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Ružičasti prostori potrošnje: istraživački dosezi i perspektive

Pink consumption areas: research accomplishments and future perspectives

Ružičasti prostori potrošnje podrazumijevaju skup mjesta koja su kreirana i/ili koja se odlikuju visokim stupnjem otvorenosti prema LGBT zajednici. Istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje javljaju se 1990-ih godina, gotovo bez iznimke smještaju se u urbani kontekst, a geografski su ograničena uglavnom na prostore Angloamerike i Zapadne Europe. Kao ishodišna mjesta ružičaste potrošnje identificirani su noćni klubovi, no liberalizacijom društvenih odnosa u zemljama svjetskoga Sjevera ružičasti prostori potrošnje sve se više diversificiraju. Ipak, dominiraju mjesta zabave, a njima je posvećeno i najviše istraživačke pozornosti. Razmjerno je dobro istražen i sustav kupovine, uključujući upravljanje potrošnjom i tzv. *rainbow washing*, dok su proučavanja kulture i zdravlja u znatnom deficitu. Istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje obilježena su zajedničkim metodološkim problemima. Središnji je problem nepostojanje popisa LGBT osoba, čime je gotovo onemogućen bilo koji vid probabilističkoga uzrokovanja. Shodno tomu kvalitativna istraživanja, temeljena na metodama intervjua, razgovorima u fokus-grupama i geosemiotičkoj analizi, u novije vrijeme prevladavaju nad kvantitativnim istraživanjima.

Cljučne riječi: ružičasta potrošnja, LGBT, kupovina, zabava

Pink consumption areas are a collection of places that were created and/or stand out for their openness towards the LGBT community. Research of pink consumption first arose in the 1990s and took place in an urban context almost without exception, and was largely geographically limited to Anglo-America and Western Europe. Night clubs have been identified as the starting points of pink consumption, but pink consumer spaces are becoming increasingly diversified with the liberalisation of social relations in the Western world. However, entertainment remains the dominant domain and the most research attention has been focused on this area. Purchasing systems, including consumption management called rainbow washing, has also been well studied, though studies on culture and health related to this area are strongly lacking. Research of pink consumption spaces shares a common methodology with this issue. A central issue is the lack of a public list of LGBT persons, which makes it virtually impossible to have any form of probability sampling. Accordingly, qualitative research based on the interview method, focus group discussions, and geosemiotic analyses are more frequently used than quantitative research.

Key words: pink consumption, LGBT, shopping, entertainment

Uvod

U sekundarnoj literaturi ne postoji konsenzus oko odabira prikladne terminologije kojom bi se označila potrošnja LGBT+ osoba.¹ Među korištenim sintagmama poput LGBT potrošnje, *queer*-potrošnje, dugine potrošnje i ružičaste potrošnje odabrana je posljednja. Naime, LGBT je sadržajno preuzak pojam, a dodavanje oznake + može biti nepraktično. Termin *queer* nerijetko se koristi kao krovni pojam za sve LGBT osobe, ali je on višeznačan te podrazumijeva i poziciju koja u pitanje dovodi samu ideju normativnosti. Dugina potrošnja je glede sročnosti u hrvatskom jeziku pomalo nespretna sintagma. Stoga je kao najbolji označitelj istaknut pridjev „ružičast”. Ružičasta potrošnja podrazumijeva potrošačke aktivnosti i prakse koje ostvaruju LGBT osobe. Shodno tomu ružičasta mjesta potrošnje bit će ona koja su kreirana specifično za LGBT osobe ili mjesta koja se odlikuju visokim stupnjem otvorenosti prema LGBT zajednici. Iako uporaba akronima LGBT upućuje na to da se istraživači bave različitim seksualnim i rodnim identitetima, treba napomenuti da je glavina pažnje usmjerena prema gej muškarcima (Reilly i dr., 2008; Yaksich, 2008; Oakenfull, 2013; Mattson, 2014; Strubel i Petrie, 2018). Lezbijke su znatno manje zastupljene (Maclaren i dr., 2017; Eisend i Hermann, 2019; Kenttamaa-Squires, 2019), a ostale rodne i seksualne manjine istraživački su gotovo marginalizirane. Istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje javljaju se 1990-ih godina. Dugo su bila ograničena na prostore Angloamerike i Zapadne Europe, no posljednjih desetak godina znanstveni interes za tu temu pojavljuje se i u ostalim dijelovima svijeta (Australija,

Introduction

In secondary literature, there is no consensus regarding which terminology should refer to consumption by LGBT+ persons¹. Among the *syntagmata* used, such as LGBT consumption, queer consumption, rainbow consumption, and pink consumption, the last has been selected for this paper. LGBT is too narrow of a concept, and the addition of the + sign can be impractical. The term queer is often used as an umbrella term for all LGBT persons, but it has multiple meanings and implies a position that questions the very idea of normalcy. Rainbow consumption is a clumsy term when translated into Croatian (*dugina potrošnja*). Therefore, the adjective “pink” was selected as the best descriptor. Pink consumption implies all consumer activities and practices exercised by LGBT persons. Accordingly, pink consumption areas are those which were created specifically for LGBT persons, or places that stand out for being very open to the LGBT community. Though the use of the acronym LGBT suggests that researchers are examining different sexual and gender identities, it should be noted that the majority of attention has been focused on gay men (Reilly et al., 2008; Yaksich, 2008; Oakenfull, 2013; Mattson, 2014; Strubel and Petrie, 2018). Lesbians are far less represented in the literature (Maclaren et al., 2017; Eisend and Hermann, 2019; Kenttamaa-Squires, 2019), while other gender and sexual minorities have been effectively marginalised in existing research. The first research on pink consumption appeared in the 1990s, and largely remained limited to the regions of Anglo-America and Western Europe. However, over the past decade, scientific interest in this topic has appeared in other parts of the world (Australia,

1 Kišobran pojam *LGBT+* obuhvaća širok spektar seksualnih i rodnih manjina čija bi potpunija pokrata bila *LGBTQQIAAP*. Ona se, redom, odnosi na lezbijke (žene koje privlače druge žene), gej muškarce (muškarce koje privlače drugi muškarci), biseksualne osobe (osobe koje privlače i žene i muškarci), transrodne osobe (osobe čiji se rodni identitet razlikuje od spola pripisanog pri rođenju), *queer* osobe (osobe koje se ne žele rodno binarno identificirati ili koje se ne žele identificirati samo na temelju seksualnosti), *questioning* (osobe koje istražuju svoju seksualnost ili rodni identitet), interpolne osobe (osobe čiji tijelo medicinski ni društveno nije u potpunosti muško niti žensko), saveznici (engl. *allies*) (uglavnom heteroseksualne osobe koje podržavaju LGBT+ zajednicu), aseksualne osobe (osobe koje druge osobe seksualno ne privlače), panseksualne osobe (osobe koje privlače druge osobe, neovisno o spolu i rodu) (Milković i Štambuk, 2019; MHMW, 2021). U nastavku teksta, radi jednostavnosti, samo LGBT.

1 The umbrella term *LGBT+* encompasses a broad spectrum of sexual and gender minorities, where the full abbreviation would be *LGBTQQIAAP*. The term refers to lesbians (women who are attracted to other women), gay men (men who are attracted to other men), bisexual persons (persons attracted to both men and women), transgender persons (persons whose gender identity differs from their sex at birth), *queer* persons (persons who do not wish to have a binary gender identification or who do not wish to identify solely on the basis of sexuality), *questioning* (persons who are questioning their sexuality or gender identity), intersex persons (persons whose body is not fully male or female, in medical and/or social terms), allies (usually heterosexual persons who support the LGBT+ community), asexual persons (persons not sexually attracted to other persons), pansexual persons (persons attracted to other persons independent of sex and gender) (Milković and Štambuk, 2019; MHMW, 2021). Hereinafter we use only LGBT for the sake of simplicity.

Istočna i Južna Azija, Brazil, Južna Afrika). Cilj je ovoga rada ponuditi pregled tih istraživanja s geografskoga aspekta. Za prikupljanje relevantnih radova korištene su baze podataka *Scopus* i *Web of Science Core Collection*. Pritom je težište stavljeno na geografske radove te one koji više pažnje posvećuju prostoru.

Ružičasti prostori u okviru geografskoga proučavanja potrošnje

Potrošnja je izrazito prostorni proces. Svaki oblik potrošnje kreira sebi svojstvene komercijalizirane krajolike. Tako će ružičasta potrošnja oblikovati napose jedinstven tip urbanih prostora. Međutim, potrošnja se, ma kakva ona bila, u različitim prostorima različito manifestira; transformira prostor, ali je o njemu i ovisna. Geografska raznolikost potrošnje i pripadajućih mjesta u najvećoj je mjeri ovisna o sociokulturnim dimenzijama prostora (Coe i dr., 2007). To zacijelo nudi ispravan odgovor na pitanje zašto su istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje zasad bila ograničena gotovo isključivo na zemlje svjetskoga Sjevera. Ujedno je i važan argument zbog kojega će radovi biti klasificirani s obzirom na potrošačke sustave kako ih vidi geografija. Naime, imajući u vidu da su relativno nova pojava, kao i s obzirom na limitiranost prostora u kojima postoji realizirani znanstveni interes, prostor i vrijeme ne mogu biti relevantne odrednice za klasifikaciju prethodnih istraživanja. U geografiji razlikujemo četiri osnovne potrošačke aktivnosti – kupovinu, prehranu, zabavu i kulturu (Jakovčić, 2011). U svrhu veće primjenjivosti klasifikacijskoga okvira, pojam prehrane zamijenit ćemo pojmom zdravlja.

Sve je veći broj radova koji se bave ružičastom potrošnjom. Pretraživanjem kombinacije pojmova *consumption* i *LGBT* ili *gay* ili *lesbian* ili *pink* ili *rainbow* ili *queer* u bazama podataka *Scopus* i *Web of Science Core Collection* u srpnju 2021. godine identificiran je 231 rad koji se bavi ružičastom potrošnjom (sl. 1). Od toga je 16,9 % radova objavljeno u geografskim časopisima. Tijekom 1990-ih godina ti su radovi razmjerno rijetki, na što je dobrim dijelom utjecala epidemija AIDS-a i zaokupljenost s time povezanim temama. Od 2000-ih godina pri-

South and East Asia, Brazil, and South Africa). The aim of this study is to provide an overview of existing research from a geographic perspective. The databases *Scopus* and *Web of Science Core Collection* were used to collect relevant literature. The focus was placed primarily on geographic papers, especially those with greater emphasis on the spatial component.

Pink consumption areas in geographic research

Consumption is an exceptionally spatial process. Each form of consumption creates its own commercialized landscapes. Thus, pink consumption forms its own kind of urban space. However, consumption manifests itself differently in different areas; it transforms space and is also dependent upon it. The geographic diversity of consumption and its accompanying places is most dependent on the socio-cultural dimensions of space (Coe et al., 2007). This certainly provides a valid response to the question of why research into pink consumption has primarily been nearly exclusively limited to the northern hemisphere. This is also an important argument from the geographic perspective and papers will be classified according to the existing consumer systems. Taking into account that these are relatively new concepts, and given the limitations of the area in which there is a true scientific interest, space and time cannot be relevant determinants in classifying previous research. In geography, we can differentiate four kinds of consumer activities: shopping, food, entertainment, and culture (Jakovčić, 2011). For the purpose of higher applicability of the classification framework, we will use the concept of health, rather than food, as health is a much broader term.

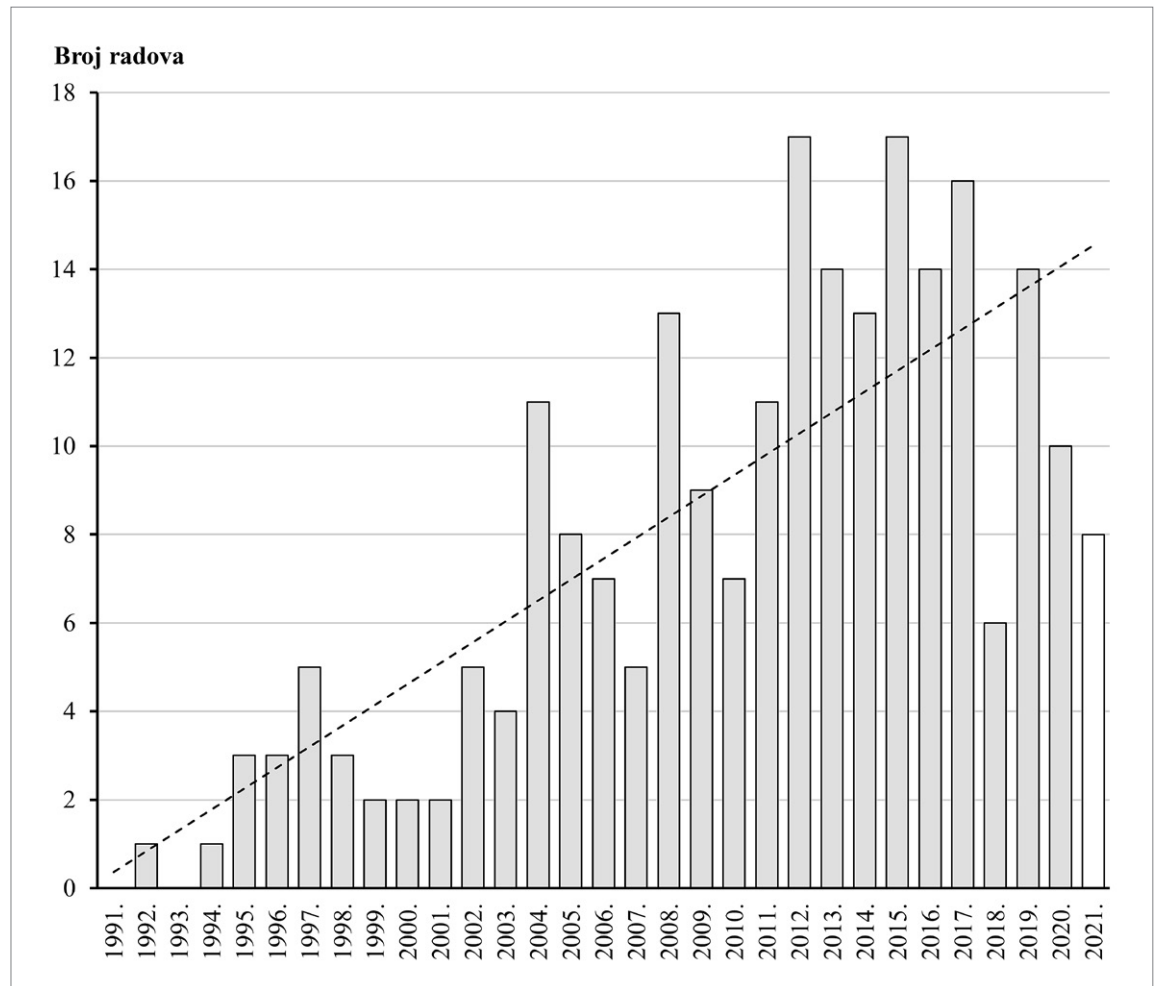
There is an increasing number of papers focusing on pink consumption. A search using the combination of terms *consumption* and *LGBT* or *gay* or *lesbian* or *pink* or *rainbow* or *queer* in the databases *Scopus* and *Web of Science Core Collection* in July 2021 identified 231 papers focusing on pink consumption (Fig. 1). Of these, 16.9% of papers were published in geographic journals. During the 1990s, these papers were relatively rare, in part due to the AIDS epidemic and the preoccupation with health-related topics. Starting the 2000s, a trend of

mjetan je trend sve većega broj radova koji tematiziraju ružičastu potrošnju i pripadajuće prostore, a nakon 2010. godine trend se još više ubrzava. Sve to pokazuje da su istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje sve aktualnija, a širenje interesa za tu temu među znanstvenicima iz različitih dijelova svijeta, kao i sama priroda potrošnje, pokazuju da su takva istraživanja i geografski relevantna.

Neki autori čine distinkciju ružičastih prostora na one koji su homonormativni i na one koju su nekonformistički. Prve obilježavaju obrasci ponašanja koji su odraz odmjerenosti srednje klase,

more papers focusing on pink consumption and its accompanying spaces is evident, and this trend accelerated after 2010. This indicates that research on pink consumption is becoming increasingly popular, and that there is a widening interest in the topic among scientists from around the world concerning the nature of consumption. This clearly shows that such research is geographically relevant.

Some authors have divided pink spaces into those which are homonormative and those which are non-conformist. The first refers to behavioural patterns than are a reflection of the moderation of



Sl. 1. Broj radova koji se (ne)posredno bave potrošnjom LGBT+ osoba (1991. – 2021.)

Fig. 1 Number of publications directly or indirectly addressing consumption on the part of LGBT persons (1991–2021)

Izvori: Scopus, (2021); Web of Science, (2021)
Sources: Scopus, (2021); Web of Science, (2021)

dok drugi nisu normativno obilježeni (Mattson, 2015). Kako bilo, da bi ružičasti prostori potrošnje uopće bili prepoznati, nužno moraju imati status sigurnoga fizičkog i društvenog prostora. To je uvjet da bi se akteri koji ih koriste mogli ponašati otvoreno (Kates, 2002), tj. bez heteronormativnoga pritiska prilagodbe ponašanja. Stoga im se, kako tvrde Pereira i Ayrosa (2012), pripisuje sakralna obilježja jer su od jednostavnih i profanih potrošačkih prostora postali sigurna mjesta u kojima LGBT osobe nisu stigmatizirane, nisu suočene s društvenom isključenošću niti osjećaju bilo koji vid opresije.

Sistem kupovine

Pod pretpostavkom da LGBT osobe raspolažu razmjerno velikom kupovnom moći dobar dio autora tvrdi da one imaju i specifične preferencije glede kupovine, kao i distinktivne potrošačke navike (Reilly i dr., 2008; Eisend i Hermann, 2019). Stoga se relativno najveći broj radova koji tematizira ružičastu potrošnju bavi upravo sistemom kupovine (Kates, 2013; Cunningham i Melton, 2014; Ginder i Byun 2015 i drugi). Još su Kates i Belk (2001) ustvrdili da LGBT osobe u kupovini pronalaze alat za stjecanje moći i pokazivanje otpora spram dominantnom heteropatrijarhalnom poretku. Drugim riječima, potrošnja ima emancipacijski potencijal, ali istovremeno djeluje dezintegrirajuće jer dijeli manje i više imućne članove zajednice. U svakom slučaju, velik broj istraživanja ističe da potrošnja odražava gej identitet te da razlika između LGBT i hetero-kupovine leži upravo u pridavanju značenja potrošačkim dobrima, praksama i prostorima (Reilly i dr., 2008; Kates; 2013; Erdei i Savić, 2014; Strubel i Petrie, 2018; Madinga i dr. 2020). Identitet i potrošnja LGBT osoba usko su povezani. Potrošnja ima ulogu kreiranja željenoga identiteta kroz transfere simboličkih značenja od proizvoda prema potrošaču samom (Strubel i Petrie, 2018), što se, uostalom, smatra ključnim faktorom unutar teorije potrošačke kulture (Pereira i Ayrosa, 2012). S tim je u vezi konstruiran i stereotip o rastrošnim gej muškarcima koji su uvijek u trendu te koji uživaju reputaciju znalaca potrošnje (Yaksich, 2008; Erdei i Savić,

the middle class, while the second are not normatively categorised (Mattson, 2015). Regardless, for pink consumption areas to be recognised, they must necessarily have the status of a physical safe and social space. This is a requirement for the actors who use them to be able to act openly (Kates, 2002), i.e. without heteronormative pressure on their behaviour. According to Pereira and Ayrosa (2012), such spaces are often said to possess sacral traits, as these are simple and profane consumer areas that have become safe places in which LGBT persons are not stigmatised, faced with social exclusion, and don't experience any form of oppression.

Shopping

It is widely assumed that LGBT persons possess relatively high purchasing power, and many authors claim that they have specific preferences when purchasing, and distinctive consumer habits (Reilly et al., 2008; Eisend and Hermann, 2019). Therefore, most papers examining the topic of pink consumption deal primarily with shopping (Kates, 2013; Cunningham and Melton, 2014; Ginder and Byun 2015, and so on). Kates and Belk (2001) claimed that LGBT persons find shopping to be a tool to acquire power and to exhibit resistance against the dominant heteropatriarchal order. In other words, shopping holds emancipation potential, while also having disruptive power, as it divides the community into its wealthier and less affluent members. In any case, many studies have stressed that shopping expresses gay identity, and that the difference between gay and hetero shopping lies in the importance given to consumer goods, practices, and spaces (Reilly et al., 2008; Kates; 2013; Erdei and Savić, 2014; Strubel and Petrie, 2018; Madinga et al. 2020). Identity and consumption are closely correlated for LGBT persons. Consumption plays a role in creating the desired identity through the transfer of the symbolic significance of a product to the consumer themselves (Strubel and Petrie, 2018), which is deemed a key factor within consumption culture theory (Pereira and Ayrosa, 2012). Accordingly, the construed stereotype is of consumerist gay men who are always trendy and enjoy a reputation as discerning consumers (Yaksich, 2008;

2015; Ginder i Byun, 2015). Pritom je dokumentirano da kupovina, osim što je važna s aspekta identiteta, služi za dostizanje rigidno postavljenih ideala ljepote (Kates, 2002; 2013; Madinga i dr., 2020). Istovremeno, stereotipna konstrukcija lezbijki dijametralno je suprotna te podrazumijeva averziju prema kupovini (Braun i dr., 2015). Tim je razlikama moguće objasniti i veći znanstveno-istraživački interes za potrošnju gej muškaraca u odnosu na ostale LGBT osobe. Novijega su datuma istraživanja kojima se nastoji utvrditi uskraćivanje usluga LGBT potrošačima kao i diskriminacija koju doživljavaju tijekom kupovine (Camargo i dr., 2020; Rosenbaum i dr., 2021).

Upravljanje ružičastom potrošnjom: reklamiranje, *queerbaiting* i *rainbow washing*

Etabliranjem LGBT potrošača kao izrazito imućnih te identitetski vezanih uz kupovinu intenziviraju se marketinški naponi kojima se oni nastoje obuhvatiti (Oakenfull, 2013). To uključuje prezentaciju promidžbenih poruka u LGBT medijima ili uporabu tematskih koncepata (duga, znak jednakosti, ružičasti trokuti...) s kojima se LGBT potrošači mogu identificirati u masovnim medijima (Strubel i Petrie, 2018). Područje marketinga jedno je od najbolje istraženih u proučavanju ružičaste potrošnje (Maclaren i dr., 2017). Više radova utvrdilo je postojanje povezanosti između stigmatiziranih društvenih skupina i *brandova* koji se njima obraćaju, što u konačnici rezultira gradnjom osjećaja pripadanja, tj. veće vjernosti *brandu* (Oakenfull, 2012; Ginder i Byun, 2015; Wooten i Rank-Christman, 2019). Dokazano je da isto vrijedi i za LGBT osobe pa se one pokazuju odanijima *brandu* od hetero potrošača (Reilly i dr., 2008). Kad razviju afirmativan stav, ističu Cunningham i Melton (2014), spremni su platiti višu cijenu dobra ili usluge koju nudi LGBT prijateljska kompanija. Važno je uputiti i na istraživanje Tsaija (2012) koji tvrdi da LGBT osobe upotrebljavaju svoju kupovnu moć kako bi odbacile dominantnu heteronormativnu kulturu te ukazale na vlastitu obespravljenu. Stoga i reklamiranje usmjereno prema LGBT osobama ne služi samo za komercijalne svrhe, već je važno i za kulturno osnaživanje i potvrđivanje.

Erdei and Savić, 2015; Ginder and Byun, 2015). It has been stated that shopping, in addition to being important from the aspect of identity, also serves to achieve rigidly-set ideals of beauty (Kates, 2002; 2013; Madinga et al., 2020). Meanwhile, the stereotypical construct of the lesbian is diametrically opposed, and implies an aversion to shopping (Braun et al., 2015). These differences can also be explained by the greater scientific research interest in the consumption of gay men in relation to other LGBT persons. More recent research has aimed to establish denial of services to LGBT consumers, and the discrimination they experience while shopping (Camargo et al., 2020; Rosenbaum et al., 2021)

Managing pink consumption: advertising, *queerbaiting*, and *rainbow washing*

The designation of the LGBT consumer as an exceptionally wealthy person whose identity is associated with shopping led to more intensive marketing efforts aimed at engaging this target consumer group (Oakenfull, 2013). This includes the presentation of promotional messages in the LGBT media, or the use of thematic concepts (rainbow, equality sign, and pink triangles) that LGBT persons can identify with in mass media (Strubel and Petrie, 2018). The field of marketing is one of the best-researched areas in the study of pink consumption (Maclaren et al., 2017). Several papers have established the presence of an association between stigmatised social groups and the brands that speak to them, which ultimately results in building a feeling of belonging and greater loyalty to the brand (Oakenfull, 2012; Ginder and Byun, 2015; Wooten and Rank-Christman, 2019). It was also shown that this is true for LGBT persons, and they show greater brand loyalty than heterosexual consumers (Reilly et al., 2008). According to Cunningham and Melton (2014), once LGBT individuals develop an affirmative stance, they are prepared to pay more for goods and services offered by LGBT-friendly companies. Tsai (2012) stated that LGBT persons use their purchasing power to reject dominant heteronormative culture and to express their own lack of rights. Therefore, advertising geared towards the LGBT community serves not only a commercial purpose, but is also important for strengthening culture and affirmation.

Nadalje, sve je veći broj *brandova* koji prigodničarski tijekom lipnja, kad se obilježava mjesec ponosa, inkorporiraju LGBT simbole u svoje reklamne kampanje, proizvode i usluge (Champlin i Li, 2020). Međutim, ta je praksa prae-na sve glasnijim kritikama, a u recentno vrijeme dobiva i znanstvenoistraživačku pažnju. Tako se pojmom *queerbaiting*² opisuje tobožnja podrška LGBT zajednici, a da se ona u konačnici ni na kakav opipljiv način ne realizira, već ima ozbiljne posljedice u pogledu prihvaćanja LGBT osoba, ali i razvoja LGBT identiteta. Woods i Hardman (2021) razlažu *queerbaiting* na tri dimenzije: kulturnu, društvenu i potrošačku. Potrošačka dimenzija vezuje se uz koncept *rainbow washinga*. On podrazumijeva korporativno promicanje otvorenosti prema LGBT zajednici kroz reklamiranje s ciljem da tvrtke budu percipirane kao progresivne, moderne i tolerantne (Falco i Gandhi, 2019).³ Međutim, neki autori kritički ističu da je *rainbow washing* zapravo komodifikacija specifične društvene skupine s ciljem stvaranja profita, a ne poticanja društvene promjene (Champlin i Li, 2020).⁴ Posljedično tomu uočen je sve jači pritisak da se dobivena sredstva vrate natrag LGBT zajednici kroz izraženu materijalnu potporu (Falco i Gandhi, 2019).

Sistem zabave

Razmjerno se velik broj autora bavio LGBT potrošnjom u području zabave (Kates, 2013; Oakenfull, 2013; Gorman-Murray i Nash, 2017; Hunt i dr., 2019 i drugi). Tražeći mjesto za izlazak u kojem se mogu osjećati sigurno i ležerno, LGBT osobe u pravilu nastoje izbjeći heteronormativne

There is an increasing number of brands that incorporate LGBT symbols in their advertising campaigns, products, and services during the month of June celebrated as Pride month (Champlin and Li, 2020). This practice is receiving increasing criticism, and recently has been the subject of scientific research interest. The concept of *queerbaiting*² describes supposed support for the LGBT community which ultimately is not exercised in any tangible way, but instead has grave repercussions concerning the acceptance of LGBT persons and the development of the LGBT identity. Woods and Hardman (2021) examined *queerbaiting* in three dimensions: cultural, social, and consumer. The consumer dimension is tied to the concept of *rainbow washing*. This implies the corporate promotion of openness towards the LGBT community through advertising, with the aim of presenting the company as progressive, modern, and tolerant (Falco and Gandhi, 2019)³. However, some authors have critically stressed that *rainbow washing* in fact represents a commodification of specific social groups with the aim of gaining profit, rather than promoting social change (Champlin and Li, 2020)⁴. Consequently, pressure is increasing for companies to redirect earnings back to the LGBT community through explicit material support (Falco and Gandhi, 2019).

Entertainment

There are a number of studies examining LGBT entertainment (Kates, 2013; Oakenfull, 2013; Gorman-Murray and Nash, 2017; Hunt et al., 2019; and so on). In seeking a place to go out where they can feel safe and relaxed, LGBT persons generally try to avoid heteronormative spaces (Hunt et al., 2019).

2 Izvorno su se pojmom *queerbaiting* opisivala nastojanja da se privuče LGBT publika konstrukcijom bliskoga odnosa između osoba istoga spola, a koji se nikad nije realizirao u romantičnom smislu (Woods i Hardman, 2021).

3 Pojam se može odnositi i na političke entitete. Primjerice, Izrael sebe vidi kao modernu i otvorenu državu, dok istovremeno, ostatak Bliskoga istoka prezentira zaostalim i nasilnim. Zabilježeni su slučajevi u kojima Izrael ucjenjuje LGBT+ Palestince koji nisu *out* potencijalnim razotkrivanjem njihova identiteta te ih na taj način prisiljava da postanu izraelskim doušnicima (Falco i Gandhi, 2019).

4 Pridobivanje potrošača komodifikacijom društvenih skupina ili problema prije *rainbow washinga* dokumentirano je i u vezi s osnaživanjem položaja žena kao i okolišnih problema (tzv. *greenwashing*) (Champlin i Li, 2020).

2 Originally, the concept of *queerbaiting* described attempts to attract LGBT public through construction of close relationships between same-sex persons and which was never realised in the romantic sense (Woods and Hardman 2021).

3 This concept can also pertain to political entities. For example, Israel views itself as a modern and open country, while the remainder of the Near East is presented as backwards and violent. There are cases in which Israel has blackmailed LGBT+ Palestinians who were *out* and threatened to reveal their identity, and in this way coerced them into becoming Israeli informants (Falco and Gandhi, 2019).

4 Trying to obtain consumer commodification of social groups or relating to social issues, prior to *rainbow washing*, was also documented in the fight for women's rights, and concerning environmental issues (*greenwashing*) (Champlin and Li, 2020).

prostore (Hunt i dr., 2019). Istraživanja su pokazala da se pritom, mnogo više od opće populacije, oslanjaju na klubove i kafiće kao društvene pozornice i mjesta socijalizacije (Charlebois i dr., 2017). Važnost gej klubova i kafića u socijalizaciji LGBT osoba dokumentirana je još od 1920-ih godina. Identificirani su kao najvažnija mjesta, odnosno jezgre razvoja i funkcioniranja LGBT zajednice u različitim društvima (Lugosi, 2007; Burmaz, 2014; Mattson, 2015). Više istraživanja potvrdilo je da su gej klubovi mjesta koja pružaju osjećaj sigurnosti i slobode za LGBT osobe, što ih čini neobično važnima i za kreiranje identiteta ljudi koji ta mjesta koriste (Cattan i Vanolo, 2014; Bettani, 2015). Osjećaj sigurnosti i privatnosti stvara se uslijed odvojenosti od vanjskoga (heteronormativnog) prostora, o čemu je raspravljao Dimitrov (2014).

Kad je riječ o važnosti ružičastih prostora potrošnje za vidljivost LGBT zajednice, nije postignut znanstvenoistraživački konsenzus. Postoje li javno označeni urbani sadržaji, vidljivost će se povećati, no ako je riječ o prostorima koji su nevidljivi, periferni, tada je moguće govoriti o unutrašnjoj periferizaciji (Burmaz, 2014), odnosno marginalizaciji (Dimitrov, 2014). Dokumentiran je znatno veći broj gej klubova od lezbijskih, što se objašnjava činjenicom da su (gej i biseksualni) muškarci više teritorijalni od ostalih LGBT osoba i češći posjetitelji mjesta zabave (Binne i Valentine, 1999; Thomson, 2007). Dok neki tvrde da je riječ o mjestima koja su otvorena, ne samo svim pripadnicima LGBT zajednice, nego općenito (Cattan i Vanolo, 2014), drugi autori ističu da ružičasti noćni klubovi nisu podjednako dostupni različitim seksualnim i rodnim manjima (Kates, 2002; Binnie, 2004; Bettani, 2015; Baudinette, 2017; Motschenbacher, 2020). Stoga se istraživački fokus sve češće pomiče prema problematiziranju normalizacije heteronormativnoga poimanja maskuliniteta/feminiteta, što rezultira marginalizacijom ostalih pripadnika LGBT zajednice (Brown i Bakshi, 2011; Baudinette, 2017). Kako bilo, gej klubovi važna su mjesta za LGBT osobe, osobito za one koje putuju iz ruralne i/ili suburbanne okolice u grad da bi ublažili učinke socijalne i prostorne izolacije heteronormativnoga prostora u

Research has shown that they rely heavily on night clubs and cafes as social stages and places for socialisation, to a much higher degree than the general population (Charlebois et al., 2017). The importance of gay clubs and cafes in the socialisation of LGBT persons was already documented in the 1920s. They were identified as the most important spots, i.e. the fundamental and developmental nuclei of the LGBT community in various societies (Lugosi, 2007; Burmaz, 2014; Mattson, 2015). Much research has confirmed that gay clubs are places that offer a feeling of security and freedom for LGBT persons, making them unusually important for the formation of the identity of the people who use them (Cattan and Vanolo, 2014; Bettani, 2015). The feeling of security and privacy, though, creates isolation from external (heteronormative) spaces, as discussed by Dimitrov (2014).

There is currently no scientific consensus considering the importance of pink consumption spaces for the visibility of the LGBT community. If there is publicly-marked urban content, that visibility increases; while in the case of spaces that are under the radar and peripheral, this can then be considered internal peripherisation (Burmaz, 2014) or marginalization (Dimitrov, 2014). There are substantially more gay clubs than lesbian clubs, indicating that (gay and bisexual) men are more territorial than other LGBT persons and more frequent visitors to places of entertainment (Binne and Valentine, 1999; Thomson, 2007). While some claim that these are places that are open to all LGBT persons and the broader (heterosexual) community (Cattan and Vanolo, 2014), other authors stress that pink night clubs are not equally accessible to different sexual and gender minorities (Kates, 2002; Binnie, 2004; Bettani, 2015; Baudinette, 2017; Motschenbacher, 2020). Therefore, the research focus is increasingly shifting towards the issue of normalisation of the heteronormative concept of masculinity/femininity, which in consequences marginalises the remaining members of the LGBT community (Brown and Bakshi, 2011; Baudinette, 2017). Regardless, gay clubs are important places for LGBT persons, particularly those who travel from rural and/or suburban surroundings to the city to mitigate the effects of social and spatial isolation of the heteronormative

kojem žive (Mattson, 2015). Dokumentirano je da gej klubove obilježava nepostojanost, odnosno nestalnost fizičkoga prostora u kojem se nalaze, osobito u manjim gradovima (do milijun stanovnika) (Burmaz, 2014; Cattan i Vanolo, 2014). U većim je gradovima ipak zabilježena njihova stalnost, ali i izrazitija diversifikacija (Baudinette, 2017; Gorman-Murray i Nash, 2017). Istovremeno uslijed liberalnih društvenih promjena pojave LGBT društvenih mreža i aplikacija za upoznavanje primijećena je smanjena potražnja za gej klubovima (Collins i Drinkwater, 2017). U kontekstu prostora zabave prilično velik broj autora problematizirao je i pitanje manjinskoga stresa te njegov utjecaj na konzumaciju sredstava ovisnosti (Boyle i dr., 2018; Charlebois, 2017), no oni su dobro iz područja medicine i zdravlja te im u fokusu nije prostorno-potrošačka problematika.

Sistemi kulture

Dok je glavnina istraživačkoga interesa za ružičastu potrošnju usmjerena prema aktivnostima zabave i kupovine, sistem kulture (mjesto poput kina i kazališta, zatim koncerti, festivali...) dobro je zanemaren. U jednom od rijetkih radova koji se bave ovim vidom ružičaste potrošnje La Rocca (2019) ističe kako festival *Gay Village* u Rimu s godinama sve više posjećuju hetero muškarci, što povezuje s porastom agresivnoga prostornog ponašanja. Naravno, važne manifestacije ružičaste potrošnje jesu i povorke ponosa (Kenttamaa-Squires, 2019). Iako se njihova povijest vezuje uz otpor ugnjetavanju i represiji nad LGBT zajednicom, još je ranih 2000-ih dokumentirano da su one u zemljama svjetskoga Sjevera izgubile elemente političkoga aktivizama, komercijalizirane su te pozicionirane kao neizostavan dio kulturne i turističke ponude gradova (Bell i Binie, 2004; Johnston, 2005). Svoju izvornu svrhu povorke su zadržale u Istočnoj Europi te zemljama svjetskoga Juga (Brown, 2009; Peterson i dr., 2018). Ipak, većina istraživanja koja se bave povorkama ponosa fokusirana je na borbu za prava LGBT osoba (Brown, 2007; Barrientos i dr., 2010; Milani, 2015), a ne na njihov potrošački aspekt pa tu postoji prilično širok, a razmjerno neistražen istraživački prostor.

space in which they live (Mattson, 2015). It has been stated that gay clubs are characterised by a fleetingness, or lack of permanence of the physical space in which they are found, especially in smaller cities (up to 1 million inhabitants) (Burmaz, 2014; Cattan and Vanolo, 2014). In larger cities, these clubs are far more permanent, with more pronounced diversification (Baudinette, 2017; Gorman-Murray and Nash, 2017). Meanwhile, due to liberal social changes and the appearance of LGBT social networks and dating applications, the demand for gay clubs is in decline (Collins and Drinkwater, 2017). In the context of entertainment, a number of authors have examined the issue of minority stress and its impacts on the consumption of addictive substances (Boyle et al., 2018; Charlebois, 2017); such research, however, is usually in the fields of medicine and health and its focus is not on spatial or shopping issues.

Culture

The majority of the research interest for pink consumption is focused on entertainment and shopping activities, and culture (e.g. cinemas, theatres, concerts, festivals) has been largely neglected. In one of the rare papers addressing this aspect of pink consumption, La Rocca (2019) stressed that the *Gay Village* festival in Rome is increasingly visited by heterosexual men, and associated it with an increase in aggressive spatial behaviour. Indeed, pride parades are important pink consumption events (Kenttamaa-Squires, 2019). Though the history of these events is associated with resistance against the persecution and repression of the LGBT community, the elements of political activism started to fade in the countries of the global North by the early 2000s, becoming more commercialised and positioned as an essential part of the cultural and tourism sphere of cities (Bell and Binie, 2004; Johnston, 2005). Pride parades have retained their original purpose in Eastern Europe and the countries of the global South (Brown, 2009; Peterson et al., 2018). However, most research on these parades focuses on the battle for the rights of LGBT persons (Brown, 2007; Barrientos et al., 2010; Milani, 2015), and not on the consumer aspect. Therefore, this is a relatively large and untouched research area

Primjerice, upravo posredstvom povorki ponosa dolazi do izražaja neprimjetna normalizacija homoseksualnosti javnoga prostora, budući da jer ulice tada primjetno prestaju biti heteronormativne, o čemu raspravljaju Brown i Bakshi (2011). S toga su aspekta povorke (i) kulturološki važan događaj. S druge strane, neki radovi, s pozicije neomarksističke kritike, apostrofiraju da je komercijalizacija povorki zapravo manifestacija „desublimirane” represije, odnosno da obmanjuje potencijalne potrošače tobožnjim doprinosom vidljivosti i prihvatanja, dok istovremeno i nesvjesno ti isti potrošači trpe opresiju (Kates i Belk, 2001).

Sistem zdravlja

Vrlo je malo istraživanja koja se bave ružičastom potrošnjom vezanom uz prehranu i zdravlje. Iako rijetki, takvi radovi donose zanimljive rezultate. Primjerice, Gavulic i Gonzales (2021) nedvojbeno su utvrdili da se LGBT osobe ističu prosječno većom potrošnjom zdravstvenih usluga od opće populacije, što objašnjavaju posljedicom manjinskoga stresa i socijalne isključenosti. Nadalje, Fish (2010) je raspravljala o načinu na koji različite dimenzije socijalne isključenosti rezultiraju drukčijim uvjetima života i rada te imaju posljedice za zdravlje i korištenje zdravstvenih usluga LGBT osoba. Dokumentiran je i utjecaj migracija LGBT osoba na njima manju dostupnost zdravstvenih usluga u SAD-u (Lee i dr., 2019). Iako su se tek usputno bavile gej i biseksualnim muškarcima, Hollyday i Cairnie (2007) tvrde da će promjena od pozicije pacijenata (javno zdravstvo) prema poziciji potrošača (privatno zdravstvo) ojačati tržište (muških) plastičnih operacija. S tim u vezi, znatan je broj radova utvrdio da su gej muškarci prosječno nezadovoljniji vlastitim tijelom od hetero muškaraca pa će više ulagati u fizički izgled (Reilly i dr., 2008; Madinga, 2020). To se ne odnosi samo na kupovinu robnih marki. Transformacija tijela, naime, također pomaže u kreiranju željenoga identiteta. Dapače, Reilly i dr. (2008) ističu da taj proces obično podrazumijeva članstvo u teretani i poseban režim prehrane. Strubel i Petrie (2018) učinili su korak dalje pa raspravljaju kako vježbanje fokusirano na mršavljenje, stjecanje snage ili mišićne

to explore. For example, thanks to the pride parades, the subtle normalisation of homosexuality in the public space has become prominent, as streets cease to be heteronormative during these periods, as discussed by Brown and Bakshi (2011). From this aspect, parades are also an important cultural event. On the other hand, some authors take a neo-Marxist stance by stressing that the commercialisation of pride parades is in fact a “desublimation” of repression, by misleading potential consumers with a supposed contribution to visibility and acceptance, while those same consumers unknowingly suffer oppression (Kates and Belk, 2001).

Health

There is very little research addressing pink consumption relating to diet and health. Though rare, such studies show interesting results. For example, Gavulic and Gonzales (2021) clearly established that LGBT persons have a higher average consumption of health services than the general population, explained due to minority stress and social exclusion that they suffer from. Further, Fish (2010) discussed how different dimensions of social exclusion resulted in different living and working conditions, and how these affect the health and use of health services by LGBT persons. The effect of migration of LGBT persons due to less-accessible health services in the US has also been recorded (Lee et al., 2019). Though they only studied gay and bisexual men, Hollyday and Cairnie (2007) claimed that the shift from the position of patient (public health) to the position of consumer (private health) would strengthen the market for plastic surgery among men. In line with this, there is a large number of studies that have found that gay men are, on average, more unsatisfied with their bodies than heterosexual men, and thus will invest more in their physical appearance (Reilly et al., 2008; Madinga, 2020). This does not only refer to the purchase of branded goods, as body transformation also contributes to developing the desired identity. Reilly et al. (2008) stressed that this process typically implies a gym membership and special diet regime. Strubel and Petrie (2018) took this one step further and described that exercising focused on weight loss, strength, and muscle gain is

mase postaje primarni način na koji gej muškarci pokušavaju biti fizički atraktivni te se oduprijeti društvenoj percepciji kao feminiziranih, fizički inferiornih te nedostatno maskulinih. Konačno, u suglasju s prethodno navedenim, Meyer i Wilson (2009) uočavaju da gej i biseksualni muškarci u većoj mjeri pate od poremećaja prehrane u odnosu na ostatak populacije.

Relevantnost, problemi i perspektive istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje

Prevladava stav da LGBT zajednica predstavlja dio tržišta koji raspolaže priličnom kupovnom moći (Kates, 2013; Braun i dr., 2015). Stoga ne čudi da se u pojedinim radovima označavaju terminima kao što su „tržište snova”, „neiskorišteni zlatni rudnik” ili pak kao dio tržišta nedovoljno izložen uslužnom sektoru (Skover i Testy, 2002). Mit o bogatstvu LGBT osoba našao je uporište u nekoliko istraživanja iz 1990-ih godina koja su potvrdila da gej muškarci i lezbijke zaista imaju više prihode od heteroseksualnih osoba (Miller, 1990; Fugate, 1993; Penalosa, 1996, prema Braun i dr., 2015). Novija istraživanja, među kojima posebno treba izdvojiti Braun i dr. (2015) te Le Nauzea (2015), pokazala su da teza o višoj zaradi ne vrijedi na razini pojedinaca. Štoviše, raskoraci u plaćama negativni su na štetu gej muškaraca (SAD, Kanada, UK, Švedska...). Istovremeno, nulti su ili pozitivni za lezbijke (Le Nauze, 2015). Činjenicu da gej muškarci zarađuju manje od hetero muškaraca Braun i dr. (2015) objašnjavaju njihovim manje čestim zapošljavanjem u plaćenijim poslovima (pravo, poslovni sektor, IT), dok veće prihode lezbijki posljedicom neprihvatanja tradicionalnih rodni uloga te njihovim većim investiranjem u vlastiti ljudski kapital (Braun i dr., 2015). S druge strane, istospolna domaćinstva u pravilu bilježe više prosječne prihode od heteroseksualnih, što osobito dolazi do izražaja s porastom životne dobi uslijed nezasnivanja obitelji (tzv. *DINK* sindrom) te kao rezultat drukčijega životnog stila (Eisend i Hermann, 2019). Procjenjuje se da su prihodi istospolnih domaćinstava u SAD-u oko 20 % viši od prihoda heteroseksualnih domaćinstava (Strubel i Petrie, 2018). Predstavljene tvrdnje potvrđuju tržišni potencijal ružičaste potrošnje. Stoga

becoming the primary way that gay men try to become more physically attractive, and to counter the social perspective of gay men as feminised, physically inferior, and insufficiently masculine. Finally, and in agreement with the aforementioned, Meyer and Wilson (2009) observed that gay and bisexual men suffered from eating disorders more often than the rest of the population.

Relevance, issues, and perspectives of researching pink consumption

There is an overwhelming opinion that the LGBT community represents part of the market that possesses significant purchasing power (Kates, 2013; Braun et al., 2015). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that some papers denote this area with terms such as ‘dream market’, ‘untapped gold mine’, or ‘part of the market that is insufficiently exposed to the services market’ (Skover and Testy, 2002). The myth of the wealth of LGBT persons has been supported by a number of studies from the 1990s, which confirmed that gay men and lesbians indeed had higher average earnings than heterosexual persons (Miller, 1990; Fugate, 1993; Penalosa, 1996, according to Braun et al., 2015). More recent research, particularly Braun et al. (2015) and Le Nauzea (2015), has shown that claims of higher earnings, however, do not apply at the level of the individual. Furthermore, the salary gap is negative at the expense of gay men (in the US, Canada, UK, Sweden, etc.). Meanwhile, salary gap is either non-existent or positive for lesbians (Le Nauze, 2015). Braun et al. (2015) explained that gay men typically earn less than heterosexual men due to less-frequent employment in higher paying jobs (law, business sector, IT), while higher earnings on the part of lesbians is due to their non-acceptance of traditional gender roles and greater investment in their own human capital. On the other hand, same-sex households generally report higher average earnings than heterosexual households, which becomes even more pronounced with increasing age, due to the non-establishment of a family (*DINK* Syndrome – dual income, no kids) and as a result of a different lifestyle (Eisend and Hermann, 2019). It was assessed that the revenues of same-sex

je istraživački i više nego relevantno baviti se prostorima potrošnje i potrošačkim navikama LGBT osoba.

LGBT zajednica povijesno se oblikovala u urbanim prostorima, a utjecala je i na njihovo oblikovanje (Giesecking, 2016). Naime, gradovi podrazumijevaju mogućnost otvorenijega ponašanja, anonimnost te dostupnost većem broju mjesta potrošnje (Woods, 2014). Dakle, širenje LGBT tržišta povijesno je vezano uz urbanizaciju (Pereira i Ayrosa, 2012). Mjesta održavanja LGBT događaja i potrošnje odavno su prestala biti isključivo getoizirane gej četvrti (engl. *gay villages*) i sve su raspršenija (Hubbard i dr., 2016; Lewis, 2016). Istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje stoga se u pravilu pozicioniraju u urbani kontekst. Pri određivanju relevantnoga prostornog obuhvata istraživanja korisno je poslužiti se gej indeksom (engl. *gay index*). Riječ je o jednostavnom lokacijskom kvocijentu koji mjeri broj istospolnih domaćinstava u manjoj prostornoj jedinici prema broju istospolnih domaćinstava u većoj prostornoj jedinici te dobiveni iznos dijeli s brojem stanovnika manje prostorne jedinice prema broju stanovnika veće prostorne jedinice (Florida, 2002). Međutim, tim je pokazateljem moguće dobiti isključivo koncentraciju istospolnih domaćinstava u nekoj prostornoj jedinici, čime se zanemaruju LGBT osobe koje su u vezi s osobom različita spola (biseksualne, transrodne, panseksualne i druge osobe), koje su samci i/ili koje se jednostavno ne žele identificirati. Time dolazimo do ključnoga problema u istraživanjima, a to je činjenica da ne postoji popis LGBT osoba. Stoga je istraživanje gotovo nemoguće provesti slučajnim uzorkovanjem (Reilly i dr., 2008), a kao najprimjerenija metoda odabira ispitanika nameće se neprobabilistička metoda uzorkovanja tehnikom snježne grude. Ta se tehnika koristi u najvećem broju istraživanja LGBT prostora i obrazaca potrošnje (npr. Kates, 2013; Braun i dr., 2015), pri čemu se kao polazište uzorkovanja u pravilu kontaktiraju LGBT organizacije. Time se eliminira autorova pristranost u odabiru inicijalnih sudionika istraživanja. Međutim, to istodobno znači da dobiveni rezultati nisu reprezentativni, tj. da se ne mogu generalizirati na opću LGBT populaciju (McCormack, 2014; Ginder i Byun, 2015). Jasno, uzorkovanje tehnikom snježne grude istovremeno znači da će dobiveni skup ispitanika biti pod ve-

households in the US are about 20% higher than in heterosexual households (Strubel and Petrie, 2018). These claims clearly confirm the market potential of pink consumption. Therefore, it is more than relevant to research areas of consumption and the consumption habits of LGBT persons.

Historically, the LGBT community was formed in urban spaces, and has influenced how these spaces are shaped (Giesecking, 2016). Cities imply the opportunity for more open behaviour, greater anonymity, and access to more consumption sites (Woods, 2014). Accordingly, the expansion of the LGBT market has been associated with the process of urbanisation (Pereira and Ayrosa, 2012). Sites where LGBT events are held and consumption areas have ceased to be exclusively ghettoised gay villages, and are now increasingly dispersed (Hubbard et al., 2016; Lewis, 2016). Research of pink consumption is therefore, as a rule, in the urban context. In determining the relevance of the spatial scope of research, the gay index is a useful tool. This is a simple locational quotient that measures the number of same-sex households in a smaller spatial area in comparison to the number of same-sex households in a larger spatial area, and the obtained amount is divided by the population of the smaller spatial area in comparison to the population of the larger spatial unit (Florida, 2002). However, this indicator only gives the concentration of same-sex households in a spatial unit, and neglects LGBT persons who are in a household with a person of a different sexual orientation (bisexual, transgender, pansexual, or others), who live alone, or who do not wish to be identified. This gives rise to the primary problem in the research: the fact that there are no lists of LGBT persons. Therefore, research based on a random sample is virtually impossible (Reilly et al., 2008). The most appropriate method of selecting subjects is the non-probability method of snowball sampling. This technique is used in most research of LGBT spaces and consumption habits (e.g. Kates, 2013; Braun et al., 2015), whereby contacting LGBT organisations is the starting point for sampling. This eliminates the author's bias in selecting the initial study participants. However, this also means that the results obtained are not representative and cannot be extrapolated to the general LGBT population (McCormack, 2014; Ginder

likim utjecajem inicijalnih ispitanika (Braun i dr., 2015). Znatno rjeđe korištena varijanta prikupljanja ispitanika jest kombinacija prigodnoga uzroka (prijatelji i poznanici koji su dio LGBT zajednice) i uzorkovanja tehnikom snježne grude (Kates, 2002; Ginder i Byun, 2015). Neki su autori rješenje metodoloških poteškoća u proučavanju LGBT zajednica pokušali naći u probabilističkoj metodi slučajnoga sustavnog uzorkovanja na javnom mjestu (McCormack, 2014). Međutim, takav pristup sadržava dva osnovna problema – prvi se tiče sigurnosti istraživača u manje tolerantnim društvima, a drugi isključivanja osoba koje su i dalje „u ormaru”. S obzirom na neminovne probleme pri uzorkovanju, a onda i mogućnosti statističke obrade podataka, ne treba čuditi da u znanstvenom bavljenju ružičastom potrošnjom nemali udio zauzimaju kvalitativna istraživanja. Kao istraživačke metode dominiraju intervjuiranje i razgovori u fokus grupama, a u novije vrijeme zamah dobivaju istraživanja semiotičkoga krajolika (tzv. geosemiotika).⁵

Ekstenzivan osvrt na primjenjivane teorijske pristupe u istraživanju ružičaste potrošnje ponudili su Ginder i Byun (2015). Uglavnom su vezani uz teoriju potrošačke kulture, pitanja identiteta, seksualnosti i roda. Izuzev njih, u problematiziranju ružičastih prostora potrošnje od velike koristi mogu biti i teorije prostora H. Lefebvrea i M. Foucaulta. Kako bi analizirao gej kinesku četvrt u Singapuru, Tan (2015) je promatra kao lefebvrjanski prostor, što podrazumijeva skup triju preklapajućih prostora – materijalnoga, socijalnoga i zamišljajnoga. Osnovna postavka pritom glasi da prostor ne može biti

and Byun, 2015). Moreover, the snowball sampling technique also means that the obtained group of subjects will be under the strong influence of the initial subjects (Braun et al., 2015). Less often, subjects are chosen through a combination of suitable sample (friends and acquaintances that are part of the LGBT community) and then further sampled using the snowball technique (Kates, 2002; Ginder and Byun, 2015). Some authors find a solution to this methodological issue in studying the LGBT community by applying the probability method of random systematic sampling in public places (McCormack, 2014). However, such an approach presents two fundamental problems – the first is the security of the researcher in less-tolerant societies, and the second is the exclusion of persons who are still “in the closet”. Considering these issues in sampling and the problems they also present in statistical analysis of data, it should come as no surprise that pink consumption accounts for a large portion of the qualitative research in the field. Research methods in this area are predominantly interview- and discussion-based in focus groups, while geosemiotic research is receiving new importance⁵.

Ginder and Byun (2015) have an extensive overview of the applied theoretical approaches to researching pink consumption. These approaches are primarily associated with theories of consumer culture, identity issues, sexuality, and gender. Another theory that could be useful in examining pink consumer spaces is that of space by Lefebvre and Foucault. In order to analyse Singapore’s gay Chinatown, Tan (2015) examined it as a Lefebvrian space, implying a group of three overlapping

5 Geosemiotika (engl. *geosemiotics*) ili istraživanje semiotičkoga krajolika (engl. *semiotic landscape*) smatra se subdisciplinom sociolingvistike. Obuhvaća proučavanje pojavnih oblika jezika u javnom prostoru (prometni znakovi, reklamni panoji, imena ulica, imena trgovina, natpisi na državnim zgradama...) (Baudinette, 2017). Geosemiotika nastoji razumjeti motive, uporabu, ideologiju, odabir određenih jezičnih varijanata i forma (Gorter, 2018), odnosno pružiti integrativan pogled na različite semiotičke sustave koji zajedno tvore značenje/osjećaj mjesta (Baudinette, 2017). Pritom je važno usmjeriti pažnju na isprepletenost verbalnih i neverbalnih znakova, njihov prostorni razmještaj, ulogu koja je obično granična, tj. demarkacijska (npr. znakovi koji stratificiraju mjesta na mikroprostore) te način na koji se znakovi oslanjanju na vizualni identitet prostora (Blommaert, 2013). U polju kritičke geografske semiotike uobičajena je analiza na dvjema razinama – sintaktičkoj (pozicioniranje znakova u odnosu prema drugima) te pragmatičkoj (povezanost znakova s društvenim kontekstom). Istraživanja semiotičkoga pejzaža vezana uz seksualnost nova su pojava. Nastaju na preklapanju znanstvenoga interesa geografije te istraživanja seksualnosti (Motschenbacher, 2020).

5 Geosemiotics or researching the semiotic landscape is considered a subdiscipline of sociolinguistics. It includes studying the emergence of forms of language in the public space (traffic signs, advertising boards, street names, square names, signs on state buildings, etc.) (Baudinette, 2017). Geosemiotics aims to understand the motives, use, ideology, selection of various language formats and forms (Gorter, 2018), and to provide an integrative overview of different semiotic systems that together form the significance or feeling of a place (Baudinette, 2017). It is important to direct attention to the intermingling of verbal and non-verbal signs, their spatial position, and rules that are often borders, i.e. demarcation lines (as signs that stratify places into microspaces), and the ways that these signs depend on the visual identity of the space (Blommaert, 2013). In the field of critical geographic semiotics, analysis is typically performed at two levels – the syntactic (positioning of signs in relation to one another) and pragmatic (association of signs with the social context). Research of the semiotic landscape as it relates to sexuality is new. The aim is to overlap the scientific interests of geography with the study of sexuality (Motschenbacher, 2020).

razumljiv isključivo kao konkretan i materijalan, već se tomu pridodaje ideološka, življena i subjektivna komponenta (Warf i Arias, 2008). Međutim, različite interpretacije Lefebvreove prostorne dijalektike govore o nepostojanju suglasja u njegovu tumačenju (Brković, 2013) kao i o ograničenoj primjenjivosti. Foucaultova je prostorna dijalektika primjenjivija. On razlikuje zbiljske od nezbiljskih prostora (utopija), a prostor koji je istodobno i materijalan i iluzijski definirao je kao heterotopiju (Foucault, 1997; Brković, 2013). Taj je pristup upotrijebio Dimitrov (2014) pri analizi gej klubova u Beogradu. Ipak, kao najčešće korišten teorijski koncept u proučavanju ružičaste potrošnje proteklih deset godina ističe se koncept homonormativnosti (Visser, 2008; Brown, 2009; Bettani, 2014; Mattson, 2014; Kenttamaa-Squires, 2019; Motschenbacher, 2020).

Homonormativnost se definira kao politika koja ne ugrožava dominantne heteronormativne društvene postavke i institucije, već ih podržava i održava. Istovremeno osigurava postojanje demobiliziranih gej aktera (u društvenom, političkom i ekonomskom smislu) te depolitiziranu gej kulturu ukorijenjenu (i sputanu) u potrošnji i obiteljskom životu (Duggan, 2004). Homonormativno strukturiranje veza i odnosa među LGBT osobama, prema tomu, podrazumijeva marginalizaciju određenih skupina i pojedinaca kako unutar tako i od strane ružičastih prostora, što rezultira socijalnom isključenošću (Brown i Bakshi, 2011; Bettani, 2015). Time se znatno ograničuje emancipacijski potencijal LGBT prostora kao uključivoga i otvorenoga spram različitosti (Baudinette, 2017). Homonormativni je prostor ekonomski i etnički privilegiran, ekskluzivan te seksualno konzervativan. Međutim, u različitim se socioekonomskih uvjetima drukčije materijalizira. Stoga homonormativnosti valja razumjeti kao mnogostruk, relacijski i prostorni fenomen (Kenttamaa-Squires, 2019).

U društvima u kojima ne postoje istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje, a takvo je i hrvatsko, kao najprimjereniji teorijski okvir istraživanja nameće se upravo koncept homonormativnosti. Naime, kao izrazito prostorno senzibilan, primjenjiv je u različitim geografskim, socioekonomskim i kulturnim uvjetima. Njegova prikladna provedba omogućila bi razumijevanje načina na koji su mjesta ružičaste

spaces – material, social, and imagined. The fundamental assumption is that the space does not need to be understood exclusively as something specific and material, but can also take on ideological, living, and subjective components (Warf and Arias, 2008). However, different interpretations of Lefebvre spatial dialects indicates that there is discord in its interpretation (Brković, 2013), and that its applicability is limited. The Foucault space is dialectically more applicable. It differentiates real from unreal spaces (utopias) and space that is simultaneously material and illusionary is defined as a heterotopy (Foucault, 1997; Brković, 2013). This approach was applied by Dimitrov (2014) in analysing gay clubs in Belgrade, Serbia. However, the most commonly-applied theoretical concept in the study of pink consumption over the last decade has been the concept of homonormativity (Visser, 2008; Brown, 2009; Bettani, 2014; Mattson, 2014; Kenttamaa-Squires, 2019; Motschenbacher, 2020).

Homonormativity is defined as a policy which does not jeopardise the dominant heteronormative social settings and institutions, but instead supports and maintains them. Meanwhile, it secures the existence of demobilized gay actors (in the social, political, and economic sense) and depoliticises gay culture that is rooted in consumption and family life (Duggan, 2004). Accordingly, homonormative structured relationships between LGBT persons implies the marginalisation of certain groups and individuals within both within and adjacent to the pink space, resulting in social exclusion (Brown and Bakshi, 2011; Bettani, 2015). This significantly limits the emancipation potential of LGBT space as inclusive and open towards diversity (Baudinette, 2017). The homonormative space is economically and ethnically privileged, exclusive, and sexually conservative. However, in different socio-economic conditions, it manifests differently. Therefore, homonormatism should always be understood as a multifaceted, relative, and spatial phenomenon (Kenttamaa-Squires, 2019).

In societies where there is no research of pink consumption, such as Croatian, the most appropriate theoretical framework for research is, in fact, the concept of homonormatism. This concept is highly spatially-sensitive, and applicable to various geo-

potrošnje organizirana te načina na koji ona uopće funkcioniraju. Znanstvena istraživanja potrošnje u Hrvatskoj dosad su se ograničavala uglavnom na mlade (učenici, studenti), dok su ostale društvene skupine, posebno seksualne i rodne manjine, bile zanemarivane. Međutim, popisom stanovništva iz 2011. godine bilježena su i istospolna domaćinstva, što može poslužiti kao dobro polazište za izračunavanje prostorne koncentracije LGBT osoba. Od 2014. godine dostupan je i Registar životnoga partnerstva, koji određivanje odgovarajućega prostornog obuhvata istraživanja čini još jednostavnijim, a ulazne podatke aktualnijima. Time metodološki problemi nisu ni po čemu veći od uobičajenih poteškoća s kojima se susreću istraživači kojima su u fokusu osjetljive i teško dostupne društvene skupine.

Zaključak

Istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje zadnjih dvadeset godina sve su češća. Osim ishodišnoga prostora Angloamerike i Zapadne Europe, pojavljuju se i u ostalim dijelovima svijeta (Istočna i Južna Azija, Australija, Brazil, Južna Afrika). Gotovo bez iznimke pozicioniraju se u urbani kontekst. Iako bi akronim LGBT, uglavnom korišten u radovima koji se bave ružičastom potrošnjom, trebao značiti da su dokumentirani prostori i potrošačke navike pripadnika različitih seksualnih i rodni manjina, uvjerljivo je najviše istraživačkoga interesa posvećeno gej muškarcima. Nešto je veći korpus istraživanja koji se bave lezbijskom potrošnjom, a ostale seksualne i rodne manjine gotovo su u potpunosti marginalizirane.

Istraživanja ružičaste potrošnje klasificirana su vodeći se osnovnim sistemima potrošnje u geografiji: kupovinom, zabavom, kulturom i zdravljem. Ružičasta potrošnja u sistemu kupovine prilično je dobro dokumentirana. Kupovina se usko veže uz LGBT identitete, što čini potrošačku kulturu dobrim teorijskim okvirom za njezino proučavanje. Mnogo je istraživačke pažnje posvećeno upravljanju ružičastom potrošnjom, a radovi koji se tiču *rainbow washinga* novija su pojava. Ipak, ružičasta potrošnja jest prije svega potrošnja, a ne pokret za ljudska prava te se vodi

graphic, socioeconomic, and cultural conditions. It enables an understanding of how places of pink consumption are organised, and how they function overall. Scientific research of consumption in Croatia to date has been limited mostly to youth (pupils and students), while other social groups, particularly sexual and gender minorities, have been neglected. However, the 2011 census reported same-sex households, which could serve as a good starting point for calculating the concentration of LGBT persons. Since 2014, the Registry of Life Partnerships has also been accessible, making entry data more current and facilitating the determination of an adequate spatial scope for research. With this, the methodological problems are not any greater than the issues faced by researchers examining other sensitive and difficult to access social groups.

Conclusions

Over the past twenty years, research on pink consumption has been increasing. In addition to the original areas of Anglo-America and Western Europe, such research is also appearing in other parts of the world (East and South Asia, Australia, Brazil, South Africa). Almost exclusively, this research is in the urban context. Although the acronym LGBT, as typically used in papers addressing pink consumption, should mean that they document the spaces and consumer habits of different sexual and gender minorities, the strong majority of the research interest to date has been focused on gay men. There is a moderate body of literature addressing lesbian consumption, while other sexual and gender minorities are almost completely marginalised.

Research on pink consumption is classified based on the fundamental systems of consumption in geography: shopping, entertainment, culture, and health. Pink consumption in the area of shopping is well-documented. Shopping is closely associated with LGBT identity, making consumer culture a good theoretical framework for its study. Much research attention has been directed at managing pink consumption, and papers concerning *rainbow washing* are a new area of the literature. Above all, pink consumption is consumption and not a battle for human rights; and, as such, it is based on mar-

tržišnom logikom, tj. akumuliranjem profita. Ishodište ružičaste potrošnje jest sistem zabave, odnosno noćni klubovi i kafići. Njih valja apostrofirati kao žarišna mjesta za uprostorivanje LGBT zajednice. Obično im se pristupa kao sigurnim prostorima izvan dominantnoga heteropatrijarnog poretka, a rasprave o njihovoj homonormativnosti ili *queer* obilježjima i dalje traju. Sistemi kulture i zdravlja najslabije su proučavani. Prvi je uglavnom ograničen na LGBT festivale i povorke ponosa kojima se odriče nekadašnja politička funkcija jer postaju sve više komercijalizirane manifestacije. U okviru potrošnje veze uz zdravlje dokumentirano je da su LGBT osobe, uslijed izloženosti socijalnoj isključenosti, manjinskom stresu i njegovim posljedicama, značajna, ali još uvijek nedovoljna prepoznata potrošačka skupina.

U metodološkom pogledu prevladavaju kvalitativne istraživačke metode (intervjui, razgovori u fokusnim skupinama), što ne čudi s obzirom na teškoće u dostupnosti LGBT osoba, čime je onemogućen gotovo bilo koji vid probabilističkoga uzorkovanja te je ograničena statistička obrada podataka. U novije vrijeme nemali broj autora provodi geosemiotičku analizu ružičastih prostora potrošnje. Buduća istraživanja suočit će se s jednakim metodološkim ograničenjima kao i dosadašnja. Međutim, to nikako ne umanjuje njihove perspektive. Naime, istraživanja mjesta ružičaste potrošnje u Srednjoj i Istočnoj Europi gotovo nema, a ni istraživanja toga fenomena s geografskoga aspekta u Hrvatskoj uopće ne postoje. Stoga bi usmjeravanje znanstvenoga interesa na tu temu pružilo uvid u dosad zanemarivan segment (geografskog) bavljenja potrošnjom. Mimo toga, odabirom prikladna teorijskoga okvira omogućilo bi se (bolje) razumijevanje te pružila mogućnost sagledavanja struktura moći i mehanizama koji oblikuju mjesta potrošnje LGBT osoba. Time bi bilo omogućeno ogovarajuće planiranje događaja, prostora i mjesta ružičaste potrošnje. To je važno i u društveno-političkom smislu jer nudi odgovor na pitanja koja mjesta i potrošačke prakse pružaju mogućnost društvenoinkluzivnoj interakciji te tako promiču međusobno razumijevanje i prihvaćanje.

ket logic and the accumulation of profit. A starting point of pink consumption is entertainment, particularly night clubs and cafes. These must be stressed as the focal point for the spatial identity of the LGBT community. These are usually considered safe spaces outside of the predominantly heteropatriarchal order, and discussions regarding their homonormatism and/or queer properties are ongoing. The areas of culture and health are the least studied. The first is mostly limited to LGBT festivals and pride parades, which have since lost their original political function, as they are increasingly becoming commercialised events. Within the framework of consumption relating to health, it has been documented that LGBT persons, following exposure to social exclusion and minority stress, are a significant though still fully-recognised consumer group.

From a methodological perspective, qualitative research methods (interviews, focus group discussions) are dominant, which comes as no surprise given the problems related to (in)accessibility of LGBT persons, which prevent virtually any form of probability sampling and limits the statistical analysis of data. In recent years, more authors have been conducting geosemiotic analyses of pink consumption areas. Future research will face similar methodological limitations, though this in no way diminishes their perspectives. Research on pink consumption areas is virtually absent in Central and Eastern Europe, and there is no research at all on this phenomenon in Croatia from the geographical aspect. Therefore, directing research interest towards this topic would provide insight into this previously neglected (geographic) segment of consumption research. Further, selection of an appropriate theoretical framework would enable better understanding, and provide an opportunity to view the structures of power and mechanisms that shape the places of consumption of LGBT persons. This would allow for better planning of events, spaces, and venues of pink consumption. This is also important in a socio-political sense, as it offers answers to the questions of which places and consumer practices offer the opportunity for socially-inclusive interactions, thereby propagating mutual understanding and acceptance.

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