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7. Gay Bod: Civic and LGBTQ+ Pride after Brexit in a City on the Margins of the UK and Europe

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In 2017, Kingston-upon-Hull (colloquially 'Hull') celebrated becoming UK City of Culture (UKCoC). This "heritage-inspired cultural mega-event in a stigmatized city" (Tommarchi and Bianchini 2022, 478) situated on the Humber Estuary aimed to restore civic pride amongst Hull's 260,000 residents while countering the marginality projected onto Hull in wider national representations (CPPI 2019). One symbol of Hull's vernacular culture and reinvented identity in 'Hull2017' was the image called 'Dead Bod' – an upturned seabird above the words 'A DEAD BOD,' 'bod' being a homophone with 'bird' in some Hull accents. Its fifty-year history appeared to narrate Hull's decline and regeneration. Painted in the 1960s as a drunken prank on a dockside shed, Dead Bod became familiar to returning seamen (Figure 7.1.) until Hull's North Sea fishing industry collapsed. In 2015, the construction of a new Siemens wind-turbine plant at the dock – a flagship 'green energy' and job creation project – threatened the shed, and Dead Bod, with demolition. A successful local campaign saw Dead Bod installed in the café-bar of Humber Street Gallery, a focal point of Hull's cultural regeneration (Figure 7.2.). Since 2017, local merchandise creators have used this image to symbolize Hull's reimagined identity as aspirational, creative and cosmopolitan. One such object, exhibited at *Pride in Our City* (a Ferens Art Gallery exhibition about LGBTQ+ histories in Hull) in 2021, struck both authors as entangling civic and LGBTQ+ pride. This was a pin-badge outlining the image in rainbow colours with the words 'GAY BOD' (Figure 7.3.).[1]

<Figure 7.1 here>

[1] By 'LGBTQ+' ('lesbian/gay/bisexual/trans/queer/plus'), this chapter refers to groups defined this way in UK heritage/events practice. It uses 'queer' for intellectual traditions self-named as 'queer,' and for historic or present-day sexual/gender difference which fixed categories may not encompass (see Cook and Oram 2022, 10).

Figure 7.1. Robert Mason ‘The Infamous Dead Bod’ (Dead Bod on the Alexandra Dock). CC BY-SA 2.0, 2007.

<Figure 7.2. here>

Figure 7.2. 'Dead Bod' at Humber Street Gallery, Hull. Photo: Howcroft.

<Figure 7.3. here>

Figure 7.3. 'Gay Bod', 2021. Photo: Howcroft.

This object, and Hull2017’s own LGBTQ+ programming strand (‘LGBT50’), engaged two marginalities simultaneously: Hull’s spatialized (cultural and socioeconomic) marginality, and LGBTQ+ communities’ sexual marginality within cisheteronormative society. It also resonated with each author’s research interests in these marginalities’ interactions. Michael had been studying feelings of civic pride and civic shame after Hull2017, and was interested in Hull’s ability to celebrate LGBTQ+ pride being framed as a reason for civic pride (Howcroft, forthcoming); Catherine researches relationships between LGBTQ+ and national identity in the Eurovision Song Contest, which interfaces with different host countries’ and cities’ politics annually (Baker 2017). Both authors also responded through embodied connections with Hull. Michael was born there in the late 1970s, grew up in a nearby village and researched his PhD at Hull in 2017–21. Catherine moved there in 2012 and still lived there in 2017 when she chaired the university’s LGBTQ+ staff network and participated in Hull Pride.

Hull2017’s reimagining of ‘Hullness’ (Atkinson 2012) to counter stigmatization, including asserting Hull’s LGBTQ+-friendliness to supplant stereotypes of Hull as homophobic (Grabher 2021, 2022), would have marked a notable recreation of civic identity from a national margin even without the 2016 Brexit referendum. Yet that vote came to overshadow Hull2017, as questions about Hull’s progressiveness following its notably high ‘Leave’ vote intensified stigmas projected by many people in UK metropolitan areas onto Hull (e.g. Clavane 2017). Hull’s existing marginality within the UK

would also now be compounded by the UK's new marginality within Europe, with a majority of voters in England and Wales (though not Scotland or Northern Ireland) opting to leave the European Union (EU) single market and relinquish freedom of movement within the EU. While the UK had arguably been a marginal 'awkward partner' (George 1990) for the EU even pre-2016, this marginality would be different. Those associating 'Europeanness' with LGBTQ+ rights (see Szulc 2022) might have wondered what the vote revealed about Hull's collective attitude to LGBTQ+ belonging, and LGBT50's role of asserting LGBTQ+-friendliness as deeply embedded within 'Hullness' could therefore have had the extra mission of reversing perceived Brexit stigma. 'Europe' was rarely directly referenced in LGBT50; nevertheless, we suggest, ideas from studying LGBTQ+ cultural events on other margins of Europe can still illuminate LGBTQ+ pride's significance for civic pride at this confluence of spatial and sexual marginalities. As such, it demonstrates the potential of 'thinking from the peripheries' (Kojanić 2020), drawing insights from the anthropology of post-socialist Europe into how other European centres and margins are (un)made.

Spatial and Sexual Marginalities in Hull

We understand marginality as a social construction with demonstrable material and affective consequences in the perceptions and responses of individuals, organizations and states. The complexities of identification with 'Europe' and/or 'the Balkans' in south-east European cultural production, for instance, are intimately linked to the region's cultural and material positioning on 'the margins of Europe' (Antić 2006). In polities with entrenched regional inequalities, marginality is constituted both through inequality-reinforcing policies and through public and everyday discourse (Hörschelmann 2001). To be marginal is arguably to have limited ability to change the power relations placing one at the edge of 'core spaces of political life,' but also to narrate one's identity through marginality and access a "rhetorical strategy of empowerment" by valuing the margins above the centre (Browning and Lehti 2007, 691). Numerous emancipatory traditions thus identify 'the margin(s)' as where thinking and transformative action emerge.

Since place has such a profound emotional meaning in most individuals' narratives of identity, 'territorial stigmatization' (Wacquant 2007) of birthplaces and hometowns becomes internalized into people's narratives of self, creating emotions of shame. While a century ago Hull's "isolation from other great cities" could be described as giving it more "civic consciousness and pride of place" than any other English city (Brown 1926, 319), this changed after the 1960s, when Hull's main industries were hit by containerized shipping and the 1970s 'Cod Wars' (the UK–Iceland fishing-rights dispute). In the 1975 UK referendum on remaining in the European Economic Community (which the UK had joined in 1973), Hull's long-serving MP John Prescott campaigned for 'no' for fear that staying in would 'kill' Hull's fishing industry (Prescott 2013). In today's Hull, many older people view the Common Fisheries Policy as the cause of fishing's local decline, turning the 2016 referendum for some into an opportunity to reverse actions from the 1970s (see Byrne 2015). As one of Michael's interview participants, Pauline (an eighty-six-year-old Leave voter from East Hull), told him: "Look at what they did to fishing in Hull. I didn't want to be 'in' in the first place." For Pauline, 'they' were the distant and suzerain EU, who should be resisted.

Hull's stigmatization in UK culture was affecting Hullensians well before Brexit: in 2003, for instance, a novelty *Book of Crap Towns* ranked Hull 'crappest' in the UK (Jordison and Kieran 2003). Geographers in 2002 were already detailing how Hull's decline had made it "unusually sensitive to its image," "wary of being stereotyped" and of previous unsuccessful image-repair attempts (Atkinson, Cooke, and Spooner 2002, 27). In 2013, the (Hull-born) sociologist Mark Featherstone (2013, 180) declared: "ask anybody [...] what life is like in Hull [...] and they will tend to respond in the same way: 'it's crap,'" signifying Hull's pre-Brexit political, social, economic and cultural situation. The stigmatization in expressions like 'crap town' was evidently class-based, although stigma is not the only problem associated with poverty, and UK government policies on poverty since the 1980s have arguably been overly limited to eliminating stigmatizing attitudes rather than reducing poverty itself (Scambler 2018).

Action on material inequalities is sorely needed in Hull, which in 2017 reportedly had the UK's eighth-highest unemployment rate (32.7 per cent) and the third-highest number of unemployment benefit claimants (Centre for Cities 2017). Hull also had the second-lowest rate of working-age people with 'high-level qualifications' and the eleventh-highest rate of 'no formal qualifications,' and average weekly earnings were 461.60 pounds, compared to the national average of 524.50 pounds (ibid). Hull's poor economic performance has been related to its distance from larger cities and airports (Laister 2021), its slow rail links (ibid), a chronic skills shortage (Centre for Cities 2017), and Westminster governments failing to accompany rhetoric about addressing regional inequalities with devolved fiscal control (Giovannini 2018). Before Brexit, these all compounded Hull's spatial and economic marginality.

The sexual marginality of queer communities, meanwhile, interacts with spatial marginality in locales like Hull differently to the situation in London and other metropoles. Queer people and other communities on social margins have long tended or been compelled to live and socialize on cities' spatial margins, in spaces "beyond the control and active policy-making reach" of state and city governments (Bell and Binnie 2004, 1815). In London, Brighton and Manchester, however, local and national authorities in the late 1990s and early 2000s began supporting the neoliberal commercialization and gentrification of 'gay villages.' This Global North metropolitan phenomenon has left more socially marginalized queer residents bereft of less gentrified and commercialized queer spaces (Burchiellaro 2021). These metropolitan developments are less relevant for Hull, which still has only a few LGBTQ+ venues and no defined 'gay village.' Instead, Hull is among the many more marginal cities, towns and rural locations that queer scholars, activists and heritage practitioners now increasingly seek to recognize by rejecting 'metronormativity' (see Cook and Oram 2022). LGBT50 thus contributed not just to Hull2017 but also to a UK and European movement to boost Pride events in marginal locales (see Ammaturo 2022). Many such locales in the UK fall into the spatial imaginary of what Brexit discourses term the 'left behind.'

Brexit and the Marginalities of Hull

Brexit's spatial and socioeconomic contexts remain contested. Though Danny Dorling and Sally Tomlinson (2019, 28–30) have mapped the Leave vote to middle-class 'middle England,' Brexit's strongest spatial imaginary is arguably the idea that areas "left behind" by the neoliberal economy (Sykes 2018, 147–8), including Hull, were likeliest to vote Leave. "Left behindness" was not a novel idea in 2016: twenty-five years previously, Rob Shields (1991, 3) had defined 'marginal' places as "towns and regions that have been 'left behind' in the modern race for progress" and become somehow Other to supposedly great cultural centres. In 2016, however, 'left behindness' became constructed as defining a large constituency of Leave voters. Hull's 67.6 per cent Leave majority, compared to the UK-wide leave majority of 51.9 per cent, was second-highest in the UK (Electoral Commission 2016). Many commentators interpreted Hull's 'overwhelming' decision to vote for Brexit as inward-looking and protectionist (e.g. Bevington 2018), and some understood it as strange for a 'Brexit' city to host UKCoC (e.g. Clavane 2017). This occurred amid national debates relating Brexit to anxieties over immigration, and racial and ethnic difference (Valluvan and Kalra 2019, 2394).

Hull's high Leave vote might also have been surprising when Hull had just received significant EU-based investment, including Siemens's 310 million pounds for its wind-turbine plant (where 96 per cent of the 700 new jobs went to Hull residents), and 99.48 million pounds in 2014–20 from EU structural and investment funding (Bounds 2016). Perhaps EU funding had not sufficed to 'buy loyalty,' or perhaps it came too late to reverse local scepticism of the EU, which had existed ever since the decline of fishing. Weak partnership working, and limited local-government capacity across the Humber region, might also have resulted in underbidding for EU structural funds and have restricted the effectiveness of the funding the region did win (Gibbs et al. 2001). While Hull2017's programme and public narratives had been developed before Brexit around the central theme of "a

city coming out of the shadows" (Hull2017 2013, 3), perceptions that Hull had voted against its own material interests for isolationist reasons created even more perceived shadows to emerge from.

Before Hull2017, a disconnect was therefore noticeable between its organizers' "desire […] to portray Hull as a progressive, internationalist city" and Hull voters' "inferred priorities" (Nicholas 2019, 3). Hull2017's chief executive and artistic director Martin Green, ex-head of ceremonies for the London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics (see Baker 2015), had described Hull in 2015 as "an outward looking, progressive European city" (Hull CoC 2015). Yet in 2015's general election the far-right UK Independence Party came third in all three Hull constituencies. Official Hull2017 literature, which initially referred to Hull as a 'European city,' called it a 'Northern city' after the Brexit vote. This may partly have referenced the then government's 'Northern Powerhouse' economic regeneration strategy, but certainly also contributed to an increasingly localist counterpoint to internationalism and Europeanism. Indeed, in an interview Hull artist and activist Richard Lees described Hull's UKCoC year as "UK City of *Brexit* Culture" (our italics), for reasons including its failure to more fully include Hull's ethnic-minority communities, which, Lees argues, represent Hull's "genuine cultural transformation" since 2000.

Hull's profile of demographic change arguably resembles smaller English towns more than larger cities. Hull's population peaked at 300,000 in the 1930s, but steadily decreased later. It also witnessed much less post-1948 Caribbean and South Asian migration than many UK cities, though the earliest-known Black presence in Hull dates to 1598 (African Stories 2021). Nearly 97 per cent of Hull's population in the 2001 census was of 'White British' ethnicity (3.3 per cent belonged to ethnic minorities), and most overseas-born residents were international students. In 2000, however, Hull became a designated Home Office "dispersal" site for refugees, and after the EU enlargement in 2004 it also received unprecedented labour migration from Central and Eastern Europe. Its ethnic-minority population had risen to 10.3 per cent by 2011 (Platts-Fowler and Robinson 2015, 483).

Granular 2021 census data for Hull is not yet available, though preliminary results suggest its population is quite settled, since the largest age group in Hull is ten years older than in 2011 (Office for National Statistics 2022). Falling numbers aged twenty to twenty-four suggest young residents moving away for work, education and training, while rising numbers aged thirty to thirty-nine suggests some are returning – perhaps to start families.

For some, including Hull's 2011–21 council leader Stephen Brady, demographic changes were an indicator that Hull was fulfilling municipal ambitions: in 2017, Brady praised a "fantastic" sense of "belief in Hull" due partly "to the confidence being the UK City of Culture has generated[,] and it's heartening that people are choosing to make Hull their home" (Ottewell and Grove 2017). For others, however, immigration has created anxiety. A few of Michael's research participants spoke fearfully and angrily about it, occasionally using racist terminology, such as calling Hull's Spring Bank area 'Springbankistan' because Kurdish immigrants had settled there. As elsewhere in England and Wales with high Leave votes, immigration seems to have been a key motivator for Hull voters (Murphy 2018, 202). In instrumentalizing (ethno)cultural diversity to promote the economic positives of cultural regeneration, Brady's comment arguably both missed the voters' point *and* missed an opportunity to demonstrate leadership about the benefits and challenges of cultural pluralism in an age of austerity.

Michael's research also collected many moving accounts from participants who saw 'other cities' as offering more than Hull, a place shaped by derelict buildings that visually remind residents of the deeper wounds from being forgotten or 'left behind' and where voting never changes anything. While such expressions of civic shame are less explored than emotions of pride in cultural mega-event host cities, Hull has long battled negative perceptions, stigmatization and low self-esteem, and for such a city, attending with care to these negative feelings might be more transformative than entrepreneurial discourses (Boland, Murtagh, and Shirlow 2020) of 'regeneration.' During Hull2017,

the conjunction of pride and shame in Hull's spatial marginality post-2016 merged with the emotions of pride and shame invoked by sexual marginality to create one affective frame through which LGBTQ+ Hull residents might experience the LGBT50 programme.

Marginality and Pride during LGBT50

LGBT50, in July 2017, coincided with Hull's annual Pride, which has run since 2001 – a relatively late date as UK cities go (see Cook and Oram 2022, 120). Its title's '50' commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of sex between men being partially decriminalized in England and Wales (see Jowett 2017). This 1967 reform had not applied to men under twenty-one, imposed stricter privacy tests than for heterosexual sex, and had not immediately extended to Scotland or Northern Ireland. Neither had gay and bisexual men's lives changed overnight, as they still faced workplace discrimination and police harassment (Cook and Oram 2022, 194). The reform nevertheless facilitated a new phase in LGBTQ+ activism and was widely commemorated by UK heritage organizations in 2017.

Besides Hull Pride, LGBT50 also involved local partners hosting talks, performances, screenings and exhibitions (Catherine organized talks at the university and spoke about her Eurovision research), plus opening and closing participatory events curated by the London art collective Duckie. For Pride itself, Duckie and heritage researcher E-J Scott designed a participatory art project '50 Queers for 50 Years,' based on craft workshops where they helped local volunteers to create fifty giant icons of figures from post-1967 national and local queer history, to be carried by groups in the Pride parade. Hull Pride 2017 was larger scale than usual because of UKCoC, and also because the newly founded UK Pride Organisers Network (UKPON) had named it the first annual 'UK Pride,' entitling it to extra promotion: this concept of a rotating 'UK Pride' spotlighting smaller, non-metropolitan Prides reflected a wider UK and European upsurge of new Prides in marginal locales (Ammaturo 2022). Hull

Pride 2017's 40,000 visitors were unprecedented for a Hull LGBTQ+-themed event (Grabher 2022, 65).

Hull2017 thus catalysed – and Gay Bod made visible – an idea that LGBTQ+ pride had become part of Hull's civic pride. This narrative was established in Hull's cultural sector by 2021 and has appeared in Michael's research. Understanding how 'pride' operated in Hull2017 can thus draw on theories of both spatial and sexual marginality. Both literatures find connections between pride and shame. In locales where individuals' opportunities to feel personal pride are socioeconomically constrained, for instance, Loïc Wacquant (2007, 68) argues residents may reduce their sense of social indignity by forcing the stigma onto demonized others, developing an entrenched but exclusionary pride in their connection to place. Queer theory, too, relates pride and shame, with Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1993, 5) claiming that "shame and pride […] are different interlinings of the same glove." The shame and stigma attached to both spatial and sexual marginality can arouse a "hyper-alertness to one's place in the world" (Munt 2019, 226), with particular sensitivities around hierarchy and status. These cultural politics of shame circulate powerfully in Hull, where a desire for civic transformation and for external *recognition* of that transformation – felt as pride – runs through Hull's contemporary sense of self.

Michael and Catherine both experienced dichotomous pulls of pride and shame during Hull2017 events. In January 2017, Michael attended the opening event, *We Are Hull*, in what is arguably Hull's central civic space, Queen Victoria Square. This spectacular fifteen-minute multimedia sound and light installation featured several Hullensians among its senior creative team. Its dynamic film and animation sequences projected onto the square's three civic buildings illustrated Hull's recent history with tragic and joyous images, including the Hull Blitz, the annual Hull Fair, the 1968 triple trawler ship sinkings and the winning goal that saw Hull City FC promoted into English football's top division for the first time in 104 years. Joining the crowds bearing witness to Hull's cultural 'coming

of age,' and watching the projected clocks count down to the beginning, Michael remembers feeling many emotions, including excitement, curiosity and a certain amount of cynicism:

> The combination of the celestial music, the ethereal lighting and the bustle of the crowd all activated a kind of shame/pride awareness in me. An anticipatory dread. I felt previously dormant shame/pride sensations rise to the surface, and negative thoughts such as 'Will they pull this off?' and 'Please don't be shit' competed with 'This looks amazing!' and 'Come on Hull!'
>
> Towards the end of the presentation, an assemblage of famous contemporary Hullensians merged with those of the near and distant past in a visual roll call of Hull's influential sons and daughters. Having witnessed the city in flames minutes earlier, the effect of this sequence was stirring. Heightening the effect, the musical soundtrack achingly approached its cinematic conclusion and eventually, at the brassy finale, the words 'WE ARE HULL' were emblazoned on the buildings in block capitals. Phoenix-like, Hull's inhabitants had risen from the ashes and were given brief, flickering presence. For once, at last, we were in the spotlight for something positive, and despite the winter rain, it generated a feeling of warmth – I felt proud of my city.

Catherine also watched *We Are Hull*, with some university colleagues, and remembers approaching it more detachedly: what historical and cultural references would it assemble to narrate a shared past? She too was hoping the spectacular claims about it would be borne out. Her more personal involvement with Hull2017 came through LGBT50 and Hull Pride, in July. In moving to Hull for her lectureship, Catherine had been among those "queer arrivals" who relocate not primarily to find queer community but for reasons "common to everyone," like employment (Cook and Oram 2022, 135). Her existing queer social life was outside Hull, and in late July (when Hull Pride happens) she

was usually away for research. In 2017, however, the university was sponsoring Hull Pride, and its staff and student LGBTQ+ groups were going to march together. The university group was given one of the '50 Queers for 50 Years' icons, the artist David Hockney, on the end of a long pole (Catherine took him over when the group turned towards Queen Victoria Square, and promptly marched him into a tree).

Catherine did feel pride that queer people and histories were 'finally' getting nearer the centre of mainstream cultural activity and commemoration in Hull, especially because of Hull's stigmatized reputation nationally. She hoped it might help the university recruit more LGBTQ+ staff, though institutional downsizing has frustrated that. Feeling and embodying that pride, however, was still entangled with shame: at not having joined in earlier with queer life in Hull; at possibly having damaged the artefact entrusted to her group because she rarely participated in parades; at knowing very few people at the Pride celebrations in Queen's Gardens (Hull's city-centre park, built in the 1930s over another former dock). She remembers, in the late afternoon, wandering off to buy an ice-cream cone and sheltering with it under a tree during a cloudburst that had broken out while the 1990s girl band B*Witched were on stage. Maybe, she thought, she had not managed to be queer in a way that was joinable-in-with in the city where she lived. Today, she remembers LGBT50 with a certain shame that, despite its apparent impact, Hull is still not as attractive a place for queer people to move to as many other northern cities have become.

For both Michael and Catherine, external perceptions of Hull were reference points for their personal mixtures of pride and shame during Hull2017 – though neither remembers thinking much about how 'Europe' would view Hull, indicating how 'the national' framed their subjectivities. LGBT50's own national frame of reference was intriguingly articulated through Hull2017's co-operation with London-based Duckie, which curated '50 Queers' and the closing daytime LGBT50 event, an 'Alternative Summer Tea Party' in Queen Victoria Square. Duckie did not reflect London's

commercialized LGBTQ+ scene so much as marginality *within* the capital, styling themselves as 'purveyors of progressive working-class entertainment.'[2] E-J Scott had previously used community workshops in Brighton to collect objects and experiences for a 'Museum of Transology,' and through similar workshops in Hull they identified 'icons' from Hull's own LGBTQ+ past to join more nationally prominent figures in the parade (British Council 2017).[3] Duckie and Scott thus both represented challenges to metronormativity. During LGBT50, Duckie producers distanced themselves from mainstream Pride aesthetics like rainbow branding or conventional Pride pop concerts (Grabher 2021, 207). In attempting to catalyse civic pride with an expression of LGBTQ+ pride from a spatial margin, LGBT50 resonated with activist practices on other margins of Europe, even though 'Europe' was not foregrounded during LGBT50's largest events.

LGBTQ+ Pride and Civic Pride on Other Margins of Europe

The "regional queer flourish" (Cook and Oram 2022, 5) of heritage and events practice across the UK's many margins during the 2010s, including LGBT50, may rarely have referred to 'Europe' but still contributed to a European flourishing of Prides in more marginal locales (Ammaturo 2022). Moreover, just as the UKCoC concept was devised so that more UK cities besides Glasgow and Liverpool (European Capitals of Culture in 1990 and 2008 respectively) could reap the perceived regenerative benefits of year-long cultural festivals (Tommarchi and Bianchini 2022, 484), UKPON's rotating 'UK Pride' also had a European model, EuroPride.[4] EuroPride, first celebrated by London in 1992, is coordinated by the European Pride Organisers Association (EPOA), to which UKPON belongs. EPOA is a prime mover in the transnational "diffusion and standardization" of Pride (Peterson, Wahlström, and Wennerhag 2018, 24), and indeed several Hull Pride trustees visited Rotterdam

[2] Duckie launched the alternative club night 'Gay Shame' (to coincide with London Prides) in 1996 (Silverstone 2012, 64), and expanded into daytime community projects in 2010–11.

[3] Scott's heritage practice now also involves West Yorkshire (Cook and Oram 2022, 212).

[4] All UK Prides so far have spotlighted less metropolitan places: Hull 2017; Isle of Wight 2018 (headlined by Conchita Wurst, winner of Eurovision 2014); Newry 2019 ('UK and Ireland Pride'); 'Northern Pride' 2022 in Newcastle; Weston-super-Mare 2023.

before Hull2017 to observe "how our Euro peers provided care and support to their own community" (Pride in Hull 2017). The diffusion of Pride, nevertheless, still entails translating that (US-conceived) format into activists' specific civic and national contexts, and spatial marginalities influence these translations.

Here, insights from studies of Pride in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) may inform studies of Pride on other spatial margins. In the context of EU accession processes since the early 2000s, when CEE's first Prides were held, the West and the EU have regarded cities' and countries' ability to safely stage LGBTQ+ events as a so-called "litmus test" (Bilić 2016, 118) of their membership readiness and 'Europeanness.' Such litmus testing has also become internalized in national political identity discourses within CEE (Kahlina 2015). Asserting LGBTQ+-friendliness in these places has asserted simultaneously cosmopolitan, progressive and 'European' identities for them, countering widespread Western European prejudices that their marginal locations must make them intrinsically homophobic and backward "internal sexual Others" to the rainbow-friendly West (Szulc 2022, 388; see also Lewicki 2022). Key to the litmus test is safely and successfully holding cultural events. Ljubljana's LGBTQ film festival thus proudly badges itself as Europe's oldest, dating back to 1984 (Kajinić 2016, 14); in 2017, Kyiv city authorities repainted a contested Soviet arch in rainbow colours to coincide with Kyiv's hosting of Eurovision followed by Kyiv Pride. For local supporters of Pride and Europeanization, successfully holding LGBTQ+-themed events both resists the stigma of marginality and fuses civic and LGBTQ+ pride.

Another relevant insight into civic pride, concerning embodied feelings of marginality and peripherality, comes from the anthropology of deindustrialization and disenfranchisement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Michael's interviews in Hull were replete with participants' negative feelings about having to live amid the consequences of distributional inequalities, the stigma of being from a place held back by them, and the dislocation of knowing a materially better life might only be possible

through moving elsewhere. The Bosnian scholar and activist Danijela Majstorović describes this affective process as the shaping of "peripheral selves." For Majstorović (2021, 2, 71), "peripheralness" is not a spatial fact but an experience resulting from being oppressed or disadvantaged by a 'centre' of power, which affects people's bodies, discourses and desires. It is also a collective experience, which can lead people to sympathize with particularist projects promising their community a better life at others' expense, but – once different peripheralized groups start seeing their circumstances as linked – can also create solidarity between different communities of peripheral selves.

Despite numerous material differences between Bosnia and the UK – especially the consequences of the 1990s Yugoslav wars – everyday experiences of marginality in both places have some commonalities. Many industries that used to give citizens both prospects and pride have been largely destroyed, albeit for different reasons; neoliberal capitalism has hollowed out much of what the state, and workplaces, once did for the public; few young people perceive good future lives in their own hometowns; political disenfranchisement is endemic, and hardly anybody feels like their vote counts. In Hull as well, and in many parts of the UK except its most fortunate pockets, we might sense what another Bosnian anthropologist, Larisa Kurtović (2018, 45), calls a "loss of faith in a transformative futurity," where people long for things to change so they can have better lives and take pride in the place where they live, yet have no confidence the system will ever let that happen. A notion of being able to 'take back control' over that system, as repeatedly promised by the Leave campaign, is thus often said to be why so many UK voters chose Brexit in 2016 (Menon and Wager 2020).

Those voting for Brexit also, however, opted for an outcome constraining trade with the UK's closest neighbours and even their own personal mobility, while throwing the residency rights of three million citizens of other EU countries into existential insecurity. Exit from the EU human-rights

regime was cheered by many prominent Leave campaigners but left many LGBTQ+ people in the UK fearing the loss of supranational protection should a future UK government attack their rights (Danisi, Dustin, and Ferreira 2019). According to èukasz Szulc (2022), EU human rights have created an affective shelter of “protective Europeanness” for queer CEE migrants alarmed by the political entrenchment of anti-LGBTQ+ nationalism in their home country *and*, since Brexit, the country where they now live: their reactions create ‘Europe’ from one country’s ethno-national and socioeconomic margin and two countries’ sexual margins at once.

Some subsidiary LGBT50 events did connect Hull with Europe, especially the film festival (including the ‘Yorkshire premiere’ of *Tom of Finland* and a preview of *God’s Own Country*, about a Yorkshire farmer’s son falling for a Romanian farmhand).[5] Pride’s links with Rotterdam also added a European context behind the scenes. In the programme’s largest events, however, the ‘Europes’ being created by central and eastern Europeans of any sexuality were scarcely visible. Duckie’s ’50 Queers’ had recognized queer British people of colour across almost a fifth of the icons (Duckie 2017), although – bringing to mind Lees’ critical remarks about Hull2017’s ethnic-minority representation – none were known for links to Hull.[6] Conversely, no icon had strong links to continental Europe except George Michael, whose family was from the simultaneously European and Commonwealth country of Cyprus, and the actor Miriam Margolyes, whose Jewish ancestors came from Belarus and Poland.

In the Hull of 2017, central and eastern Europeans, who might well have experienced xenophobia in public even before 2016, would certainly have been among the “categories […] whose marginality and ‘otherness’ were further exacerbated by Brexit” (Guma and Dafydd Jones 2019, 6). In ’50 Queers’ and LGBT50, queer CEE migrants were not just marginal, but among what Lola Okolosie terms “the absent, those *beyond* marginality” (2014, 94, our emphasis). This bears out arguments

[5] Catherine’s own public talk, on Eurovision, also discussed European LGBTQ+ politics.
[6] Humber Street Gallery’s photography exhibition *House of Kings and Queens*, meanwhile, depicted LGBTQ+ lives in Hull’s twin town of Freetown, Sierra Leone.

that the diffusion of Pride's transnational cultural repertoire into expressing the culture and identity of marginal locales may become partial or alienating to some community members if it mobilizes 'exclusionary' understandings of who fully belongs versus who is only marginal (Ammaturo 2022, 9). The "multi-dimensional processes of racialization" unfolding in the UK since 2004 (Böröcz and Sarkar 2017, 312) had, here, begun recognizing queer people of colour with Commonwealth heritage as constitutive of the nation while, by omission, treating continental Europe as an unexamined, separate space.

Conclusion

Hull2017's celebration of Pride, and the 'Gay Bod' pin which fixed Hull2017's LGBTQ+ narratives in wearable – and exhibitable – form, combined two marginalities: Hull's marginality within England and the UK, and queer people's marginality within cisheteronormative society. These spatial and sexual marginalities interact today in ways ranging from the UK's regional queer heritage "flourish" to the "camp aesthetic" of contemporary Eurovision, which Ivan Raykoff (2019, 6) sees as expressing "a reevaluation of […] marginality, whether […] the marginality of sexual minorities" or "of the newly-admitted countries on Europe's shifting eastern borders." Hull, on the disadvantaged and belittled margin of a country divided over whether it even belonged in 'Europe,' was positioned as re-evaluating its own outsider status through Hull2017. The notion of Hull as an 'edgy' place which 'does things differently' led into LGBT50's collaboration with Duckie, who came from London but identified with marginality within the metropole. Meanwhile, Dead Bod's morphing into Gay Bod, at first amusing in its cheekiness when spotted on display in 2021, hints at how deep themes of 'pride' and 'coming out' might be not just within LGBTQ+ Hull residents' self-narrations but even within the contemporary self-narration of Hull's civic identity.

As a year-long cultural event, Hull2017 offered potential to stimulate new communal feeling and reinforce existing power relations through its "affective atmospheres" (Closs Stephens 2016). That

potential manifested, in 2017, in the aftermath of Hull's notably high Brexit vote, which accentuated but did not create the perceived stigma that Hull2017 needed to repair. Throughout Hull2017, organizers and other stakeholders designed and engineered affective atmospheres of civic pride in, on and over Hull, enacting a form of emotional governance which influenced, and sometimes exploited, local feelings and senses of belonging. LGBT50 added to these atmospheres the further dimension of participants' feelings about belonging or marginality as LGBTQ+ people in the city, drawing on individuals' complex and personal understandings of pride and place – as Michael and Catherine both observed during Hull2017.

LGBT50's harnessing of spatial and sexual marginality did not directly relate itself to 'Europe,' but knowledge about and from other margins of Europe still helps contextualize it. In particular, we follow Ognjen Kojanić (2020, 51) in suggesting that the anthropology of post-socialism in Europe can inform a wider anthropology of European margins by highlighting the "shifting geographies of capitalism where centres and peripheries are constantly made and unmade." The Brexit vote, which moved the UK onto a new margin of Europe while appearing to promise Leave voters on the nation's margins that it would return them to the centre, unmade one centrality. Without Brexit, LGBT50 would already have asserted that having and openly celebrating LGBTQ+ history was a reason to feel proud of coming from Hull, and stood as evidence of Hull's transformation. After the vote, symbolically bringing this sexual margin into the city centre additionally asserted that Hull's culture was *still* progressive, even though a majority of Hull voters had rejected the EU.

In July 2022, when the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was confirmed as presenting Eurovision 2023 on Ukraine's behalf, larger UK cities began promoting themselves as hosts. Hullensians, however, knew Hull was not a contender: it had too few hotels, major international airports were too far away, and the arena opened to attract bigger live acts post-UKCoC was still too small. The shortlisting of seven cities not including London implied one narrative surrounding the

2023 host city would be civic pride, and civic LGBTQ+ pride, beyond the capital. Spatially, this echoed the then government's so-called "levelling-up" agenda, which promoted place-based equality of opportunity rather than action on individual inequalities linked to social identities (Espiet-Kilty 2022, 215). It also occurred during a Conservative leadership run-off where both candidates expressed scepticism of trans equality and racial justice measures (see Stanley 2022, 146), promising dissonance in 2023 between ministerial discourse about civic pride and the fusion of civic and LGBTQ+ pride that influences Eurovision host cities' affective atmosphere.[7] Hull2017 had unfolded in a city more spatially marginal than any prospective Eurovision 2023 host and was not structurally tasked with expressing 'Europeanness' as Eurovision is. However, negotiations of spatial and sexual margins during Hull2017 still illustrated 'Europe' serving as a tacit background for co-articulations of civic and LGBTQ+ pride.

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[7] Since this chapter was drafted, both leadership contenders (Liz Truss and Rishi Sunak) have been prime minister, and Liverpool has been confirmed as Eurovision 2023's host city.

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