

# **Pride as a Protest, Business Opportunity or Party? The Over Commercialisation of Pride**

## **Events in the UK**

Kate Peel

### **Introduction**

The global event known as “Pride” originated as a form of protest for Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, Transgender, plus others and allies (LGBT+) in 1969. In more modern times, arguably due to legislative changes resulting in the recognition of LGBT+ rights in many countries, Pride has become more of a celebration than a protest to celebrate, one that marks the progress made by the gay rights movement. The popularisation of the term ‘Pride’ to refer to similar, and sympathetic demonstrations, is now more often associated with an extended period that incorporates a wider programme of events. Pride events tend to have a parade, which often forms the centrepiece of celebration. They are intended to encourage empowerment, tolerance, and visibility for the community (Bullard, 2016). This paper will discuss the history of Pride and how it has evolved into a modern-day celebration, developing into how Pride is now seen by many to be less of a political protest. Factors such as economic benefits and corporate sponsorships will be critically evaluated to show how Leeds and Manchester Pride are organised and run, and the benefits that these two events create for both the LGBT+ community and the local economy. Other cultural gay events such as Sydney Mardi Gras will also be examined, as the focus of these events is seen as more of a party, as opposed to a cultural celebration.

### **History of Pride Events**

The gay rights movement began with the Stonewall uprising and the events which followed, leading to what is now called ‘Pride’. Pride protests and parades have been operating since 1969 and were created after the tragic riots that occurred at the Stonewall Inn in New York City on June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1969; a venue which acted as a gay bar. During this time, homosexual activity was legal in the state of New York. However, although gay bars were open, they were illegal. The State Liquor Authority refused to issue liquor licenses to many gay bars, and

several popular establishments had licenses suspended or revoked for "indecent conduct" (PBS, N.D.). Many gay establishments were only able to sustain their business through opportunists and Mafia affiliates, who fronted unlicensed establishments through reputed bribery and other deals with elements in the police force (Franke-Ruta, 2013). On the night of June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1969, the police successfully raided the Stonewall Inn, and tried to arrest any men dressed as women, which was also deemed as an illegal practice at the time. Fighting broke out between the club attendees and police officers which, in turn, resulted in a riot ensuing. Crowds formed outside the venue during the arrests; the protests continued for six days. Members of the LBQT+ community protesting in both peaceful and not peaceful ways.<sup>1</sup> To mark the year anniversary since the Stonewall riot, protest organizers in New York City established the Christopher Street Gay Liberation Day march (Bullard, 2016) on the 28<sup>th</sup> March 1970. This march was very much a political protest. Similar marches operated in Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles (IGLTA, N.D.) to protest for gay rights. Many Pride events are now held during the month of June, also known as "LBGT+ Pride Month", to recognise the impact the LBGT+ community have had, and continue to have, throughout the world (Johnson, 2018).

Since Stonewall, the number and variety of Pride parades has expanded and now operate internationally. They are often organized as 'open' demonstrations encouraging everyone with a LBGT+ identity (and LBGT+ allies) to participate. In this sense Pride parades encourage social diversity and are a celebration of the social diversity of the LBGT+ community (Peterson et al, 2017). The first Pride march that happened in the UK took place in London on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1972; it attracted 1,000 people who marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square (Broadgate, N.D.). Gay and lesbian activity was legalised in the UK in 1967; however, the Sexual Offences Act(1967) states that this activity had to happen in private and only with person over the age of 21. When the Conservative Party came into power in the UK in 1979, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, reform of the relationship between central government and local

---

<sup>1</sup> Behaviour at the riot included: fire hoses turned on people in the street, thrown barricades, gay cheerleaders chanting bawdy variants of New York City schoolgirl songs, Rockette-style kick lines in front of the police, the throwing of a firebomb into the bar, a police officer throwing his gun at the mob, cries of "occupy -- take over, take over," "Fag power," "Liberate the bar!", and "We're the pink panthers!", smashed windows, uprooted parking meters, thrown pennies, frightened policemen, angry policemen, arrested Mafiosi, thrown cobblestones, thrown bottles, the singing of "We Shall Overcome" in high camp fashion, and a drag queen hitting a police officer on the head with her purse (Franke-Ruta, 2013).

authorities began, this culminated in the . Section 28 of that Act banned local authorities from 'promoting homosexuality' or 'pretended family relationships', and prohibited councils from funding educational materials and projects perceived to 'promote homosexuality' (Dryden, no date). This Act was not revoked until 2003. Civil partnerships were not legalised until 2004 (Civil Partnership Act, 2004) and, later, gay marriage legalised in 2013 (Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act, 2013). The significance of Pride and the impact that it has had on gay rights is very apparent, despite the vast amount of time it has taken for gay marriage to be legalised. Before the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013 was made law, Pride was one of the main stages for a political rally for the members of the LGBT+ community to fight for their rights. It could be argued that since gay marriage has been legalised in the UK, although there are still a lot of issues with homophobia in the UK, Pride can be seen more now as an event to celebrate, hence why it is seen as more of a party and celebration. It is the ideal platform for members of the LGBT+ community to publicly articulate their diversity. Despite the legalisation of gay marriage within developing countries, some might argue that gay marriage is not the only aspect of the gay rights movement that should be celebrated. There is still a substantial amount of homophobic behaviour within the UK showing that there is still not complete acceptance of the LGBT+ community, hence the need for the annual Pride protests to continue to happen.

### **Pride Events in the UK**

This paper will focus on two UK Pride events; Leeds and Manchester. Although both events are similar, in the sense that they both have a large parade and celebration, the organisation and funding of the events are very different. In contemporary societies, events are staged increasingly for their economic benefits (Ferdinand et al, 2018). Due to sponsorship, both events have a somewhat corporate focus. As the event industry grows there are greater opportunities for businesses to benefit from participating in events. In recent times, events have become a central part of the way of life of many people. There has been incremental increases in the leisure time and disposable incomes of many and this has given rise to a rapid growth in the public events, celebration and entertainments sectors (Etiosa, 2012). With more people attending and spending at events, there has been a greater impact from them on localised economies (Florida, 2002; Pine & Gilmore, 1999). Florida discusses in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* how the arts sector has boosted the economy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, arguing that creativity has a greater impact on the economy than raw materials. This creativity

is linked directly to events as the more unique and enjoyable the event, the higher volume of attendees, which then directly links to an increase in capital going into the local economy. Similarly, Pine and Gilmore (1999) also discuss in their book *The Experience Economy* the impact that experiences have on the local economy. It is, therefore, in the interest of local economies to put on such events, as there will also be many economic and, in terms of Pride events, social benefits.

### **Leeds Pride**

The first Pride parade in Leeds took place in August of 2006, where over six thousand people joined the crowd (BBC, 2007). Since Leeds Pride began twelve years ago, it has grown into a massive event, attracting over forty thousand revellers in 2018 (BBC, 2018). It could be argued that Leeds Pride has grown so large, so rapidly, due to it being a free event, where tickets are not required, however this has not been proven. The celebrations happen openly, so any member of the public can choose to participate within the event. In order to make Leeds Pride free and inclusive to all, the Leeds Pride committee rely on sponsors to fund the annual event. Despite this, the majority of global Pride events have sponsors; it could, therefore, be because Leeds City Council allow the event to take place free of charge and without the need for tickets. This again begs the question of whether the event is being put on to be inclusive, or to benefit the local community and the local authority. Despite this, sponsorship does play a large part in Leeds Pride. The “platinum sponsors” of Leeds Pride are Sainsbury’s, First Direct and Manchester Airport (Leeds Pride, N.D.). There are also a number of other smaller companies which sponsor the event, including local LBGT+ bars, where the celebrations take place once the parade has finished. Sponsorship packages can cost up to £20,000 (Leeds Pride, 2018) and can give a smaller business massive exposure to the huge crowd that the event attracts. Being a sponsor and supporter of Pride can also add a good reputation to a company for being a supporter of LBGT+ rights, which in turn can enhance to the company’s corporate social responsibility profile. Although there should be more corporate companies supporting LBGT+ rights, some may argue that a company is only supporting the movement to put their name on it, and whether their support is genuine or for their own gain. It is also the responsibility of the participating company to be aware of the diversity within its workforce. Pichler et al (2016) discuss the corporate social responsibility of a company in terms of how they are inclusive to the workers which are part of the LBGT+ community;

however, they state that such inclusive thinking can cause issues with less open stakeholder's, which might as a consequence deter companies from applying diversity inclusive practices. Whilst businesses participating in the parade need to make it obvious which company they are, the brands, particularly the bigger ones, can sometimes promote themselves more than LGBT+ community. In 2017, the crowd watching the Leeds Pride Parade was visibly very orange, more so than the other colours of the Pride flag. This was due to Sainsbury's, one of the key sponsors, giving out a lot of branded merchandise, for free, to the crowd. For Sainsbury's this could be seen as a very beneficial marketing technique; however, the question of whether this use of merchandise is morally correct during a supposed political protest can be raised. Johnson and Cover (2018) argue that when large corporates get involved with the Pride parade, the interests of the key stakeholders are largely different. The Leeds Pride committee do rely on the large corporates to fund the event; however, the gains that they benefit from are very different. They discuss that the audience have a limited connection with the corporate's floats. Their presence, due to the business's doing little to demonstrate a genuine engagement in society with LGBT+ communities (Johnson et al, 2018), raises the point of whether such large companies should play such a big role within Pride events.

Due to Leeds Pride being a free event, it attracts a very large crowd into the city. This, in turn, significantly adds to the local economy. An Impact Survey conducted by the Leeds Pride committee during the Pride event in 2017 showed that 95.47% of those asked were in the city centre to specifically participate in the Pride celebrations. Of these people the average amount of money spent in 2017 per person was almost £120; the resultant economic impact of Leeds Pride, on Leeds city centre, amounted to £3,791,680 (Leeds Pride, 2018), which for a single day event is a noteworthy and impressive amount. Nevertheless, although Leeds city centre is benefitting financially from the event, it is difficult to estimate how much of this money is going back to the LGBT+ community. A large percentage of this would be spent on alcohol at the gay bars on Lower Briggate, where the celebrations take place once the parade has ended, and so it could be presumed that a substantial amount of this money was spent within the bars. However, there is no available evidence to back this up. This could be seen as another issue of stakeholders benefitting for reasons different to the Leeds Pride committee, similar to corporate businesses sponsoring and participating in the event.

Manchester Pride

Manchester Pride is the committee that organises not only the annual Manchester Pride event but have a great focus on the LGBT+ charities and initiatives that will benefit the community. They became a registered charity in 2006 and have raised over £1.5 million since (Manchester Pride, N.D.). The first Pride event in Manchester happened on the bank holiday weekend in August 1985 (Manchesterpride, N.D.), and operated as a three-day event. As well as the traditional Pride Parade which proceeds through the city centre, there is also an area within the Gay Village area, on Canal Street, which is fenced off from the general public. Whilst the parade itself is free, and anyone can attend unlike Leeds Pride the Manchester Pride 'Festival' is a ticketed event. In previous years standard tickets for the day events cost around £20, so are affordable to the majority of the community who would want to attend. The price is kept low in order to encourage people to attend the event. Unlike Leeds Pride, where anyone can attend due to it not being ticketed or sectioned off, ticketing may put off people who may not have a vested interest in the meaning and history of Pride, thereby making the event more community focused and thus it helps to make the event less commercial. However, to mark 50 years since the Stonewall uprising, Manchester Pride have decided to mark the anniversary by inviting some of the largest names in music in the LGBT+ community to perform; such as Ariana Grande. This in turn has had a knock-on effect in the price of tickets. This year highest priced tickets are over £70 (Braidwood, 2019) which is a substantial increase on previous years. There have been protests about the event being ticketed due to the price. As previously discussed, although the majority of the community can afford the price of the tickets, it still is not accessible to all. Research carried out by G7UK (2017) shows that protests have been happening against Manchester Pride to make it more inclusive, as a non-ticketed event. Despite this, Pride, and other events put on throughout the year by the Manchester Pride committee, have been economically successful, which suggests there is no significant impact of the event being ticketed. Ticket sales for the 2016 Manchester Pride raised £1,004,396. This compares to trading activity – such as sponsorships - which raised £294,434 (Manchester Pride, N.D.). Sponsorships are an important factor when it comes to raising money for the Manchester Pride event and charity, however as it is a paid ticketed event there is less need for it, therefore there is less of a corporate feel to those attending the event. This, in turn, allows attendees enjoy the event without feeling bombarded with corporate merchandise, which only supports the true meaning of Pride to a certain extent. The estimated impact on Manchester's economy is between £19million -

£25million (Manchester Pride, 2016), which is substantially more than Leeds Pride. This could be due to Manchester being a larger city than Leeds, which, in turn, means the event can be larger and thus attract a larger number of attendees. On the other hand, the fact that Manchester Pride is ticketed could suggest that the majority of the attendees will be members of the LBGT+ community, meaning the event will be deemed as a safe space. Conversely, as Leeds Pride is open to any person to attend, there is lower confidence in how 'safe' the event will feel to the community. Despite all the money raised from ticketing and fundraising, this is a substantial amount of money that goes into the local economy. To allow this popularity of an event, the meaning of Pride does need to focus more on it being for the purpose of entertainment, hence the need for Pride to become more commercial. This shows how Pride has evolved in modern times. It could be argued that the financial benefits, which go back into the wider local community, do not have any direct correlation on how the LBGT+ rights movement has progressed. Although financially there are benefits to those in the local community who are not LBGT+, it does not mean that those individuals benefitting financially agree socially with the meaning of pride and the right's movement. This is where it is difficult to state how much social progression Pride causes overall.

As the event is a 'party' focused event and is in the location of all of Manchester's gay bars, the issue of whether Pride is still a protest is raised. The parade which signifies where Pride began is still a free event, so it could be asked: are those who are still protesting gaining as much as those choosing to just attend the event to celebrate? Due to Pride being sold as a party and celebration, it is the responsibility of the Manchester Pride committee to remind those celebrating of the history of Pride and give back to the community. They do achieve this by utilising the profit they gain to give back to the LBGT+ community, arranging fundraising events throughout the year on top of the Pride weekend event in August. Therefore, it is justified to promote the event as a celebration.

### **Commercialisation of Cultural Events Globally**

Pride events are not the only cultural events which can be portrayed as 'over-commercialised'. International events, such as Sydney Mardi Gras, have evolved from having a purely cultural purpose to events that have become more inclusive, to attract a wider target audience to attend their events. Similar to Pride events, this wider audience may not attend the event to celebrate the sole purpose of the event, which is the case of both the events previously discussed. Cultural events, however, can be used to link a local culture to a wider

audience, therefore they can act as a platform to educate. Cultural events have emerged as a destination instrument for sharing local folk culture with visitors, aspiring to provide them with satisfying experiences at the same time as conveying socio-economic benefits to the local community (Christou et al, 2018). Cultural events can also be linked to an ability to manipulate attendees into celebrating and agreeing with the ways of a certain culture, which can also be known as event consciousness. Event consciousness may be defined as an orientation to global problem solving that privileges high profile disaggregated, discontinuous populist responses over fiscal, reformist or revolutionary solutions (Rojek, 2013, pp. 112). This shows the importance of events in supporting the social acceptance of diverse cultures.

### **Sydney Mardi Gras**

Sydney Mardi Gras is similar to a Pride event, as it does celebrate the LBGT+ community, although it goes by a different name.<sup>2</sup> The first parade was held on June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1978, to mark the International Day of Gay Solidarity (McKinnon, 2018), where gay activists marched in protest. Markwell (2002) addressed in his paper the difference between Sydney Mardi Gras and other global Pride events. He argues that Mardi Gras's "distinctiveness and hence its claims to be uniquely Australian are somewhat stylistic: it is a form of street theatre, performed in the evening and comprising a *mélange* of flamboyant theatricality, costume, and parody embodying what might be called a "larrikin spirit" eager to test authority" (p. 85). Despite some similarities in how the event is celebrated in comparison with Pride, this event likes to separate itself from others within the LBGT+ global events calendar. Sydney Mardi Gras is also celebrated over a few days in February and incorporates Australian culture and traditions into its celebrations. One of the main reasons that it is celebrated in February, the height of the Australian summer, instead of June is due to the weather. June is the middle of Australian winter therefore is colder, which in turn reduces the amount of people likely to attend. As with Pride events, Mardi Gras creates a great sense of inclusion within the LBGT+ community. For some gay men and lesbians, their happy participation in the Mardi Gras parade, and associated festival, places the event as a form of annual holiday, akin to a religious or national holiday in that it carries its own set of traditions or rituals (McKinnon, 2018). It can be argued, however, that due to the ticket prices to attend the event being so high, it may not be feasible for some members of the community to attend every event. While

---

<sup>2</sup> Despite being called Mardi Gras, the Sydney Mardi Gras has no relation to the biblical event Shrove Tuesday.

approximately 15 percent of the eighty events at the festival are free, many of the most popular ones require tickets; tickets to the dance party, for example, cost AU\$114.00 in 2001 (Markwell, 2002). Although these prices are high, the Mardi Gras committee organises for icons of the LGBT+ community to perform, for instance Cher performed in the 2018 celebration (Mardi Gras, 2018). The inclusion of the big celebrities within the event will increase demand for tickets therefore the price can be raised. The total amount raised in ticket sales alone came to AU\$ 2,824,489 (Mardi Gras, 2018); approximately £1, 576.000. One difference with Sydney Mardi is that the event is clearly organised into different segments over the days that the event is operating. The 'partying' segment is known as the 'Celebration', which makes the purpose of that particular segment clear. They too have a parade, and other political rallies, to remember the fights of the LGBT+ community for recognition and equality. This segmentation may be a route that other Pride events could take, in order to be able to differentiate the different aspects of Pride. From this, organisers will be able to clearly see the different types of attendees of the event and can focus on improving and expanding each segment accordingly.

Sydney Mardi Gras does still have a considerable focus on fighting for LGBT+ rights and remembering the tragic events of Stonewall within gay culture. The event can be seen as a visible reminder to heteronormative Australia of the presence and vibrancy of LGBT+ community and culture, with these factors being the most important aspect of Mardi Gras (McKinnon, 2018). Same sex marriage only become legal in Australia in 2017, after many years of the bill attempting to be passed (Marriage Amendment (Definition and Religious Freedoms) Act ,2017). This recent change in laws gives the Australian LGBT+ community more reason to celebrate, hence why Sydney Mardi Gras is continuing to grow. This year the parade was celebrated and had a theme of "40 years of evolution" (Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras, 2018).

## **Conclusion**

Pride will always primarily be a political and cultural protest due to the events at the Stonewall Inn in 1969. It is the responsibility of the members of the LGBT+ community and, in terms of the event, the local Pride organising committees, to remind and educate anyone participating within the Pride events, to acknowledge and respect this. As the general events sector grows,

it is only natural for the organising committees to utilise this and apply this trend to Pride events. The focus is on the attendees enjoying the event and having a good time, even if this means concentrating more on making the event a party. The economic impact that Pride events have on the local community are too great to change the current modern model of Pride events. The more people that attend, even just to celebrate, the greater the reach of the true history of Pride. With this growth, it is important to have the financial and supportive backing from corporate businesses. The Pride committees nevertheless must find a balance with their corporate sponsors to limit their brand's exposure, and not have it overpower the central message of Pride.

## References

- BBC. (2007) *Leeds Pride 2007*, [Online]. BBC.co.uk. Available at: <<http://www.bbc.co.uk> > [Accessed 26 November 2018].
- BBC. (2018) *Thousands turn out for Leeds Pride Parade*, [Online]. BBC.co.uk. Available at: <<https://www.bbc.co.uk>> [Accessed 27 November 2018].
- Braidwood, E. (2019) *Manchester Pride under fire after ticket prices double*, [Online]. Pink News. Available at: <<https://www.pinknews.co.uk>> [Accessed 25 June 2019].
- Bullard, E. (2016) *Pride Parade*, [Online] Salem Press Encyclopaedia. Available at: <<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com> > [Accessed 13 December 2018].
- Broadgate. (No Date), *The History of Pride in London*, [Online] Broadgate.co.uk Available at: <<https://www.broadgate.co.uk>> [Accessed 13 December 2018].
- Christou, P, Sharpley, R, Farmaki, A, (2018) Exploring the emotional dimension of visitors' satisfaction at cultural events. *Event Management*, Vol. 22 (2), 255–269.
- Civil Partnership Act 2004*. (c. 33) London: HMSO. [Online] Available at: <<http://www.legislation.gov.uk>> [Accessed: 17 December 2018].
- Dryden, S. (No Date) *A short history of LGBT rights in the UK*. [Online] British Library. Available at: <<https://www.bl.uk>> [Accessed 25 June 2019].
- Etiosa, O. (2012). *The impact of event tourism on host communities*. Central Ostrobothnia University of Applied Sciences, Pietarsaari. Retrieved from <<https://www.theseus.fi>> [Accessed 15 December 2018].
- Ferdinand, N., Williams, N. (2018) The making of the Notting Hill Carnival festival scape: politics and power at the Notting Hill Carnival. *Tourism Management Perspectives*. 27, 33-46.

Franke-Ruta, G. (2013). *An Amazing 1969 Account of the Stonewall Uprising*, [Online] The Atlantic.com Available at: <<https://www.theatlantic.com>> [Accessed 25 June 2019].

Florida, R (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. New York: Basic Books.

G7UK (2017) *Manchester Pride Investigation*, [Online] G7UK.com, Available at: <<http://www.g7uk.com>> [Accessed 16 December 2018].

History (2017). *Stonewall Riots*, [Online] History.com Available at: <<https://www.history.com>> [Accessed 15 December 2018].

IGLTA, (No Date) *International Gay and Lesbian Travel Association*, IGLTA.org [Online] Available at: <<https://www.igлта.org>> [Accessed 17 December 2018].

Johnson, H. (2018) *Leeds Pride: How the event first started and what it means today*, Yorkshire Evening Post [Online] Available at: <<https://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk>> [Accessed 17 December 2018].

Johnson, I. Cover, R. (2018) *When corporates dominate Pride parades, everyone loses* [Online] Huffington Post. Available at: <<https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk>> [Accessed 17 December 2018].

Leeds Pride. (n.d.) *Leeds Pride*, [Online] Leedspride.com Available at: <<http://www.leedspride.com>> [Accessed 14 December 2018].

Leeds Pride. (n.d.) *Sponsorship Pack* [Online] Leeds Pride. Available at: <<https://static1.squarespace.com>> [Accessed 14 December 2018].

Manchester Pride. (No Date) *Manchester Pride – About Us*, [Online] Manchesterpride.com Available at: <<https://www.manchesterpride.com>> [Accessed 14 December 2018].

Manchester Pride. (No Date) *Manchester Pride Annual Review 2016*, [Online] Manchesterpride.com Available at: <<http://annualreview.manchesterpride.com>> [Accessed 14 December 2018].

Manchester Pride. (No Date) *Manchester Pride – Charity*, [Online] Manchesterpride.com, Available at: <<https://www.manchesterpride.com>> [Accessed 14 December 2018].

Manchester Pride. (2016) *Manchester Pride – Report for Greater Manchester Police*, [Online] Manchesterpride.com. Available at: <<https://www.whatdotheyknow.com>> [Accessed 14 December 2018].

Mardi Gras. (2018) *2018 Annual Report*, [Online] Mardigras.org.au. Available at: <<http://www.mardigras.org.au>> [Accessed 14 December 2018].

Markwell, K. (2002) *Mardi Gras tourism and the construction of Sydney as an international gay and lesbian city*. 8(1), 81-89.

*Marriage Amendment (Definition and Religious Freedoms) Act 2017*, (c. 129) Australia: Australian Government. [Online] Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.au>

*Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013*, (c. 33) London: HMSO. [Online] Available at: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk> [Accessed 13 December 2018].

McKinnon, S., Reynolds, R., Robinson, S. (2018). Negotiating differences across time: the temporal meanings of the Sydney Mardi Gras is lesbian and gay life narratives. *Journal of Australian Studies*. 42 (3), 314-327.

PBS (No Date) *Stonewall Uprising - Why Did the Mafia Own the Bar?* [Online] PBS.org, Available at: <https://www.pbs.org> [Accessed 12 December 2018].

Pichler, S., Blazovich, J., Cook, K., Huston, J., Strawser, W. (2016) Do LGBT-supportive Corporate Policies Enhance Firm Performance? *Accounting Faculty Publications*. 75. Available at: <https://ir.stthomas.edu> [Accessed 25 June 2019].

Peterson. A, Wahlstrom. M, Wennerhag. M, (2018) "Normalized" Pride? Pride parade participants in six European countries. *Sexualities*. 21(7), 1146-1169

Rojek, C. (2013) *Event Power: how global events manage and manipulate*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. London: Sage Publications.

*Sexual Offences Act 1967*. (c. 60) London: HMSO. [Online] Available at: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk> [Accessed 14 December 2018].

Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras. (2018) *Record numbers gather to celebrate 40 years of Mardi Gras*, [Online] [mardigras.org.au](http://www.mardigras.org.au), Available at: <http://www.mardigras.org.au> [Accessed 15 December 2018].