

Online Appendix Material

Pride amid Prejudice: The Impact of LGBT+ Rights Activism in a Socially Conservative Society

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Note: A more detailed appendix with research documentation and/or data that support the findings of this study are openly available in the APSR Dataverse: Ayoub, Phillip; Page, Douglas; Whitt, Sam, 2020, "Replication Data for: Pride amid Prejudice: The Impact of LGBT+ Rights Activism in a Socially Conservative Society", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/IROJ12>, Harvard Dataverse.

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Ethical Conduct of Field Research

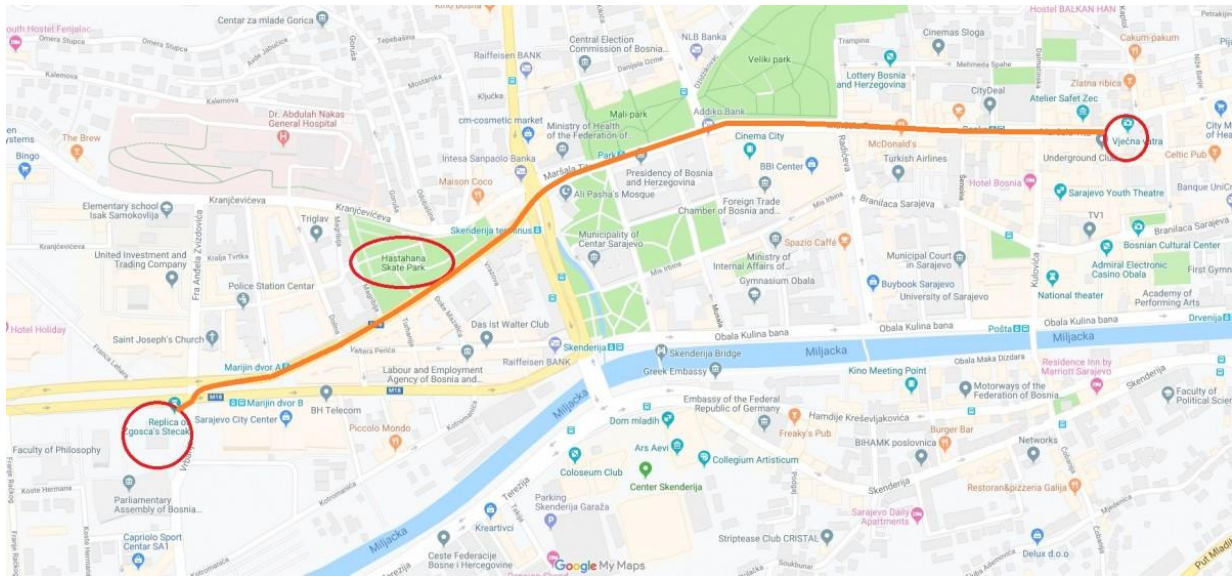
Concerns about a lack of clear disciplinary standards for ethical conduct of human subject research have been raised for some time (Wood 2006; Ford et al. 2007; Fujii 2012; Campbell 2017; Cronin-Furman and Lake 2018). The *American Political Science Association* has recently drafted guidelines on best practices based on recommendations from the Ad Hoc Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects¹. Our research adheres to those guidelines. First, we obtained IRB approval before initiating or study. The human subjects research in this article was reviewed and approved by High Point University's Institutional Review Board (protocol numbers: 201906-826 and 202008-957). During the study, we collected no personally identifying information on participants. All participants received a consent form, provided by the survey research firm conducting the study (Ipsos d.o.o.), but we requested a signature waiver to protect privacy and anonymity in the data collection process. The consent form states that respondents may refuse to answer questions and may stop participating at any time in the study. Second, we did not offer any financial incentives to participate in the study that might have exerted pressure on respondents. Third, our enumerators were experienced professionals who conducted interviews in Bosnia and trained according to AAPOR best practices. Fourth, we did not encourage individuals to engage in risky protest or counter-protest behavior or enumerators to insert themselves into ongoing protest or counter-protest movements to conduct interviews. Additionally, the consent form we shared with the organizers who we anonymously interviewed provided all the same protections, as well as third party resources (see 'Description and Summaries of Fieldwork Interviews' in this Appendix). In summary, we took our ethical responsibilities seriously in the conduct of this research project.

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¹ <https://www.apsanet.org/Portals/54/governance/Report%20of%20The%20APSA%20Ad-Hoc%20Human%20Subjects%20Committee.pdf?ver=2019-08-19-160205-157>

Sarajevo Pride Route Map and City Municipalities



“The march will begin in front of the ‘Eternal Flame’ monument, continue down the **Marsala Tita Street**, through the Hastahana Park, and end at the Bosnia and Herzegovina Square, in front of the building of the Parliament of BiH.”

https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.pulse.ba%2Findex.php%2Fpulse-news%2F2016-sarajevo-pride-parade-route-announced&psig=AOvVaw0dJ8WbG3XfhK9C5Zp1_oSZ&ust=1590095026711000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CAIQjRxqFwoTCKjf59-rw-kCFQAAAAAdAAAAABAD

Sampling Locations in Sarajevo by Municipality

| Online Panel Sample | | N | % |
|---------------------|----------|-----|-------|
| NOVI GRAD | SARAJEVO | 245 | 39.52 |
| CENTAR | SARAJEVO | 151 | 24.35 |
| STARI GRAD | SARAJEVO | 60 | 9.68 |
| NOVO | SARAJEVO | 164 | 26.45 |
| N | | 620 | |
| Nationwide Sample | | N | % |
| NOVI GRAD | SARAJEVO | 56 | 32.94 |
| CENTAR | SARAJEVO | 65 | 38.24 |
| STARI GRAD | SARAJEVO | 34 | 20 |
| NOVO | SARAJEVO | 15 | 8.82 |
| N | | 170 | |

Note: Sarajevo city consists of 4 municipalities. There are other municipalities in the greater metropolitan area of Sarajevo canton and Eastern Sarajevo in Republika Srpska. The Pride took place in Sarajevo Centar Municipality.

Regression Table from Manuscript Figure 3

First, we report the regression results from manuscript Figure 3 in Table format. Model 1 is the model used in Figure 3 which examines treatment effects for the combined 170 nationwide respondents + online panel respondents from Sarajevo. Estimates include weights generated from coarsened exact matching on age and rural respondents and standard errors are clustered by municipality. See Dataverse Appendix for additional robustness checks

Pride Effects on LGBT+ Activism, Extended Controls (OLS)

| VARIABLES | (1) Support for Sarajevo Pride |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Treatment | -0.0179 (0.0534) |
| Sarajevo | -0.131 (0.0881) |
| Treatment x Sarajevo | 0.160*** (0.0601) |
| LGBT+ contact, support index | 0.330*** (0.0168) |
| Heard of Prides | 0.00904 (0.0408) |
| Awareness of Sarajevo Pride | 0.0212 (0.0141) |
| EU Membership Support | 0.0934* (0.0475) |
| Ethnonationalism | -0.133*** (0.0459) |
| Religiosity | -0.115*** (0.0370) |
| Bosniak | -0.241*** (0.0527) |
| Croat | -0.117 (0.0905) |
| Serb | -0.304*** (0.0726) |
| Men | -0.00452 (0.0329) |
| age | 0.00125 (0.00129) |
| Education | 0.00925 (0.0100) |
| rural | -0.0418 (0.0431) |

| | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| unemployed | -0.0568 (0.0520) |
| Constant | 1.399*** (0.167) |
| Observations | 2,190 |
| R-squared | 0.473 |
| adj. r2 | 0.469 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Regression Table for Manuscript Figure 4

Here, we report results from Figure 4 without extend controls. Models 1 and 3 include the Sarajevo online panel and 170 respondents from the nationwide survey in Sarajevo. Models 2 and 4 report the results for the online panel only with panel fixed effects. See Dataverse Appendix for additional robustness checks.

Mobilization for and Counter-Mobilization against LGBT+ rights (OLS, Full sample)

| VARIABLES | (1) Mobilization Support | (2) Mobilization Support | (3) Mobilization Opposition | (4) Mobilization Opposition |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| LGBT+ Activist Txt | 0.231** (0.0988) | 0.822*** (0.165) | | |
| LGBT+ Opposition Txt | | | 0.509*** (0.122) | 0.647*** (0.240) |
| Pride Treatment | -0.778*** (0.152) | | 0.139 (0.273) | |
| Sarajevo | 0.436* (0.238) | | -0.435 (0.338) | |
| Pride Txt x Sarajevo | 0.773** (0.301) | 0.498*** (0.136) | -0.719** (0.325) | 0.0663 (0.197) |
| Sample | Full sample | Panel fixed effects | Full sample | Panel fixed effects |
| Constant | 1.788*** (0.138) | 1.431*** (0.108) | 2.193*** (0.169) | 0.853*** (0.151) |
| Observations | 2,560 | 604 | 2,518 | 587 |
| R-squared | 0.033 | 0.094 | 0.042 | 0.024 |
| adj. r2 | 0.0311 | 0.0907 | 0.0400 | 0.0206 |

Mobilization Support: 0 (Not likely to attend Pride) – 10 (Very likely to attend Pride).
 Mobilization Opposition: 0 (Not likely to protest Pride) – 10 (Very likely to protest Pride).
 Sarajevo: 0 (Bosnia-wide survey), 1 (Sarajevo survey). Pride Treatment: 0 (pre-Pride data), 1 (post-Pride data). Robust standard errors clustered by municipality in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Regression Table for Manuscript Figure 6.

Here, we provide regression model 1 from manuscript Figure 6. See Dataverse Appendix for additional robustness checks.

Mobilization of Resources for LGBT+ Activism (OLS)

| VARIABLES | Model 1 Contributing to LGBT+ rights |
|----------------------------|---|
| Pride Treatment | -21.95 (20.67) |
| Sarajevo | 310.5*** (52.92) |
| Pride Treatment x Sarajevo | 71.83** (34.29) |
| Constant | 153.1*** (15.24) |
| Observations | 2,685 |
| R-squared | 0.220 |
| adj. r2 | 0.220 |

Contributing to LGBT+ rights organization: 0 (marks, currency, allocated to a pro-gay group) – 1000 (marks, currency, allocated to a pro-LGBT+ group). Sarajevo: 0 (Bosnia-wide survey), 1 (Sarajevo survey). Pride Treatment: 0 (pre-Pride data), 1 (post-Pride data). Robust standard errors clustered by municipality in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Bosnia and LGBT+ Support in a Global Context

In the figure below, we situate LGBT+ attitudes into a broader global context utilizing common survey items from the most recent Wave 7 of the World Values Survey conducted between 2017 and 2020. Each survey asked the respondents to indicate whether they would dislike having homosexuals as neighbors. The figures below provide the percent of respondents who mentioned not wanting to have homosexuals as neighbors by country and who think homosexuality is ‘never justifiable’. Bosnia falls in the conservative range among countries in the WVS on these items. This shows that while Bosnia may be atypical of attitudes toward LGBT+ rights in liberal Western democracies, attitudes are more comparable to Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. We consider Bosnia as a moderate conservative case for LGBT+ attitudes in the world today, and reflective of societies which are divided and, in some cases, polarized on questions of LGBT+ rights. As such our research in Bosnia speaks primarily to those moderate or middle-range conservative cases, where LGBT+ rights are contentious. It is unclear how generalizable our results are to the most deeply conservative societies on LGBT+ rights. In those environments, we would anticipate significant restrictions on LGBT+ activism, and if Prides do take place, they are often of the “Ghost” Pride variety or conducted without official government sanctioning.

Question Wording: On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors? (% mentioned Homosexuals):

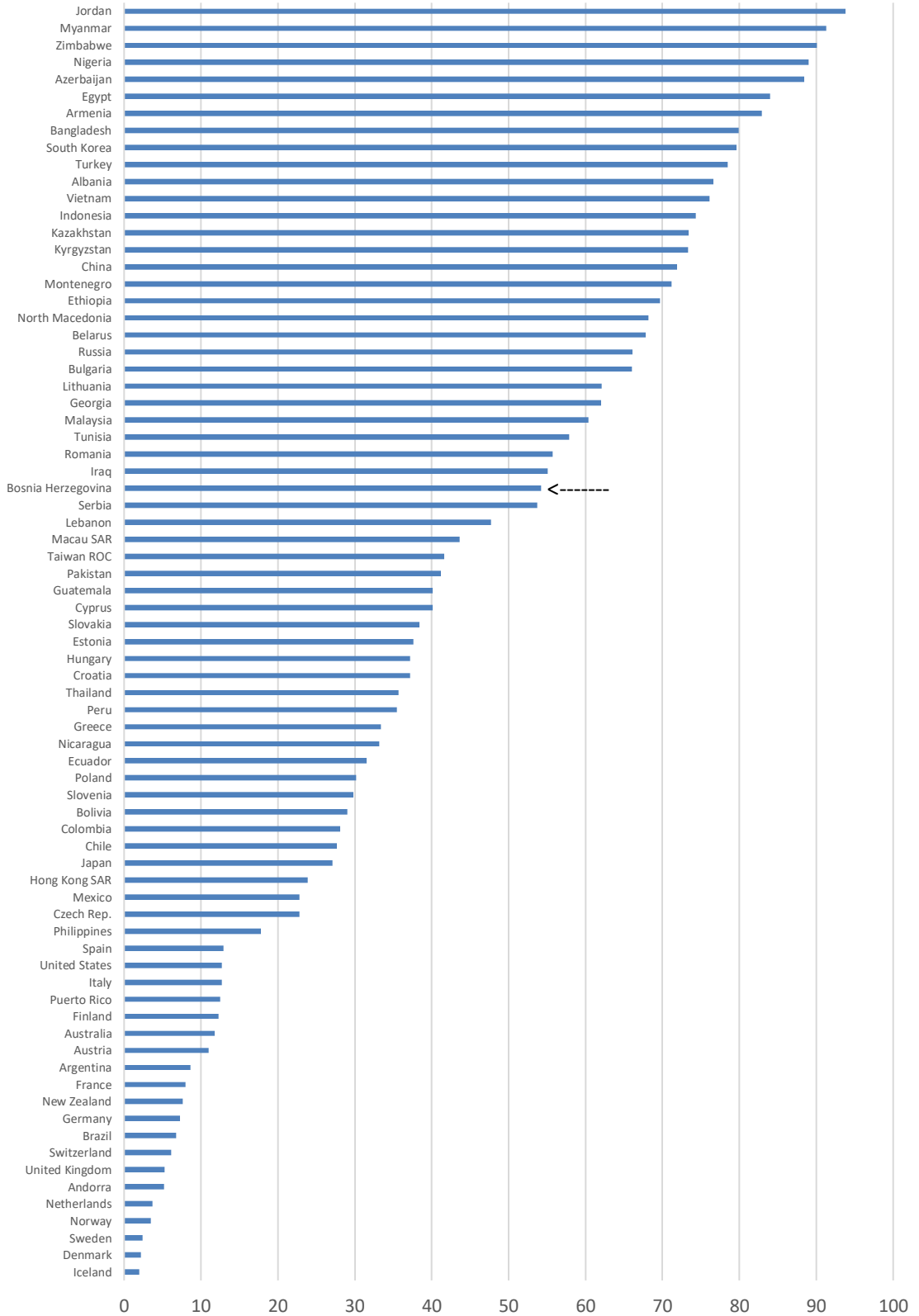
Reference

Inglehart, R., C. Haerpfer, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, J. Diez-Medrano, M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin & B. Puranen et al. (eds.). 2020. World Values Survey: Round Six - Country-Pooled Datafile Version: <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV7.jsp> Madrid: JD Systems Institute.

Samples Include: Albania EVS, Andorra 2018, Argentina 2017, Armenia EVS, Australia 2018, Austria EVS, Azerbaijan EVS, Bangladesh 2018, Belarus EVS, Bolivia 2017, Bosnia and Herzegovina EVS, Brazil 2018, Bulgaria EVS, Colombia 2018, Croatia EVS, Cyprus 2019, Czech Rep. EVS, Chile 2018, China 2018, Denmark EVS, Ecuador 2018, Egypt 2018, Estonia EVS, Ethiopia 2020, Finland EVS, France EVS, Georgia EVS, Germany 2017, Germany-EVS, Greece 2017, Guatemala 2019, Hong Kong SAR 2018, Hungary EVS, Iceland EVS, Indonesia 2018, Iran 2020, Iraq 2018, Italy EVS, Japan 2019, Jordan 2018, Kazakhstan 2018, Kyrgyzstan 2019, Lebanon 2018, Lithuania EVS, Macau SAR 2019, Malaysia 2018, Mexico 2018, Montenegro EVS, Myanmar 2020, Netherlands EVS, New Zealand 2019, Nicaragua 2019, Nigeria 2018, North Macedonia EVS, Norway EVS, Pakistan 2018, Peru 2018, Philippines 2019, Poland EVS, Puerto Rico 2018, Romania EVS, Romania 2017, Russia EVS, Russia 2017, Serbia 2017, Serbia EVS, Slovakia EVS, Slovenia EVS, South Korea 2018, Spain EVS, Sweden EVS, Switzerland EVS, Taiwan ROC 2019, Tajikistan 2020, Thailand 2018, Tunisia 2019, Turkey 2018, United Kingdom - Great Britain EVS, USA 2017, Vietnam 2020, Zimbabwe 2020

LGBT+ Opposition in a Global Context

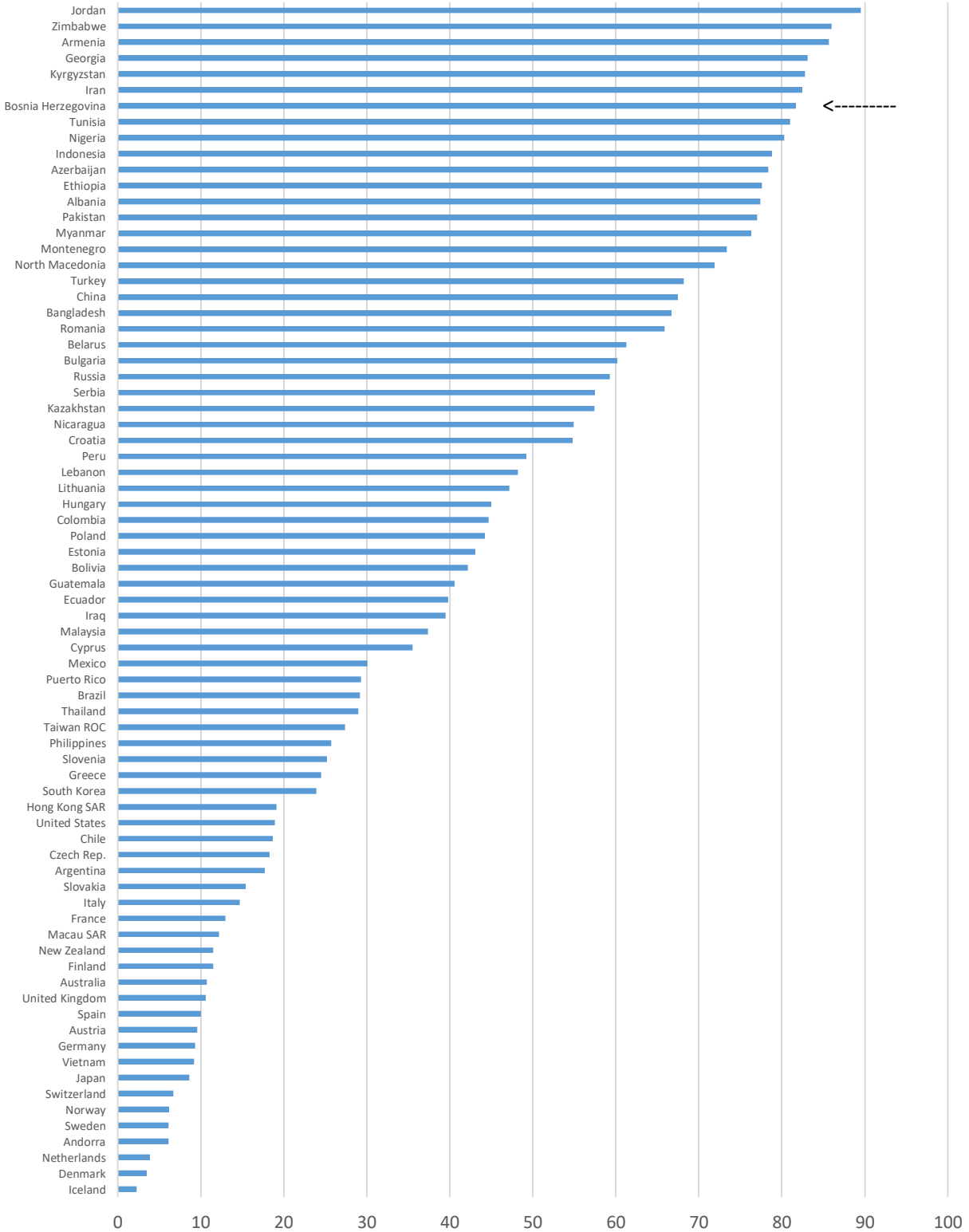
[% respondents who would not like to have Homosexuals as neighbors]



Source: World Values Surveys 2017-2020

Attitudes toward Homosexuality in Global Context

[% responding that homosexuality is never justifiable]



Source: World Values Surveys 2017-2020

Description and Summaries of Interview Fieldwork Findings

The paper includes a discussion of qualitative semi-structured interviews (conducted with IRB approval, protocol #202008-957) with the central organizers connected to the 2019 Bosnia and Herzegovina Pride, as well as other leading LGBT activists working in Bosnia with perspectives on the event. These interviews allowed us to reflect on and validate our results by exploring the mechanisms driving the correlations we uncover in the experimental analysis in an explanatory sequential order (see Creswell 2014). While some of the team working on this study has multiple years of fieldwork experience with LGBT activists in Europe, we felt it important to elaborate on our findings by highlighting qualitative context and local voices in our study.

To identify the organizers involved in the 2019 Pride, we used our existing fieldwork networks with LGBT activists in Europe, which we also cross-checked with LGBT NGOs and scholars working on LGBT politics in the Balkans. The interview subjects were selected for their direct involvement in the pride and/or local LGBT politics, but came from various organizations and perspectives. In the end, we reached out to seven potential interviewees—four of which we identified as centrally involved in the organizing of Pride and three that play a central role in LGBT+ activism in Bosnia—one of the latter three is also involved in activism in other countries and added a comparative perspective. We attained a 100% response rate, though one person declined a face-to-face interview, referring us to someone they deemed to have greater expertise—a person we had already interviewed. Of the interviewees, we obtained a relatively diverse spread on gender identity (66% woman, 33% man, 0% non-binary) and sexual orientation (33% lesbian, 33% gay, 17% bisexual, 17% mainly-heterosexual/bi ally). Questions relating to ethnic identification were difficult to code, as almost all organizers disavowed strong ethnonational identification and said they had mixed-ethnic identities and or politically identified as Bosnian *and* Herzegovinian or Yugoslav, which represents a national- or citizenship-based understanding of ethnicity. Though several noted having identified differently earlier in life, which uncovered a diverse sample including Muslim Bosniak, Orthodox Serb, and Catholic Croat. One interviewee's ethnic identity is rooted in a non-Balkan country. We also had diversity in interviewees that were originally from Sarajevo and that no longer live there or moved there later in life – though the latter category (live in Sarajevo but originally from another part of Bosnia) was the most common response.

We asked them all to reflect on the effects of the event itself and the role it played on shaping attitudes in the highly diverse terrain of Bosnian public opinion. We compensated activists for their time with a \$25 gift card, though two insisted in volunteering their time, saying they appreciated the research. In every case, activists were eager to share their knowledge, and have expressed continued enthusiasm for this research endeavor, given the practical knowledge they feel will be relevant to their communities on the ground. We have committed to sharing our research and data with all interviewees, pending successful peer review. The confidential interviews themselves ranged between 41 and 56 minutes (mean=46 minutes) and activists could consent or opt out of recordings. Due to the COVID pandemic's interference with the safety of in-person interviews, we conducted them remotely via Zoom.

Based on an analysis of our transcribed interview records, the following themes emerged. We have anonymized responses below with numbers in place of names, as well as stripping any identifying information.

Support of Pride:

Interviewees note broad support for the pride, with a wide coalition of activists from across Bosnia supporting it. This perception was shared whether or not the interviewee was directly involved in organizing the pride. By this we mean, there was little pushback or disagreement on hosting a Pride among a broad coalition of activists from across Bosnia. There was some concern among members of the community rooted in a fear of post-Pride targeted violence, but this was minimal and overall the plan to organize Pride won far-reaching support (interview nos. 302 and 303).

“We always ha[d] in mind that [Pride] is really important. It's not a question of just to have a Pride [for the sake of having one]; you know, [just] because we were the last country in the region to organize a Pride. It's not [about] that. It's a matter of changing things faster than usual... I mean, there are a lot of changes that happened in the last 10 to 15 years in Bosnia, but when it comes to LGBT rights everything [was] moving really slow and it's frustrating to live in Bosnia [as a queer person]... to see those changes [being] really slow... I think five years ago we started to speak in circles with activists [about the potentials of a Pride]” (interview no. 301).

“Pride [as an organizing tactic] came naturally to a group of activists *from the whole country*, which I'm really happy [about] because it's the Pride March *of Bosnia-Herzegovina*, of *the whole country*, not just Sarajevo, but that's why it's really important to mention the ‘Bosnia-Herzegovina’ in the title of Pride. It's really important politically and in context of Bosnia to call it like that because everything is somehow divided after the war, and we wanted to create something new and to create something that will reunite again” (interview no. 301).

Effects of Pride on Attitudes

Every interviewee also perceived the Pride's effects positively—“If I would put [it's effects] on a [scale] from negative to positive is very close to extreme positive” (interview no. 300)—with several describing a mechanism rooted in contact. Pride compelled people to discuss LGBT+ people. Whether or not people attended the pride, they had to have a conversation about it at the dinner table (interview no. 300). The perception among organizers was that especially people on the fence (without strong prior positions) were largely swayed by the positive depictions of LGBTI visibility that Pride offers (interview nos. 302 and 303). Across the board, interviewees noted that average people had the opportunity to “see us” and were confronted with the fact that some of their stereotypes did not hold. Two organizers mentioned that they also actively combated these stereotypes by making sure that this visibility was not in the form of celebratory floats (as we might expect in some Western Prides) (interview nos. 300, 302, 303) (*see also* Ayoub 2013). Instead, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Pride felt like a political demonstration.

“[Pride] contributed to portraying a positive picture of the LGBT community and people being forced in a way to again discuss LGBT rights in in a private matter. I mean, as it was really extremely present, I would say into [broader] society” (interview no. 300).

“Actually [the effects are] very positive...I believe people’s perception or what we can see from our work has changed” (interview no. 302).

“It was a very big success. The country recognizes it as a success. We achieved something that we could not envision prior to organizing the pride” (interview no. 303).

One organizer said that some politicians eventually saw the protest as a way to exhibit the country as democratic and tolerant: “Generally it’s seen as a very big success on our organization [by] both the [LGBT+ community], but also the country. And I think that a lot of media has also transferred [it to suggest] how we proved ourselves as a democracy and as a very tolerant country, which was [also] very important to [some] politicians” (interview no. 303).

“If I had to quantify [the effect], I would say 90% of it was good and you know this was a milestone in our LGBT movement” (interview no. 302).

“Those that might be in a way in the political center [not scoring high on ethnic nationalism or religion], they were having an opportunity really to see, [and think] ‘Okay, this doesn't look that bad’, you know, and, and ‘it seems to be a very normal thing’ or you know that ‘there's a social group that’s just demanding their rights, and for sure’ ” (interview no. 300).

“It was so powerful. To see so many people there. As it was the last of the ‘first prides’ it had a specific meaning for the region. I was almost in tears in walking there. And again now [tears up]” (interview no. 305).

Alongside, broader society, organizers also see effects of interpersonal visibility (Ayoub 2016) within the LGBT+ community: “I think that the focus of organizing Pride that is beginning is to be felt is [the] empowering the LGBT community in Bosnia. Every day losing hope to live here because of the economic and political situation, unemployment is really terrible. [Especially] being LGBTI, it’s quite frustrating to live every day here. So what’s happened after pride is that a lot of people from the community got hope [to] actually try to face with problems that they have and to try to live here, which is, for the beginning, really important. They were really empowered and happy that something like [Pride] happened. We got a lot of messages from LGBT people from smaller communities; smaller cities and places [from people] that we never heard about [saying] that Pride gave them hope to continue life, so I think that’s the first thing that is really important. And when it comes to general society, I would say that impact was more positive but [we’re a] really homophobic society still, so [continue to] have a lot of people who are against LGBT people, who are violent and who think that we don’t deserve to live here in Bosnia. But by organizing something like our Pride, where there were 3,000 people mixed with a lot of positive energy, without any kind of incident, where the whole organization was perfect. I think that that gave the whole society, a picture that we are serious in our fight and that we will never give up [on] our lives and that people just be more and more visible and active. To show them that we are part of the society and we will not disappear” (interview no. 301).

On Proximity

But this positive effect was qualified for many participants, who early on in the interviews suggested that the felt intensity of the event had diminishing returns the further one was removed from it geographically. This largely had to do with the more limited opportunity for contact such a performance holds as one becomes more physically distant. All but one of the activists preemptively mentioned some factor relating to proximity before the end of the interview when we shared one table of the findings, to which we'd get reactions like: "That was more or less what I said without any knowledge of the results" (interview no. 305) and "I'm not surprised" (interview no. 303). In the end, it was a vibrant visible protest, but the felt intensity of it, the permeability of the visibility of it, required proximity.

"[With certainty] I would say it has had an especially positive impact on those that were physically closer to it. In a socially, geographically, and ethnically divided society, I would say that people in Sarajevo, in the Sarajevo region, were more confronted to react, to react and to have an opinion to it, than compared to others. So even though it was called *BiH Pride*, defacto it was *Sarajevo Pride*, in that it was Sarajevo... the urban population there was more confronted to it, compared to ... places far away from Sarajevo. People [outside Sarajevo] could go about their regular life rather than dealing with it" (interview no. 300).

Many mentioned that the event was not fully processed or experienced further way from Sarajevo.

"When it comes to the rural, urban distance. Those things don't matter for people, you know, happening living in, let's say, in [the] east of Bosnia... for a significant portion of the population, either because of the physical distance or because of the technical distance [related to media coverage]" (interview no. 300).

"I think this [proximity effect] is expected. Our message was that we want to show this [countrywide] unity. We want to bring people across ethnic lines. But people *felt it more here* [in Sarajevo] because they took part and *could see* what happened in Sarajevo." (interview no. 302).

"The necessity to have Pride happen in public space because then it really changes to make it real. [It was] 'virtual' for those people [outside of Sarajevo]. Unless it happens there [physically], you know, in a very material way with people on the streets, knowing what was happening and so on, [then you don't have the same type of contact to it]. So it doesn't surprise me. The idea of the Pride was to really let people see LGBT people, [and that happened primarily in Sarajevo]. For most of the country, it was just virtual. [The only thing we had to combat that was saying it was a country-wide matter, but in the end, it really wasn't felt equally everywhere in the country]. But we can hold it in other towns [moving forward], and we hopefully see it in other towns" (interview no. 303).

One interview adds to this by also mentioning local government support in Sarajevo Canton, as well as the centralization of activism there, that helps to make performances visible. "More or less everything is happening in Sarajevo. People will be more engaged with us there. When it comes to other cities or parts of Bosnia there is a lack of activism. In this period there are only two orgs

working in two other cities... this is a huge problem. It's logical that where activism is visible you'll have more positive opinions on it. It's quite hard to organize the message everywhere the same. The political system means the govt was really localized, we could educate our local govt... there is less possibility to be active" (interview no. 301).

Types of Contact:

Organizers deemed that visibility was productive for the cause, but that the form of contact attached to public visibility required proximity. Proximity led to various forms of contact in Sarajevo that were less felt outside it.

All interviewees told us that Sarajevo citizens interacted with the Pride in multiple ways:

- People saw it and interacted with from the sides of the street and from windows and balconies (also cf. Images 1 and 2).

"They were quite positive and that was really interesting to see.... we didn't expect something like that for the first Pride. But I think that the energy that we provided during the march was actually something that engaged those people to come to their windows and to see what actually is happening there. And I think that I think that that was really positive when it comes to reactions of like general people" (interview no. 301).

"... of course it was sort of shielded... but there were loads of people hanging out of windows, who were really positive and waving. And the participants reacted to so enthusiastically. Anyone who waves, we would wave; we waved back so passionately and blew kisses. There was a shopping mall we passed, and people hanging out there in the shopping window. People applauded and throwing kissing, some on the other side flipping the bird, but on the whole, most people were very positive" (interview no. 305).

- They had to move around it because the Pride disrupted the main thruway in Sarajevo. This means the accessibility of the city changed and there was no way for people in Sarajevo to go about their business without being confronted by Pride. While this could be seen negatively, interviewees saw it positively as a type of interaction that didn't exist for people living outside of Sarajevo Canton: "There was a significant majority [of the Sarajevo] population that [couldn't] drive a car to the city center. They had to organize their weekend differently... everyone was aware of it, you know, that the town will be blocked" (interview no. 300).

These types of disruptions forced people in Sarajevo to "tackle the issue ... Everyone talked about it at the dinner table... They tackled it. I mean, people were confronted with 'Does this mean, my neighbors will go there, will my family members show up there, you know, the Pride?'. [People thought about and "imagined" that]. Over family debates around, you know, Sunday lunches or coffee breaks you know if a member of the family will go" (interview no. 300).

- They could only see people as visibly linked to the Pride in the proximity of the event itself. Indeed, due to safety concerns, people were specifically asked to change their appearance before and after being at the actual event. People were told to take off their rainbow attire after the march, in fear of violence commonly experienced in countries hosting their first prides. “We asked everyone who will come to the pride, not to wear any kind of [Pride-looking] t-shirts or rainbow colors. There were thousands of people, but everyone was really respectful of everything we asked of them, to [take off] all those rainbow things.... We were afraid the most that there could be violence after pride. [There was none] I'm really happy that people took it seriously” (interview no. 301).
- All interviewees mentioned that media coverage is naturally going to pay more attention to local events, and when elevated to an issue of national concern, it includes ‘concerned’ and speculative voices. They argued that media coverage outside of Sarajevo didn’t provide the indirect contact of LGBT+ visibility to the same degree as in the Sarajevo Canton; whereas media in Sarajevo had to engage it fully as a local event.

“Media around the Pride ignored [it] elsewhere. [The attitude of the media outside Sarajevo] was ‘we don’t care. It’s happening in Sarajevo.’ Some parts of the community [outside Sarajevo] didn’t even know it was happening. In Sarajevo it was impossible to move without knowing the Pride was happening” (interview no. 303).

While the focus was on the lower quantity of media attention outside Sarajevo, some also discussed its lower quality: “[Outside of Sarajevo] they just were not that much confronted with LGBTI visibility, you know, or visible LGBTI existence. And in that sense, I would say that media in the Republika Srpska are still reporting more negatively on the issue and there's maybe again a link to nationalism and this ethnicity-focused media ... saying it's a something you know that's destroying traditional values” (interview no. 300).

“We started Pride march prep one year before. Our main messages, how we communicate with media, what are they going to say. We could control the narrative a bit [but more in Sarajevo]” (interview no. 302).

“The presence of the international community [as watchdogs related to past conflict] in Sarajevo is strong. You have more checks on the media because of the international community here. That is different when you see the discourse on the women’s movement in Croatia. Media are more careful in Sarajevo” (interview no. 302).

So even though the 3,000-person pride included many people that “[organizers] had never seen” and “from the all around the country,” the visibility of the event itself was not carried far from the local (interview no. 300).



Image 1: Waving and clapping at Pride Route

Source: (SOC archive, author *Imrana Kapetanovic)

*Note: Photo credit named at request of Sarajevski Otvoreni Centar (SOC). Neither photographer was an interview participant in this study.



Image 2: Pride Route Support

Source: (SOC archive, author *Martina Salov)

On Ghost Pride:

Interviewees uniformly distanced the Pride from the concept of a ‘Ghost Pride,’ referencing Belgrade Pride. All were familiar with Belgrade Pride as hidden and militarized (using horses and tanks) and several had also taken part in it. One interviewee referred to BiH Pride instead as a ‘Zoo Pride,’ which captured the characterization of most: “we had protection but we were visible” (interview no. 300).

“We are organizing pride to be visible and to interact with our citizens ... There was openness [despite police protection]. I mean, no one could come inside of the march off the road [you could only enter the active procession with a stamp from the entry point, after that you could watch from the street and windows]. But still, people were gathering all around to watch us, which was really great. And a lot of people were interacting with us and like they were waving their hands.” (interview no. 301).

“We expected the Belgrade scenario, but this did not happen. And Ghost Pride doesn’t fully fulfill the mission. Not the same level of interaction we had. The city was not locked down. The area the Pride passed through was closed off. You could only go if you went to the pride entry start point. But [onlookers] could access and view the pride from the sidewalk and wave. There were a lot of old people in the windows and balcony waving. Women standing in a café waving a rainbow flag. People were close to it. They were right there” (interview no. 302).

“The police did close off the park for security, but they allowed people to interact. People sitting in the terraces of the bars, cafes, shopping malls that were close. Citizens were close.” (interview no. 303).

“First prides are always [shielded] to a certain extent. But Belgrade was different. They cordoned us off entirely. We couldn’t even see the police. But that is a first pride. A first pride needs to happen. In a lot of countries, many of those participating are internationals and allies. Regular LGBTI people will come out, but the first pride is a start. The balance changes as it goes on, with more locals going [in future events]” (interview no. 305).

On Ethnic Cleavages:

All interviews noted that there was shared homo- and trans-phobia across ethnic / religious lines, with it being worse among more ethnonational and religious people within each group.

“LGBTI people are associated with a prejudice related to them being ‘only concerned with sex’ and there was a worry across groups that ‘Pride was just a big public orgy’ ... That was the general picture that is what they thought we want to bring in, spoil the kids, and their gender identity” (interview no. 302).

Three interviews (302, 303, and 305) however noted that support from leaders tied to Muslim community was highest. Those interviews mentioned Muslim leadership calling for tolerance toward Pride—though not outright support, as Pride was still considered attached to ‘sin’—on the basis of a shared experience of intolerance surrounding discrimination and Islamophobia.

“They [Muslims] used a frame of pro-tolerance and anti-violence in response to the Pride more than the other groups. The head of the community said that Pride was a secular matter, and while ‘homosexuality is a sin, violence is twice the bigger sin’” (interview no. 302). Reminiscent of the concept of intersectionally-linked fate (Strolovitch 2007), organizers told us that the intellectual Muslim community emphasized the importance of tolerance, highlighting that Muslims must extend their experience with Islamophobia to not treat LGBT people in a discriminatory way. “The Muslims/Bosniaks in the capital in Sarajevo didn’t want to have Bosniaks portrayed as conservative or not valuing diversity” (interview no. 302).

“No differences across ethnic cleavages. Some backlash from conservative religious groups, but from all sides. Muslims are the only ones that have not thrown rocks at me” (interview no. 305).

On Cosmopolitanism or Urban/Rural Divisions:

Interviewees had mixed reactions to associating Pride with Sarajevo’s capital city status and cosmopolitanism.

“I mean, it's not like attitudes in Sarajevo were wildly positive before either. So we still are seeing an interesting change, but there is of course some research that says cosmopolitan areas are the ones where we can see change. Though, I wouldn’t [call Sarajevo cosmopolitan]. Sarajevo was extremely nationalistic as well. I mean, there must be a difference, but compared to other capitals and other countries, I would say it would be less cosmopolitan because we suffered as a town significantly... after the war, elites have left the town. A significant portion of elites never came back. I mean, when you when you looked at, you know, almost a million people never came back

to Bosnia. After the war, you will find Bosnians [in the abroad] as representative of the elites in academia. Those people never came back. Circumstances in the sense of social values and attitudes and those were then created out of the nationalism. I would dare to say [the difference between Sarajevo and the rest] is not that that big” (interview no. 300).

“I would say that there is a wide divide between capital and outside of the capital. We have that in Albania as well. Tirana has seen lots of development, but nothing one foot outside the capital. In Bosnia, [by contrast] there has been efforts outside of Sarajevo, but it’s not as sustainable.... Pride receiving media coverage will end up in the countryside, but what I have experienced... they don’t really identify with that” (interview no. 305).

Pride Itself:

Activists described the 3,000-person pride as feeling safe and in cooperation with police.

Frames:

-Countrywide for all of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Organizers emphasized that they wanted it to be country-wide and thus included activists from across the country and purposefully called it the *Bosnia and Herzegovina Pride*” (interview no. 302).

- No concrete demands, but the motto: “We want to come out.” This phrase is resonant both internationally and locally, where it is a play on words because it is what people say to get out of the bus. “That’s what you yell to the driver to get off. You don’t push the button.” (interview nos. 302 and 303).

-We as a community are discriminated against, just as are many other groups. We experience the same things and we need solidarity.

-Human rights especially in the terms of access and freedom of assembly.

-They emphasized it was a local event, *not* an international one. “We had to explain this to our supporters from the international community. We didn’t want them in the first line and [be super] visible. We didn’t want the U.S. ambassador on the first line. No [solo international] statements to journalists. They were super helpful and we issued statements jointly. [And they respected our requests] to keep out of it and pushed things to us. We knew we needed their support. And we said ‘yes please help us’ [but don’t take center stage]. The diplomats help [with generating] the police protection” (interview no. 303) (*see also* Ayoub 2013 on this dynamic).

Selected Quotes:

They also emphasized that it was a demonstration: “Some people expected you know, like a celebration and everything, but we were focused on the Pride march as a protest against the violation of human rights and we wanted to show that. And that's why we didn't have a lot of music ... [instead] we singing [songs] all the time that have a strong message about anti-fascism and the fight for rights. [Some] were expecting something else also based on how we think of prides in other countries. This kind of float celebration. [Our Pride was] to raise awareness about all those problems that we have in our country” (interview no. 301).

“I think that's the importance of pride that no one can ignore you. [That] you are everywhere. That gives you power and the possibility to be visible and to have that space that you can act” (interview no. 301).

“One of the things that influenced my LGBTI activism in these countries is research on morality by Jonathan Haidt... Conservative people have five traits: (1) share equally, (2) take care of each other, (3) group cohesion, (4) purity, and (5) hierarchy. As liberal people, we only like the first two. For conservative people they have this group purity/hierarchy as well, but they are not opposed to taking care of each other sharing equally. They just want to know that the other three things are not undermined by that in the process. It is always a struggle to have a first Pride, and then it happens, and people wake up in the morning and find that nothing has changed. Purity has not been overthrown, the leaders of the church have not disappeared. If you can show that these two first moralities don’t take away the others, then it’s okay. That’s why Pride matters” (interview no. 305).

On Counter-Protest:

Counter protests to the event were anticipated, as they are for any first Pride (interview no. 305), but they were described as largely ineffective. Bosnian activists gave examples of the dynamic Ayoub (2016) and O’Dwyer (2018) discusses with counter-protesters at Pride, who inadvertently “shot themselves in the foot” in their selection of tactics.

“When you look at the counter-protests there were very few people. 100 people the first day, 40-50 the second” (interview no. 303).

“The counter-protesters shot themselves in the foot by having a young girl, about 15 years old, hold a sign displaying a key and lock [to convey a] ‘normal’ type of sexual relationship. That was widely criticized for sexualizing a child and flipped the script on who was violating morals. Also, they held [baby-]blue and pink balloons, which they intended to have represented [binary] genders for ‘boy’ and ‘girl’. But, unintentionally, [they used] the trans activism flag[’s colors], which created confusion for spectators, whose side they were supporting. It was a funny mistake” (interview no. 303).

“In general, I would say the first pride is always the most difficult. The hooligans (as I call them in blanket name, which might not be fair to all hooligans) they came out to try and prevent the first pride from happening. Once that has happened and it has been safe, people are accepting. Once it has happened and was media-tized, people seem to accept rather quickly that they are a country that has had a Pride. [For example,] in Bratislava – that happened. The second pride is always easier and always goes much better. The backlash is highest around the first pride and before the pride when groups are trying to prevent it ever happening” (interview no. 305).

Public Quotes:

On visibility localized at Pride: One reason why direct visibility – mentioned above under contact – is limited to the route in contexts with little prior public visibility is partly because participants’ visibility is often limited to the physical space the Pride provides. This means that LGBTQ people are limited to showing themselves to the safety of the group at the Pride route. For example, according to organizers, “Wary of counterdemonstrators and other potential backlash, organizers urged participants to arrive early and avoid displaying ‘any identifiable LGBTIQ features before

entering the secure area,' saying rainbow banners and other materials will be available once inside." Yet, once there, the event is highly visible to onlookers. "Many marchers wore rainbow T-shirts, and beat drums and blew whistles. Others carried rainbow flags and signs that read "United in Differences" and chanted "Death to fascism, freedom to the people!" Many studying Pride in contexts with long traditions of their happening underestimate the political violence that public visibility carries in much of the world. Especially around issues of sexuality and gender, which are deemed as particularly threatening to the social order and national identity, as this paper argues.

Source: <https://www.rferl.org/a/sarajevo-lgbt-pride-parade/30152579.html>

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