15 people injured. Amersfoort led to a new dialogue between the movement and the government, leading to the plans for the Equal Treatment Law (Schuyf and Krouwel 1999; Hekma 2000), which in 1993 "extended equal legal, social security, housing, pension, legacy, and asylum rights to gays and lesbians" (Hekma and Duyvendak 2007, p. 413; Hekma and Duyvendak 2011b).

From politics to party

Throughout the 1980s the more political wing of the movement prevailed over the more social – in the Pink Front's organization and in the annual parades – which attracted increasing numbers of participants. But this was

an uneasy tension between party and politics resulting in internal conflicts peaking in 1985 and the eventual demise of the Pink Front and its disintegration in 1995 (Schuyf and Krouwel 1999, p. 165). The Pink Saturday held in 1992 in Zoetermeer, upon the initiative of the city council and with local government subsidizing, to celebrate the city's famous flower exhibition, marked a definite shift in emphasis in following Pink Saturday events – party rather than politics now dominated. Pink Saturday from the mid-1990s to today became more and more a social event for the LGBT communities. Erwina, who had organized the Pink Saturdays in Haarlem in 1989, 1997 and 2011, explained his view of the meaning of the events.

> I think that the gay movement should not be too political. It should be about equality, and you need everybody behind you. … there was a time when our movement was kidnapped by the lefties, and I don't think that is a good thing to do. It is not in the benefit of our people who are from everywhere across the political spectrum.

In 1994 Amsterdam won the bid to host the third EuroPride and the Pink Saturday event was subsequently incorporated in Amsterdam EuroPride that year. From 1996 the Gay Business Amsterdam organized Gay Pride Amsterdam with its Canal Pride culminating the events. After some controversy, the city granted permission for organizing the Pride to a new foundation in 2006 and since 2014 with a new board. Since its very beginnings, and in contrast with Pink Saturday, Amsterdam Pride "was solely meant to be a celebration of freedom and diversity in Amsterdam, and not as a political demonstration for equal rights or against discrimination."[9] Also in 1996 the first Amsterdam Leather Pride was held in October and the tradition continues to this day (ibid.).

Smaller Pride events are staged in seven other Dutch cities, with Rotterdam Pride in September the largest. Meanwhile Pink Saturday events continue to ambulate between provincial cities in the Netherlands, some events attracting more participants than others, but its future is uncertain (interviews, gay organizer and lesbian organizer). According to a spokesperson from CoC, Pink Saturday's waning existence is in part a result of organizational discontinuity. "The organization of Pink Saturday each year, in a different town or city, takes little learning and input from previous events. Instead of coordinating their experiences, 'they reinvent the wheel each and every year'." In 2016 Amsterdam again hosted the EuroPride and Pink Saturday returned to Amsterdam after 22 years and kicked off the two-week event under the theme "Join our Freedom" with a "freedom" party in Vondelpark and a walk to Dam Square under the banner "jump out of the closet on Pink Saturday." With stages in the park and in the square and countless entertainers, this was a decidedly social event, even if the "walk" included a few politicized messages. Dutch scholars have long lamented the demise of politics in the Dutch LGBT

movement, its "de-politicization" and orientation toward "normalization" (e.g. Schuyf and Krouwel 1999; Hekma and Duyvendak 2011a and 2011b; Hekma 2014). They point out that social rights have not followed the changes in legal rights, violence against LGBT persons still persists, acceptance of LGBT lifestyles is but superficial in the Netherlands, and Hekma and Duyvendak (2011a, p. 629) warn that LGBT rights have become vulnerable to opportunistic appropriation by radical right parties. Nonetheless few radical activists remain: "Dutch gays maintain a low profile and are definitely not queer" (Hekma and Duyvendak 2011b, p. 113). Normalization of homosexuality in the Netherlands, according to Hekma and Duyvendak (2011a, p. 629), has led to the fact that "many gay men and lesbians share, for example, the ambivalent feelings of straight, Dutch people regarding Amsterdam's annual Canal Pride due to its ostentatious semi-nudity, drag and leather."

Pink Saturday parades in provincial cities across the Netherlands are primarily organized as "social events for lesbians and their children and friends" (group interview with male organizers; interview with lesbian organizer). The Pink Saturday in Haarlem included in our database was in stark contrast with Pride Parades elsewhere. The parade was dominated by middle-class (74 percent), women (61 percent) – lesbians and non-LGBT women – the age group 50–64 years was most prevalent, only 12 percent of the Dutch participants were under the age of 30 and only 1 percent were students (not working). Furthermore, this Pride event had the by far lowest number of participants with experience of extra-parliamentary activism (Peterson, Wahlström and Wennerhag 2017; Chapter 4 this volume) and the smallest share with political motives for their participation (Chapter 8 this volume) – indications of the de-politicization of Dutch Pink Saturday parades.

Pride in Switzerland

From homophile to gay liberation

Switzerland was one of the first countries in which same-sex activities were decriminalized, due to the adoption of the Napoleonic Code in 1798. This legislation was soon revoked in most Swiss cantons, apart from in a few French- and Italian-speaking cantons. After the Swiss Confederation's adoption of a common criminal code in 1942, homosexuality was decriminalized in all parts of the country (schwulengeschichte.ch; Delessert and Voegtli 2012).

The first association for homosexuals in Switzerland, the *Schweizer Freundschaftsbund* (The Swiss Friendship Association), was founded in 1922 with inspiration from Germany (schwulengeschichte.ch; Tamagne 2006, p. 73). German influences were also important for the founding in 1932 of the first homosexual journal in Switzerland, the Zurich-based *Freundschafts-Banner*, which in 1943 was renamed *Der Kreis* (Kennedy 1999).

When the Nazi government in Germany shut down all homosexual periodicals and associations, Switzerland and in particular Zurich became one of the few safe havens for gay men in continental Europe. Many activities evolved around the journal *Der Kreis*. Between 1940 and 1945, *Der Kreis* was the only homosexual periodical in the world (Jackson 2015).

During the decades following World War II, *Der Kreis* played a central role for homosexuals in other European countries, where same-sex activities were still criminal or homosexual periodicals censored. The journal had texts written in German, French and English, and almost half of its readership was outside Switzerland. Until it was discontinued in 1967, *Der Kreis* played an important role in the post-war "homophile movement" emerging in several Western countries during the 1950s and 1960s, for both inspiring and connecting activists across borders (Kennedy 1999; Whisnant 2012; Tremblay 2015). As noted in the section on the Netherlands, the people around *Der Kreis* were – together with Dutch and West German groups – the most crucial actors for creating the International Committee for Sexual Equality (ICSE) in 1951.

Despite Switzerland's comparatively liberal laws on same-sex activities, the late 1950s and 1960s was a period when homosexuals and homophile activists increasingly experienced police repression and hostile public debates (schwulengeschichte.ch). Activism was mainly centered in a few larger cities (in particular Zurich), and focused on social and cultural activities and more moderate forms of advocacy.

As in other Western countries, new and more radical forms of homosexual activism however took root in the early 1970s. Already in 1967, young activists around *Der Kreis* formed a new journal and association, *Club68*, and activists from these circles were in 1971 central for creating *Schweizerische Organisation der Homophilen* (SOH, Swiss Organization of Homophiles) (schwulengeschichte.ch). This national umbrella organization was however more grounded in the pre-1968 tradition of moderate homophile activism. Amongst the more radical groups founded during this period, we in particular find *Homosexuellen Arbeitsgruppen* (Homosexual Working Groups), originally founded in Zurich 1972; but soon it spread to other cities, and in 1974 the national umbrella organization *Homosexuellen Arbeitsgruppen Schweiz* (HACH) was created. HACH was inspired by the new ideas about "gay liberation," and clearly left leaning in their analysis and strategy (schwulengeschichte.ch; Delessert and Voegtli 2012). As part of the new radical women's movement, lesbian groups were also created; in particular *Homosexuelle Frauengruppe Zürich* (HFG), which was founded in 1974 (Marti 2000).

Christopher Street Days

These three organizations – SOH, HACH and HFG – were the main organizers of the first Swiss manifestation commemorating the Stonewall

riots, in Zurich, June 24th, 1978. The manifestation was called "Christopher Street Day" and abbreviated CSD. This abbreviation has since then been used to name Stonewall commemorations both in the German-speaking parts of Switzerland and in Germany. The first Swiss CSD took the form of a sit-in, in the Platzspitz Park in central Zurich, where speeches were held and signatures collected for a petition. Apart from commemorating Stonewall, a main objective with the manifestation was to demand a stop to the Zurich police's registration of homosexuals, a goal that was accomplished half a year later (schwulengeschichte.ch; Delessert and Voegtli 2012).

The following year, 1979, the "first national gay liberation day" in Switzerland was organized in Bern, an event that was also framed as a 10-year anniversary of Stonewall. The primary political demand was the same as the previous year, but this time aimed at the police in Bern. In contrast to the year before, the CSD in Bern was a demonstration which attracted around 300 participants (schwulengeschichte.ch). In the following years, national CSD demonstrations were organized in different Swiss cities: Basel (1980, 1985), Lausanne (1981), Zurich (1982, 1986), Lucerne (1983), and Bern (1984, 1987) (schwulengeschichte.ch). Apart from the demonstrations, evening parties and other festivities were often part of the CSD.

During the 1980s, CSD demonstrations were given less priority, and some organizations stopped taking part in the organizing efforts. More moderate groups (such as SOH) saw the CSDs as too focused on protest and radical critique. Another reason was the AIDS epidemic, which forced many organizations to prioritize information and solidarity work, at the same time as the deaths of friends and central activists created anxiety within the community. Despite this, a CSD was organized every year until 1989, when it was once again held in Zurich. After that, there was a five-year break until the next CSD (schwulengeschichte.ch).

In 1994, Christopher Street Day was once again organized in Zurich as a 25-year commemoration of Stonewall. A film festival, lectures, discussions and parties, were also organized the weeks before the CSD demonstration. In 1995 the organization CSD Zürich was founded, and since then it has been the organizer of the event in Zurich. The same year, the demonstration was called "CSD Gay Parade," and drew around 3,000 participants. Earlier the CSDs had been touring between different cities, but since 1994 the Zurich CSD has been the sole annual Pride parade held in the German-speaking part of Switzerland (apart from a three-country CSD organized in 2003 in Basel and its two bordering cities in France and Germany, and since 2009 a bi-annual CSD parade that starts in the Swiss city of Kreuzlingen and ends in the adjoining German city Konstanz) (schwulengeschichte.ch).

In 2009, Zurich hosted the country's first EuroPride, and nearly 50,000 people took part in the parade (Zurich Pride 2016). The following year both the annual event and its organizer were renamed Zurich Pride Festival. In comparison with the CSDs of the 1980s, the CSDs/Pride Festivals in

Zurich since 1994 have been more focused on festivities, but most of the parades have still had an annual theme that addressed specific LGBT issues and on-going national political debates. For instance, the CSD Zürich in 2005 was organized the day before the national referendum on June 5th on registered partnership for same-sex couples, and at the CSD prominent politicians gave speeches (schwulengeschichte.ch; interview with David). In the referendum 58 percent of the Swiss voters supported this proposal.

Pride in the Romandy region

The only CSD organized in a French-speaking canton was in Lausanne in 1981, where the local authorities at first had tried to prevent the demonstration from taking place (schwulengeschichte.ch). Overall, the activities of the movement were relatively loosely connected between Romandy, e.g. the country's French-speaking part, and the German-speaking part (today 64 percent of the population is German-speaking, 23 percent French-speaking, and 8 percent Italian-speaking, out of a population of 8 million). The main impetus for the 1970s "Gay Liberation" groups in Romandy (in particular in Geneva and Lausanne) instead came from radical groups in Paris, and they were in general politically close to HACH (schwulengeschichte.ch; Delessert and Voegtli 2012).

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the divisions within the movement were increasingly overcome. Through the creation of Pink Cross in 1993, a national umbrella organization for gay men, groups that earlier belonged to the more moderate SOH and the more radical HACH were brought together, and the main groups from the French-speaking cantons also became members (schwulengeschichte.ch). A national umbrella organization for lesbian groups, *Lesbenorganisation Schweiz* (LOS), had been founded a few years earlier, in 1990 (Marti 2000). Pink Cross and LOS have since then been the main gay and lesbian organizations in Switzerland.

Following the pattern of the touring CSDs during the 1980s, the first Lesbian and Gay Pride of the Romandy region – *la Pride romande* – was organized in Geneva in 1997. Since then, Pride parades have been organized almost annually in different cities in Romandy: Lausanne (1998, 2006), Fribourg (1999, 2013, 2016), Bern (2000, 2017), Sion (2001, 2015), Neuchâtel (2002), Delémont (2003, 2012), Geneva (2004, 2011), Lucerne (2005) and Biel/Bienne (2008) (schwulengeschichte.ch).

Yves, one of the activists who took part in organizing the political side of Pride Romandy during the first years, explains the main reasons behind ambulating Pride events:

> The aim was really to spread, to show that there were gays, lesbians, bisexuals and trans not only in Geneva and Lausanne but also in Jura, in Fribourg, in Neuchâtel, in all the other regions, in Valais, and also to show the support of all the other cantons, with gays, lesbians,

> bisexuals and trans or intersex from those regions, which were maybe less vulnerable to the issue, so that was a solidarity issue actually. […] Another reason that we wanted the Pride to go to many places was that here in Geneva we could not organize a Pride every year: that would be far too exhausting. […] Of course in Zurich it's a bit different because it's really the biggest city so they have more people and more strength.

While the same association has always organized the Zurich Pride Festival, the Pride parades in Romandy have been mainly organized by local LGBT organizations in the different cantons. In one of the most conservative cantons, Jura, there were initially no LGBT organizations, but the organization of the 2003 Pride in the canton's capital Delémont became pivotal for establishing a local organization. In this way, the touring Pride parades also contributed to strengthening the LGBT community in the cities where it was least visible. This model with locally based organizing and mobilization from other parts of Romandy has, however, not always been without tensions. The same activist recalls a dispute between the local organizers of the Pride parade in Sion, the capital of the conservative canton Valais, about the slogan of the parade.

> The organizers didn't want to have a slogan that was a political demand that was actually asking too much from politicians. The slogan was something like "I like Valais" – I like my region, the canton, something like that. But it was not saying that we want partnership, we want marriage, or that we want rights for rainbow families, or that we want political rights, these types of things. And of course, the organizations in some other cantons said we disagree: "Okay it's your Pride, but if you want other people to come, if you want our solidarity, we need to have solidarity with something. We can't show solidarity with a slogan that says, 'oh, we like our canton'. I mean, why should we like your canton, since your canton is the most homophobic maybe in the whole of Switzerland?"

One of the other interviewees, who worked with Geneva Pride in 2004 and 2011 (and who is active in *Dialogai*, the main organization for gay men in Romandy), emphasized that the Swiss political system's regular use of referendums has made it important to use Pride parades as an occasion to reach out to the people, since it is the people who finally decide on specific political issues, not the political elites.

> Switzerland was the first country that accepted partnership with a referendum. It was not the parliament, but the people … Between the first and second Pride in Geneva [in 1997 and 2004], there was this big

> campaign for partnership in Switzerland. […] The second Pride in Geneva was in this way: we have to go to the people and explain and explain and they are going to understand and change their mind. […] Pride is part of this thing to change the minds of people, I think. […] It is part of the action of the movement. […] We have to take the votes one by one.

When discussing the differences between Pride Romandy and Zurich Pride with the president of the Zurich Pride association, he stresses that on the one hand, Zurich's traditional role as the Swiss center of gay life makes it relatively easier to organize Pride parades there. For instance, the LGBT bars of the city take care of selling drinks at the festival field, and it is easier to get continuity and stability when it is always the same organization that runs the Zurich Pride. At the same time, he sees advantages with the Pride Romandy model.

> I would say that Zurich Pride is like a big, probably elegant, elderly ship, like a cruise ship and Pride in Romandy is like a pirate boat that is fast and can turn around really quick. […] In Zurich Pride we have our plans, we have always the same place, and demonstrations run just the same. We have not had any big changes in the committee or the whole team during the last few years and you feel that there are strong connections, people know what they have to do. [But regarding impact on society], I would say Zurich Pride has less influence than Pride in Romandy because it is in smaller cities, they are mostly a bit more conservative, so the Pride in Romandy has a bigger impact, and bigger presence in the newspapers than Zurich Pride has. […] In Zurich we won't move anybody anymore, because in Zurich it is open, you can be gay at work, in the city.

In terms of size, the parade during Zurich Pride has about 12,000 participants each year, but still the organization is run by volunteers, and the main income is from membership fees in the association and advertisements in a magazine printed before the parade. The Zurich Pride festival does not receive any direct financial support from the local municipality, and only about one-third of its budget comes from commercial sponsors. Even if Zurich Pride has a more established organization than Pride Romandy, it still does not match Europe's larger and more professionalized Pride parades.

Mexico City gay and lesbian Pride history[10]

The Mexican lesbian and gay and lesbian movement emerged, against all odds, in 1971 in a society wrought by harsh government repression. The killing of hundreds of students in the *Plaza de las Tres Culturas* in

Tlatelolco by military and police forces on October 2nd, 1968, and the Corpus Christi massacre against student demonstrators on June 10th, 1971, are two of the most emblematic events of the Mexican political regime's so-called "dirty war" against all oppositional voices. Even if Mexico had formally decriminalized same-sex sexual acts already in 1872 (Hildebrandt 2014), gays, lesbians and trans people were nevertheless subject to persecution and imprisonment. "Being gay in the 1930s and still at the end of the 1970s, when the sexual liberation movement began, was a crime" (El Universal 2016). Police forces regularly carried out raids on gay bars and arrested homosexuals with the permission of the authorities. In this context, the first group of homosexuals in Mexico and Latin America established in 1971 the *Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual*, but out of fear for the lives of its members, it was a secret association aimed at sharing individual experiences about their sexualities and promoting homosexuality as a legitimate expression of sexuality (González Pérez 2005, pp. 91–92).

Lesbian and gay liberation emerges

However, this situation changed drastically in the second half of the 1970s, when homosexual men and women in Mexico, inspired by the discourses of sexual liberation that had emerged in the US and Europe, began to identify themselves as a repressed social group. Based on the liberationist approach of lesbian and gay movements in other countries, Mexico witnessed the creation of three homosexual organizations in 1978: the Homosexual Front of Revolutionary Action (*Frente Homosexual de Liberación Revolucionaria*, FAHR), the Lambda Group of Homosexual Liberation (*Grupo Lambda de Liberación Homosexual*) and Okiabeth.[11] The members of FHAR were mainly homosexual men who sympathized with communism and anarchism. The Lambda Group was made up of middle-class men and women who supported feminist ideas and advocated for an end to homophobia in newspapers, magazines and other publications. Finally, Okiabeth was a women-only group that embraced lesbian-feminist ideas (Diez 2011, p. 695; Figueroa 2003). The creation of these three groups with distinctive ideologies, along with a political regime that was facing increasing democratization pressures from below, allowed the lesbian and gay movement to leave the closet for the first time. On July 26th, 1978, the FHAR joined a demonstration to support the Cuban Revolution. Around 30 homosexuals came out of the social closet for the first time in Mexican history to publicly express their demands for sexual liberation (Hernández and Manrique 1989, p. 68).

The positive impact of this event led the other two organizations – the Lambda Group and Okiabeth – to join the FAHR and create the "Coordinator of Homosexual Groups" (*Coordinadora de Grupos Homosexuales*, CGH) soon after (Figueroa 2003). The CGH formed its own contingent

and participated in the demonstration convened on October 2nd, 1978, to observe the tenth anniversary of the Tlatelolco massacre. Homosexual men and women from the three groups marched and chanted slogans such as "Not sick, not criminals, but simply homosexuals!" (*Ni enfermos, ni criminales, simplemente homosexuales!*), and "There is no political freedom without sexual freedom!" (*No hay libertad política sin libertad sexual!*) (Peralta 2006, p. 114).

The time was now ripe for the lesbian and gay movement to stage its first collective manifestation of its newfound identity. Mexico City held Latin America's first gay Pride parade in late June 1979 (Encarnación 2016, p. 29). The demonstrators demanded the recognition of sexual freedom as a political right (Mogrovejo 1996). The Pride parade was meant to take place in *Paseo de la Reforma*, the most important, and politically significant, avenue in Mexico City. However, due to the outcries from large sectors of society about the "celebration" of homosexuality in public places, the Mexico City government did not allow the parade to go through *Reforma* and, instead, it took place on a secondary street (Lumsden 1991).

However, as a result of negotiations undertaken by the various homosexual groups, the Mexico City government authorized a Pride parade to take place in *Reforma* in 1980 (Figueroa 2003) It is estimated that nearly seven thousand people attended this second Pride parade in Mexico City, which started at the *Ángel de la Independencia*, a monument built in 1910 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Mexican independence, and the starting point for all major demonstrations in the city. That same year, one contingent of the Pride parade joined a procession to the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe – possibly the most important Catholic Church in Mexico – in memory of Monsignor Óscar Romero, a Catholic priest from El Salvador, who was assassinated on March 24th, 1980 (González Pérez 2005, p. 96).

LGBT movement experiences a decline in visibility

Notwithstanding the significant gains achieved in the latter 1970s, the lesbian and gay movement became less visible during the following decade, mainly due to the HIV/AIDS crisis, as well as the inability of the nascent movement to build a collective identity in the face of the economic and political crisis, which surfaced in 1982. The economic crisis led to the creation of social movements that confronted the problems of falling oil prices, rising inflation and devaluation, which mobilized the masses (Foweraker and Craig 1990). However, the lesbian and gay movement was unable to articulate a new collective identity that responded to the new economic situation of social discontent.

Mexico faced the arrival of HIV/AIDS in 1983. As in many other countries, homosexuality was blamed for its appearance and spread. In the

midst of social panic and fear, people held homosexuals responsible and discrimination against homosexuals rose dramatically (Diez 2011, p. 701). The Catholic church was the most vocal; in 1985, the Papal Nuncio in Mexico declared that "AIDS is the punishment sent by God to those who ignore His laws [...] and homosexuality is one of the vices most condemned by the Church" (Figueroa 2003, p. 3). This hate speech and persecution of homosexuals led to the weakening and temporary retreat of the lesbian and gay movement from the public sphere. For almost a decade the movement turned inwards; groups organized meetings and workshops aimed at understanding the causes and consequences of HIV infections and its relation to homosexuality (Figueroa 2003; Díaz 1998).

A new start

The second half of the 1990s witnessed a "second wave" of lesbian and gay activism. Again, the convergence of a more open, democratic regime and the creation of a new collective identity within the movement made this possible. In 1994 the last president from the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI, which had ruled Mexico since 1929) took office in a context riddled by economic and political tensions; the country entered a new economic crisis, known as the December mistake or the Tequila effect, and opposition parties were gaining unprecedented political power. In 1997 the PRI lost its majority in Congress for the first time, and the government was forced to give concessions to other political parties. Patria Jiménez, the founder of the *Claustro de Sor Juana* lesbian movement and one of the most prominent lesbian activists in Mexico, took office as Federal Deputy under the proportional representation scheme (Figueroa 2003). The appointment of Jiménez as a Congresswoman was seen as another political victory for the lesbian and gay movement.

Also in 1997, homosexuals were able to articulate a new collective identity around the concept of "sexual diversity," favored by a more diverse social structure in Mexico and the broader discourse of multiculturalism in a world that promoted the adoption of multicultural policies in several countries (Kymlicka 2007). Furthermore, with the end of the Cold War, human rights became central in the international agenda. Social movements around the world began demanding more respect for their human rights, including rights for minority groups. The lesbian and gay movement in Mexico became one of those groups to claim respect for their rights.

In 1998, the sexual diversity concept was consolidated in the "Sexual Diversity Forum" organized by the Mexico City Legislative Assembly. For the first time, a government institution convened sexual minorities to debate about their demands and policy proposals (Diez 2011, p. 707). One year later, the new collective identity of the lesbian and gay movement was materialized in the Pride parade, which was called "Gay, Lesbian,

Bisexual and Transgender Pride Parade." Since then, Pride parades in Mexico City have taken place every year in late June on the *Paseo de la Reforma* with thousands of people marching together to demand more rights and more attention by the government to their claims. In the 2014 and 2015 Pride parades, between 500,000 and 600,000 people participated.

In the 2010s Mexico has witnessed (unexpected) initiatives by the government to acknowledge the rights of LGBT people. Already in 2009, inspired by Spain's progressive LGBT legislation, Mexico City's assembly legalized same-sex marriage (Encarnación 2016, p. 64). In June 2015, the Mexican Supreme Court ruled that all civil codes that outlawed same-sex marriages were unconstitutional. In other words, same-sex marriages became constitutional nationwide, and not only in the three states where it was already lawful (Mexico City, Coahuila and Quintana Roo) (El País 2015). This landmark ruling was followed, in February 2016, by a bill presented by President Enrique Peña Nieto to legalize same-sex marriages nationwide, in response to the decision of the Supreme Court. The bill seeks to modify Article 4 of the Mexican Constitution in order to recognize the human rights of men and women to marry and have a family, regardless of their sexual preferences. This initiative also proposes a number of measures to recognize the gender identity of all citizens, including in their birth certificates and passports (Excélsior 2016).

The constitutional and Civil Codes' amendments proposed by President Peña Nieto provoked political mobilization both in favor of and against same-sex marriage. On September 10th, 2016, the National Front for the Family (*Frente Nacional por la Familia*, FNF) organized marches in several cities to demonstrate against the initiatives of President Peña Nieto and support for the "traditional" or "natural" family model. This march caused an intense political reaction, particularly on social networks such as Facebook and Twitter – individuals, groups and organizations published posts and articles to support or reject this march. Subsequently, on September 24th, 2016, two simultaneous marches took place in the *Reforma* in Mexico City: one organized by the FNF to reject the initiatives of President Peña Nieto, and another convened by LGBT groups to show their support for the constitutionality of same-sex marriages and respect for their rights (SDP noticias 2016).

Pride parades have become an entrenched tradition in Mexico. Mexico City Pride is far and away the largest attracting since 2013 hundreds of thousands of participants. In 2003 the first Lesbian Pride March was staged in the country's capital. In Guadalajara, well-attended LGBT Pride Parades have also been held every June since 1996. LGBT Pride Parades have continuously occurred in Monterrey, Tijuana, Puebla, Veracruz, Xalapa, Cuernavaca, Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Acapulco, Chilpancingo and Mérida. Furthermore, more than 70 smaller events across the country are listed in the 2016/2017 PrideRadar report (InterPride 2016). The proliferation of Pride events in Mexico appears to be connected to the recent

juridical rulings extending Mexico City's LGBT progressive legislation nationwide, in particular same-sex marriage.

The history of Pride parades in Italy

Early community building

While homosexuality was decriminalized as early as 1890 (Hildebrandt 2014), homophile groups were largely underground in the face of the Catholic Church's aggressive censorship of homosexual practices. However, during the 1970s small gay groups emerged above ground, together with lesbian separatist groups (Malici 2011). In 1971 "A Manifesto for the Moral Revolution: Revolutionary Homosexuality" was mimeographed in Amsterdam, but addressed to the Italian public, and the F.U.O.R.I! Association was established. In 1972 the first street demonstration for gay rights took place in Rome mobilized by the Organization for the Political Movement of Homosexuals (formerly Homosexual Revolt). The same year the Italian Association for the Recognition of Homophile Rights was formed (Nardi 1998, p. 578). The Italian gay movement early in its history split into a more pragmatic reformist wing (F.U.O.R.I.) and a militant wing, which aligned with the feminist movement and the class struggles of the far left. The budding gay liberation movement, while alienating lesbians, adopted the feminist slogan the "personal is political" and engaged in small group consciousness-raising (Malagreca 2007, pp. 100ff). This strategy in turn resulted in a degree of isolation from the outside world, as well as triggering strong personal bonds, "which represented the very foundation of the movement at that time" (Mudu 2002, p. 191). Given the political successes of the Italian feminist movement in the early 1970s, according to Nardi (1998),

> it was not accidental that the earliest gay movements echoed many of the practices of the feminist movement, took a trans-class approach while still critiquing economic oppression, drew upon a left intellectual culture, and sought coalitions with the women's movement.
>
> (p. 580; see also Malici 2011, p. 115)

National Organizations Emerge

Malagreca (2007) argues that 1980 marked a shift in the gay movement in Italy from a revolutionary culture of provocation and sexual liberation to a "pragmatic" culture of normalcy and later in the 1990s an application of Anglo-American identity politics frameworks (p.125 and p. 236). The fragmented gay and lesbian movement of the 1970s was locally orientated; organizing on a national basis came relatively late in Italy as did gay and lesbian mass demonstrations. *Cirolo Mario Mieli*, a Rome gay association

was founded in 1983 and Arcigay,[12] Italy's largest national gay rights organization, was founded in 1985, with its headquarters in Bologna. Both of these new associations marked a more instrumental turn in the GLBT[13] movement (Mudu 2002, p. 192). In 1990 a group of lesbian women founded Women's Arcigay and the two parallel organizations consolidated in 1994 to become Arcigay Arcilesbica, the only organization in Italy that elected its executive on the basis of a 50 percent quota for women and men. At the same congress the organization decided to launch a national Gay and Lesbian Pride, which was held in Rome in collaboration with other associations; "the first mass gay rights demonstration ever held in Italy."[14] The second national Gay and Lesbian Pride took place in Bologna 1995 and the third in Naples 1996 under the banner: "The Sun's Coming Out." The same year the organization officially transformed into two distinct organizations and Arcilesbica became the first national non-separatist lesbian association. In 1997 Arcigay organized a Pride event in Venice. In June 1999 associations across the country re-united their efforts to hold a Gay and Lesbian Pride in Rome.[15]

The ambition of the organizers of Pride parades in Italy during the 1990s was to increase the visibility of lesbian and gay issues and to further the collective identity of the movement when at the time the movement was split into dozens of associations and groups. Despite successful and colorful parades, gathering around 10,000 participants on both occasions in Rome, the press ignored them altogether (Mudu 2002, p. 192). The parades had not attracted the media visibility organizers had hoped for. This would change in 2000 when Rome hosted the first WorldPride event overlapping with the "holy year of the Jubilee." Despite heavy opposition from the Vatican hierarchy and conservative parties demanding a stop to the event, more than two hundred thousand people marched through the center of Rome. "For the first time, gay politics was front page news in Rome" and part of the parade was covered on Italian public television (Mudu 2002, p. 193). The major European and US media attended a press conference at the headquarters of Mario Mieli, which provided details for the coming events, in addition to all major Italian media. This event emboldened the movement.

International events

Italian Gay Pride organizers had achieved the visibility they had sought. *Cirolo Mario Mieli* had made a bid with the European Pride Organizers Association (EPOA) and in 1997 EPOA named Rome the site for the 2000 EuroPride, an annual pan-European event. That is when the planning began and a new association arrived on the scene – InterPride, an international association of Pride organizers.[16] The WorldPride in Rome was the first staged and during 2000 no EuroPride was planned in order to avoid conflicts of interest.

> According to Glen Freedman of InterPride, the event was called World Pride "because of the Jubilee [which] gave more credence to the event being in the city of Rome".
>
> (cited in Luongo 2002, p. 169)

The then director of WorldPride, American Deborah Oakley-Melvin, claimed that the event had the specific purpose of altering public perceptions of gays and lesbians in Italy, and moreover the event was planned as a global manifestation and high on the WorldPride's political agenda was the participation of people from developing countries, supported by financial assistance given by the "First World" (Luongo 2002, p. 171). Given the power differences in the exchange of ideas, not surprisingly, detractors criticized the intervention as a Eurocentric model of liberation; but despite critique the WorldPride was a significant public and political success. The event attracted the involvement of other actors for which GLBT rights were important. Amnesty International held a rally; ILGA conducted its annual meeting in the city during the event; and the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, an international NGO, sponsored a number of panel discussions with the panel on religion and homosexuality garnering intense media coverage. But as Luongo points out, the success of the event also depended on the tens of thousands of tourists who streamed to the city, "the vast majority of them from the United States and northern Europe" (p. 172).

According to the President of *Mario Mieli* during WorldPride, in the minds of the gay world, July 8th will be just as historic as late June[17] as a reminder of Italy's "conscious rebellion against religious oppression." According to Luongo (2002, p. 179),

> she is considering permanently rescheduling Rome's pride for that date to commemorate it forever as a significant event for the entire country. "They never believed that it would happen in Italy".

WorldPride was unquestionably an important event for the Italian GLBT movement, but much of its success, and the international media coverage it drew, can be attributed to the efforts and resources of the largely Anglo-American InterPride executive. On their website they could feature political letters of support, including a letter from then US Vice-President Al Gore; and they could recruit international celebrities to increase media attention. Furthermore, they could coordinate the travel of the tens of thousands of lesbian and gay tourists from the US visiting the event.

Rome's WorldPride ignited a fresh debate within the gay movement as to what strategies should be pursued to further its struggle for visibility and political and social rights. On the one side were those organizations, groups and activists who prioritized coalition building with anti-globalization movements and (left) political parties and on the other a "sector bent on

capitalizing on the event in commercial terms" (Mudu 2002, p. 194). This tension remains today. A spokesperson for the Bologna Pride covered in our data sample compared the Pride in Rome with Bologna Pride. "There the Pride is much more commercial and dominated by gay men. Here we emphasize the political struggle for gay and lesbian rights" (interview, lesbian organizer).

Cirolo Mario Mieli again took on the local organizing responsibilities in 2011 when Rome was the site for a spectacular and spectacularized Euro-Pride. According to Colpani and Habed (2014), "the marketing-led and de-politicized spirit of the event made it possible for Lady Gaga to 'represent' European queers in Rome" (p. 86). Citing the event's manifesto, these authors claim that:

> Rome was not an accidental location for the European demonstration, for [the] absence of attention and rights on GLBTQI issues places Italy dramatically outside of Europe, making EuroPride in Rome particularly [significant].
>
> (ibid.)

EuroPride 2011, like WorldPride 2000 in Rome, was staged in the city, with the support of these international associations, to call attention, through a spectacular performance of visibility, to the lack of gay and lesbian rights in the country. Approximately 1,000,000 marched in the parade, which was culminated with a performance and speech by Lady Gaga at Circus Maximus. The European frame was mobilized in Rome to reflect the situation of LGBT people in Italy, currently at the peripheral sexual political boundaries of "Europeanness," yet struggling for inclusion in a "Rainbow Europe."

Bologna Pride – "The red one"

Pride events are not confined to Rome. The 2016/2017 PrideRadar reports over 18 Pride events across the country (InterPride 2016). While Rome Pride is the largest, Bologna Pride is the second largest. Since 1995 annual Pride parades have been held in "The red one" (*la rossa*) – Bologna, the capital of the region of Emilia-Romagna. While the nickname originally referred to the color of the roofs in the historic center, it also refers to the political situation in the city and the region. Since the end of World War II and until the election of a center-right mayor in 1999, center-left parties have governed the city. The center-left regained power again in the 2004 mayoral elections and have remained in power. Furthermore, the city was renowned as a bastion of the Italian Communist Party. The political situation has proven to be propitious for the LGBT community in the region and it also appears to have influenced the local LGBT movement as well as the Pride parades in the city. Eighty-three percent of the participants

in the 2012 Bologna Pride in our sample report a left-wing position (0–3) on the left-right scale, far and away the most left-wing Pride parade in our sample (Chapter 4, this volume).

Poland's "Equality Marches"

The LGBT movement under communism

Poland became independent in 1918, and the country's first penal code in 1932 did not criminalize same-sex activities. Apart from during the Nazi occupation of the country in 1939–1945, homosexuality was legal both during the inter-war years and in Communist Poland (Kliszczyński 2001; Hildebrandt 2014). Open homosexuality was, however, very rare and in general socially disapproved, due to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the country, also during State Socialism. Amongst the officially sanctioned associations and printed media during Communist times, there were no registered LGBT organizations or press (Ayoub 2016, p. 168).

The gay and lesbian movement in Poland, however, emerged during the Communist regime during the mid-1980s. Despite the country's relatively liberal laws on same-sex activities, repression of gay men by the police was common. Especially during the years following the Martial Law period in 1981–1983 (when the trade union Solidarity was banned) surveillance and repression toward gay men increased, in particular during the so-called "Operation Hyacinth" in 1985–1987 when over 10,000 gay men were forced by the police to sign documents stating their sexual orientation. Partly in response to this, groups for gay men were created in some of the largest cities during the years 1987–1989. For instance, *Warszawski Ruch Homoseksualny*, WRH (the Warsaw Homosexual Movement) tried to make repression against gay men a public matter in the media as well as requested to be officially registered as an association (which they were denied). During this time the international gay and lesbian organization ILGA intensified its work to establish connections with Eastern European groups, and in 1988 WRH were the hosts for an ILGA meeting. It was however not until the fall of the Communist regime that the nation-wide umbrella organization *Stowarzyszenie Grup Lambda*, SGL (the Association of Lambda Groups) was created in 1990 on the basis of existing local groups (Kliszczyński 2001, pp. 161–164; Chetaille 2011, pp. 121–122).

Post-socialist Times and the European Union

Post-socialist Poland did in some ways improve the situation for gay men and lesbians (e.g. the abolishment of state censorship and the possibility to form state-independent associations), but the 1990s did not witness a flourishing gay and lesbian movement. Homosexuality was still in general regarded as a social taboo, and in the public debate gay rights did not

have saliency as a political issue. During the 1990s the Roman Catholic Church also strengthened its influence over Polish society, for example, through the partial criminalization of abortion in 1993. The few gay and lesbian organizations that existed (in particular local *Lambda* groups) primarily focused on AIDS-prevention and strengthening the community in larger cities, albeit a few attempts were made to use political lobbying in issues regarding rights and discrimination (Chetaille 2011, pp. 122–123; O'Dwyer 2012, pp. 340–341; Szulc 2011).

Important for changing this situation was the start of Poland's negotiations with the EU for becoming a member state in 1998. Before becoming a member state, all candidate countries had to implement the laws of the EU, which since the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty also included laws against discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. The pressure from the EU on Poland to implement the Union's laws opened up new opportunities for the gay and lesbian movement in Poland (O'Dwyer 2012, pp. 341–344). Another factor contributing to the change in political opportunities for the gay and lesbian movement was the election of a left-wing government in 2001, after eight years of right-wing rule. During the electoral campaign, the winning Social Democratic party SLD promised the introduction of same-sex registered partnership and laws against discrimination of sexual minorities (Gruszczynska 2009, p. 315).

As a consequence of these changes, new organizations with a more outspoken political agenda were formed. One of these was *Kampania Przeciw Homofobii*, KPH (Campaign Against Homophobia), which was established in 2001. KPH was modeled as a professional NGO, engaged in lobbying on gay and lesbian issues, and worked closely with ILGA-Europe as well as cultivated links to EU institutions. In 2001 ILGCN-Polska, the Polish branch of the International Lesbian and Gay Cultural Network, was also founded. ILGCN was a loose network that had been created at the 1992 ILGA world conference. It had a secretariat in Sweden and was in particular active in the Baltic Sea region. In contrast to KPH, ILGCN-Polska was more oriented toward grassroots activism (Chetaille 2011, pp. 125–126; O'Dwyer 2012, pp. 343–344). The emergent flora of LGBT organizations, in a relatively short period of time, reflects the Eastern European situation. Instead of following the more or less standardized linear sequence we have seen in most of the countries covered in our study – moving from homophile, to gay liberation, AIDS activism, rights activism, to queer activism – in Poland all of these traditions or paths – homophile/LGBT and queer – were taken all at once (Kulpa and Mizielinska 2011).

Equality parades

ILGCN-Polska was the main force behind *Parada Równości*, the Warsaw Equality Parade, which was the first Pride parade organized in Poland. The first Equality Parade was organized on May 1st, 2001, and around 300 participants

attended (Chetaille 2011, p. 125). During the following two years, 2002 and 2003, the number of participants in the Equality Parade was 2,000 and 3,500 respectively, drawing people from all over the country (Gruszczynska 2009, p. 315). During the years 2001–2004, individual members of ILGCN-Polska organized the Equality Parade. For the purpose of organizing the parade in 2005, the three largest Polish LGBT organizations at the time – ILGCN-Polska, KPH and Lambda Warszawa – formed the Equality Foundation, which until 2010 served as the main organizer of the parade. Since 2011, the Equality Parade has been organized by an informal group involving individuals and organizations (Parada Równości 2016).

According to the autobiography of Szymon Niemiec, the leading activist of ILGCN-Polska, the idea for a Pride parade came after gay and lesbian groups for the first time had been invited to participate in a Women's March on March 8th, 2001 (the so-called *Manifa* march). The experience of marching in the streets, and the fact that the group shortly thereafter watched a documentary about the Pride parade in Sydney, led to the decision that a parade was going to be organized in Warsaw (Niemiec 2006, pp. 129–130). In contrast to other gay and lesbian Pride parades, the organizers, however, did not want to use the names "pride" or "gay" and "lesbian":

> We didn't want to call our march a Parade of Gays and Lesbians, because we knew well, that the city wouldn't agree to allow for such a march. Besides, we didn't want our parade to gather solely homosexual persons, but everyone also, who met with injustice or social exclusion. […] So, why couldn't we call that the Equality Parade? Equality for everyone. In this way, the name was born. It's been used by media, politicians and also ordinary people to define marches of sexual minorities in Poland. It's not a Gay Pride, but Equality Parade.
> (Niemiec 2006, pp. 130–131)

The media coverage of the first Equality Parade was very limited, and the first parade didn't seem to create that much public controversy (Niemiec 2006, p. 135). Robert Biedroń, one of the founders of KPH and between 2011 and 2014 a MP for the anti-clerical and social liberal party *Twój Ruch* (Your Movement), recalls his impressions from walking in the first Equality Parade.

> It was very peaceful, very small. It was maybe 300 people walking on the street. Nobody harassed us. There were a few police protecting us. Me and one other guy, we were the only public figures who appeared at this Gay Pride. Well, a happy day, very proud, at this time, when I was present there, I didn't feel that it was an exceptional moment. Today I see how exceptional and important it was, but at that time, when you were there, I didn't have that feeling. I was happy that we were able to march, I was happy that something was changing, that

> this will be a beginning of something, but I didn't know what, but it was very important.

In a few years similar parades were organized in other Polish cities, for instance the March of Tolerance in Cracow and the March of Equality in Poznań, which were both first held in 2004 (Gruszczynska 2009, p. 315). During the years following 2001 the LGBT movement in Poland was also in other ways becoming more present in the public debate, for example, through a billboard campaign organized by KPH in 2002–2003, showing posters of same-sex couples holding hands (Chetaille 2011, p. 126). Despite the fact that Poland became a full member of the EU in May 2004, gay rights issues became a controversial issue in Polish politics. What was labeled "the homosexual lobby" increasingly became the target of campaigns by conservative and nationalist right-wing politicians during the years 2004–2007. After the EU entry, these issues once again became internal affairs for Poland, and the European Commission could not use the prospect of EU membership to demand the introduction of discrimination legislation. During the nationalist government between 2005 and 2007, attempts were instead made to ban "homosexual propaganda" and gay rights that had been planned to be implemented were instead revoked (O'Dwyer 2012, pp. 344–348).

The increasing polarization around LGBT issues also led conservative right-wing politicians and other actors from the nationalist-conservative right to target the parades. This took the form of counter-movement actions during the parades, such as physical attacks on marchers and efforts to block the parades. Behind these actions were members of the nationalist conservative party *Liga Polskich Rodzin*, LPR (League of Polish Families) and its youth organization *Młodzież Wszechpolska* (All-Polish Youth). Such attacks took place at the March of Tolerance in Cracow in 2004 and 2006 and at the March of Equality in Poznań in 2004. In cities with conservative right-wing mayors, the parade organizers were denied to carry through their marches. This happened in 2005 in both Cracow and Poznań, and in the latter city 68 activists were detained when attempting to carry through the parade. Even if the Equality Parade had been allowed in Warsaw in 2001–2003, the city's mayor Lech Kaczyński decided to ban the parade both in 2004 and 2005. Between 2001 and 2003, Kaczyński had been the party leader of the national-conservative party *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, PiS (Law and Justice), and used an anti-LGBT stance to profile his party and himself for upcoming elections (the 2005–2007 Polish government was based on PiS and LPR, and in 2005–2010 Kaczyński was the president of Poland). Furthermore, in 2005, Kaczyński allowed All-Polish Youth to organize a counter-demonstration called the "Parade of Normality" (Selinger 2008, p. 19; Gruszczynska 2009, p. 315; Binnie and Klesse 2012, p. 448; O'Dwyer 2012, p. 346).

In Warsaw the organizers of the Equality Parade nevertheless obeyed the mayor's ban. Instead in 2004 a rally outside the city hall was staged,

however on June 11th, 2005 a march of 5,000 people defied the authorities with the support and participation of many prominent politicians from Poland as well as from other EU countries (for instance Poland's Vice Prime Minister and the Deputy Marshal of the parliament, and MPs from Germany) (Ayoub 2016, p. 53; Parada Równości 2016). The ban of the Warsaw Equality Parade apparently led to increased support for the LGBT activists amongst both domestic and EU-level political elites. In the interview with Robert, one of the organizers of the "illegal" 2005 parade, he stressed that this event was a decisive moment for the Polish LGBT movement:

> Before it was banned, it was regarded mainly as the business of LGBT people […]. Others were not interested in that. When the mayor of Warsaw started to ban it, something changed. A lot of intellectuals, politicians who were only observing, not supporting the event, they now said: "This is a fundamental freedom, it does not only concern LGBT people anymore, it concerns all of us. Today the mayor of Warsaw bans the Equality Parade for LGBT people; tomorrow he might ban another event which concerns us." At this stage in 2004 and 2005 I could see the shift in perceiving LGBT rights in Poland. Many people who would never join the gay pride, the Equality Parade, they joined us in 2005 and they marched in the front, just to symbolize the importance of the freedom to assembly […]. Many public figures, actors, film directors, and intellectuals who thought "this is not only LGBT rights, this is human rights, and we must be here," and they were there. So that was a big shift in 2005.

In the aftermath of these events, both domestic and supranational judicial bodies became involved in efforts to counteract the decisions to ban the parades. In September 2005 the regional administrative court in Warsaw claimed that the Mayor's decision was illegal (Selinger 2008, p. 20). Some of the organizers of the Warsaw parade also filed a lawsuit against Poland with the European Court of Human Rights, ECtHR, for denying them their democratic rights. In 2007, the ECtHR decided that the decision was in violation of central articles of the European Convention on Human Rights (Holzhacker 2013, p. 10; Ayoub 2016, pp. 84–85).

Despite the polarization around LGBT issues in Poland and the country's nationalist-conservative government in 2005–2007, the LGBT movement both broadened and intensified its activities. In particular KPH, with Robert Biedroń as president, conducted extensive lobbying both in Poland and toward the EU institutions. After 2007, when the PiS/LPR government collapsed due to a corruption scandal, the anti-gay rhetoric became less central for Polish right-wing parties, and anti-gay activism was weakened (O'Dwyer 2012, pp. 346–347).

The new alliances that were being forged and the political developments also led to the election of central LGBT activists in the Polish parliament.

Both Robert Biedroń and the transgender activist Anna Grodzka became candidates for the newly formed social liberal and anti-clerical party *Twój Ruch* (Your Movement), which had gay rights as one of its main political foci. In 2011 the party became the third largest in the parliament (with 11 percent of the vote), and both were elected as MPs. In the case of Biedroń, he was the first openly gay male to become a Polish MP, and in the case of Grodzka, she was one of the first openly transgender MPs in Europe. The increased focus on LGBT rights also pressed other parties to adopt policies that were supportive of some gay rights, even the large liberal-conservative party *Platforma Obywatelska*, PO (Civic Platform) (O'Dwyer and Vermeersch 2016, pp. 134–136).

In July 2010 Warsaw hosted EuroPride, and it was the first EuroPride to be held in a post-communist country. The event was organized by the Equality Foundation, which had been coordinating the Equality Parade since 2005. Thousands of activists came from across Europe and about 8,000 participated in the march (O'Dwyer 2012, p. 347; Holzhacker 2013, pp. 10–11).

Since 2011 an informal group called the "organizing committee" arranges the annual Equality Parade in Warsaw. Amongst those organizations that have supported or taken part in this committee, we find LGBT organizations, political parties – SDPL (the Social Democrats), *Partia Zieloni* (The Greens), and Your Movement – disability organizations, animal rights organizations, Amnesty, etc. Since 2014 the LGBT Business Forum Foundation has held a conference parallel with the Equality Parade, in order to promote equality and non-discrimination for LGBT people in the workplace. Economic support to the Equality Parade is, however, limited and only very few companies contribute. Even multinational corporations that usually brand themselves as LGBT friendly are hesitant to contribute economically to the parade, something the organizers see as reflecting that these companies believe that such sponsoring would harm their brand amongst Polish consumers (interviews with Yga and Andreas).

Still today, the parade in Warsaw is called the Equality Parade, and for the organizers this seems to be a very important way of how it is framed. According to Jej Perfekcyjność, one of the principle organizers of the parade in 2011–2016, to stress that the parade is about more than only LGBT issues is even more important today than it was in the beginning.

> We are still trying to underline as much as possible that this is about equality for all people that are excluded, and for opposing exclusion in a general sense […] Of course the media usually stress the LGBT part in the parade and show the LGBT community since it's very colorful and happy and, well, gay. But I think each and every year we are managing to point out to the media that it is an equality parade, not a gay parade and I think that the message is now coming across and one can say that the media is starting to understand that. That this is not

> the Polish version of Gay Pride, but this is a Polish way of enjoying equality and to fight for equality as well.

Even though the Equality Parade in Warsaw is the largest Pride event in Poland, parades are today also organized in Cracow, Poznań, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Łódź and Toruń (InterPride 2016, p. 66; interviews with Yga and Jej). Although mobilizing relatively small numbers of demonstrators, the Equality Parades are now an established annual event in Poland.

History of Pride in the Czech Republic

Homosexuality tolerated if held private

The Czech Republic provides an idiosyncratic Pride history. Czechoslovakia decriminalized homosexuality already in 1962 (Hildebrandt 2014), and by Central and Eastern European standards the attitudes to homosexuality have been comparatively tolerant (O'Dwyer 2013). Prague was nevertheless the last capital city in the region to organize a Pride parade.

Both academic texts on the history of homosexuality in the Czech Republic and our respondents' reflections support the impression that homosexuality is largely regarded as a private matter in the country, and although largely tolerated as such, expressing it in public has not been as accepted. The legalization of homosexuality in the 1960s was coupled with legislation stipulating the public display of homosexuality as a public offense. The late 1960s in Czechoslovakia witnessed a short period of liberalization and democratization of the socialist system, labeled the "Prague Spring" of 1968. This was followed by the Soviet crackdown and a period of repressive "normalization," i.e. the repression of anyone dissenting to Soviet Socialism. Sloboda (2010, p. 32) links this period to the entrenched strategy of keeping homosexuality private in Czech life.

> The period of Normalization taught Czech people to go with the flow, not to step out of line, on the outside pretend to be active (go to parades, or local party meetings) but live their private, true lives behind closed doors (or at their weekend houses).

This impression that homosexuality still is a private matter, tolerated when practiced behind closed doors, was expressed by several of our activist interviewees. Another defining characteristic of the Czech context, according to Sokolová (2004), is the strongly medicalized discourse about homosexuality, which was established in the 1990s. Long (1999) traces this medicalization further back to the flourishing of Czech sexology already in the mid-twentieth century. According to this view, homosexuality is an inborn trait, which is fixed and not affected by society or culture. This perspective was adopted in the rhetoric of the domestic LGBT movement.

While the advantage of the notion of innate homosexuality is that it safeguards against the conservative and religious perspective that homosexuality is an immoral choice, it excludes critical constructionist ideas about gender and sexuality, which, according to Sokolová (2004), has rendered it difficult to incorporate feminist perspectives in the movement.

O'Dwyer (2013) notes that the Czech LGBT movement has had a very strong NGO-orientation. In contrast to most other countries from the former Soviet bloc, Czechoslovakia had gay rights groups before 1989, already established in the 1970s, originally as therapeutic groups intended to help gay people come to terms with their sexual orientation. In 1988, a nationally based organization was formed – the Socio-Therapeutic Club of Homosexuals (later called Lambda). Through supportive medical professionals, these groups managed to gain early state support, and the organization received legal recognition in early 1990. Later the same year, lesbian and gay organizations from different parts of the country formed an umbrella organization – *Sdružení organizací homosexuálních občanů* (SOHO) (Association of Organizations of Homosexual Citizens) – which was to become the main promoter of political reforms on lesbian and gay issues during the following decade. While this umbrella group ensured some connections to a grassroots movement, the tactics of the movement were never based on broad grassroots mobilization. Instead the tactical focus was from the start political behind-the-scenes lobbying from a decidedly pragmatist starting point. Broader protest actions or Pride parades were judged to be too provocative. This approach arguably inhibited the growth of an identity-based movement and little effort was made to change broader values in society regarding LGBT issues. Long (1999) claims that the organization, although including lesbian groups, was strongly male dominated, and that a male president was more or less taken for granted among many activists.

The strategy of centralization, professionalization and backstage lobbying was reinforced in 2000, with the replacement of SOHO with the new organization *Gay Iniciativa* (Gay Initiative), which consolidated the leadership of the markedly pragmatic activist Jiří Hromada. This new organization, according to O'Dwyer (2013), deliberately marginalized the issue of adoption rights in their lobbying for same-sex partnerships. Dissatisfaction with the leadership of Hromada led to an organizational split and the formation of the Gay and Lesbian League, which had a stronger support for identity-based approaches. Curiously, both organizations disbanded after the passing of a same-sex partnership law in 2006, which left a vacuum that eventually opened up for a somewhat more grassroots-based movement.

Latecomers to Pride

The first Pride-like event organized in the Czech Republic was a rainbow festival organized in the small tourist resort Karlovy Vary in 1998. This

was held on a very small scale until 2001 (Seidl 2012, pp. 391–392), and is said to have included a small Pride parade with not more than 100 participants.

In 2008 a "Queer parade" was organized in Brno, the second largest city of the Czech Republic. The parade attracted only a few hundred people and was harassed by right-wing counterdemonstrators, who managed to get past the police to attack the Pride participants. The small influx of participants was a significant disappointment for the organizers. Nevertheless, the next year a parade was organized in the city of Tabor. In 2010 the event was again held in Brno, this time with an exceptionally high level of police protection that, although prevented any attacks, also severely obstructed the visibility of the march. Several of the individuals organizing these events were members of feminist queer groups at the Masaryk University in Brno, and the events are described by our respondents as relatively politicized, with an explicit "queer" label.

The first Pride parade in Prague was organized in 2011. The initiative was taken by a group largely composed of expatriates from other parts of Europe who thought that Prague as a European capital city needed a Pride event. The organizing committee was later complemented by some native Czech activists with experiences from various NGOs. The parade was initially less politicized than its predecessors in Brno and Tabor, but the level of conflict around the first event escalated due to hostile statements by the president Vaclav Klaus (representing the conservative party *Občanská demokratická strana* [ODS]), who distanced himself from what he termed the "homosexualism" of Pride (Konviser 2011). He did this in support of his senior adviser Petr Hajek who had called homosexuals "deviants" and the upcoming Pride festival a "political demonstration of a world with deformed values" (Tabery 2011). Willem, a co-organizer of Dutch origin says:

> The funny thing is at first, when we started to organize it, mainly the Czech response from the local Czech gays was like "Do we really need it? Do we have to go out on the streets?" Because we have registered partnership here […] and we have this gay-infrastructure, you can be happy as a gay guy in Prague, so "Why do you need to go on the streets and manifest yourself?" […] But I think after the first Pride you could see that change in mentality within the Czech gay community – that they really saw that it was necessary especially because the first Prague Pride met loads of resistance from the government. The President at that time – it was Vaclav Klaus – he was publicly opposing Pride events, he called gays "deviants," he didn't say it himself, but his spokesman said like "Why should deviants go on the streets like that? We have nothing against homosexuality, but we are against homosexualism." so he tried to put it as some sort of political movement like communism, socialism, or liberalism, whatever.

These statements, and similar ones by Klaus' affiliates, appear to have resulted in a backlash against the conservative government in terms of increased media attention and support from non-LGBT Czechs who were provoked by the reactionary tone of the president, who had overstepped the boundaries of the politically acceptable (not unlike the critique against the mayor of Warsaw, described in the section on Poland). Also, the city Mayor in Prague, Bohuslav Svoboda (ODS), expressed his support for the event. Petr, one of the initial co-organizers, points to the enormous rise in media coverage following the comments about homosexuals as "deviants":

> Suddenly a storm happened you know […] and all the media started to pay attention to the Prague Pride. […] The first year we received more than a thousand hits in the Czech media, which is a lot. If you … The second year was 350 just for comparison.

During subsequent years the Prague Pride parade has become an annual event that gathers LGBT people from across the country. Since it started, however, only one Pride parade has been hosted in a town outside Prague (at the time of writing): in Plzen in September 2017.[18] The activists in Brno (when interviewed in 2014) did not appear to seriously consider organizing smaller Pride parades. One of the Brno activists says:

> I think that many of the organizers are just burned out, they don't feel like organizing anything. We have something, which is called "Pride Parade Echoes" – when there are some discussions and movies during the time of the Parade or before and after, so the people could visit everything, all the events in Brno and then go to Prague. I think more or less people accept that the main thing is in Prague now, because there are more people who can cooperate, more organizations as well, they can do the lobbying in the parliament as well. The feeling is like "we started it, we were the first actually," but we sort of accept that Prague is the capital and I think that more people really come to Prague than to Brno.

Apart from pointing out that Prague is a more attractive tourist location, she also notes the importance of the attitudes expressed by local authorities in relation to Pride:

> In Prague there was better cooperation with the police as well. Also the Mayor of the city said that he's quite happy about this Parade, […] not because he's a human rights activist, but because he saw it as kind of promotion for Prague and business and even his name was on some of the posters. In his political party [ODS] many people were against it, but he sort of defended his view. Although I don't approve of his politics, I think it was a big thing for him to do, because in Brno no

> Mayor, no politicians – except the Greens, who were always in the opposition – stepped up and said "I'm here with you too."

The same year as the first Prague Pride parade, PROUD, a new LGBT organization was also established. This seems to mark a turning point toward a broader movement that encompasses a wider spectrum of positions within the LGBT movement as well as an intention to push legislation further, e.g. toward adoption rights, manifested in the Jsme Fér (We Are Fair) campaign launched in 2017. Still PROUD is not a mass-based organization but is composed of a small number of individual members (about 20) as well as a handful of organizations, including Prague Pride.

The imprints of local and national contexts

Our study is based on empirical materials collected between 2011 and 2017, hence we offer synchronic comparative analyses of Pride parades in seven European countries and Mexico. Nevertheless, we claim that a historical background, however brief, is vital for our understanding of Pride parades in these countries today. First of all, the length of the tradition and its degree of institutionalization is a potentially important factor that varies across the countries in our sample, with some Pride traditions, like the UK's, harking back to the early 1970s and others, like the Czech Republic's, which started around 2010. Second, traditions become institutionalized and self-perpetuating – the major parade cities, the route, and which actors typically organize the event. Already large events also raise expectations, and create incentives for attracting private sponsors in order to cover rising costs. Third, the history of the movement and its main political strategies and focal issues also has consequences for form and content of the parades. The national histories that we have accounted for also reveal that countries differ in terms of the degree of centralization of Pride. Capital cities are often the location of the main Pride events, but whereas some countries have few or no other events outside the capital (the Czech Republic and Netherlands), others have disseminated to numerous small cities and towns (Sweden and the UK).

In terms of international dissemination, we identified two rather distinct "waves" in the spread of the Pride tradition. The first can be dated to the 1970s in the aftermath of Stonewall and Gay Liberation and appears to have involved very little active promotion from any centralized actors. The second wave came in the 1990s with the establishment of international events like EuroPride in 1992 and WorldPride in 2000 and the concomitant promotion of the unifying label "Pride." However, the traditions of Pride parades in the cities and countries included in our study have taken very different trajectories. Some cases, like the Warsaw Equality parade, even raise the question as to whether the traditions we study are too heterogeneous to make international comparison of the events

plausible. As we discuss in the next chapter, the parade format, the underlying cultural script of coming out, and the iconography of the rainbow flag, nevertheless, unite the events. So, for sure there are similarities, however, political and cultural contexts have had a strong influence on the historical trajectories of Pride performances. The preconditions for staging large and inclusive Pride parades vary among the countries included in our sample. In the following chapter we will discuss these mobilizing contexts for Pride parades today. As Adam, Duyvendak and Krouwel (1999, p. 9, emphasis in original) have pointed out, "gay and lesbian movements are both *a part of* and *apart from* the societies around them, both resisting and participating in – even reproducing – dominant public discourses." Pride performances are embedded in the societies where they are staged. National (and even city) political and cultural contexts play a crucial role in the development of Pride parades. These mobilizing contexts set the stage for the parades included in our study.

Notes

1 See Murray (1996).
2 http://www.interpride.org/?page=history, accessed August 30, 2016.
3 http://www.interpride.org/?page=WorldPride, accessed September 20, 2017.
4 For a brief history of Europride and EPOA, written by one of the initiators, see https://www.france.qrd.org/assocs/epoa/history.en.html, accessed September 21, 2017. For the constitution of EPOA, see http://epoa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/EPOA_Constitution_191011.pdf, accessed September 21, 2017.
5 http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2012/06/28/pride-london-funding-shortfall-sees-worldpride-heavily-scaled-back, accessed February 6, 2017.
6 www.reguliers.net/history-gaypride.php, accessed July 10, 2016.
7 Anita Bryant, a popular singer at the time, became known as an outspoken opponent of gay rights and for her 1977 "Save Our Children" campaign to repeal a local ordinance in Dade County, Florida, that prohibited discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The campaign was based on conservative Christian beliefs regarding the sinfulness of homosexuality and the perceived threat of homosexual recruitment of children and child molestation.
8 www.reguliers.net/history-gaypride.php, accessed July 10, 2016.
9 www.reguliers.net/history-gaypride.php, accessed July 10, 2016.
10 Diego Dominguez Cartona wrote most of the section on Mexico.
11 Okiabeth derives from the Mayan words *olling iskan katuntat bebeth thot*, which means "women warriors that open spaces by spreading flowers."
12 ARCI (Associazione Ricreativa e Culturale Italiana) is an independent association for the promotion of social and civil rights. With its 5,400 clubs and more than 1,100,000 members, it represents a broad structure for democratic participation. ARCI is committed to the promotion and development of associations as a factor for social cohesion, as places for civil and democratic commitment, for asserting peace and the rights of citizenship as well as to fight any form of exclusion and discrimination. https://www.linkedin.com/company/arci—associazione-ricreativa-e-culturale-italiana, accessed August 25, 2017.
13 In Italy the gay and lesbian movement has always been shortened to GLB and later GLBT.
14 www.arcigay.it, accessed November 11, 2015; Nardi (1998).

15 www.arcigay.it, accessed November 12, 2015.
16 National Association of Lesbian/Gay Pride Coordinators (NAL/GPC), before changing the name to International Association of Lesbian/Gay Pride Coordinators (IAL/GPC) in October 1985, the International Association of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Pride Coordinators at the conference in West Hollywood, California, and eventually to InterPride in the late 1990s (www.interpride.org).
17 Since the first Gay Pride in 1994 the events had been organized in late June.
18 See, e.g., www.romea.cz/en/news/czech/czech-extremists-abuse-lgbt-pride-march-in-town-of-plzen-but-fail-to-block-it, accessed February 12, 2018.

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8

QUEER MARKETING, WHO IS IT REALLY FOR?

Identifying a Strategy for Authentic Approaches to LGBTQ+ Branded Messages

Becky Parsons and Mildred F. Perreault

In 2015, the American-based ice cream company Ben & Jerry's changed the name of one of its flavors to "I Dough, I Dough" in celebration of one of the first Supreme Court rulings in favor of marriage equality. This tradition started back in 2009 when the brand renamed "Chubby Hubby" to "Hubby Hubby" in celebration of Vermont's recognition of same-sex marriage. The Vermont-based company expresses its values through actions such as being the first major company in the state to provide equal healthcare for all domestic partnerships. When commenting on its decision, the company said, "It didn't feel like a revolutionary gesture at the time – no, we just knew it was the right and fair thing to do" (Ben & Jerry's, n.d., para. 5). This increase in socially focused branded communications has revealed a rise in marketing and branding efforts involving the LGBTQ+ community and equality rights and this calls for an exploration of the authenticity of branded statements in relation to audience perception and actual brand policy. This chapter contributes to the understanding of digital spaces and LGBTQ+ identities through investigating how corporate LGBTQ+ digital messaging is received by the LGBTQ+ community, its allies, and the public depending on how these companies present their brand authenticity. By studying the conversations created by corporations online, researchers can establish how digital platforms can be used to build relationships with the community and further LGBTQ+ activism. Corporations often make digital appeals to the LGBTQ+ community, so it is important to investigate how these appeals are being used by companies in online spaces and how the authenticity of those efforts impacts audience reception and support. Further, a scale for establishing brand authenticity for LGBTQ+ branded messages is discussed.

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Literature Review and Methodological Basis

National coverage of the Stonewall Inn riots increased the visibility of the gay community, causing corporations to realize they were missing out on a sizable demographic of consumers (Branchik, 2007; Nölke, 2018). This demographic came to be known as the "dream market" (Nölke, 2018; Ivory, 2019). In 2014, LGBTQ+ market spending reached more than $835 billion dollars (Oakenfull, 2013). By 2017, LGBTQ+ market spending had increased to nearly $1 trillion in just three years (Eisend & Hermann, 2019). Oakenfull (2013) argued that businesses have been motivated to spend money on initiatives on gender equality because of their desires to appeal to the LGBTQ+ community's further integration into the mainstream. In 2020, Community Marketing & Insights (CMI) conducted a study on 17, 230 American LGBTQ consumers. Eighty percent of respondents said they would spend more money with LGBTQ+ inclusive companies. CMI also found that 43% of respondents learned about a brand's support of the LGBTQ+ community through social media posts from the brand. Sponsorship of community events, donations to LGBTQ+ organizations, and standing publicly for LGBTQ+ equality are all important factors in establishing authentic LGBTQ+ community partnership (CMI, 2020).

Research often discusses how companies could best capitalize off the LGBTQ+ community without offending straight consumers (Eisend & Hermann, 2019). While measures for perceived brand authenticity have been previously explored (Morhart et al., 2015), no research has attempted to measure the brand authenticity of LGBTQ+ branded messages. This lack of accountability for alignment of actions and stated values often causes companies to use the gay "dream market" to their advantage while avoiding actual diverse and genuine representation (Nölke, 2018, p. 225).

As companies become more aware of consumer demand for corporate social responsibility efforts and activism, the need for an accountability measurement has increased (Kitzmueller & Shimshack, 2012; Mohr et al., 2001). There is little research regarding the lack of diversity in gay-themed commercial messaging, where Black and Hispanic LGBTQ+ representation is slim (Nölke, 2018). In fact, many LGBTQ couples involve a partner who identifies as transgender or gender nonconforming in some way, so pairings in advertising should reflect that diversity (CMI, 2020). By focusing on feminine lesbians and masculine gay men, LGBTQ+ relationships are made to appear more like those between heterosexual couples (Kates, 1999). Patel and Feng (2021) were concerned that the adoption of gay-themed marketing by brands would result in pandering to the community and its allies. Pandering happens when brands use gay-themed advertisements to increase profits without reflecting gay-friendly company policies and practices (Patel & Feng, 2021).

Corporate Social Responsibility

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is the corporate and branded support of social movements outside of what is required of the company by law (Kitzmueller & Shimshack, 2012). Consumers that are passionate about social or environmental issues are more likely to make purchase decisions based on corporate history of CSR support (Mohr et al., 2001). Companies that use transparent CSR create value for all stakeholders, which then adds value back to firms (Hossain et al., 2020). Consumers that highly value CSR initiatives are more persuaded by specific facts and descriptions of advocacy plans (Dhanesh & Nekmat, 2019). So, LGBTQ+ advocacy and CSR initiatives should be specific, direct, and consistent to be positively received by consumers (Dhanesh & Nekmat, 2019). When engaging in CSR, companies should take a stance in support of LGBTQ+ equality (Um & Kim, 2019). However, if a company aligns itself as an ally of the LGBTQ+ community, it must stick to this stance or risk alienating its audience and stakeholder base (Witeck, 2014).

Brand Authenticity

Morhart et al. (2015) describes brand authenticity as something that can be measured through evidence-based facts such as brand performance, consumer associations with the brand, and the existential motivations of a brand. Authenticity relies on audiences' perception of the brand's alignment of practices and actions with its stated values, mission, and CSR initiatives (Mazutis & Slawinski, 2015; Patel & Feng, 2021). If a brand executes multiple CSR efforts over a long period of time, the audience is more likely to perceive new initiatives as authentic (Joo et al., 2019). These initiatives must also fit within the believes and values of the company or risk being seen as inauthentic (Joo et al., 2019). Consumers find brands hypocritical when assertions which are made about the brand's values and beliefs are not aligned with actual brand practice and policy (Wagner et al., 2009). These brands suffer backlash for their inauthenticity as consumers withdraw their support (Morhart et al., 2015).

There have been consequences for brands that appear hypocritical or inauthentic. In the past, religious groups like the American Family Association (AFA) boycotted companies that attempted to use gay-themed advertisements (Witeck, 2014). When the AFA made demands to ignore or denounce the gay community, companies had to make a choice that would have a larger political and cultural impact (Stoll, 2009). Due to AFA boycotting threats, Ford temporarily retracted gay-themed advertisements (Witeck, 2014). Even after reinstating the advertisements, the LGBTQ+ consumer base found Ford to be biased and untrustworthy (Oakenfull, 2013). When companies stopped acquiescing to the demands of groups like the AFA, brands gained trust from the LGBTQ+

community as corporate advocacy work began to create public attitude change (Stoll, 2009). So, brands can advocate for acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community via CSR, but if they are not committed and consistent with their messaging, the brand will lose authenticity and consumer support (Joo et al., 2019). It is in this light that this study investigates:

RQ1: How does the perceived authenticity of a brand's LGBTQ+ CSR and branding initiatives positively influence audience reception?
RQ2: How does brand authenticity strengthen LGBTQ+ followers' engagement online?

Method

To determine the consistency of each brand's CSR efforts, two measures are introduced. The first is an evaluation of the brand's CSR history and any crises involving accusations of brand misconduct regarding social justice. Morhart et al. (2015), have shown that crises regarding inequality demonstrate a brand's focus on profit over transparent CSR initiatives and the interest of other stakeholders (Morhart et al., 2015). Consumers, especially LGBTQ+ consumers, value the fight for equal rights including all minority groups, which includes the intersection of racial justice and LGBTQ+ equality issues (CMI, 2020). In the case of CSR efforts related to the LGBTQ+ community, a good indicator of authenticity involves an evaluation of LGBTQ+ workplace equality policies (Patel & Feng, 2021). The tool used for this is the Human Rights Campaign's (HRC) Corporate Equality Index (CEI), which evaluates corporate policies such as domestic partner benefits and measures to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity (Oakenfull, 2013; Patel & Feng, 2021). The HRC is the U.S.'s largest national LGBTQ+ civil rights organization (Hossain et al., 2020). The CEI is formed with data collected from annual surveys voluntarily sent to the HRC from U.S. companies (Human Rights Campaign Foundation, 2021).

HRC judges corporations using four criteria. The first criteria are the presence of workforce protections for sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression (Human Rights Campaign Foundation, 2021). The second criteria are the presence of equivalent medical benefits for both LGBTQ+ and heterosexual domestic partners and spouses, as well as transgender healthcare coverage. The third criteria judges the company's ability to provide an inclusive corporate environment alongside support for LGBTQ+ CSR. In the final criteria, HRC will take points away from any company that had a recent large-scale, public anti-LGBTQ offense (Human Rights Campaign Foundation, 2021). We suggest the companies with a corporate equality index (CEI) of 100 who possess a long history of corporate social responsibility including frequent advocacy for

LGBTQ+ rights with no major crises regarding inequality can be considered to have a more consistent history of LGBTQ+ support. The four companies chosen for this study's analysis are Ben & Jerry's, Starbucks, Panera Bread, and Domino's Pizza. The reason for choosing each company is correlated with their practices according to previous CSR marketing, corporate policies, and consumer engagement based on an initial investigation of their public messaging online through their websites and social media accounts.

Ben & Jerry's

Ben & Jerry's began its activism for LGBTQ+ issues in 1989, when the brand ensured health insurance coverage for the domestic partners of all employees (Ben & Jerry's, n.d.). Since then, Ben & Jerry's has pursued LGBTQ+ activism through supporting the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, hosting a same-sex wedding in one of its stores, and signing an amicus brief to the Supreme Court in support for national marriage equality (Ben & Jerry's, n.d.). In its long years of corporate social responsibility and activism, the most notable example of a crisis is protests by migrant farmworkers over the previous working conditions at Ben & Jerry's dairy facilities (Orleck, 2018).

From 2015 to 2021, Ben & Jerry's has maintained a CEI score of 100 (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.a). The brand has an entire page of its website dedicated to explaining its stance on social justice issues, including racial inequality, sustainability, and LGBTQ+ equality. With a long history of LGBTQ+ CSR and advocacy, Ben & Jerry's represents brands that are the most consistent in CSR, with statements about advocacy on its main website, an equal share of CSR versus non-CSR social media content, and LGBTQ+ themed posts that extend beyond the scope of Pride month.

Starbucks

Starbucks has maintained an HRC CEI score of 100 for 2020 and 2021 (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.d.). In fact, 2021 marks Starbucks' 11-year streak with a 100 CEI score (Starbucks Stories & News, n.d.). Starbucks claims three decades of support for LGBTQ+ equality, with an entire page of its website dedicated to the actions the brand has taken for LGBTQ+ advocacy and CSR (Starbucks Stories & News, n.d.).

Starbucks' LGBTQ+ CSR began in 1988, when the company began offering full health benefits to all employees and their domestic partners, including same-sex couples (Starbucks Stories & News, n.d.). The initial Starbucks Pride Partner Network began in 1996 when the brand was included in HRC's first ever CEI with a score of 86 (Starbucks Stories & News, n.d.). From there, Starbucks joined (RED), a program that invests in AIDS treatment and prevention programs in

Africa and signed an amicus brief to the Supreme Court supporting equal marriage rights (Starbucks Stories & News, n.d.). Starbucks has supported transgender and gender nonbinary employees by updating its name system to better reflect employee's names and adding gender reassignment surgery to its health benefits. More recently, Starbucks expanded transgender medical coverage to include cosmetic gender affirming surgeries such as breast reduction and facial feminization. In 2020, Starbucks donated $100,000 to HRC and the National Center for Transgender Equality for Pride month and COVID-19 relief.

Starbucks has had a few social justice related controversies, such as in 2015 when the brand attempted to encourage conversations about race with its Race Together campaign. Unfortunately, the campaign came across as hypocritical since the CEO was a white man trying to lead a conversation on race (Shah, 2015). This campaign faced further backlash in 2018, when two Black men waiting for a friend were arrested inside a Starbucks location (Booth, 2019).

Starbucks' long history of LGBTQ+ equality support along with its 11-year perfect CEI score indicates the company is consistent with LGBTQ+ CSR efforts. This company represents brands which have consistent CSR including a notable amount of CSR-themed social media posts and a history of advocacy for CSR causes.

Panera Bread

Panera Bread does not have a long history of LGBTQ+ CSR or activism. There is no section on its website discussing LGBTQ+ equality or its stance on LGBTQ+ issues. In 2020, Panera's CEI was 90 and dropped to an 85 in 2021 (Human Rights Campaign Foundation, 2021). Panera lost points on its CEI score due to a lack of equivalency between medical coverage and benefits given to partners of same- and different-sex couples. The brand also lost points due to lack of outreach and engagement with the LGBTQ+ community (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.c). Panera mentions the LGBTQ+ community only once on its website, but the company claims to strongly support local pride events (Panera Bread, n.d.). In 2016, Panera sponsored the St. Louis PrideFest Celebration as an Equality Sponsor (Panera Responsibility Report 2015-2016, n.d.). While Panera claims to have a Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Alliance (LGBTA) Network Group, information about that group does not readily exist online. Panera's final claim to LGBTQ+ support is the release of a single Pride cookie in its bakeries during Pride month (Panera Responsibility Report 2017-2019, n.d.). The company has been accused of racism toward employees, particularly rampant in its franchises (Mandak, 2012). Panera has faced multiple lawsuits over withheld wages, refusal to pay overtime hours, and failure to provide breaks (Cooper, 2017). With its poor HRC CEI, lack of a statement regarding LGBTQ+ issues on its website, lack of LGBTQ+ advocacy and CSR initiatives, and previous

issues with equality and human rights, Panera Bread is categorized as less consistent in its LGBTQ+ CSR.

Domino's Pizza

The conservative political stance taken by the original owner of Domino's Pizza left the company on poor footing with the LGBTQ+ community. The founder departed from the company in 2010, and since then the company has improved its standing with LGBTQ+ consumers over the past ten years by sponsoring Pride events (Avery, 2012). Domino's Pizza's CEI was 65 in 2020, rising to 75 in 2021 (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.b.). With the HRC's CEI, Domino's Pizza lost points as it does not provide the same domestic partner medical benefits for LGBTQ+ couples that it provides heterosexual couples (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.b.). Additionally, Domino's does not pursue LGBTQ+ CSR and has not met the HRC's standard for "Three LGBTQ Internal Training and Education Best Practices" (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.b.). Domino's has had its share of controversy, such as in 2017 when it was accused of underpaying workers and mistreatment of migrant workers as Domino's pressured franchisees to raise sales at all costs (Ferguson & Christodoulou, 2017). The researchers were unable to find any social media posts regarding the LGBTQ+ community during the 2020 timeframe, so Domino's was removed from the coding process.

This company represents the least consistent CSR practices due to its total lack of LGBTQ+ content on social media, lack of a public stance for LGBTQ+ equality on its website, and general lack of involvement in CSR initiatives.

Coding Frame

The year 2020 was chosen as the timeline for the content analysis due to 2020 marking the 50-year anniversary of the Stonewall Inn Riots and the first Pride parade as well as the 10-year anniversary of the end of the military policy "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram social media posts were viewed for each brand.

Five posts were chosen from each brand, except for Panera Bread, who only had three LGBTQ+ related posts in the time frame. From those five posts, comments were coded by picking the first comment and skipping five comments until the coder had recorded 15 comments. The comments were accessed using the public version of Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram.

Each brand was coded for stated overall values on their website, stance on LGBTQ+ issues, history of LGBTQ+ CSR and activism, and HRC CEI index for 2020 and 2021. The total number of posts were counted for the brand's Facebook account as well as the total number of social justice related posts. Then, the total number of LGBTQ+ related posts was counted. LGBTQ+ related posts

were defined as any original social media posts mentioning LGBTQ+ issues or equality, or any reshares or retweets of other organizations who post about LGBTQ+ issues or equality. The same process was done for the brand's Twitter and Instagram accounts.

As the comments were coded, they were recorded word for word and put into one of four categories. These categories determined the tone of the comment to be either positive (1), negative (2), unassociated (3), or critiquing the authenticity of the company, or post (4). Words used to describe the person's stated LGBTQ+ identity were recorded, as well as the presence of LGBTQ+ identifiers in the commentator's profile if the profile was open to public viewing.

Results

This study found levels of consistent CSR across a spectrum from least to most consistent. The most consistent in overall CSR practices is Ben & Jerry's. Ben & Jerry's has an entire page of its website dedicated to its values in social issues, including a separate webpage to address its advocacy history with the LGBTQ+ community. The company has a high CSR to non-CSR posting rate, with almost half of its Facebook and Twitter posts regarding social justice. For the LGBTQ+ community, Ben & Jerry's goes beyond the obligatory yearly Pride post, including awareness posts for transgender issues in the criminal justice system and recognition of Transgender Day of Visibility and Transgender Day of Remembrance. It is interesting to note that in the posts analyzed, Ben & Jerry's did not interact with commenters. The researchers found a reflection of Ben & Jerry's high perfect CEI score in its digital and tangible advocacy through donations, collaborations, and awareness posts.

The second most consistent brand was Starbucks. Starbucks also has an entire page of its website dedicated to its stance on LGBTQ+ advocacy history. However, the brand's social media pages seriously lacked in content, with only four social justice posts on its Facebook page. None of those posts were related to the LGBTQ+ community in 2020, but Starbucks did make LGBTQ+ related posts on its other social pages. Two Instagram posts centered around the personal stories of Starbucks employees, revealing that the brand put more effort into LGBTQ+ branded statements than just a simple Pride post. One commenter said, "This feels so authentic" on a Tweet about Starbucks' "What's Your Name" campaign. Starbucks did reply to some comments, often in response to questions about products and customer service complaints. But the brand also refuted some comments that critiqued its authenticity by providing facts about previous activism and political contributions. While the Facebook page lacked CSR posts, the Starbucks News Twitter account had 114 CSR versus 361 non-CSR posts. Starbucks (2021) CEI is 100, but its lack of regular social justice content across all platforms suggests the company is less consistent in its LGBTQ+ CSR efforts than Ben & Jerry's.

Panera Bread was less consistent in its LGBTQ+ CSR. There is no page on its website dedicated to expressing its stance or history with LGBTQ+ advocacy. Further, there were not enough social media posts to do a full analysis for Panera. The company only made three LGBTQ+ related social media posts in 2020 across all three platforms. The posts that were made all used the same creative content, with a simple Pride cookie graphic for Pride month. Many of the comments on these posts were critiquing Panera's authenticity or expressing anti-LGBTQ+ views. Another important note is that many commenters posted about unrelated customer service issues on the Pride posts. Panera only responded to those types of comments or generally positive ones, not negative comments against the LGBTQ+ community. Panera also responded to critiques of authenticity through providing facts about corporate policies or actions. Panera's CEI dropped to 85 in 2021, and the cause of the deduction of HRC's points was noticeable in its lack of LGBTQ+ CSR initiatives published on its website and social platforms.

Domino's Pizza was the least consistent in its LGBTQ+ CSR. The brand does not have any posts on social media regarding the LGBTQ+ community, not even during Pride month. Domino's also does not have a section of its website dedicated to its stance on LGBTQ+ issues, but it does post blogs when the company sponsors Pride events. This complete lack of social media LGBTQ+ CSR content is an obvious indicator of Domino's 2021 CEI score of 75.

By examining these companies' online presences, the researchers found LGBTQ+ individuals do not necessarily self-disclose their LGBTQ+ identity if they are commenting on brand posts. Just because a company makes an LGBTQ+ related post, it does not mean the community is going to publicly comment on it. In fact, in Starbucks' and Panera's case, many employees might start commenting about their experiences with homophobia, transphobia, or other discrimination.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the past, releasing gay-themed advertising was considered risky, so companies that took a stand for LGBTQ+ representation were perceived as being bold and equitable (Smith et al., 2008). Recent research has shown more factors than just sexual orientation that affect LGBTQ+ purchase decisions and brand loyalty (Oakenfull, 2013). Demographic information on the LGBTQ+ community is entirely self-reported, which can leave out a great number of closeted LGBTQ+ individuals from participation in research (Oakenfull, 2013). This chapter identifies a distinction between corporations who make LGBTQ+ themed appeals and branded statements for pandering and monetary gain versus corporations who act out of a desire to create meaningful change. Since companies have a large buying power, they hold influence in what is considered right and wrong

by society (Mohr et al., 2001). Ben & Jerry's stands as a leader in this area of corporate activity and proves that CSR creates value for consumers and the firm itself (Hossain et al., 2020).

There is a stark comparison between the social media posts of Ben & Jerry's, the most consistent brand in LGBTQ+ CSR, and Panera Bread and Domino's Pizza, the least consistent. Ben & Jerry's posted the most frequently and had the least amount of people questioning its authenticity in the comments. In comparison, Panera Bread was plagued by complaints and accusations of discrimination and inauthenticity. These accusations from employees and guests regarding experienced discrimination casted a negative light on the posts and attracted further negative discussions. It was also obvious that the company avoided defending the LGBTQ+ community in negative comments, suggesting that Panera was using Pride month to pander to socially aware consumers.

Overall, the findings suggest that there were four main narrative approaches to CSR practice among the four companies. These included activism as CSR, comprehensive engaged customer relations, consistency of message across platforms, and CSR practices as a catalyst for change in the corporate world at the employee, stakeholder, and customer levels.

CSR Requires Activism

This study found that Panera Bread, who posted about Pride month on its social platforms but did not engage in corporate advocacy for the LGBTQ+ community, faced many negative comments on its posts. From this observation, we assert that brands cannot make a Pride month post and label it CSR alone. There must be proof of activism such as donations to LGBTQ+ organizations, in the case of Starbucks, or a continuation of conversations surrounding LGBTQ+ issues, in the case of Ben & Jerry's. The alignment between statements and actions brings authenticity to corporate CSR initiatives (Joo et al., 2019). Activism also ensures that consumers will not find the company hypocritical when making statements or social media posts on social justice issues (Wagner et al., 2009). Further, by dedicating corporate action to have a tangible benefit to CSR causes, a company can avoid appearing to pander to the affected community.

Comprehensive Engaged Customer Relations

For brands considered higher in CSR consistency, CSR posts are used at a comparative rate to promotional marketing materials. Ben & Jerry's has close to a 1:1 ratio of CSR to non-CSR posts. Fans of Ben & Jerry's welcome the brand's CSR posts, since it is consistently vocal on behalf of social issues. For brands that are considered less consistent in CSR, social justice related posts are met with confusion and anger from commenters who do not feel the brand's posts

match its actions. By using more frequent digital communication with customers regarding CSR issues, brands can help customers to better understand what the company values. Further, posts engaging in deeper discussion of LGBTQ+ issues show consumers that the brand wants to engage with the affected community rather than make empty statements devoid of real action.

Consistency

The study found that brands who pursued LGBTQ+ CSR also had other social justice-based CSR posts. This is an indicator of a brand's commitment to social justice, suggesting that brands who pursue LGBTQ+ CSR should also be concerned with other social justice CSR issues. This research found that commenters would often bring up other social justice issues under LGBTQ+ CSR posts. In the posts analyzed for Panera Bread and Starbucks, consumers would bring up racial justice issues under LGBTQ+ themed posts to question the brands' authenticity, while consumers would bring racial justice up to further prove CSR authenticity for Ben & Jerry's due to the company's CSR consistency. CSR consistent brands had a section of their website dedicated to addressing the LGBTQ+ community and taking a stance for equality. The less consistent brands did not have such a statement on their website.

Catalysts for Change

This investigation found that CSR often went beyond social posts to become a catalyst for continued conversation on social issues and resulted in tangible activism such as donations, collaborations, and educational content. The engagement of commenters was not always about how they commented but also included if a post was shared or liked by followers. For example, Ben & Jerry's encouraged followers to learn more about transgender issues in the criminal justice system through supporting LGBTQ+ organizations and directing its audience to websites on more in-depth information. By combining LGBTQ+ CSR with non-LGBTQ+ CSR, the more consistent companies inspired followers to take action across issues, even if just by educating themselves.

The study found proof for CSR authenticity in the two companies with a 100 HRC CEI score (Ben & Jerry's and Starbucks), further backing up the use of the CEI score as one indicator for CSR authenticity. As discussed, LGBTQ+ CSR is only one part of CSR authenticity, so companies should continue to strive to use activism, comprehensive consumer engagement, and consistency of messaging to become a catalyst for change. With these observations in mind, it is valuable to consider that the CEI score might not equate to the public perception or two-way engagement around LGBTQ+ promotional materials and posts. Also, commenters may not fully engage on all platforms equally.

The year 2020 had competing issues including the COVID-19 pandemic and rising social justice causes such as the Black Lives Matter movement. Many companies initially considered for evaluation had not made an LGBTQ+ related social media post in 2020, but those companies often did have posts regarding racial injustice or COVID-19 fundraising and donations. This might be a sign of varying degrees of importance for social and environmental justice issues that should be explored with future research. Further research should explore the alignment of these evaluations of brand authenticity with the thoughts and opinions of actual members of the LGBTQ+ community.

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