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The Dyke-otomy of Space and Sexual Orientation

Mapping Queer Spaces in London

by

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A Dissertation by Elisa Dogor
Supervised by Professor Alan Penn

THE DYKE-OTOMY OF SPACE AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Mapping Queer Spaces in London

ABSTRACT

London lost more than half of its queer night-time venues in the ten years leading up to 2017 (Campkin & Marshall, 2017) and in 2022, there is only one singular lesbian bar left (Allenby, 2022). It is in this context that an increasing interest in spatiality is being established within queer studies. Comparatively, in Space Syntax research, there still is a shortage of consideration of current gender and sexuality studies beyond hetero- and cis-normativity. This study researches the social and spatial paradoxes of queer space from the perspective of queer theory and Space Syntax theory respectively. The work is put in context of Greater London, with a slight focus on lesbian space.

First, a definition of queer space is reached by recognizing queer space as a dynamic entity, enabling transgression and revolution alike while providing a space protected from fear and shame induced by social norms, encouraging unfiltered self-expression.

Second, it is argued that Space Syntax analysis like angular integration or isovist studies could contribute to queer theory through quantitative methods and promises budding potential in this area, yet the quantitative analysis reveals that these methods so far are predisposed to portray space in a rather limiting logic requiring field specific advancement to adequately express the unique essence of queer space.

Third, the novel framework queer theory provides for socio-spatial concepts like integration and visibility is investigated, affirming its value as an extension to "The Social Logic of Space" (Hillier & Hanson 1984) by revealing a dyadic relationship of power in space. Demonstrated by examining queer space, this phenomenon is relevant to any association between human behaviour and the built environment.

Due to the hitherto scarcity of research in this area, this work is positioned as a starting point of challenging norms and conventions by introducing queer theories to the realm of Space Syntax.

KEY WORDS

Space Syntax, Queer Space, queerness, queer theory, integration, visibility, lesbian, London

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FOREWORD

Campkin and Marshall found a loss of 58% of LGBTQ+ night-time venues in London in the years from 2006 until 2017 (Campkin & Marshall, 2017). In 2014, London's last lesbian bar closed, luckily replaced by *She Bar* in Soho, currently the only lesbian bar in London (Allenby, 2022). In 2021, Joelle Taylor won the T. S. Elliot Prize with a poetry collection on lesbian culture, lesbian bars, and space in the1990s (Taylor, 2021). The book reads like a eulogy for all the spaces lost. However, queer, and lesbian space is changing, in constant progression. In 2016 the Mayor of London appointed a 'night czar', aiming to actively support night-time spaces, with a special mark on protecting queer space (Campkin, 2020). Burchiellaro (2021) describes the efforts to preserve the *Joiners Arms*, one of the many beloved queer bars closed due to redevelopment. After the article was published, *Friends of the Joiners Arms* started a campaign to become UK's first community-run queer venue (Roberts, 2022). As I am typing this, the group has reached their fundraising goal and is one step closer to opening a fundamentally new typology, a new generation of queer space in London. This is just one example of a few more recent openings of queer spaces, most of them veering away from the "classic" queer club/ bar / night-time venue. With *Queer Britain*, Britain's first queer museum has just opened its doors on Granary Square, Kings Cross (Staples, 2022), London's *LGBTQ+ community centre* in Southbank – a provisional pop-up – has just announced its secure existence for the next 5 years (London LGBTQ+ Centre, 2022) and in Shoreditch/Brick Lane *Glasshouse* offers a new multidisciplinary LGBTQIA+ venue, including a bar, coffee shop, book shop, event venue and lots of community programming (Glass House Projects, 2022).

The complexity of constant defence, loss, inventiveness, and anti-normativity of queer space raised my curiosity. While exploring London through a socio-spatial perspective during the Space Syntax Architecture & Cities MSc Program, I simultaneously discovered London's queer space. That led to me starting to ask questions about the overlap between Space Syntax and queer theory, the connectivity, visibility, and integration of queer space within London's urban fabric. The result of this curiosity is the following master's dissertation.

As much as an academic piece of work, this dissertation is situated at the intersection of my personal passion and interest in space as well as queerness, and how I - as a queer person myself - relate to the urban spatiality of London.

1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to research queer space with all its social and spatial paradoxes from the perspective of queer theory and Space Syntax theory[1] respectively and put in context of Greater London. Space Syntax theory and queer theory show lots of potential for thematic overlap. Aspects of either field will be examined through both angles contrastingly. Especially from the angle of Space Syntax theory, virtually no research has targeted queerness, or any sexualities outside of the norm. While gender does occasionally emerge as a topic in socio-spatial research, it also remains contained to a cis- and hetero-normative context within current Space Syntax scholarship. This lack of representation positions this study as an inaugural attempt to introduce queer theories to the realm of Space Syntax.

London emerges as an apt case study not only because it has been the locale for plenty of relevant work in urban design and human geography on its eclectic queer space, but also because as the birthplace of Space Syntax, a multitude of research in that field has been conducted there.

This study is approached with a loose focus on lesbian space, to highlight their particular sensibility within the queer umbrella in terms of availability and number of dedicated spaces.

1.1 Note on Terminology

Language can be both sensitive and powerful. Its careful use is elementary to this research. While labelling and defining diverse sexualities or gender expressions can be helpful in describing communities or self-defining identity, many terms, especially in queer jargon, hold fast definitions, and might mean something different to each person using them. Additionally, many

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[1] "Space syntax is a theory of space and a set of analytical, quantitative and descriptive tools for analysing the layout of space in buildings and cities. By learning to control the spatial variable at the level of the complex patterns of space that make up the city, it is possible to gain insights into both the social antecedents and consequences of spatial form in the physical city or in buildings ranging from houses to any complex building." (Hiller & Hanson, 1984, pp. 48-51)

of these expressions have been reclaimed from a derogatory use and can feel empowering to some, while hurtful to others. A collection of key expressions that will be used frequently and are essential to be understood in this work have been listed in a glossary in Appendix A. All these terms should be generally understood as umbrella terms, as in practice these identities can be much more nuanced than their definitions could ever be.

1.2 Research Trajectory and Research Questions

During the trajectory of my research, the focus shifted away from a strictly conventional quantitative Space Syntax analysis. Since many facets of queer space are too expansive to be boxed into static typologies required for empirical analysis, this dissertation will be approached in a slightly unconventional way, queerly addressing the rather qualitative relation - or lack thereof - between Space Syntax and queer studies. After beginning with first challenging and then outlining what queerness is and how queer space emerges out of that, two additional principal research questions are established, subdividing the following analysis into a bifold structure.

The three main research questions are, plainly put:

1. What is queer space?
2. How does the study of queer theory contribute to Space Syntax?
3. How does the study of Space Syntax contribute to queer theory?

The relations between the latter two questions will be central to this study, examining both why Space Syntax should be considered as a method contributing to queer theory and why queer studies are brought into association with Space Syntax theory here. The second research question will target the Space Syntax understanding of society and space, most directly shaped through the Social Logic of Space (Hillier & Hanson, 1984) and will investigate how queer studies – encompassing but not limited to human geographies, anthropology, feminist theories, etc. - can add to and potentially redefine the Space Syntax understanding of the relationship between society and space at large. This will be executed by breaking down the concepts of integration and visibility. The third research question will then entail quantitative analysis, based on the prior

theoretical debate on integration and visibility, showcasing the visualizing possibilities of Space Syntax and its factual processes, that could enrich queer studies.

1.3 Scope of Research, Aims & Thesis Structure

This thesis will first give a theoretical background through a literature review informing the following research by providing an introduction and context for queer space in general, lesbian space in particular, queer histories in relation to urbanities and the relation of Space Syntax with queer theories. Then, the context of London and London's queer spaces will be introduced, and the methodology used will be explained, before the thesis will diverge into the aforementioned bifold analysis, arching back to first address qualitatively how queer theory relates to Space Syntax, then continuing to quantitatively analyse how Space Syntax plays into queer theories.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Approaching Queer Space

The fundamental question raised is: What is queer space? Can it be grasped, and if so, how? A concrete definition of queer space is rather unobtainable – and would paradoxically defeat its purpose. To dissect queerness and space on their own, demands broad discussion that yet barely grasps the vastness of the issue. First, queerness will be discussed as a whole, then put into context with spatiality, and finally with academic research.

Queerness, in its manifold experiences, interpretations, and perceptions, withstands and/or expands established notions of sexuality and gender by being located opposite of normative structures, especially opposite of heteronormativity. In the following, it is beautifully and precisely described:

> *"Queerness, understood broadly to encompass qualities outside of normative heterosexuality and cisgender identification, resists neat categorization. It is itself a destabilizing force. Queerness chafes against the status quo, against what is readily accepted by individuals and codified by society. As a term, "queer" is capacious, able to expand to make room for whomever might desire or even need to take it on as an identity."*
> (D'Aprile, 2022, para. 2)

Within academic debate on queer space, scholars highlight just as many various aspects as in the definition of queerness itself. In considering mostly closed, often interior spaces, some focus on the **unifying qualities** of queer spaces, such as lesbian bars: "In these distinct spaces we learn to protect one another. We learn that we are one another." (Taylor, 2021, pg. 14). Others describe queer space as **transformative:** "[Q]ueer space is simply that which allows us to be in right relationship with change; that which allows us to move between worlds, to shapeshift, to learn and teach skills necessary to gestate and conceive our own worlds." (Ribas, 2022, pg. 2). Furthermore, queer space is often related to unapologetic, unmasked self-identification and -actualization, where behaviour is genuine, "unmediated and unfettered, without fear or shame" (Furman & Mardell, 2022, pg. X).

When considering open and public space, due to heteronormative structures, initially, every space is implicitly presumed to be a 'straight space' (Valentine & Duncan, 1996, Avery, 2016). While this may be alienating for anyone falling outside of (perceived) norms, it also affords a unique power to queer public space, by contesting and challenging 'straight space', "both implicitly and explicitly" (Avery, 2016, pg. 9). Affrica Taylor (1997, pg. 14) goes even further and argues that "the idea of the closeted homosexual passing for straight in public space has [...] disruptive potential given that '[a]s long as anyone can successfully keep the (known) secret of homosexuality by carrying off the performance of heterosexuality, all heterosexuality can be seen as performance, all heterosexuality becomes open to question, and all spaces become sexually ambiguous'." When assuming - according to this argument – that all space holds sexually ambiguous, queer potential, how can queer space be accurately categorized as any form of a typology? In "Queer Spaces – An Atlas of LGBTQIA+ Places & Stories" Furman and Mardell (2022) curate portraits of widely diverse public and private queer spaces around the globe and summarize their typologies as including, but in no way limited to, educational spaces in all their diversity, reappropriated historically heteronormative spaces, even institutions such as churches, archives, museums, queer kinship groups, havens for queer writers, bookshops, community centres, activist spaces, bars and nightclubs, public and cruising spaces (Furman & Mardell, 2022, pg. X, XI). Yet, they must acknowledge that any queer spatial typology is much vaster than that, and that queer space is ever-changing, ever transforming. It can exist wherever queer people exist, there is always an "ongoing sense that any space can be turned queer." (Laing, 2022, pg. IX) "Queer space comes and goes, sometimes enduring the same site for decades, (…) and sometimes so transient it lasts only for a single encounter." (Ibid., pg. VIII)

Furthermore, queer space is actualised when communities unite in the effort of designing safe spaces, in which they can be their authentic selves. Pertinent to Laing's (Ibid.) previous remark on the continuously changing essence of queer space, Turner (2017) offers an analogy applicable to this concept of generating dynamic space. In his book "Purpose and Desire", he claims that social organisms collaborate to create environments that they find 'comfortable'. Turner (2017) supports that argument by studying termite colonies and the construction of their mounts. If a mount is damaged or destroyed, the termites re-join to rebuild a structure. While that

restored structure is never identical to the previous one, it will enable the termites to be comfortable in their environment again. This adaption and regulation is what Turner (2017) refers to as 'Homeostasis', a notion established by Bernard (1974) to describe the mechanisms of systems to self-regulate in order to sustain stability while adapting to changing conditions. Relating Turner's argument to queerness within the built environment, queer spaces – as the termite mounts of the queer community - do just that. Their communities work together to create a comfortable environment, where they can act out their identity without fear of censure from the rest of society. Penn & Turner (2018) relate these termite mechanisms of homeostasis to Space Syntax theory, arguing that the example of mounts is applicable to space in human societies as well, and proves that the built environment is an active actor upon social structures and relations in lieu of a mere "passive backdrop to social action" (Penn & Turner, 2018, pg. 10).

With establishing that queer space shall not be classified as a static entity, but must be understood as a continued, emergent dynamic process forging stability far off equilibrium, characterised by its constant innovation, deliberate transgression against societal normativity and active revolution, the question emerges how queer research operates. Campkin and Marshall (`2016, 2017, 2018, 2020) have paved the way in approaching analysis 'queerly' in the geographic context of Greater London, by not merely running quantitative analysis, but also by paying "close attention to intersectional identities and varied experiences, and therefore [representing] the asymmetrical social and spatial power dynamics at play within London's LGBTQ+ communities" (Campkin & Marshall, 2018, pg. 84). Sullivan (2003, pg. vi) takes the "queering" of research a step further and suggests that queer research aims to "make strange, to frustrate, to counteract, to delegitimise, to camp up – heteronormative knowledges and institutions, and the subjectivities and socialities that are (in)formed by them and that (in)form them." In conclusion, the challenge of this work is to apply such disruptive, methods to the rather empirical field of Space Syntax. Queerness is transgression and active revolution. Queer Space is inherently dynamic, ceaselessly evolving at the boundary of innovation, in perpetual change and movement. That shall be reflected in queer research as well.

2.2 Why London has a Queer History

London's rich queer history is set in the context of a global history of queerness. Like any urban issue, famously noted in Eliel Saarinen's chair-in-a-room analogy[2],(Jesonen & Jetsonen 1956) queer spaces also need to be regarded within their next larger context. A queer person within a queer space like a lesbian bar, within a neighbourhood, potentially a 'gay village', within a city, within a country, within society at large, within a global network of queer rising, queer resistance, queer history. This timeline attempts to visualize these complexities and to highlight the trailblazers, iconic spaces and legendary events that have led to the contemporary queer globality, and in particular to the queer London of today. Within this timeline (Fig. 1), it is however crucial to critically recognize that queer history is set within and cannot be separated from a hyper-focus on the western world, its colonial histories, and its place within a patriarchal society.

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[2] *"Always design a thing by considering it in its next larger context – a chair in a room, a room in a house, a house in an environment, an environment in a city plan."* (Eliel Saarinen, quoted by Eero Saarinen, in Jesonen & Jetsonen, 1956)

Waves of Feminism

First wave feminism - approx. 1850s - 1920s

Second wave feminism - approx. 1960s - 1980s

Third wave feminism - approx. 1990s -2000s

Fourth wave feminism - approx. 2000s - today?

Fifth wave feminism ??

Lesbian History

Around 630 BC - 570 BC: Sappho, poet from Greek island Lesbos - arguably fhomoerotic poetry, Term 'Lesbian' coined due to her being from Lesbos, nowadays seen as 'first known Lesbian'

1921: Proposal of Criminal Law Amandment Bill
Female homosexuality, which was never explicitly targeted by legislation, is dicussed for the first time in Parliament with a view to introduce discriminatory legislation. Was rejected because of fear that a law would raise attention to/encourage women to explore homosexuality

1963: Arena Three (UK's first lesbian monthly journal) published

1972: Sappho magazine published, together with emergence of feminist theory and Women's Liberation Movement in Uk picks up debates about lesbianism

1994: London Lesbian Avengers founded (Rebel Dykes)

Queer History

1533: The Buggery Act (until 1828), last 2 men executed in 1835

1861: Offences Against the Person Act
1866: Hyde v. Hyde & Woodmansee: court case that lead to marriage definiton between one man and one woman.
1885: The Criminal Law Amendment Act

1954-1957: The Wolfenden Report

1966: The Beaumont Society founded (UKs largest and longest running trans support group
1967: Sexual Offences Act - partially legalised same-sex acts between men!

1968: Homosexuality classified as mental disorder (by American classification of mental disorders)
1969 Stonewall Riot in NYC - maybe most significant event in Queer History initiated & inspired global gay liberation movement, also origin of pride marches.

1970 GLF founded (Gay Liberation Front)

1972: July 1st: First UK Gay Pride March in London organised by London GLF

1979: A Change of Sex airs, one of first documentaries about transgender identity.

1981: First UK case of AIDS

1987: AZT (medication used to prevent AIDS/HIV) made available in UK

1988: Section 28 - enforced until 2003

1989: Stonewall UK founded

1990: OutRage! founded (disbanded in 2011)

1992: WHO removes homosexuality from list of mental disorders

1994: Age of consent for gay men reduced to 18 (lesbian age of consent was not set)
2002: Equal rights for adoption to same-sex couples

2003: Repeal of Clause 28

2004: Civil Partnership Act

2004-5: The Gender Recognition Act
2010: The Equality act - equal treatment to access employment, private & public services
2013: Marriage (Same-Sex Couples) Act, first same sex marriagr on 29 March 2014)
2016: Night Szar hired to also help secure LGBT nighttime spaces when drastic disappearance happens
2022: Conversion Therapy Ban?! (excluding Trans people...)

Space Syntax

1976: Space Syntax by B Hillier, A Leaman, P Stansall, M Bedford published - First Space Syntax Publication

1984: The Social Logic of Space by Hillier and Hanson published

1989: Space Syntax Limited is founded

1996: Space is the Machine by Hillier published
1997: 1st International Space Syntax Symposium held in London

2012: Depthmap X starts running

Essential queer / feminist literature published

1792: "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" by Mary Wollstonecraft published

1928: "The Well of Loneliness" by Radclyffe Hall published
1929: "A Room of One's Own" by Virginia Woolf published

1949: "The Second Sex" by Simone de Beauvoir published.

1976: "History of Sexuality" by Michel Foucault published.

1980: "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" by Adrienne Rich published.

Figure 1: Timeline

"I have only been queer since I came to London (...), before then I knew nothing about it"
(Cyril's letter to Billy, 1934. The National Archives of the UK (PRO), ref. no. MEPO 3/758. In: Houlbrook, 2005, Fig. 1, pg. 2)

London's emergence as a catalyst of queer life is no coincidence. Foucault (1976) claims that the development of the 'modern homosexual' can be attributed to the process of increasing urbanisation. As dense urban centres, cities like London have been an enduring destination for people from all backgrounds reaching from culture to religion, gender, or sexuality (Ely & Dahms, 2022). Cities provide a sufficiently high population density and crowding to instil a sense of anonymity that then in turn facilitates queer life, community, and consequently queer space (Houlbrook, 2005). Nevertheless, along with anonymity, oftentimes comes alienation and a level of disruption, rooted in a potentially higher crime rate in cities. Such qualities pose an especial threat to marginalised and vulnerable communities like the queer community. In his work on queer histories in London, Cook (2003) agrees with the association of early modern queerness with London's increasing urbanity. He adds that from the 1880s on, homosexuality or queerness was commonly associated with arguably the "worst features of urban life" (Cook, 2003 pg. 33), including "degeneration, decadence, excessive consumption, and sexual excess" (Ibid.).

In these tentative beginnings of 'modern homosexuality', queer men and women had a fundamentally different experience (Ely & Dahms, 2022). Equalising femininity with domesticity resulted in queer life looking much different to queer women compared to that of men. While there might have been a slight overlap of what commercial spaces both frequented, access to public space for queer women and even simple free movement around the city was often limited and associated with real dangers. Women additionally had to navigate oppression in the labour market, which then limited their disposable income and therefore their "ability to access commercial venues or private residential space." (Houlbrook, 2005, pg. 10).

2.3 (London's) Lesbian Histories & Geographies

Acknowledging that historically, lesbian life has been fundamentally different to other communities under the queer umbrella is a first step to gauging the nuance of lesbian histories and geographies. In the UK, compared to sex between two men (Section 11 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885. UK Parliament, 2022), lesbian sex was never criminalized. The only attempt to do so in 1921 was eventually rejected due to concern that the law would rather draw unwanted attention to the 'indecencies' it was meant to prevent and conversely encourage women to explore their (queer) sexuality (British Library, 2022). The harm this law caused for gay men is undisputable. However, it caused both relationships and sex of queer men in history to having been more public and more debated within a cultural and legal realm, and therefore granted them a higher historic visibility. Lesbian life, contrastingly, "took place in spaces and spheres that have been largely invisible to historians" (Gowing, 1997, pp. 55,61). Munt adds to that, that "'[l]esbian identity is constructed in the temporal and linguistic mobilisation of space" (2003, pg. 125). This showcases the early rise of 'lesbian invisibility', an issue that queer women still struggle with today, explained by Terry Castle (1993, pg. 2) as what she calls the 'apparitional lesbian', a figure effectively absent from dominant culture's world view, 'never with us … but always somewhere else: in the shadows, in the margins, hidden from history'. Millward (2019, pg. 1) adds: "When one combines lack of archival evidence, battles over identity politics (continuing from the 1960s into today, albeit to different ends), the vagaries of academic fashion and the slippery and hidden nature of women's sexuality, then lesbianism becomes ripe for almost any form of critical analysis".

To this day, due to the differences in spatial qualities, such as operating in public versus in private space, or being bound to subcultures and underground life, typologies of lesbian spaces manifest through placemaking and differ from those of gay men, or even challenge their centricities of "gay villages and associated geographical investigations of sexualities, place, territorialities, and space" (Browne, 2020, pg. 3). Lesbian typologies instead include ruralities (Eves, 2013); social spaces of clubbing, dancing, parties (Pritchard et al., 2002; Cattan & Clerval, 2011); activisms (Banerjea, 2015); sport (Muller-Myrdahl, 2011); bathhouses (Nash & Bain, 2007); Pride/Dyke marches and festivals (Browne, 2007; Podmore, 2015).

2.4 Virtual Queer Space

As a recent and perhaps most serious and sometimes threatening contender to physical queer space, the rise of the internet and the rise of virtual queer space and community has been widely discussed (Venturi, 2016). However, there is a lot of discourse surrounding whether queer space has become this popular due to the lack of adequate physical spaces - or if physical spaces disappear due to the rise of virtual spaces. Opinions in literature vary vastly, noting that this dilemma cannot be simplified in a simple, pragmatic manner.

Debating queer dating apps, in particular the most popular app for gay men, "grindr", Woo (2013, pg. 22) observes that "the beauty of Grindr is that it decoupled hooking up from the specific places, away from the bars, bathhouses, parks, and washrooms", and argues that the once pioneering principles of 'grindr' of providing fast and uncomplicated hook-ups are now also its downfall, giving space for elitism, classism, racism, sexual discrimination, body shaming, and a hyperfocus on appearance to only name a few (while not exclusive to queer dating, this is an issue of the rise of virtual dating per se).

Due to this decoupling, online dating provides more socio-spatial control to non-normative groups (here: queer persons) because it no longer depends as heavily on in-person chance encounter, which used to necessitate queer-exclusive spaces. Encounters in online dating are now never fully random or by chance, because they follow intricate algorithms and a set of filters more effective at sorting out potential matches than arbitrary face-to-face encounters could ever be. Since this selection process is predestined within the online realm, first (in-person) meetings can now take place practically anywhere, queer space or not.

Venturi (2016) and Campkin (2020) both have a similarly critical, multi-layered opinion on queer space, aiming to acknowledge both the positive and negative aspects of its rise. They agree that the "offline/online dichotomy" (Venturi, 2016, pg. 250) cannot be viewed as an isolated issue. Venturi, researching the effects of virtual space in relation to London's queer spaces in particular, argues that it is interconnected with "Soho's natural need to reinvent itself" (Venturi 2016, pg. 250) as well as with complexities around gentrification/'straightification' and a connected raise

in rents, the increasing inclusion of (at least parts of) the queer community into the mainstream, etc. (Venturi 2016, Campkin 2020).

Venturi (2016, pg. 251) proposes that the queer community today needs to "be understood in a postmodern sense: it is mobile […], imagined […], open […], plural […], and placeless (or present in different spaces)." That is what more recent somewhat post-grindr queer apps attempt to facilitate: meeting/communicating/spreading the word in online queer space, to then meet or gather in physical queer space. The app 'Lex' for instance describes itself as "a space created by and for trans, lesbian, nonbinary, and LGBTQ folks to connect." (Lex, 2022). Inspired by the personal ads of 'On Our Backs', a queer, women-run erotica magazine, Lex operates through short, text-based postings (Lex, 2022). It's lack of focus on visuals and location creates a fundamentally different baseline to connection than popular dating apps like 'grindr' or 'tinder'. Beyond romantic connections, on Lex, the community can promote queer events, meet-ups, protests, or any other sort of activity, highlighting, instead of replacing physical queer space.

Another notable queer virtual space, with a very strong tie to spatiality is "Queering the Map". This interactive map functions as an interactive, living archive, aiming to capture the transient, brief, and personal experiences and memories of momentarily queering space (Queering the Map, 2022).

> *"Queering the Map aims to move away from thinking queer space as fixed, and towards an approach to queer placemaking that is rooted in action, as responsive and in flux. A queer approach to space understands that we cannot be queer in any fixed sense, but rather that we are doing queer through acts of resistance. To move away from the notion of a queer space as immovable and settled, is to position queer space as something rooted in the continuous breaking down of cis-heteropatriarchal, white supremacist, colonial, classist, and ableist structures. This shift makes necessary a sustained engagement with the histories and presents of a place and its evolving political context." (La Rochelle, 2020, pg. 137)*

Another place to commemorate queer space and archive memories (even if less intentionally so than "Queering the Map") is social media. Both Instagram (2022) and Facebook (2022) have

proven themselves helpful in tracing queer venues, especially those no longer existing, as for many their social media presence has outlasted the physical space. This 'virtual queer space cemetery' maintains their history and geography alike, preserving a tribute to and sense of the space beyond its physical presence.

2.5 Space Syntax

Despite several adjacencies, the overlap in research between Space Syntax and queer (spatial) theory is rather minimal. The intention of this chapter is to interrogate the evident absence of previous interdisciplinarity between Space Syntax theory and sociologic disciplines, due to their (historically) so far vitally different fundamental value sets. Vinod-Buchinger, with her work on gay (male) spaces in Soho (2018a) and subsequently, more vastly on the spatial cultures of Soho as a whole (2018b), seems to be the only researcher to have tackled remotely queer issues within the realm of Space Syntax. Hillier and Hanson (1984) and Hanson (1998) look at the role of gender in space, however, all remarks are contained within a heteronormative and cis-gendered realm. Within the academic and research spheres of Space Syntax beyond UCL, no further work on queer studies could be found.

This is rather surprising, considering the extensive socio-spatial approach many researchers within queer theory advocate for: Avery (2016: pg. 3) goes as far as proclaiming interest in "how queer space might be structured, interpreted and theorized, and how queer spatial relations might operate in the urban matrix". In addition, Avery (2016), Houlbrook (2005), Millward (2019), Campkin & Marshall (2018) all argue for an increased spatiality, 'spatial turn', etc. within queer research, lesbian geographies or simply London's night-time venues. Thus far, this same interest reversely does not seem to occur within Space Syntax research. An explanation for that reveals itself when reviewing the prior historic timeline (Fig. 1). Space Syntax was developed starting from the late 1970s. Around the same time queer studies were also just in the early stages. Considering that Michel Foucault's "History of Sexuality" was first published in 1976, and Adrienne Riche's "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" in 1980, it is reasonable that "The Social Logic of Space" did not mention (homo)sexuality or queerness, when it was released in 1984. Both disciplines needed many more years to mature into the interdisciplinary disciplines they are today.

Space Syntax was at least addressing gender roles[3] in a time when gender and feminism was a central topic of discussion. Hillier & Hanson (1984) entered the conversation with a controversial take: their concept of differential solidarities within social structures recognises binary genders as inherently different, a claim feminists at the time argued to be accepting of patriarchal structures.[4] Thus, it could be argued that early Space Syntax theory was socially progressive then, but now is delayed in adapting and reconsidering and risks falling behind on its initial progressiveness.

Additionally, early Space Syntax theory was established against stark resistance from sociology, where space was still regarded as a passive backdrop to society, a social product at most, but not an active contributor. This notion, central to Space Syntax theory earnt it labels like being "determinist" according to sociologists, which is still defended and exacerbated in current literature, such as Penn & Turner (2018: pg. 10), backing the central argument that space "acts to make possible, or to inhibit, social relations themselves" by studying termite colonies and their mount construction (Turner, 2003) in terms of collective behaviour, systemic action, and architectural principles.

Once queer studies gained interest in spatiality, this has largely been reflected in literature stemming from the fields of human geography. Once again, human geography is a field critical of Space Syntax theory, this time writing off its probabilistic approach and affinity to quantitative methods as positivist.

Comprehending the fundamentally different origins of Space Syntax, human geography, and sociology in relation to queer studies begins to untangle the reasons of the apparent lack of interdisciplinarity thus far.

Despite the lack of conspicuous queerness, Space Syntax theory coined concepts such as co-presence, co-awareness, and virtual community, that help to understand the role of socio-

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[3] Chapter 7: The spatial logic of encounters: a computer-aided thought experiment. In: The Social Logic of Space, Hillier & Hanson, 1984.
[4] From conversation with colleagues of Julienne Hanson, I have been told that Hanson disagreed with this notion in that it disregarded the intellectual effort that was put into the debate on gender in a heteronormative society (at a time when such topics were rarely studied critically, especially from a women's perspective).

spatiality of any community more fundamentally. Hillier (1996, 2007) coins the term 'virtual community' as a social resource arguing that spatial design and deliberate configuration indisputably influences, creates, and manipulates patterns of spatial usage such as co-presence, movement, encounter, density, etc.. While these social patterns do not automatically create a community - because most users of the spaces in question are likely strangers that have never met before and will never meet again - there are still some slight interactions and behaviours, coined and orchestrated by societal expectations, creating an intuitive social structure. Do virtual communities hence have the capability to shape queer space as well? Drawing back to Penn & Turner (2018) suggesting that space is an active contributor to shaping society would certainly imply that virtual communities in turn impact queer space as well.

The importance of queering research (Campkin & Marshall, 2018) through fluid methodology (Houlbrook, 2005) is undisputed:

> *"…the theorization of the multiple and complex relations between sexualities and space has become a growing area of multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary concern. As part of the wider 'spatial turn' in the humanities and social sciences, such theoretical work offers a number of ways through which we are able to interrogate how spaces create, promote, control, close down sexual identities, practices and communities – and how, in turn, these identities, practices and communities influence and structure particular spaces." (Avery, 2016, pg. 8)*

Space Syntax analysis will offer the possibility of applying a new set of methodologies to a field that previously had few touching points, enabling novel insights from a previously disregarded perspective within socio-spatial research.

In the following section, the concepts 'integration' and 'visibility' will be thoroughly examined. Both notions, paramount to the technical Space Syntax methods alluded to above, also correlate with human geography and queer studies in various ways, albeit there they have divergent meanings. The indicated paradox of plurality in meaning, yet commonality in relation to each other, will be dissected in the next section.

3 INTEGRATION

The English Oxford Dictionary (2022a) defines the "action or process of integrating" as "the making up or composition of a whole by adding together or combining the separate parts or elements; combination into an integral whole: a making whole or entire." Or "the bringing into equal membership of a common society those groups or persons previously discriminated against on racial or cultural grounds". For Space Syntax however, integration is defined in the Social Logic of Space as "a normalised measure of distance from any a space of origin to all others in a system. In general, it calculates how close the origin space is to all other spaces, and can be seen as the measure of relative asymmetry (or relative depth)." (Hillier & Hanson, 1984, pp. 108-109).

These definitions already allow speculations of how they can relate to Space Syntax and queer theory alike. In the latter analysis section, so called Space Syntax angular segment integration analysis will be conducted on queer space case studies to evaluate how queer spaces are woven into the urban fabric of greater London. Angular integration analysis assesses how accessible or how close a street segment (or in this case, an establishment located on a segment) is in relation to all other streets/segments within the system, considering the total sum of directional changes, also referred to as angular change. (Hillier, 1996, 2007) It will also be investigated if they are located rather on foreground or background networks. The foreground network includes main streets and/or important axes linking local centres to each other. They are usually highly integrated, while the background network is purposefully less integrated and rather secluded to accommodate calmer residential or industrial areas. (Hillier, 1996, 2007) Then, it will be discussed what integration means within queer theory and queer space and if integration is desired or not. Integration can be a bit of a paradox within the queer community as there often is a tension between othering and inclusion. It will be investigated if the final utopian aim for queer spaces is to not be necessary because the integration of sexual and gender diversity is granted within all spaces, or contrasting to that, if the aim is to foster plentiful innovative queer spaces so that a range of options of accessible spaces exist for a range of communities. In broader terms, the debate will cover whether the eventual target is unity - or celebration of difference.

This process creates contrasting assessments of the term and concept 'integration', which calls for examination from each a Space Syntax standpoint as well as a queer studies perspective.

3. 1 Integration in Queer Studies – and how that contributes to Space Syntax

When discussing integration in a theoretical sense, a more fundamental debate/tension is raised. That between othering and inclusion. Heteronormativity affords queerness. The 'othering' affords queerness. From the opposite perspective, queerness relies on and builds upon being the anomality, the peculiar oddity, the exception, the innovation. The complexity in this case is: if aspects of queerness enter the mainstream – and become accepted and integrated into it, does that aspect consequently lose its queerness when entering the mainstream, or does it make heteronormative society a little queerer? Burchiellaro (2021, pg. 25f) argues that:

"'Queer' […] becomes particularly useful for resisting the classificatory impulses of inclusion discourses that seek to render differences visible, identifiable or, indeed, manageable. From this perspective, the task of the critical scholar of inclusion becomes that of 'queering', understood as 'an attitude of unceasing disruptiveness' (Parker, 2001, p. 28), the normalizing or 'straightening' (Ahmed, 2006) tendencies of inclusion, which work to align (sexual) differences with normative scripts by making these readable, knowable and (thus) manage-able and include-able."

This notion hints back to socio-spatial control, previously discussed in relation to virtual space: As the dominant part of society, hetero-normal structures usually dominate the 'societal rulebook' and "swallow" the inherent queerness of the aspect in question. A common example of this is the increasing participation of big corporations and non-queer allies in Queer Pride parades and the pinkwashing and rainbow capitalism[5] that arises conjointly with this development. Appropriating Pride for larger mainstream audiences as a celebration of diversity is putting it at risk of losing its integral values, its politicalness and its origin as a protest.

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[5] The phenomenon of "corporate incorporation of historically LGBTQ+ symbols and ideals into their products, hoping to attract consumers within the community — is known among advocates and organizers as 'rainbow capitalism' or 'pinkwashing.'" (Sen, 2022)

'Syntax' means "a set of related rule structures formed out of elementary combinations of the elementary objects, relations and operations" (Hillier et al., 1976, pg. 150). Space Syntax theory therefore essentially describes society in relation to each other and in relation to space. Relationships are by definition dyadic and reciprocal. One side affords the other for it to be a relationship. There is an interdependency between 'queer' and 'non-queer' society. A queer identity could not be as radical without heteronormative structures defining the rules of a normalised existence. In that sense, mainstream society is the dominant part, the controller. Thus, it could be argued that queer people are pushed into the role of a visitor in any 'straight space', having to learn how to make these spaces intelligible to them. 'Straight space' always is assumed to be elementary, designed to suit and even privilege its inhabitants.

In queer space however, the roles are reversed. At last being in the role of the inhabitant, queer people in this context gain control and autonomy, while if non-queer people do access the space, they must rely on the inhabitants to navigate an unintelligible space. Integration in relation to queer space therefore is maybe just as much about inclusion or othering as it is about control, autonomy, and power.

4 VISIBILITY

In the English Oxford Dictionary (2022b), visibility is defined as "The condition, state, or fact of being visible; […] capacity of being seen." and as "The degree to which something impinges upon public awareness; prominence.". These two definitions accentuate the importance of studying visibility in the context of queer space. On the one hand, visibility in the tangible sense of the 'state of being seen' has caused Space Syntax theories to inquire different forms of virtual analysis. The interest here lies within what can be seen at which point while moving through the built environment and how visibility within a road network, a neighbourhood, or a building, influences how visitors navigate, behave, and/or move through it. This will be analysed subsequently through isovist analysis, visualising the perspectives surrounding a set point within a spatial environment (Turner et al., 2001), here from the entrances of queer establishments.

On the other hand, within queer theories visibility is rather intangible and more political. Visibility in this sense can signify the mere public awareness of one's identity. It can represent the right to marry, to protest, to attend a pride parade or to be open and public about one's gender identity or sexuality. In terms of queer space, visibility is often urged to balance protection and security with openness and welcoming.

These concepts create a multi-layered approach to visibility that call for examination from each a Space Syntax standpoint as well as a queer studies standpoint. This is attempted in the following analysis.

4. 1 Visibility in Queer Studies – and how that contributes to Space Syntax

As mentioned previously, visibility has a sort of impalpable significance to it that goes beyond its role in Space Syntax. The aim of the following paragraphs is to allude to these further meanings by dissecting visibility within queer communities and within queer space, and eventually drawing a conclusion on how that has considerable potential within Space Syntax theory.

Visibility will be dissected into three types. First, invisibility or security and protection, second, seeing within community, and third, being seen, or external, public visibility.

When talking about isovists and visibility within Space Syntax, it tends to be in context with finding the largest isovist, the most unobstructed, longest lines of sight, the highest, most prominent visibility. However, invisibility can be an asset as well. Invisibility in terms of sexual and/or gender identity, within queer communities, can or might be a "survival strategy", an act of (self)protection within a cisgender- and hetero-normative society (Wilton, 1996, pg. 78).

While Taylor (1997) denotes this phenomenon as creating ambiguous spaces, suggesting an ambivalent world full of queer potential[6], the reality is far more austere. During the process of writing this, VICE World News revealed a study, concluding a severe rise in LGBTQ hate crime (VICE 2022). Over the last 5 years, homophobic hate crimes in the UK allegedly have doubled in number, transphobic hate crime even have tripled. The London Metropolitan Police reports a 28% increase in homophobic crime this year. The 3,794 crime reports are also (unsurprisingly) the highest number of cases reported by any police force in the UK (Hunte, 2022). When analysing visibility of queer space, security and protection hence must be a key consideration too. Locating queer spaces along highly integrated streets, with clear lines of sight, possibly even big signage, and a distinct name, can therefore be both a blessing and a threat and must be carefully balanced out or counteracted with a security concept ensuring the safety and comfort of their visitors.

On to deliberate visibility. Wilton (1996) describes the difference of being visible within public (usually heteronormative) and designated queer space. Visibly queer public displays of affection can receive very different reactions based on the circumstances. Within queer bars, visitors often desire to be visible. Not only visibly queer, but also within eyesight of potential flirts. In queer clubs, glances and gazes are just as crucial as in their heteronormative counterpart, with the difference that heterosexual people go through everyday life constantly finding themselves in spaces where they could face potential dates, because the predominant sexuality is still heterosexual, people are 'assumed straight until proven gay'. Queer people however therefore cannot assume the same thing and could face backlash, discrimination or even violence if

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[6] See full quote on pg. 11

approaching the wrong person. Queer spaces bring a welcomed change to that. Here, dating, and random encounter is assumed queer.

Queer Visibility and 'Gaydar'

In a public space in a modern society, despite being heteronormative, it is very likely that there will be multiple queer people present. With currently assuming that between one in ten or one in twenty people are queer, random encounter of two queer people happens naturally. In that case, how can queer people recognize each other and differentiate each other from the (heteronormative) crowd?

A concept called 'gaydar' claims to identify a passerby's/stranger's sexual orientation based on expressive behaviour, stereotypical cues, language, tone of voice, body language, etc. The heightened sensibility to queerness by the observer also increases the accuracy of such judgement. Internally known symbols have been a common way to tell each other apart or to know who's one of your "own" for a long time.

Another fundamentally queer act very closely connected to deliberate visibility is cruising or cottaging (Turner, 2003). Cruising describes the practice of finding sexual partners in certain public locations, in many cases parks, forests, public toilets, or small alleys. While there are accounts of cruising within the female queer community, records and writing has almost exclusively focused on gay men cruising. Here, visibility is once again crucial. First, different men engaging in cruising must be visible to each other in a distinct, but not too overt fashion. Then, two (or more) men must get into direct eye contact or conversation enough to deviate from these public, visible encounter location to a location a bit more secluded. While the thrill of cruising is certainly connected to the anonymity, and to a certain extent voyeuristic visibility and public location, getting caught can still to this day lead to a public nuisance charge. Therefore, a careful location / isovist must be picked for a fruitful cruising experience, carefully balancing the chance for random encounter, and visibility with the option for sufficient privacy and seclusion.

Lastly, there is overt visibility. With the sociologic concept of coming out, a queer person is expected and almost required to pick whenever their time for overt visibility has come. While coming out might finally be a receding phenomenon amongst the youngest generations, for most

queer people so far, due to societal pressures, upon self-identifying and becoming comfortable within their queer identities, they were expected to hide, blend in, be invisibly queer – do anything to stay within heteronormative structures – until they feel ready to announce their queerness. Seen as a monumental event in a queer timeline, they can be life altering for the better or the worse, depending on the reaction of the person opposite. Either way, a coming out is always a reaching for acknowledgement, for otherness, for visibility.

In public space, overt visibility is most prominently displayed in pride parades. Once a year, city centres, street networks and big chunks of public space are turned from heteronormative into queer space. Instead of covering up or hiding queerness, the power of the (queer) masses affords for overt queerness. Heterosexual visitors of pride parades for once are urged to step into the role of the spectator, the "other". Within a certain extent of urban space, modern-day pride parades swap around roles and social narratives for a day.

Well established queer spaces can have a similar overt visibility. The Royal Vauxhall Tavern for example is one of the oldest and most legendary LGBTQ+ venues in London (Royal Vauxhall Tavern, 2022), being compared in significance to the Stone Wall Inn in Manhattan, NYC. Its location asserts immediate architectural dominance. The free-standing, single, neighbour-less building, located at a 4-way crossroad, with a curved façade facing each one of the roads, is an appearance itself and demands attention immediately. The over-dimensional pride flags hissed along the quarter-circle frontage makes its function indisputable. The building itself conveys confidence, pride, dominance. That in itself promotes overt visibility of queer space, not attempting to hide any aspects of the building's identity, aiming to encourage these same sentiments in its visitors.

These intricate structures of visibility or lack thereof must be considered when designing or analysing queer space, as they are imperative in providing safer spaces, where community can be created, come together, strive, and progress.

Apart from these three types of visibility, it is crucial to also recognise differences in visibility within the queer community. In the following, lesbian and trans visibility will be analysed a bit

further. These marginalized groups within already disparaged communities demand and deserve special focus, increased sensitivity, and care.

Lesbian Visibility

In contrast to a somewhat acknowledged presence of gayness in mainstream culture (even though certainly not always problematic in its own accords), lesbianism is still retained to the edges of culture and society, invisible, hidden, kept secret (Wilton, 1996). Searching for reasoning for this, Wilton dives into feminist and queer theory. The first step to recognising lesbian visibility is to put lesbianism in direct relation to patriarchist structures. Wilton (1996, pg. 79) reiterates that radical feminists remark that "the entire superstructure of patriarchy depends on women's heterosexuality.". As Adrienne Rich (1981, pg. 27) groundbreakingly remarks, "the issue feminists have to address is not simple 'gender inequality' nor the domination of culture by males nor mere 'taboos against homosexuality', but the enforcement of heterosexuality for women as means of assuring male right of physical, economic and emotional access. One of many means of enforcement is, of course, the rendering invisible of the lesbian possibility.". Therefore, lesbian existence, lesbian visibility, and lesbians coming out poses an act of resistance not only to heteronormativity, but also to patriarchy, making the lesbian existence a critical act of protest and resistance to some of the seemingly most fundamental, impregnable modern first-world societal structures.

5 ANALYSIS

5.1 Data Sets & Data Collection
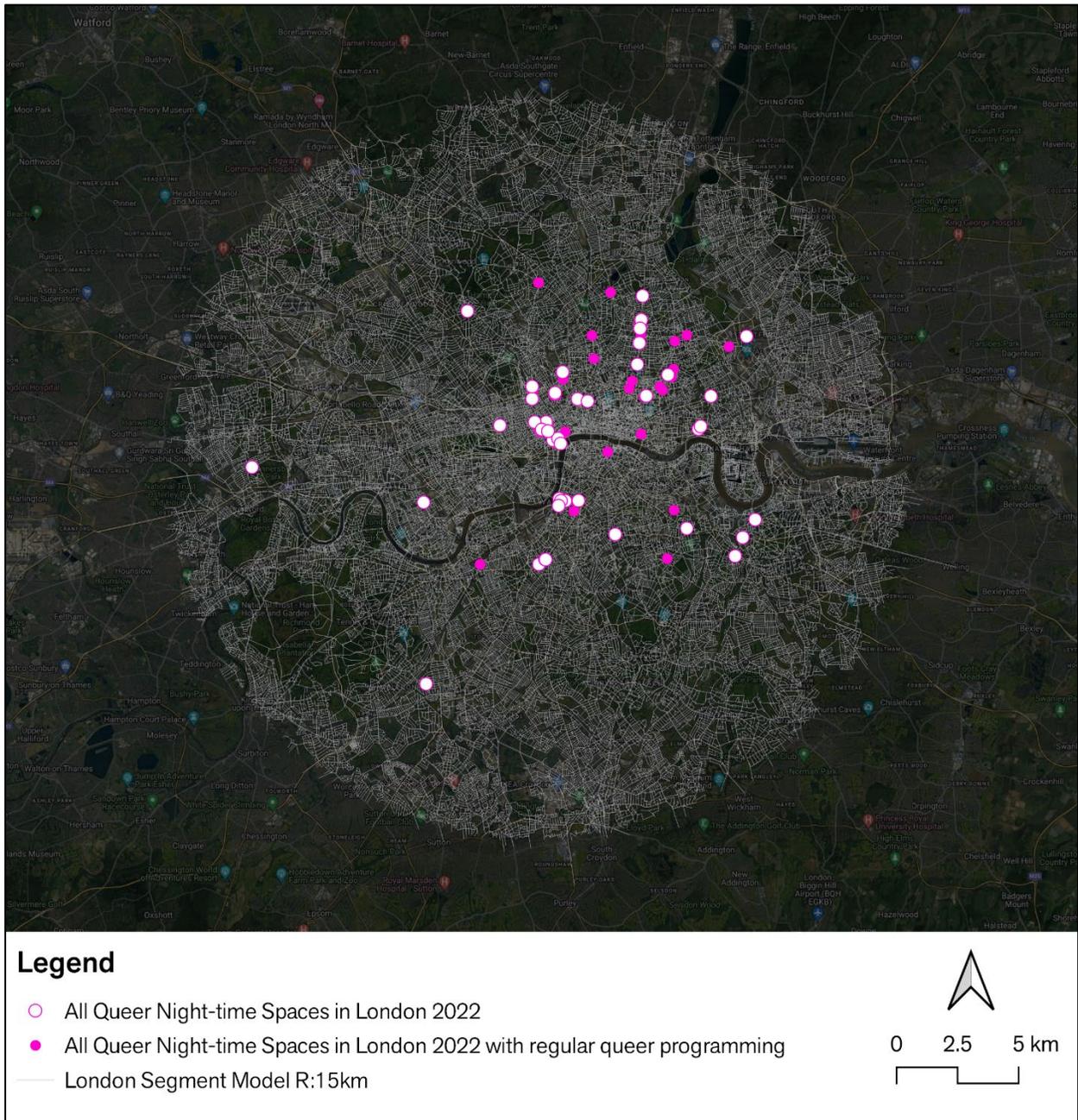
Figure 2: All Queer Night-time Spaces in London 2022

As gathered in the literature review, queer space by definition expands a fixed architectural typology. However, the quantitative nature of many tools within Space Syntax analysis requires case studies in definite locations. Therefore, to make an empirical approach feasible, the spaces considered and selected for this case study need to follow a set of ground rules, following clear

definition and reasoning. At the same time, this demands acknowledgement of the limitations of this analysis. The empirical nature of the following study here excludes the transient, ephemeral queer spaces that are created for a confined time frame – maybe for a day, maybe for just a fleeting moment, wherever and whenever queer people cross paths, come together, or plainly exist.

The framework for selecting case studies follows the lead of previous work within queer urbanism, especially by Campkin & Marshall (2016, 2017, 2018). Their publications entail a primary data source for queer night-life establishments. In addition to that, the 'London Cultural Infrastructure map', in particular its list of LGBT+ night-time venues (Mayor of London, London Datastore, 2019), depicts a fundamental source for this work. Lastly, the recently revamped application 'Hey Queer London' (2022) provided a vital resource, especially for information on newer queer spaces around London. Furthermore, both Instagram (2022) and Facebook (2022) proved helpful in tracing queer venues, specifically those from the past that no longer exist but still have their former social media presence. Out of these sources, a total of 54 spaces classified as queer night-time spaces have been identified. An additional 25 establishments have been labelled as 'refularly hosting queer events' (See Fig. 2 and Appendix B for a full table).

5.2 Case Study

The following study is set in the context of greater London. Segment analysis is restricted to a radius of 15 km from central London (with the centre of the circle in proximity to Trafalgar Square). Within that area, all (publicly known) self-identified queer, gay, or lesbian-centred night-time establishments have been mapped. In addition to that, venues that regularly host queer events or are advertised as particularly queer-friendly are on the map as well. All identifiable queer daytime venues have been added to this collection as well as some venues that have become subject to recent closures.

Forty case studies were selected because due to constraints of time and resources, the local integration and isovist analysis could only be conducted on a limited number of establishments. For this reason, case studies were selected that effectively reflect the essence of the queer landscape in London. First, a group of ten spaces was selected that cater to queer women and

FLINTA*s, host regular events for that group or are known to be diverse and inclusive in terms of their crowds.

1.	She Bar	6.	The Glory
2.	G-A-Y	7.	Royal Vauxhall Tavern (RVT)
3.	G-A-Y Late	8.	Common Counter
4.	Heaven	9.	Apple Tree Pop-Up
5.	Dalston Superstore	10.	West 5

Figure 3: 10 Night-time venues - queer

Next, a selection of ten spaces that are notorious in London's queer community, especially among gay men, have been picked.

1.	The City of Quebec	6.	New Bloomsbury Set
2.	Central Station	7.	Union
3.	The Yard	8.	Halfway to Heaven
4.	VFD Dalston	9.	Comptons of Soho
5.	Circa (Embankment)	10.	The Vault (139)

Figure 4: 10 Night-time venues - mainly gay

The following ten spaces have fallen victim to closures within the past 8 years and were selected with the background of potentially seeing different numbers in closed vs. in open venues.

1.	Joiner's Arms	6.	The Black Cap
2.	Apple Tree	7.	Above the Stag
3.	Candy Bar	8.	The Chateau
4.	Her Upstairs/Them Downstairs	9.	Stokey Stop
5.	Muse Soho	10.	Blush (The Blush Bar)

Figure 5: 10 night-time venues - closed within last 8 years

Lastly, ten establishments were chosen that do not focus on night-time entertainment.

1.	Gay's The Word	6.	Barberette
2.	Glasshouse	7.	Open Barbers
3.	Queer Britain	8.	Castlehaven Community Centre
4.	Queer Circle	9.	The Outside Project
5.	London LGBTQ Community Centre	10.	Mosaic LGBTQ+ young person's trust

Figure 6: 10 day-time venues - diverse typologies

While the selection of case studies was aimed to be diverse in location, type, crowd it attracts, etc., slight biases can never be fully eliminated and might result in slightly skewed results. This has been considered both in the analysis and within its findings. A complete list of the case studies including the reasoning for their specific selection can be found in Appendix C.
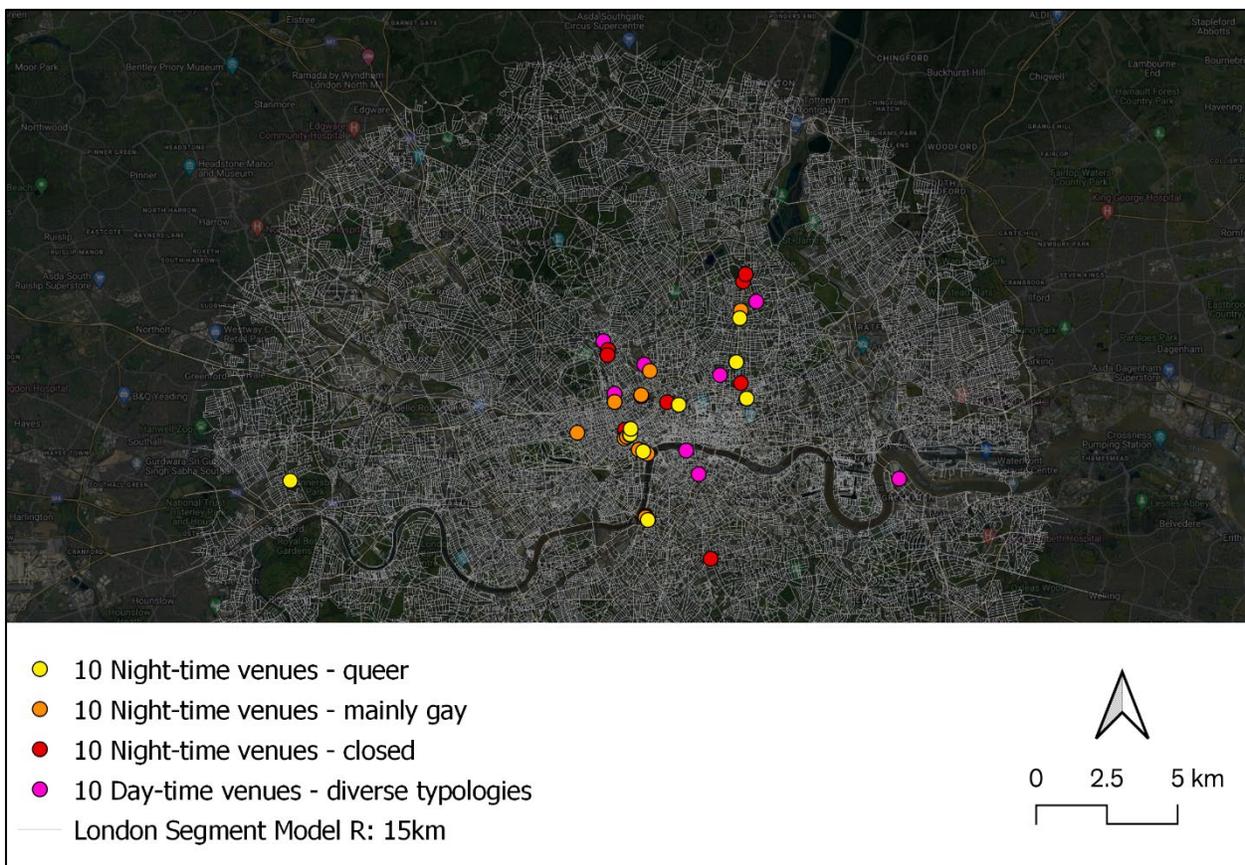
Figure 7: The 40 case studies, in the context of London, without labels
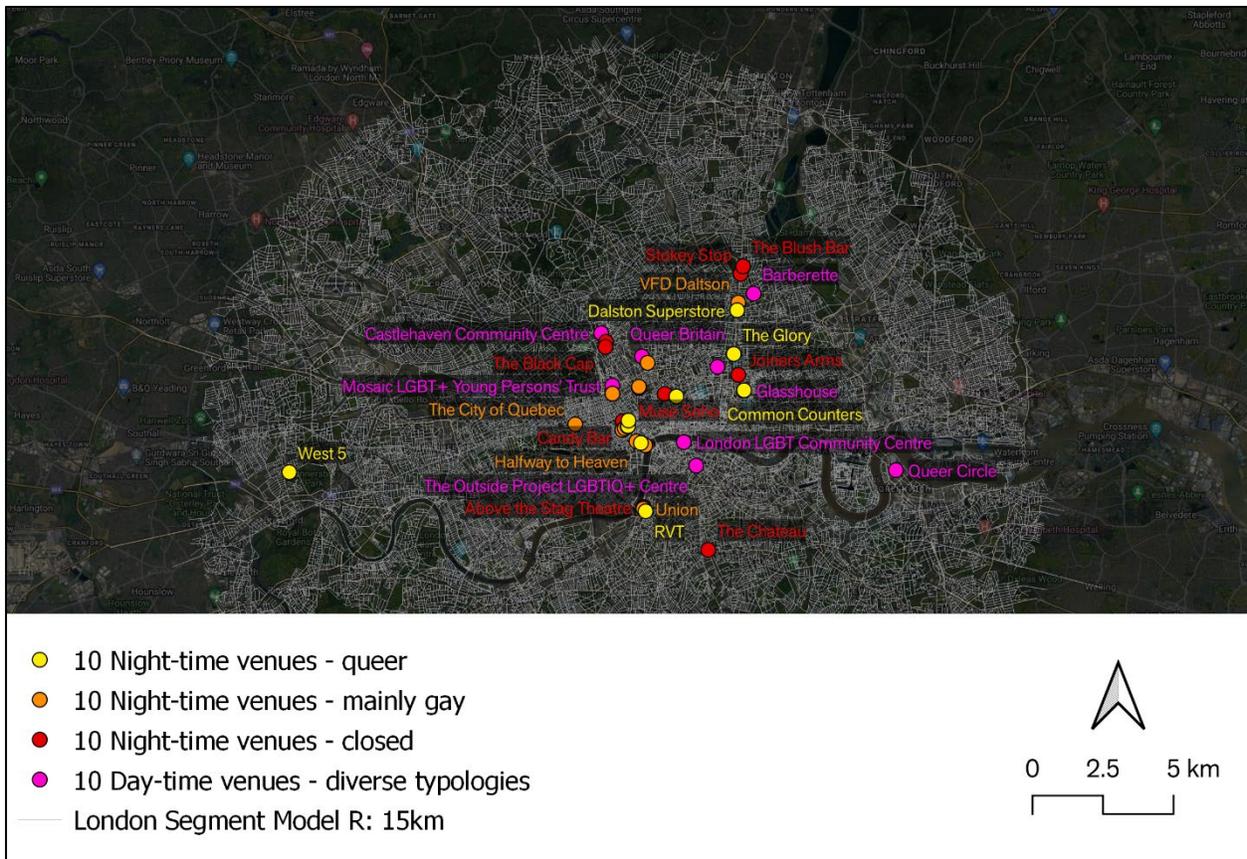
Figure 8: The 40 case studies, in the context of London, with labels

The geographic distribution of these establishments reveals local clusters of queer spaces. Except for a few selected outliers, they are all aggregated rather central in the city. As expected, Soho emerges as the most significant, densest cluster. Other current local centres include Shoreditch/Dalston/Bethnal Green, with a more dispersed density and a linear distribution along Kingsland Road. Kings Cross/Bloomsbury, Vauxhall, and Clerkenwell are small clusters that have seen lots of recent change. Camden and Stoke Newington stand out due to many closures. Large parts of London's South, particularly around Bermondsey/Lewisham/Peckham/Deptford have seen many closures, but also many budding new establishments. (Campkin & Marshall, 2017, pg. 26ff) Alike queer spaces, these clusters are just as dynamic in their fluctuations. While some clusters are more constant, others rise and ebb in popularity over the years. These clusters will be of significance for the local integration analysis.

5. 3 Integration Analysis - Methodology

The global integration value of the 40 case studies has been determined by running angular segment integration (HH) on the metropolitan region of London. A circle with a radius of 15km with its centre in proximity to Trafalgar Square has been used as the study area, because that encompasses all queer establishments chosen for the case studies plus a buffer zone big enough to counteract edge effect of the establishments less centrally located. Within that study area, integration was calculated with the global radius N to receive results reflecting the queer space's integration within the metropolitan grid, in direct relation to the other queer spaces, located in that same metropolitan grid.

To then gather insight on integration as well as choice measures on a smaller scale, 15 'cluster' areas have been identified in relation to the location of the case studies. These areas are (in alphabetical order):

1.	Blackfriars	6.	Dalston	11.	Marylebone
2.	Bloomsbury	7.	Ealing / Acton	12.	Shoreditch / Brick Lane
3.	Camberwell	8.	Euston	13.	Soho
4.	Camden	9.	Greenwich	14.	Stoke Newington
5.	Charing Cross / Embankment	10.	Kings Cross	15.	Vauxhall

Figure 9: Cluster Areas for Integration Study

The cluster areas have been created by taking the case studies as the centre of their respective cluster and drawing a circle with a radius of 3km around them as a buffer area. Then, a second circle with a 1km radius from the centre was drawn as the study area. Next, their NACH (normalised angular choice) and NAIN (normalised angular integration) values for the radii n, 400m, and 800m were evaluated. Then, all pubs, music venues, and community centres within a smaller circle of a 1km radius within the cluster area (to avoid edge effect) have been sourced from the London Infrastructure Map data set (Mayor of London, London Datastore, 2019) and joined to their nearest segments, just like the case studies in that respective cluster. Their respective NAIN and NACH values were then used to analyse how queer spaces perform in relation to similar spaces for the broader society.

5. 4 Integration Study

Legend:
- 10 Night-time venues - queer
- 10 Night-time venues - mainly gay
- 10 Night-time venues - closed
- 10 Day-time venues - diverse typologies

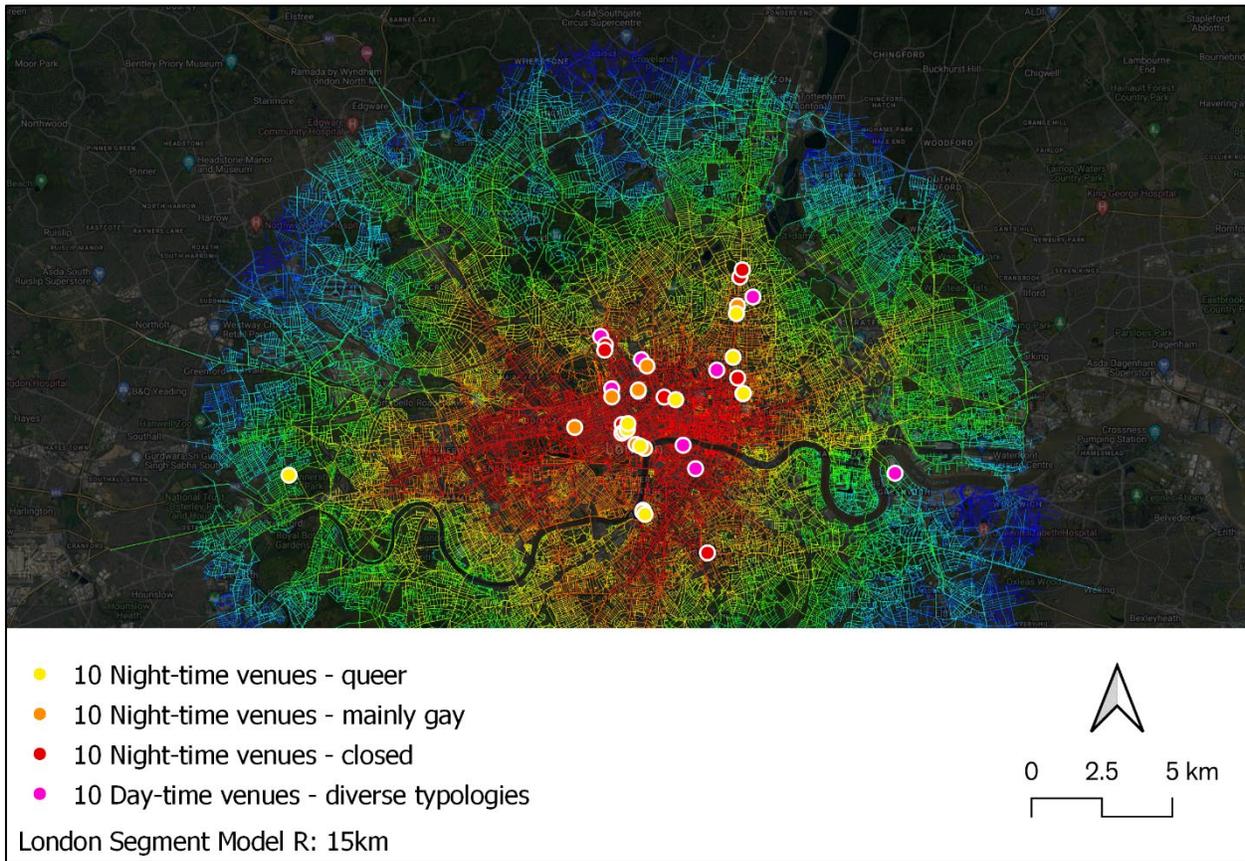London Segment Model R: 15km

0   2.5   5 km

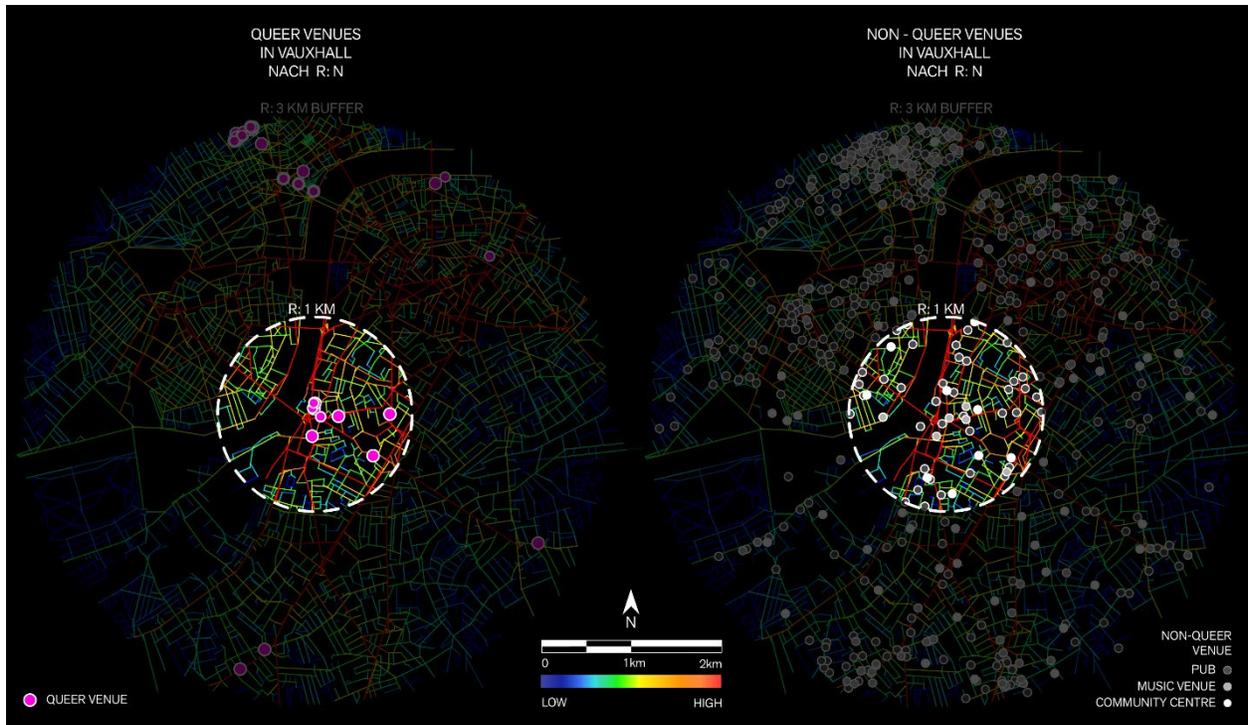*Figure 10: Integration (HH), Radius n, for area of Radius: 15km radius; the 40 case studies*

Figure 11: Example Map of Integration Study: Average Integration of Queer Spaces vs. Average Integration of Non-Queer Spaces
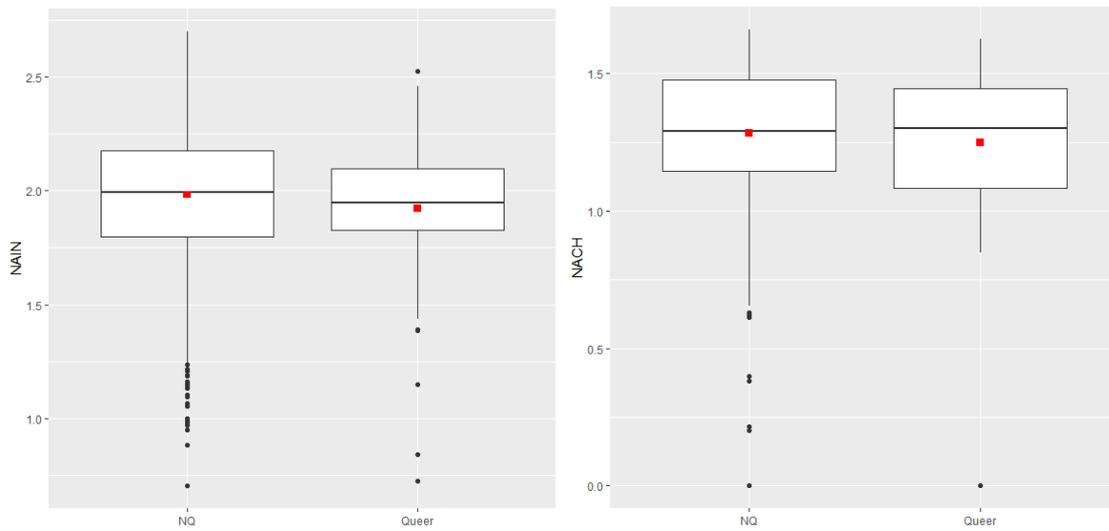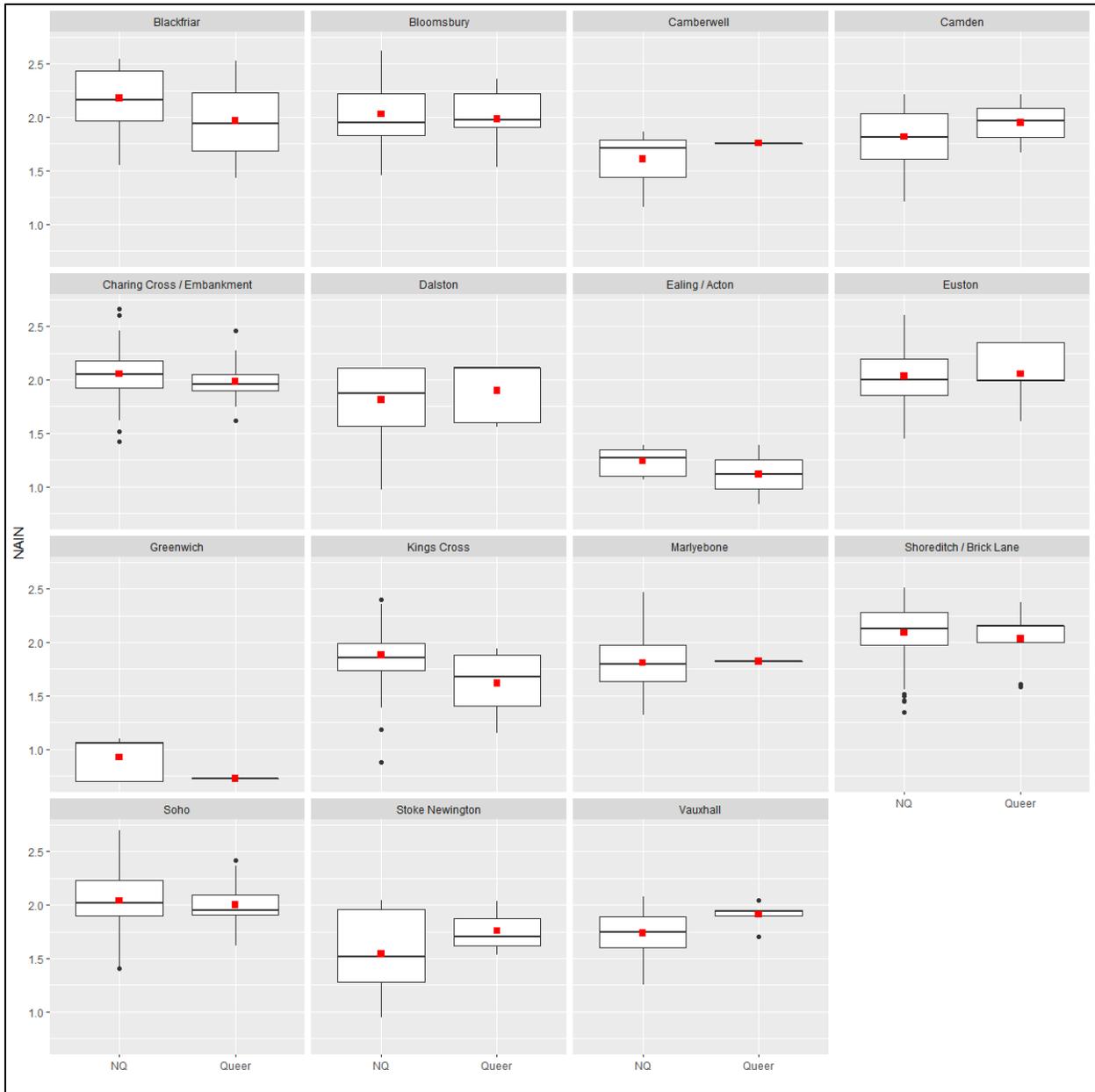

Figure 12: NAIN,radius: n; pooled, NACH radius: n; pooled

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Figure 13: NAIN radius: n; for 15 each of cluster areas
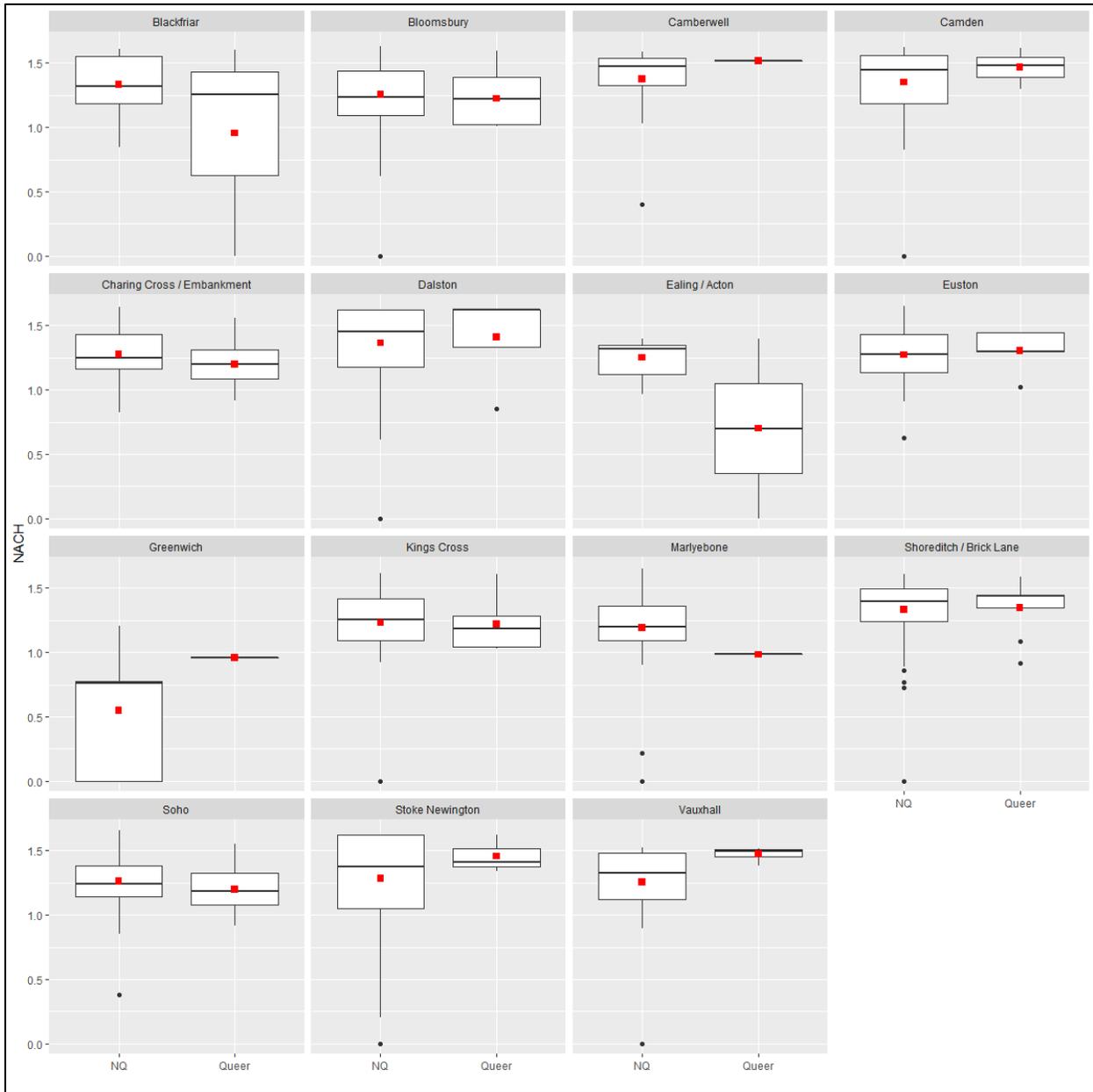
Figure 14: NACH radius: n; for 15 each of cluster areas

5.5 Integration Analysis Key Findings

Figures 10 portrays the global macro scale integration analysis. It highlights that the urban grid is formed by economic and political drivers that work under a capitalist system and local aggregative rules that give rise to morphological shapes and grids. These rules creating urban morphologies are dominated by whichever group is the majority in that respective context (Harvey, 2010) – which is usually in accordance with heteronormative notions. The macro scale

analysis suggests that there is nothing unique to where queer spaces are located compared to similar entertainment or community spaces for a heteronormative audience. Figure 12 confirms that descriptively. For these two boxplots, all global values for each NACH and NAIN from all pubs, music venues and community centres within the 1km radius of the 15 cluster areas have been pooled into the "NQ" (Non-Queer) category and compared to the respective NACH and NAIN values of all queer venues ('Queer' category) within that same 1km cluster radius. Figure 12 demonstrates in choice as well as integration that there is very little to no difference in the pooled average integration of the queer and non-queer spaces analysed, with each t-tests resulting in p values below any significance (here, all p-values are below 0.05, and insignificant as this test is at a confidence level of 95%). This renders the hypothesis, that in terms of integration or choice on a larger scale, there is nothing unique or different about queer spaces in relation to its mainstream counterparts, as correct.

Figure 13 (NAIN) and Figure 14 (NACH) present the contrasted queer and non-queer spaces separately for each cluster area. This displays that there is some more nuance in differences for each cluster locally.

5. 6 Visibility Analysis Methodology

For the visibility analysis of queer establishments, an isovist study of the previously introduced 40 case studies has been conducted. An Isovist "is the area in a spatial environment directly visible from a location within the space" (Turner et al., 2001, pg. 105). In short, it can be considered as presenting an individual's perspective within space (Ibid.). Benedikt (2020) further explains that "the body of space visible to and from a point x is called the isovist at x. Move to y and the isovist may well be different in size and shape." (Benedikt, 2020, pg. 66) For this study isovists are used to examine the visibility of queer establishments within greater London. The method used here involves drawing an isovist from each establishment's entrance. Then each establishment's isovist shape and area, as well as its signage, is analysed to render a realistic quantitative representation of the space's visibility and presence within its immediate surrounding street scape. If a case study has multiple entrances, multiple overlapping isovists are shown. For the isovist area of these establishments, the cumulative total area covered by the overlapping isovists was considered. Foliage, plants, or trees were not considered in this study.

All isovists are drawn in two dimensions and on eye level. They are drawn at a 180-degree angle to cover the entire visible field from the point of entry. The radius was limited to 75 meters, because beyond that signage other identifying indicators become hard to read for an average-sighted person. Despite careful consideration to draw the isovists as realistic to the actual visibility of the establishment on its street, constant change in the built environment, temporal adjustments, seasonal or weather considerations make this study subject to potential bias (Vaughan, 2020).

10 Night-time venues - queer

Heaven

G-A-Y Late

G-A-Y

SHE Bar Soho

Dalston Superstore

Common Counter

West 5

The Apple Tree
Pop-Up

The Glory

Royal Vauxhall Tavern
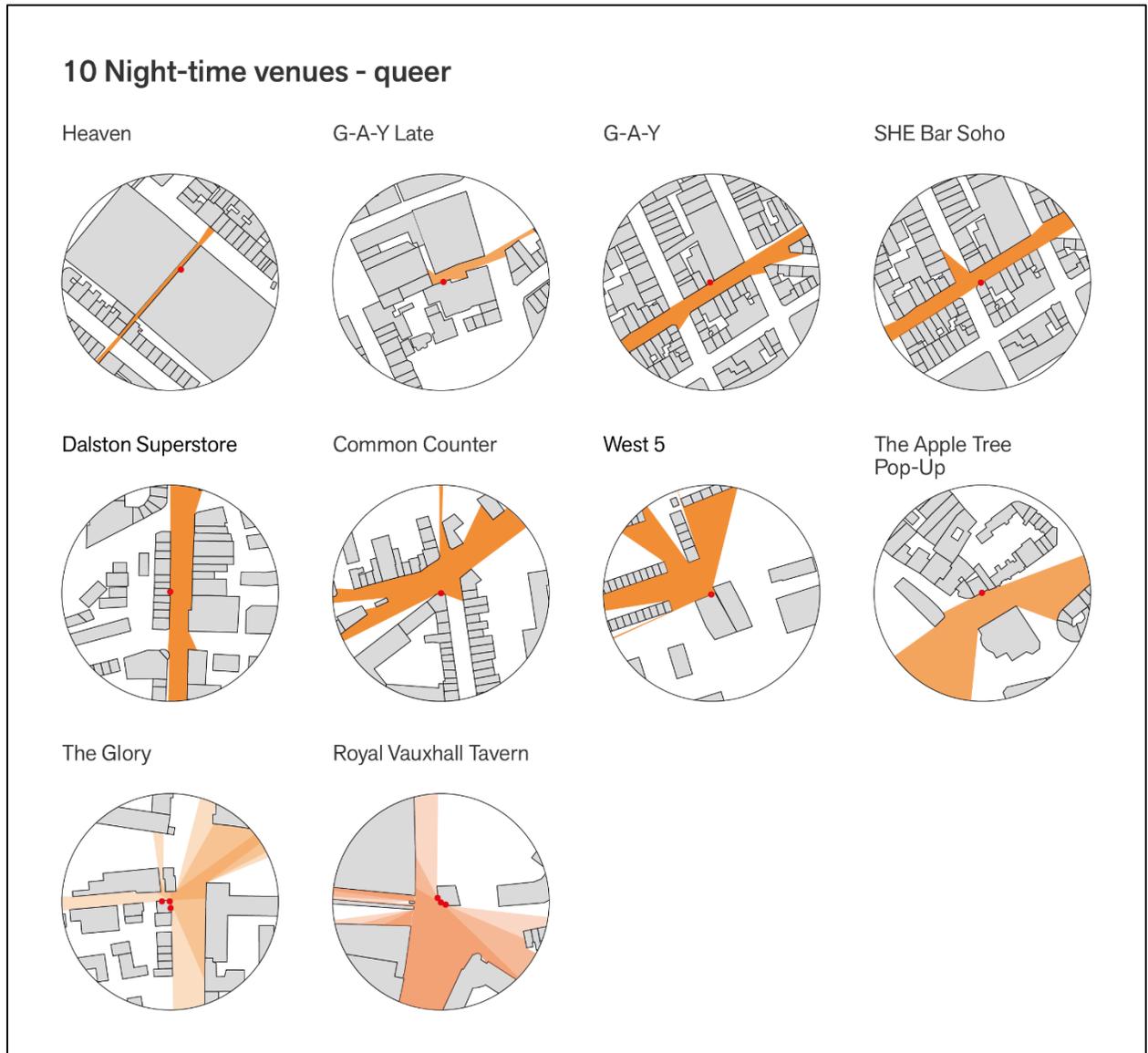
Figure 13:Isovist Study: 10 Night-time venues - queer. Ordered by Isovist Size.
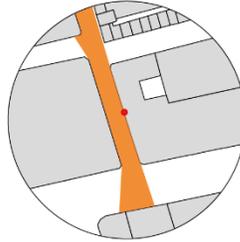
10 Night-time venues - mainly gay

The Yard
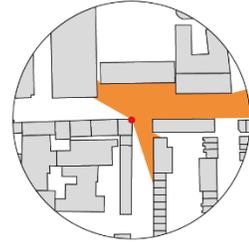
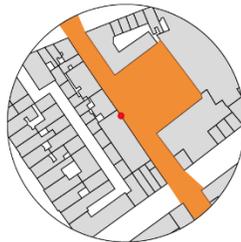Comptons (of Soho)
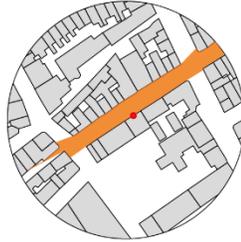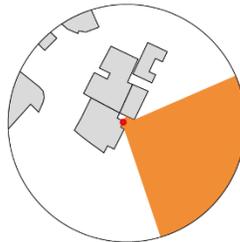
The City of Quebec

Central Station

New Bloomsbury Set
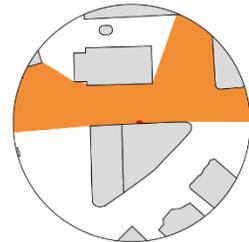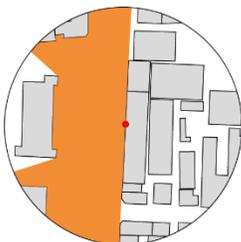
The Vault 139

Circa Embankment
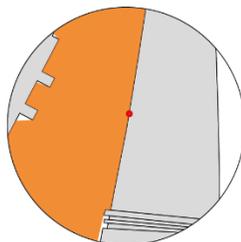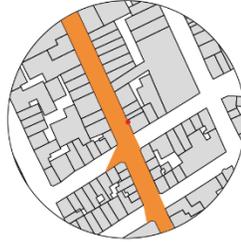
Halfway to Heaven

VFD Dalston

Union

Figure 14: Isovist Study: 10 Night-time venues - mainly gay. Ordered by Isovist Size.
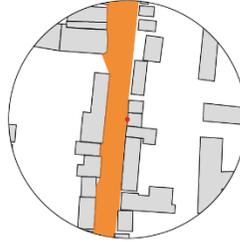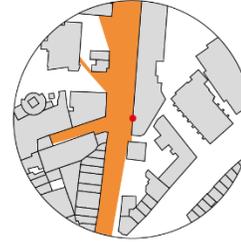
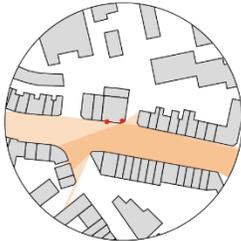# 10 night-time venues - closed within last 8 years
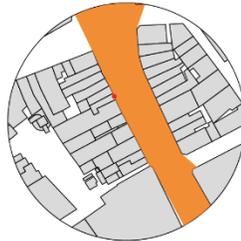
Candy Bar

Muse (Soho)

Stokey Stop

Her Upstairs

The Chateau

The Black Cap

Joiners Arms
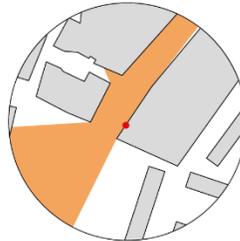
Blush
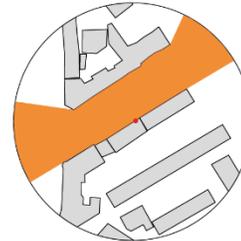
The Apple Tree
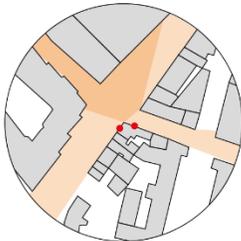
Above the Stag Theatre
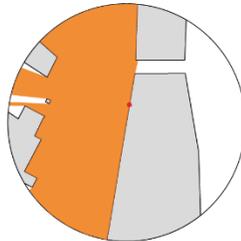
Figure 15: Isovist study: 10 night-time venues - closed within last 8 years. Ordered by Isovist Size.

10 Day-time venues - diverse typologies

Barberette

Queercircle

Gay's the Word

London LGBTQ+
Community Centre

The Outside Project
Community Centre

Glasshouse

Open Barbers

Mosaic LGBT+ Young
Persons' Trust

Castlehaven
Community Centre

Queer Britain
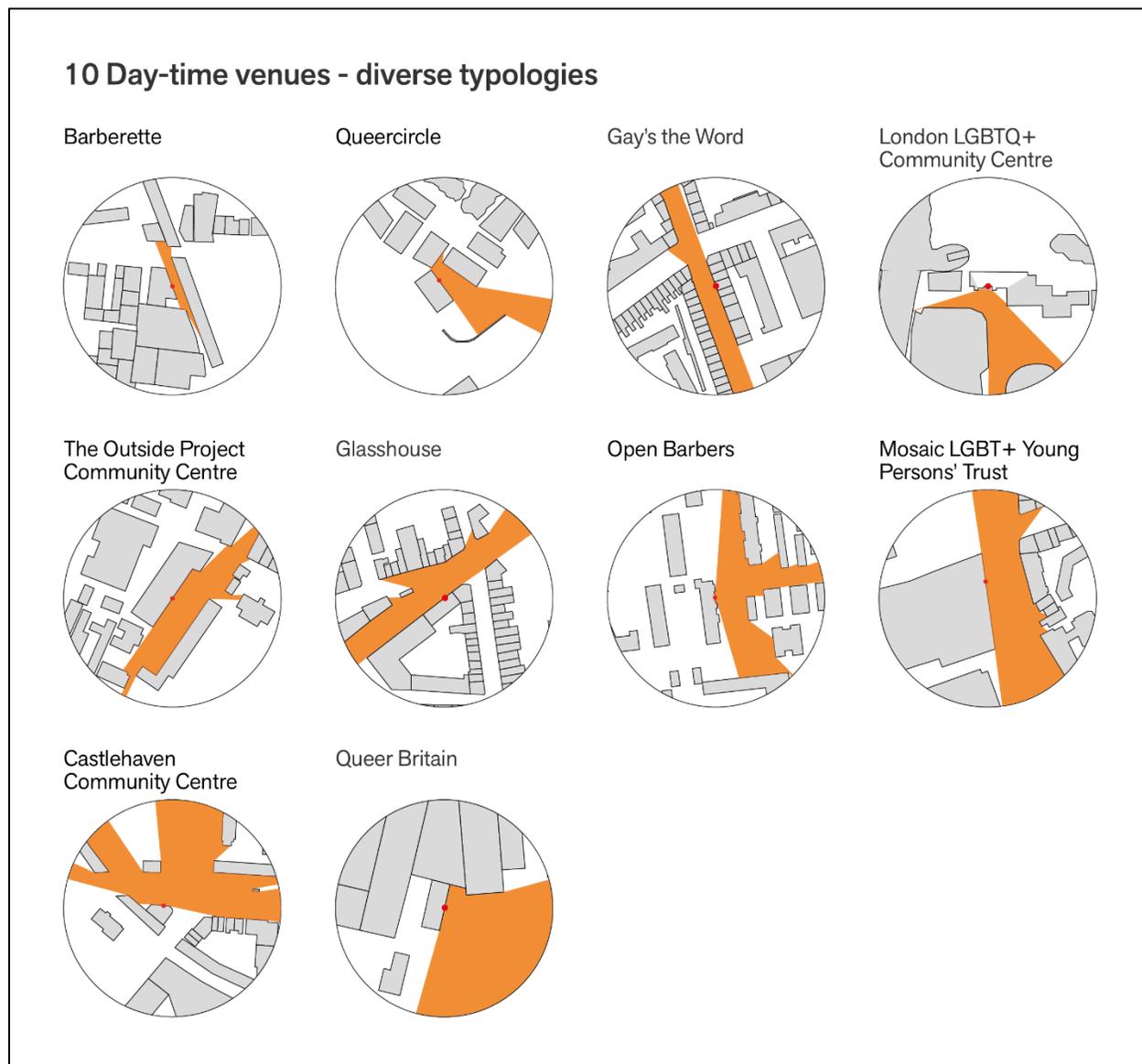
Figure 16: Isovist Study: 10 Day-time venues - diverse typologies. Ordered by Isovist Size.

5.8 Isovist Study Key Findings

Akin to the integration study, but on a micro scale, these isovist studies (Figure 13-16) reflect the morphological structure of the context they are in, more so than making any statement about differences between queer and non-queer space. The isovists are diverse in size for each typology, with no conclusive pattern to detect or any hint towards visual power or control. This study negates the assumption that queer space is generally hidden away or in tucked away

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corners with increased privacy, likely located on background networks. Certainly, there are spaces like that as well, like G-A-Y Late or Heaven (both Figure 13) but they are an exception rather than the average. The isovists show a reflection of the urban fabric they are surrounded by. Isovists of case studies located in Soho for example (She Bar, G-A-Y (Fig. 13), the Yard, Compton's of Soho (Fig. 14), Candy Bar, and the Muse (Fig. 15) all show very similar sized, comparatively small isovists, while case studies located further on the periphery, where the building density is much lower, tend to have a much bigger isovist (see for example establishments in Vauxhall like the Royal Vauxhall Tavern (RVT, Fig. 13), Union (Fig. 14) or Above the Stag Theatre (Fig. 15).

The insufficient reflection of how diverse spaces work in Space Syntax analysis emphasises the importance of qualitative socio-spatial research in addition to empirical methodological analysis. Without field-specific theory that can guide interpretation and development of the prevailing methodology – Space Syntax analysis will continue to simply treat all space the same.

6 FURTHER STUDY

Due to the repeatedly mentioned sparsity of research on queer communities within Space Syntax, this study has been created from a nearly blank canvas. A substantial portion of consideration was put into deciding what concepts, leads and ideas to pursue and which ones to disregard for now in this initial attempt to bring together queer– and Space Syntax theory.

Queerness has been discussed both in sociology and in human geography, but not in Space Syntax theory. Spatiality is discussed overlappingly in all three disciplines and therefore provides a common ground for potential transdisciplinary analysis.

The previous absence of queerness in Space Syntax theory is assumed not to arise from any sort of anathema towards either previously mentioned discipline (sociology & human geography) nor from deliberate exclusion, but rather is attributed to a lack of capacity or individual interest. Yet, the lack of a pursuit to supersede or at least rethink the enduring heteronormative and binary notions of sexuality and gender in Space Syntax theory (such as in the Social Logic of Space, Hillier & Hanson, 1984) mirror an outdated value set that can hardly sustain contemporary relevance. A plethora of rather radical work regarding gender in space could be done here, considering a non-binary, trans, and queer approach to the social logic of space.

There could even be more work put into advancing Space Syntax methods particularly in integration or visibility according to the findings of this work.

There is more work to be done on the respective specific characteristics of lesbian space versus gay space. Spaces and academic work alike dedicated to trans- and queer POC communities are barely existent.

In terms of queer space in London, further study could be conducted by looking further into the history of queer space, how it evolved and shifted over the years, how closures have affected neighbourhoods and boroughs on all scales, where new spaces are opening now, what impact they are having, etc.

Comparative analysis could be conducted with other cities in England, especially those known for a higher density of queer space, such as Brighton or Manchester, or with other cities

internationally, that maybe face similar issues with remembering, protecting, and creating queer space. Potential case studies could be San Francisco, New York City, Berlin, and many others.

Evidently, work could be done analysing any queer space within any city using Space Syntax analysis.

Ultimately, this work is far from extensive and is intended to be regarded as a starting point for further study, as a departure rather than an arrival. There is a sheer inexhaustible wealth of queer work left to be done.

7 CONCLUSION

By laying out the particular relationship between Space Syntax theory and queer studies, through analysing queer space (in London), this study reflects on the respective position of Space Syntax and social studies as a whole. It first investigates what queerness means in the context of socio-spatiality, resulting in the emergence of a definition of what queer space in this context means. Campkin (2020, pg. 87f) concludingly remarks that queer "venues were understood as components within a network: complex systems of material and immaterial things, institutions, and interactions. The network was core to social constructionist accounts of sexuality."

Its innate transgression causes queerness to be naturally dynamic and on the constant emergence of active change, evolution, and revolution. Taylor (2021: pg. 45) reminds her audience of that with a simple, yet effective line: "remember this – our whole lives – we are. Protest." [we as in 'queer people']. These qualities are embodied by queer spaces as well, which are further defined as spaces opposing societal conventionality, where queer people can genuinely and safely act as their uncensored, authentic selves, sheltered from stigmatisation, and unburdened from fear.

While essential Space Syntax analysis has the potential to offer a quantitative methodology that has barely been applied to such issues as queer space in the realm of human geography, the empirical key findings have proven that these methodologies insufficiently demonstrate how diverse spaces work and solely offer a rather narrow logic of how space and socio-spatial behaviour works for niche typologies like queer space. The unparalleled qualities of queer space are not reflected at the scope and scale of the integration or visibility analysis conducted. This

demands the conclusion that Space Syntax methodology requires further advancement, especially in field-specific theory, to guide interpretation of specific typology of spaces and increase its contribution and applicability to previously less encountered fields of research – such as the spatiality of queer theory.

Queer theory provides a new surrounding to Space Syntax concepts with thematic overlap, but different interpretations, such as visibility and integration. In these theoretical dissections, aspects of queer theory provide insightful additions to established notions from "The Social Logic of Space" (Hillier & Hanson, 1984) on how the relationship between society and space works. Learning from queer relations, but concluding to the wider society, the main take-away is that most elements of social relations are dyadic and contain certain dimensions of power. Queer theory and the way transgressive queer space is created, fought for and mourned after relates in many ways to control and dominance. This finding can be extended to many other Space Syntax concepts, such as intelligibility, building layout (elementary and reversed buildings), prospect and refuge, etc.

To conclude, the words of Bell Hooks (Bell Hooks, quoted by Friends of the Joiners Arms, 2022, pg. 4) are a reminder that queer space is not as much about sexuality as it is about social dimensions, like its essence of transgression. "[Queerness is not] about who you're having sex with (that can be a dimension of it); but [it is] about the self that is at odds with everything around it and has to invent and create and find a place to speak and to thrive and to live."

This queer dissertation has created its own queer space within Space Syntax research, introducing the concept of objecting to, challenging, and going beyond normative societal structures, inviting the reconsideration of gender and sexualities in the study of human behaviour in space.

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9 APPENDICES

A. Glossary

These terms and definitions are sourced from two major organisations fighting for and promoting queer rights, GLAAD, and Stonewall (GLAAD, 2022 and Stonewall UK, 2022).

LGBTQ+: is an acronym for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer. The plus sign is added to recognize all further non-straight, and non-cisgender identities (Abraham, 2021). The shortened version of the expression 'LGBT' was popular before 'queer' was frequently used. Now, 'queer' is gaining increasing popularity as it is deemed more inclusionary of the plurality of the community it is meant to represent.

Lesbian: women whose romantic, emotional and/or sexual attraction is towards women. Some queer, and non-binary people might identify with this term, and some might prefer to rather identify as gay or as a gay woman.

Gay: men whose romantic, emotional and/or sexual attraction is towards men. Some queer, and non-binary people might identify with this term. In contrast to 'lesbian', 'gay' is also often used as a generic term for both gay (male) and lesbian sexualities. This use was avoided in this work to prevent confusion.

Bisexual: people whose romantic, emotional and/or sexual attraction is towards people of more than one gender, not necessarily at the same time, in the same way, or to the same degree. Other variations of terms, such as bi, pan, pansexual, or queer might be used somewhat interchangeably.

Trans or Transgender: people whose gender identity differs from, or does not sit comfortably with, the sex they were assigned at birth.

Cis or Cisgender: Someone whose gender identity is the same as the sex they were assigned at birth, people who are not transgender. Non-trans is also used sometimes.

Non-Binary: People whose gender identity doesn't sit comfortably with the binary gender categories of 'man' or 'woman'. Non-binary identities are varied and can include people

who identify with some aspects of binary identities, while others reject them entirely. Some non-binary people consider themselves part of the transgender community, others do not.

Queer: is the most inherently expansive term on this list. It is discussed in great depth in the literature review. In this work it is mostly used as an umbrella term for all the various identities that fall under the LGBTQ+ banner (Abraham, 2021), but it can also be used as a term to reject specific labels of romantic orientation, sexual orientation and/or gender identity or can be used by people whose sexual orientation is not exclusively heterosexual. While this term will be used predominantly in this work, it is important to note that 'queer' has been reclaimed by the LGBTQ+ community, but can still be hurtful, controversial, or problematic for some.

FLINTA*: is a rather recent acronym gaining traction, originated from Germany. It stands for female (more accurately for 'women', from the German 'Frauen'), lesbian, intersex, non-binary, transgender, agender. The term is used to describe all people that have a gender identity differing from cis male and are therefore marginalized in patriarchal constructs (Anders, 2021). Lesbian bars nowadays often circumvent labelling themselves as purely "lesbian" bars, as that could be seen as othering non-binary and transgender audiences that might otherwise feel at home in the space. Spaces for queer FLINTA* people therefore more inclusively and accurately describe the targeted crowd for such establishments.

B. All Queer Night-time Spaces in London 2022

Number	Name	Address	Postcode
1	Admiral Duncan	54 Old Compton Street	W1D4UD
2	ARCH Clapham	Arch 642, Voltaire Rd	SW4 6DH
3	Atlas Grinds	155 Stoke Newington High St	N16 0NY
4	Central Station (King's Cross)	37 Wharfdale Road	N19SD
5	Circa	62 Frith Street	W1D3JN
6	Circa the Club	Hungerford House	WC2N6PA
7	Comptons of Soho	51-53 Old Compton Street	W1D6HN
8	CORNER	117 New Cross Rd	SE14 5DJ
9	Dalston Superstore	117 Kingsland High Street	E82PB
10	Duke of Wellington	77 Wardour Street	W1D6QB
11	Eagle London	349 Kennington Lane	SE115QY
12	Fire and Lightbox	39 (34-41) Parry Street	SW81RT
13	Freedom	60-66 Wardour Street	W1F0TA
14	G-A-Y Bar	30 Old Compton Street	W1D4UR
15	G-A-Y Late	5 Goslett Yard	WC2H0EA
16	Glass House	118 Bethnal Green Rd	E26DG
17	Halfway to Heaven	7 Duncannon Street	WC2N4JF
18	Heaven	11 The Arches	WC2N6NG
19	Karoke Hole	95 Kingsland High St	E82PB
20	King William IV	77 Hampstead High Street	NW31RE
21	Ku Leicester Sq/ Klub	30 Lisle St, West End, London	WC2H7BA
22	KU Lounge	1 Newport Pl	WC2H 7JR
23	Ku Soho (Little KU)	25 Frith Street	W1D5LB
24	New Bloomsbury Set	76 Marchmont Street	WC1N1AG
25	Pod Bar/Bar CMYK	105-109 Broadway	SW191QG
26	Queen Adelaide of Cambridge Heath	483 Hackney Road	E29ED
27	Retro Bar	2 George Court	WC2N6HH
28	Rose and Crown	1 Crooms Hill	SE108ER
29	Royal Vauxhall Tavern	372 Kennington Lane	SE115HY
30	Rupert Street Bar	50 Rupert Street	W1D6DR
31	She Bar	23a Old Compton Street	W1D5JL
32	Siorai Bar	114 Junction Road, N19 5LB	N195LB
33	Taco Queer	26 Loampit Hill,	SE13 7SW
34	The Apple Tree pop-up	30 Clerkenwell Green	EC1R0DU
35	The Bridge Bar	8 Voltaire Road	SW46DQ
36	The City of Quebec	12 Old Quebec Street	W1H7AF
37	The Cock Tavern	340 Kennington Road	SE114LD
38	The Friendly Society	79 Wardour St	W1D 6QB
39	The George & Dragon	2 Blackheath Hill	SE108DE
40	The Glory	281 Kingsland Road	E28AS
41	The King's Arms	23 Poland Street	W1F8QJ
42	The Old Ship Limehouse	17 Barnes St	E14 7NW
43	The Two Brewers	114 Clapham High Street	SW47UJ
44	The Underground Club	37 Wharfdale Road	N19SD
45	The Vault 139	139-143 Whitfield Street	W1T5EN
46	The White Swan	556 Commercial Road	E147JD
47	The Yard	57 Rupert Street	W1D7PL
48	Tina We Salute You	Victory Parade	E201FA
49	Union	66 Albert Embankment	SE17TP
50	VFD Dalston	66 Stoke Newington Road	N167XB
51	Village	81 Wardour Street	W1D6QD
52	Village 512	512 Kingsland Rd	E8 4AE
53	West 5	Popes Lane	W54NB
54	ZODIAC Bar & Club	119 Hampstead Rd	NW1 3EE

Figure 1: All Queer Night-time Spaces in London 2022 (Hey Queer London (2022) & Mayor of London, London Datastore (2019).

Number	Name	Address	Postcode
1	Arcola	24 Ashwin Street	E83DL
2	Bethnal Green Working Mens Club	42-44 Pollard Row	E26NB
3	Camden People's Theatre	58-60 Hampstead Rd	NW12PY
4	Cellar door	Zero Aldwych, Wellington St	WC2E7DN
5	Colours Hoxton	2-4 Hoxton Square	N16NU
6	FIRE London	Vauxhall, S Lambeth Rd	SW81RT
7	Hackney Showroom	4 Murrain Rd, Finsbury Park	N42BN
8	King's Head Theatre	115 Upper St	N11QN
9	Kolis	1 Navigator Square, Archway	N193TD
10	Limewharf	Vyner St	E29DJ
11	Omeara	6 O'Meara St	SE11TE
12	Oval House	52-54 Kennington Oval	SE115SW
13	Phoenix Arts Club	1 Phoenix St	WC2H8BU
14	Redon	289 Railway Arches	E29HA
15	Rich Mix	35-47 Bethnal Green Road	E16LA
16	Scala	275 Pentonville Road	N19NL
17	Soho Theatre	21 Dean Street	W1D3NE
18	Star of Bethnal Green	359 Bethnal Green Rd	E26LG
19	The Clapham Grand	21-25 St John's Hill	SW111TT
20	The Garage	20-22 Highbury Corner	N51RD
21	The Glove That Fits	179 Morning Ln	E96LH
22	The Macbeth	70 Hoxton Street	N16LP
23	The Minories	64-73 Minories	EC3N1JL
24	The Old Nun's Head	15 Nunhead Grn	SE153QQ
25	The Yard Theatre	2A Queen's Yard	E95EN

Figure 2: All Queer Night-time Spaces in London 2022 with regular queer programming (Hey Queer London (2022) & Mayor of London, London Datastore (2019).

C. Case Study Selection Tables

Data gathered from: Campkin & Marshall (2016; 2017; 2020); Hey Queer London (2022); Mayor of London (2022) & Mayor of London, London Datastore (2019).

Name	Year opened	Year closed	type	Address	Postcode	Area	Reason for Selection
She Bar	2014	n/a	bar	23a Old Compton St, London	W1D 5JL	Soho	London's last & only lesbian bar
G-A-Y	1976	n/a	bar	30 Old Compton St, London	W1D 4UR	Soho	Longstanding, infamous, very popular queer club in London
G-A-Y Late	1976	n/a	bar	5 Goslett Yard, London	WC2H 0EA	Soho	Late-night pendant to G-A-Y, just as infamous
Heaven	1979	n/a	bar	The Arches 9, Villiers St, London	WC2N 6NG	Charing Cross	Just as longstanding, infamous, very popular queer club in London
Dalston Superstore	2009	n/a	bar	117 Kingsland High St, London	E8 2PB	Dalston	Popular, queer bar east with mixed crowd. Recently made news for staff unionising as one of first queer bars in UK.
The Glory	2014	n/a	bar	281 Kingsland Rd, London	E2 8AS	Dalston	Popular venue in east London with focus on performance and drag, hotspot for growing drag-kind scene
Royal Vauxhall Tavern (RVT)	1865 (LGBT+ cabaret since 1980s)	n/a	bar	372 Kennington Ln, London	SE11 5HY	Vauxhall	One of the oldest, most diverse queer establishments in London, first queer establishment in Grade II listed building
Common Counter	2021	n/a	bar	118 Bethnal Green Rd, London	E2 6DG	Shoreditch	New venue with diverse programming, including night-time, day-time, sober focused, and workshops
Apple Tree Pop-Up	2022	n/a	bar	30 Clerkenwell Grn, London	EC1R 0DU	Clerkenwell	Temporary home for well-established Apple Tree Pub while that gets renovated
West 5	1998	n/a	bar	Popes Ln, S Ealing Rd, London	W5 4NT	Ealing	One of few queer bars far out west, longstanding.

Figure 3: 10 Night-time venues - queer

Name	Year opened	Year closed	type	Address	Postcode	Area	Reason for Selection
The City of Quebec	1946	n/a	bar	12 Old Quebec St, London	W1H 7AF	Marylebone	Historic venue for older gay men. London's oldest gay bar.
Central Station	1992	n/a	bar	37 Wharfdale Rd, King's Cross, London	N1 9SD	Kings Cross	Established venue, survived new King's Cross development, maintains a strong LGBTQ+ identity and clientele
The Yard	1995	n/a	bar	7 Rupert St, London	W1D 7PL	Soho	Long-running Soho venue, successfully resisted redevelopment with strong community support.
VFD Dalston	2007	n/a	bar	66 Stoke Newington Rd, London	N16 7XB	Dalston	One of very few POC-owned queer venues, hosts arts, entertainment, and LGBTQ+ performers.
Circa (Embankment)	2018	n/a	bar	Hungerford House, Victoria Embankment, London	WC2N 6PA	Embankment	Clubbing extension of circa bar in soho.
New Bloomsbury Set	before 2010	n/a	bar	76a Marchmont St, London	WC1N 1AG	Bloomsbury	Independent, hidden gay cocktail bar. Hosts cabaret.
Union	before 2008	n/a	bar	Union Nightclub, 66 Albert Embankment, London	SE1 7TW	Vauxhall	Gay club, hosting some of most prominent gay nights in Vauxhall.
Halfway to Heaven	1991	n/a	bar	7 Duncannon St, London	WC2N 4JF	Trafalgar Square	Established bar, between local bar, cabaret, and entertainment venue,
Comptons of Soho	1986	n/a	bar	51-53 Old Compton St, London	W1D 6HN	Soho	Historic long-standing gay bar on Soho's Old Compton Street.
The Vault (139)	2008	n/a	bar	139-143 Whitfield St, London	W1T 5EN	Bloomsbury	Longest running gay cruising bar in London.

Figure 4: 10 Night-time venues - mainly gay

Name	Year opened	Year closed	type	Address	Postcode	Area	Reason for Selection
Joiner's Arms	1997	2015	bar	116-118, Hackney Rd, London	E2 7QL	Shoreditch	Early venue established in emerging East London queer scene. Closed but current community campaign to reopen LGBTQ+ space just raised over 125 000 GBP.
Apple Tree	2018	2020 (only temporary)	bar	45 Mount Pleasant, London	WC1X 0AE	Clerkenwell	Relatively new but adored queer bar with diverse programming, secured alternative space while closing for major renovation.
Candy Bar	1996	2014	bar	4 Carlisle St, London	W1D 3BJ	Soho	At the time the last lesbian bar in London, predecessor of She Bar.
Her Upstairs/Them Downstairs	2016	2018	bar	18 Kentish Town Rd, London	NW1 9NX	Camden	Promising performance oriented space in Camden with links to Black Cap. Space for queer and QTIPOC performance. Survived less than two years.
Muse Soho	2015	2018	bar	23 Frith St, London	W1D 4RR	Soho	Women-focused bar also open to gay men.
The Black Cap	1965	2015	bar	171 Camden High St, London	NW1 7JY	Camden	Longstanding LGBTQ+ venue. Community campaign to reopen the venue as queer space still active.
Above the Stag	2008	2022	bar	72 Albert Embankment, London	SE1 7TP	Vauxhall	UK's only exclusively LGBT+ theatre & bar, closed very recently, hopes to find alternate location.
The Chateau	2018	2020 (Covid)	bar	29-33 Camberwell Church St, London	SE5 8TR	Camberwell	Pop-up bar created to counteract closures of queer establishments around 2015/16. Forced to close during Covid pandemic.
Stokey Stop	2013/14	2015	bar	176 Stoke Newington High St, London	N16 7JL	Stoke Newington	Short-lived community bar for what used to be know as a hotspot for Lesbians.
Blush (The Blush Bar)	1997	2015	bar	8 Cazenove Rd, London	N16 6BD	Stoke Newington	Well-established Lesbian bar in same former hotspot area.

Figure 5: 10 night-time venues - closed within last 8 years

Name	Year opened	Year closed	type	Address	Postcode	Area	Reason for Selection
Gay's The Word	1979	n/a	bookshop	66 Marchmont St, London	WC1N 1AB	Bloomsbury	Historic LGBTQ+ bookstore, hosts community-centred events like lesbian discussion group.
Glass House	2021	n/a	Bookshop /cafe	118 Bethnal Green Rd, London	E2 6DG	Shoreditch	New establishment including bookshop, coffeeshop, daytime programming like markets, readings, etc.
Queer Britain	2022	n/a	museum	2 Granary Square, London	N1C 4BH	Kings Cross	First queer museum in UK, preserving UK's queer history.
Queer Circle	2022	n/a	arts, culture, social action venue / community centre	B 4, Design District, 3 Barton Yard, Soames Walk, London	SE10 0BN	Greenwich	Queer art gallery, community hub, and event venue in brand-new design district.
London LGBTQ Community Centre	2021	n/a	community cenrte	60-62 Hopton St, London	SE1 9JH	Southbank	New community centre pop-up, just secured 5 more years of tenancy.
Barberette	2012	n/a	queer barber	Unit 1, Warwick Works, Lower Clapton, London	E5 8QJ	Dalston	Queer barber shop.
Open Barbers	2011	n/a	queer barber	4 Clunbury Street, London,	N1 6TT	Shoreditch	Queer barber shop, community space.
Castlehaven Community Centre	1985	n/a	community cenrte	23 Castlehaven Rd, London	NW1 8RU	Camden	Hosts youth groups for LGBT youth.
The Outside Project	2017	n/a	community centre	Unit 1, 52 Lant St, London	SE1 1RB	Borough	Offers responsive services and advice for homeless LGBTQ+ people, queer community space. All services are free and confidential.
Mosaic LGBT+ young persons' trust	2001	n/a	community centre	29-31 Hampstead Rd, London	NW1 3JA	Camden	Youth clubs, mentoring, camping trips, etc. for queer youth, LGBT+ library, workshops in schools.

Figure 6: 10 Day-time venues - diverse typologies