Queering the Narrative of Urban Planning

MARIA CINDY WYNGAARD RASMUSSEN
& SARAH LYTH ASTRUP

QUEERING THE NARRATIVE
OF URBAN PLANNING

BY MARIA CINDY WYNGAARD RASMUSSEN [65922]
& SARAH LYTH ASTRUP [63672]

CHARACTERS: 142,424

SUPERVISOR:

LASSE MARTIN KOEFOED

MASTER THESIS

NORDIC URBAN PLANNING STUDIES

ROSKILDE UNIVERSITY

2023

Acknowledgement

Summary

In the light of the extensive awareness within feminist and queer research advocating co-existence and situated knowledge, we turn towards an urban framework of such understanding of queer lives in Copenhagen. Despite its queer-friendly narrative, the lived embodied experience of queer lives in Copenhagen is and has historically been neglected in urban planning practice and academia. Therefore, we investigate what neglected narratives of queer residents of Copenhagen reveal about the embodied lived experience within the city, and how they can enrich the current planning practice. We do so through a critical queer phenomenological framework (Ahmed, 2006; Koefoed & Simonsen 2020), and through the acknowledgement of Donna Haraway's (1988) stand on situated knowledge, we approach the narratives through the works of Leonie Sandercock (2003), Kirsten Simonsen (2005), and Judith Butler (1990, 1993). Through our research, we find that unfolding queer narratives are crucial as they contain valuable insights into the embodied lived lives in Copenhagen for a planning practice that emphasizes co-existence.

Keywords

Critical Queer Phenomenology; Embodied experience; Narratives; Gender performativity; Heteronormativity; Time-Spatial Configuration; Straightening Devices; LGBTQIA+ Oriented Planning; Creative Methods; Sexuality & Gender Identity

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Figures

Pictures

Maps

CHAPTER #1

INTRODUCTION

"Et samfund kan være så stenet,
at alt er en eneste blok,
og indbyggermassen så benet,
at livet er gået i chok.

Og hjertet er helt i skygge,
og hjertet er næsten hørt op,
til nogen begynder at bygge
en by, der er blød som en krop."

"A society can be so stoned,
that everything is a single block,
and the population so bony,
that life has gone into shock.

And the heart is completely in shadow,
and the heart has almost stopped,
until someone starts building
a city that is soft like a body."

(Christensen, 1969)

In the 1969 poem, 'A Society can be so Stoned', Danish author Inger Christensen poetically describes how cities frame the lives we live. She describes how a society and the people living within can be experienced as encapsulating. At the end of the poem, she turns towards the hope for change; change enabling a city as 'soft like a body.' It is here, the light illuminates the shadows, from which we want to depart, emphasizing a city built with and for the humans who inhabit it. This is important, as the city forms the framework for most lived lives worldwide according to the World Bank, who states 56% of the global population now lives in urbanizations (World Bank, 2023). Within these cities, thousands, if not millions of people make up one big jumble of differently lived lives, that are intertwined in the same spaces. Cities facilitate a large number of citizens using the same spaces which make up a patchwork of shared stories and experiences.

Another well-discussed point about urbanization and cities, which Inger Christiansen also includes in her poem, is the acknowledgement that the city is *produced*. The production is not neutral but deeply bound and intertwined in societal structures, which for several generations have shaped the way lives are lived. These norms are so inherited in the everyday life of inhabitants, who barely recognise these structures as they operate in the background of their lived lives, almost as a background noise, that no longer is noticed. However, these very structures are the catalysator of the historical divisions of privileges within society, causing inhabitants of the city to use the shared spaces differently or in other instances preclude inhabitants from accessing shared spaces in the city. Therefore, we must realize that social structures shape the spaces we use, thereby permeating physical facilities and social behavior (Neves, 2022: 17). Some of these constructs are shaped by the heteronormative structures, which have formed society into a binary dichotomy of 'man' and 'woman,' hence in that specific order. In these structures, heterosexuality has been claimed as the norm, which has shaped institutional and social expectations within society. These constructions are shaped by its historical heteronormative heritage, which is the result of a global system of colonization and patriarchy that continuously shapes the structure of society. Heteronormativity has for centuries systematically marginalized, harassed, criminalized, and repressed homosexuality and gender identities failing to fit into a dichotomic and heterosexual understanding. Historically and within these systems, homosexuality has been viewed as 'abnormal', accepting heterosexuality as the 'normal' (Neves, 2022: 16). However, homosexuality has always been present in society. This is also exemplified by the artist Gjert Rogni, who contributes to the acknowledgement of queer existence in Arctic history.

"In undisturbed places along the city's quayside, men have had sex with men since time immemorial"
Picture 1. Platter by Gjert Rognli, exhibited at the Polar Museum in Tromsø, Norway. Own picture.

Though they have not always been visible, queer people have lived and breathed door to door to heterosexuals and shared the same space within the urban scapes throughout centuries.

In other words, the queer experience is important to understand the embodied and lived experience and provides a better understanding of social behavior in the city. Such insight is shared in this project, and as an appetizer, we present a statement from a respondent, who reflects on being queer, which he connects to a statue placed in Fælled Parken, Copenhagen.

Picture 2. "En fodboldspiller" by Jean Gaugain. Statue in Fælledparken, Copenhagen. Photo by Respondent D.

"(...) For me, it is the epitome of being queer. Because, he's a football player, but the way he plays, well, it's almost ballet, the way he stands, it's very graceful. And then he's standing on a triangle, (...) almost standing on the tip and he's just about to fall down, and I actually think that (...) so queer, I think it means being on the edge or across, I don't know if that's right but you could see it that way... And I think he's standing on the edge, so it doesn't quite work because he's just about to fall, so it's almost impossible, he also lacks a solid foundation, somehow. And I think that's actually the characteristic of queer people, they have to find a foundation to stand on, they're actually a bit on the edge, and I think that's good... for me, it could well be a symbol of that."
(Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 12)

This quote shows how heteronormative structures infiltrate our everyday lives and streamline certain directions for heterosexual individuals, which simultaneously creates barriers for people who fall outside of these norms by identifying as queer. It

elaborates on how the feeling of being queer can be experienced as being 'on edge', and by trying to find one's own path and fundament.

The battle for queer rights is evidently still important to fight for, as the continuous harassment and discriminatory legislation that are repressing queer individuals are continuously happening on a global scale. In Poland, several districts have declared themselves as LGBT-free zones, and in Turkey, Pride Parades are forbidden, and rainbow flags are illegal to raise. Though the Faroe Islands are a part of the Danish kingdom, queer rights still struggle to be enforced, and the 2022 terrorist attack targeted against a gay bar in Oslo, Norway, shows that the threat of violence against queer people is ever-present. These few examples are not adequate to represent the horror, queer people experience globally but can show a fragment of how heteronormativity at its worst still represses the life of queer people today.

Though the international NGO ILGA[1] Europe declared Denmark to be the second highest-ranking country in Europe in their index indicating legal rights for queer people (ILGA, 2022), we must not take for granted that queer lives are under constant threat and that the battle for their rights and right to exist matters. Therefore, we argue that queer voices must never be neglected but instead enforced to embrace and acknowledge their existence.

This thesis focuses on systematically overlooked stories from the queer community which take place in Copenhagen, to nuance and broaden the perspective on the lived life of the capital. We argue that it is important to improve the understanding of the humans we build cities for and with. Moreover, we argue that the experiences of those whose love and lives are encountered as abnormal, strange and 'out of place' is crucial to grasp to broaden the understanding of the lived lives and to include in the production of the city.

---

[1]International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association.

This leads us to the research question:

What do neglected narratives of queer residents reveal about the embodied lived experience of Copenhagen, and how can they contribute to more inclusive planning?

Defining Queer

Before moving forward, this section elucidates the use and our understanding of the word queer. In the Cambridge Dictionary, 'queer' is described as "having or relating to a gender identity or a sexuality that does not fit society's traditional ideas about gender or sexuality" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). Therefore, we are using the word to emphasize how individuals, who fall under this term, differ from the heteronormative society. This aligns with the definition of queer by Vaness Broto, on which we turn:

> "Queer activism mobilizes "queer" as a term that invites a respectful acknowledgement of the impossibility of regulating people's bodies, desires and social lives, rather than being an umbrella term for neatly boxed identity labels"
> (Broto, 2021:311)

This definition aligns with our positionality and understanding of queer as individuals who do not confine to heterosexual and or cisgender identities. Some of the respondents in this project simply defined themselves as 'queer', thereby rejecting the idea of 'labeling' their sexuality and instead using the term to refer to themselves as non-heterosexual. This highlights the significance of the term, as it allows the individual to simply define themselves as someone who does not align with societal heteronormativity.

Furthermore, we recognise the abbreviation LGBTQIA+ for being progressive and more inclusive. As the term has sprung from the original 'LGBT', which stands for (L)esbians, (G)ay, (B)isexual, (T)ransgender, the extended abbreviation acknowledges and includes more sexualities and gender identities, here (Q)ueer, (I)ntersex, (A)sexual, and lastly, the plus-symbol indicates the recognition of additional sexualities and gender identities. Though it is included a few times during the paper, we mostly use it in cases related to institutional, formal or spatially-bounded examples. Lastly, we intentionally use the term 'cisgender' to define people, who identify with the gender identity that correlates with their biological sex, which they were assigned at birth.

We recognize that different hierarchies exist within the queer community, as different sexualities and gender identities have gathered legal and societal rights at different rates. Therefore, it is essential for our research that both embrace the many different lived lives that fit into the terminology of 'queer'.

Wayfinding

In this project, we see the lived experience as embodied and under the influence of norm-curated possibilities of heteronormativity. We orientate ourselves toward extending the possible visions that are deeply rooted in the assumptions of such perspectives. We do so from a critical queer phenomenological perspective. In this section, we will unfold Donna Haraway's (1988) arguments regarding how knowledge is situated, constructed and has 'a view from somewhere'. Additionally, we turn toward Sara Ahmed (2006) and her arguments on how sexual orientation in space offers a perspective on spatial inhibition that looks beyond the heteronormative structures. Lastly, we lean towards Lasse Martin Koefoed and Kirsten Simonsen (2020) and their critical perspective that emphasizes embodiment and embodied experience as sensitive to differences and emphasizes co-existence. Importantly they all work within the perspective of change.

As we research and produce knowledge of the lived experience of queer people in Copenhagen, we assert our knowledge contribution within a phenomenological framework. The knowledge gained through this research must be seen as situated knowledge, which Haraway argues, insists on feminist objectivity by acknowledging and reflecting on the situated context, it is bound within. Such knowledge production emphasizes that 'a perspective from somewhere' is always present and has a significant impact on the lived experience. Importantly, historical and cultural viewpoints are considered as part of those experiences as they cannot be isolated from such (Haraway 2009). In other words: "Situated knowledge is about communities, not about isolated individuals. The only way to find a larger vision is to be somewhere in particular" (Haraway, 2009: 590).

Such a point of departure allows accountability for the position(s) of how and from where we perceive the world, as a passive point of departure is nonexistent. In other words:

> "The "eyes" made available in modern technological sciences shatter any idea of passive vision; these prosthetic devices show us that all eyes, including our own organic ones, are active perceptual systems, building on translations and specific ways of seeing, that is, ways of life. There is no unmediated photograph or passive camera obscura in scientific accounts of bodies and machines; there are only highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organizing worlds. All these pictures of the world should not be allegories of infinite mobility and interchangeability but of elaborate specificity and difference and the loving care people might take to learn how to see faithfully from another's point of view, even when the other is our own machine. That's not alienating distance; that's a possible allegory for feminist versions of objectivity. Understanding how these visual systems work, technically, socially, and psychically, ought to be a way of embodying feminist objectivity."
> (Haraway, 2009: 585)

The metaphoric use of cameras and pictures emphasizes how different components influence the lived experience, and that the 'different pictures' are all detailed insights into the lived experience of 'the world'. We aim to provide a wide collage of queer narratives to provide detailed insight into the queer lived experience. This is of relevance to showcase 'another's point of view' and importantly to present other 'ways of seeing' and 'ways of living'. In an extension of this, Ahmed makes a crucial argument on orientation within phenomenology. She spreads light upon: "(…) how we inhabit spaces as well as "who" or "what" we inhabit spaces with" (Ahmed, 2006: 1). She incorporates how sexual orientation is significant as it offers a detailed way of viewing the lived experience of 'how' and 'who' subjects orient themselves towards. Additionally, Ahmed argues that:

> "(…) bodies are gendered, sexualized, and raced by how they extend into space, as an extension that differentiates between "left and "right," "front" and "behind," "up" and "down," as well as "near and "far." What is offered, in other words, is a model of how bodies become oriented by how they take up time and space."
> (Ahmed, 2006: 5).

Thus, queer studies and phenomenology are combined – the lived experience of the world is, after all, filled with queer experiences and desires. Such a queering of phenomenology makes visible paths that are not obvious to everyone, and detailed worlds are unfolded as a nuance to the roughly speaking androcentric and heterosexual point of departure (Ahmed, 2006).

With a critical view of phenomenology, we look towards Koefoed and Simonsen, who argue that critical phenomenology is always embodied, socially and politically situated (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2020: 7). Furthermore, they quote Lisa Guenther (2017) who adds that as a political practice:

> "(...) Critical phenomenology is a struggle for liberation from the structures that privilege, naturalize, and normalize certain experiences of the world

Koefoed and Simonsen state that their perspective on critical phenomenology is infiltrated within feminist theory and postcolonialism, and focus on embodiment and embodied experience. They further divide their view on critical phenomenology into three points 1) a theory that emphasizes experience 2) critical phenomenology is a phenomenology that is sensitive to difference and 3) a theory that involves politics that emphasizes co-existence (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2020).

In this thesis, we work from a critical queer phenomenology position, as we investigate the situated constellation framing the embodied lived queer experience of Copenhagen. These embodied experiences of the world are provided to nuance and broaden the understanding of the 'lived worlds.'

CHAPTER #2

THEORY

In the following sections, we will unfold the theoretical contributions which make up our understanding and pathway for the analysis. We here specify the understanding and nuances of the body, how it is spatially bound in the relation and experience of the world.

Time-spatial Configuration

For this thesis, we unfold the narratives in the empirical findings through Danish human geographer Kirsten Simonsen's time-spatial configurations, which are unfolded in her work 'The Many Faces of the City' (2005). This perspective adds to the understanding on how experience is bound in time and space. Furthermore, Simonsen emphasizes a sensitivity to differences and nuances of experiences of the city. We find this point of special importance for us to shed light on queer stories that normally are not discussed and seen in the common planning practice.

Simonsen stresses that there does not exist one true story about a city; instead we must view the city as a *collage* of the endless ways of experiencing. When imagining and mediating everyday lives, narratives are constructed in time-spatial figurations or notions, as they always revolve around a specific place and time (Simonsen, 2005: 81). Time is understood as a dimension defining the period, in which the narrator reflects upon their experience. The spatial dimension is where the narratives are physically based upon, making it crucial to reflect upon the production of space. The spaces are also actively produced through the narratives, and, therefore, according to Simonsen, "the narratives must be seen as performative speech acts that have to do with *'doing rather than knowing'*" (Simonsen, 2005: 82). Spaces, however, must not be understood solely as physical locations. The place can be seen as a space bounded in specific constellations of networks that changes over time, and therefore, as a moment of social relations and experiences (Simonsen, 2005: 98). The time-space configuration is crucial for the narratives bound to physical locations to truly explore the lived experience.

It is important that we recognize the meaning the specific space gives to its users, and how it is simultaneously producing value as it is experienced. Simonsen's concept of *the embodied city* emphasizes the point that the values and sense connected to places in the city are under constant transformation and development. 'To be' can never be a static condition, and, therefore, it is crucial that we consider

both the timely and spatial dimension of the narratives on the lived experience of the city (Simonsen, 2005: 99-100). The narrator's experiences can never be seen as invalid or 'wrong', but rather as memories and opinions that are bound in certain time frames, whether it is the current or past experiences, and specific areas that also go under transformation in its physical and social character. To understand these narratives we must also emphasize different experiences.

The Social Body

The body is fundamental for our experience of ourselves and the world we interact with. Therefore, we once again draw on Kirsten Simonsen's work 'The Many Faces of the City' (2005), in which she provides a view of the body as practice-oriented and describes the body as possessing a dual role: Where the body at once is a vehicle of perception and an object being perceived. The body "knows oneself" in an active role in the world and the body is always shared with others. Furthermore, lived experience and social practice are bodily imprinted. To clear this out, Simonsen refers to French sociologist Pierre Burdieu's work on *habitus,* as he argues that social structures and cultural patterns are incorporated in and work as generative dispositions of action patterns, or in other words, that the body obtains inscriptions from social and cultural aspects and thereby is *made.* With this view, the body is a social phenomenon. Simonsen argues from this perspective that:

> "The body becomes an object that we as social beings work on, accidentally or deliberately, to live up to the constructed social discourses of the "normal/ideal" body."
> (Simonsen, 2005: 54, own translation)

Yet she emphasizes the body is a changeable phenomenon. With this point of departure, Simonsen turns toward the Norwegian literature researcher Toril Moi's reading of French feminist author Simone de Beauvoir and her statement that the body is a *situation.* The situation is one among many for example class, race, and nationality. Moi perceives the *situation* as a structural situation entailing a body's burdens and potentials (Simonsen, 2005: 56). Even though we in this project delimit ourselves from unfolding the biological aspect of the body (sex), we turn towards an interpretation of gender as socially constructed. We do so by looking at the body as a social practice as it is one situation among others, incorporated in the lived experience of the world.

Gender Performativity

To understand the complexity of gender identities in the heteronormative society, we find it relevant to unfold the concept of gender performativity by the American philosopher and sociologist Judith Butler, which they explore in 'Gender Trouble' (1990), with further elaboration in 'Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"' (1993).

Fundamental to their understanding of the concept of gender, Butler argues that societal and institutional discourses on sex continually reproduce a binary understanding of being either of the two sexes: man or woman. Butler rejects this conception and instead calls for a crucial separation of sex, gender and desire to disrupt the gender norms and expectation which permeates society (Butler, 1990: 25). Butler introduces the heterosexual matrix as a demonstration on how societal gender norms and institutionalized heterosexuality has created the binary understandings of what constitutes being a gender (Butler, 1990: 23-24). Desire is expected to be directed towards the opposite gender, therefore manifesting the heterosexual norm, where women desire men, and men desire women. Furthermore, the heterosexual norm guides us to understand women and men in opposition to each other.

This understanding of societal gender norms, therefore, fails to include gender and sexual identities which do not fall into this binary categorisation of people, such as homosexuals, transgender, intersex and non-binary people and other sexual and gender minorities. These sexual and gender identities have normatively been perceived as being 'developmental failures or logical impossibilities', thereby manifesting what is (and what is not) expected of being a man or woman. Therefore, sex, gender and desire is seen as a coherent unit to describe gender in the heteronormative understanding (Butler, 1990: 26, 30).

To reject the heteronomative matrix, rather than expanding it, Butler calls for a reframing of the understanding of gender and sex. Instead of relying on the binary

understanding of what it means to be a woman, Butler rejects the word 'being' and instead relies on performativity. By drawing on Nietzsche's claim that 'there is no being behind doing' and that only the deed of the person matters, Butler claims that gender is performative, as 'Gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed'. Therefore, Butler dismisses the idea of a gender identity behind expressions of gender, as it is performatively constituted (Butler, 1990: 33). Butler clarifies the concept of 'performativity' in their 1993 work 'Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."' In the introduction of the work, Butler calls for a reformulation of:

> "The understanding of performativity not as the act by which a subject brings into being what she/he names, but, rather, as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constraints" (Butler, 1993: 3)

Therefore, Butler clarifies how the performativity of gender is determined and reproduced by societal structures, in which heterosexual norms mark the individual as an outlier if they fail to fit into the binary categories of what is expected of men and women. In its essence, gender performativity should not be perceived as a mere act, which can be understood by the concept of performance, but rather as a reproduction of societal structures and cultural codes of the heteronormativity society. Butler's argument that gender as cultural, performative, social and discursive forms makes the binary division between them irrelevant (Simonsen, 2005: 55).

Orientation and Straightening Device

We turn towards Ahmed's insights on orientations, objects, and others, as she offers an understanding of how bodies become oriented by the way they inhabit time and space (Ahmed 2006: 5). The orientation has a spatial dimension and involves negotiation and formation of inhabited space of what is in reach and what is out of reach. In this way, some spaces are shaped around some bodies rather than others. This means that some bodies move more easily, but not necessarily freely (Ahmed 2006: 136, Koefoed & Simonsen, 2020: 26-27). Ahmed describes orientation as a way: "(…) life gets directed in some ways rather than others" (Ahmed, 2006: 21). Thereby, orientation also consists of an understanding of being *dis*oriented (Ahmed, 2006: 5). Those that are "out of place" or "out of line" have different conditions than those "in place" or "in line" (Ahmed, 2006: 10). Ahmed argues that the line of society functions as a direction of how to be "in line" with others (Ahmed, 2006: 15) and by being "in line" we commit to the acknowledged line. The footprints that emerge by following the line of society are in Ahmed's wording paradoxical:

> "Lines are both created by being followed and are followed by being created. The lines that direct us, as lines of thought as well as lines of motion, are in this way performative: they depend on the repetition of norms and conventions, of routes and paths taken, but they are also created as an effect of this repetition."
> (Ahmed, 2006: 16)

The performative aspect, which Ahmed touches upon in the statement above, indicates a room for changing and bending of the normative practice of the given path by pushing and twisting bodily and social actions. Additionally, Ahmed argues that the repetition of the normative: "puts some objects and not others in reach" (Ahmed, 2006: 66). This also indicates that some are "out of line". These deviations are being held "in line" by what Ahmed calls straightening devices (Ahmed, 2006:

66). That is an important point as it describes a hierarchy; a hierarchy that is favorable to the heteronormative body and orientation (ibid: 136). This perspective helps us to close in and reach beyond repetitive heteronormative orientations and understandings of bodies and space. Importantly, we are using straightening devices in our analyses to demonstrate and understand how the lived experiences of queer people can be seen as those "out of place" or "out of line". Moreover, it is used to explain how society is attempting to keep queer lives "in line". This can also be seen as an objectification of the other and illustrate possibilities and limitations of coexistence. Such an objectification of bodies and orientations that deviate from the ''normal/ideal' body can also be seen as a way that stops the twist of a 'neutral' accepted global heteronormative order.

Assembling the Pathway

Through the work of Kirsten Simonsen, Judith Butler, and Sara Ahmed, we have unfolded different theoretical points, understandings, and aspects of a phenomenological experience.

The phenomenological experience in the city is, as Simonsen argues, a time-space configuration and the city should be understood as a collage of truths and narratives. It is important to dissolve and enlarge the binary dichotomy that is bound within the 'natural' norms. Additionally, we have been around the body and how it has the double role of being the vehicle for perception and the object perceived (Simonsen 2005). Beyond that understanding, we illustrated how bodies are different *situations* and positions concerning aspects such as cultural, social, and racial. Furthermore, we have with help from Butler (1990, 1993) shown that gender is performed and socially constructed, why the binary point of origin is important to criticize inscribed binary world structure and abandon the perspective of gender as being 'a perspective from nowhere' to a perspective 'from somewhere.' We aim to not reproduce binary understanding and assumptions of gender, but to make situated knowledge through interpretation and specification (Haraway 2009).

The phenomenological experience does also consist of how bodies are orientated in space and time. Here we look towards Sara Ahmed (2006) where we found a foundation to argue that societal norms are creating and stressing who is living a life that is 'in place' and by that also indicating who 'is out of place'. Thereby a hierarchy is constructed in the orientation in space, hence favorable for heteronormative lifestyles. With such a norm twisted existence or in other words queer lives are seen as 'the other'.

These insights help us to understand how Copenhagen is experienced for queer people and importantly these insights are produced and reproduced through negotiation and thereby changeable: Changeable to a more just city that emphasizes coexistence.

CHAPTER #3

METHODS

This section unfolds our methodological work explaining how we conducted our empirical data to create narratives about queer embodied lived experiences of Copenhagen.

In this project, semi-structured interviews are our main method to collect empirical data (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015: 37). This qualitative method is based on dialogue and followed by interpretation, in which we acknowledge that our position of selecting and constructing the narratives is situated. Therefore, we must also be aware of the power we possess, as we as inquiries are in charge of re-telling the stories, and, therefore, also have prioritized some stories over others (Sandercock, 2003: 12). This is also crucial to highlight, as five out of seven interviews were conducted in Danish, making it necessary to translate some of the reflections and stories, which are unfolding in this project. Therefore, we realize that we possess a certain power position in our interpretations of the quotes.

Finally, we must stress that the narratives we provide are not representative for making a complete picture of the queer lived lives in Copenhagen, yet we argue that it is sufficient and diverse enough to illustrate and illuminate some of the perspectives.

We have experimented with the format of the interview by including 'a third component' into the room of the interview; namely an interactive use of maps, personal photos from the respondents and a collage, which we have assembled ourselves. These artefacts were integrated throughout the interview to activate memories, experiences and associations which the respondent connected to their queer lives in Copenhagen. The quality of the use of the artefacts was significant to unfold and enlighten the narratives from the respondents, and these narratives are the primary object of our analysis. Therefore, the maps and pictures are used supplementary to enlarge and unfold the narratives.

Narratives

In this project, we use narratives to unfold the queer embodied experiences in Copenhagen. In addition to the understanding Simonsen gives, we draw on Leonie Sandercock's (2003) work on the importance of storytelling in democratizing urban planning.

> "For a society to be functionally as well as formally multicultural, those norms occasionally have to be held up to the light and examined and challenged. One effective way to do that is through story"
> (Sandercock, 2003: 19)

In this quote, Sandercock argues how stories help review and challenge cultural phenomena that have been integrated as the societal norm. Through storytelling, narratives are unlocked, which in urban planning is helpful to unfold the lived experiences of the inhabitants of the city through their everyday lives.

As Sandercock argues that planning is performed through stories, it is important to recognize that some voices have been prioritized systematically, whilst others have yet to be represented. Therefore, narratives are important when working towards a more inclusive planning practice (Sandercock, 2003: 22).

It is crucial to recognise that all individuals carry a core story with experiences that directly shape the patterns in the everyday lives that unfold in the city (Sandercock, 2003: 15-16). Sandercock argues that: "(...) the more alert we can be to the underlying story or stories, the better we are able to evaluate them" (Sandercock, 2003: 22). Therefore, the core story of the respondent can reflect how they orient themselves in their everyday lives, thereby providing valuable reflections to the stories they choose to unfold to the inquirer. It is crucial to recognise these core stories as the starting point from where the respondents experience 'the world.' Which is highly related to the understanding of situated knowledge as well.

Interviews

The target group for the empirical data were residents of Copenhagen, who identify themselves as queer, and to be as representable as possible, we intentionally aimed after reaching respondents with various backgrounds regarding their sexuality, gender identity, and age. We do so to demonstrate and articulate differences in complex phenomena that are difficult to generalize. The seven respondents represent the queer community broadly due to their varying sexuality and gender identity. Additionally, they represent different ages and years spent living in the capital, thereby providing different intersectional experiences of being queer in Copenhagen.

Preliminary to the interview, we prepared an interview guide to cover the following themes: the respondents' everyday life, the feeling of safety and the right to express their queerness in the city, discrimination, queer artefacts, and symbols in the cityscape. We used the themes fluidly as the framework for the interview and did not cover them in a designated order. It was of high priority that these interviews were led by the respondent so they could determine what and how they intended to tell their story(ies).

The Experimental 'Third Component'

The experimentation of the mixed-use of physical components and exercising during the interview contained different aspects that individually contributed to insightful interviews. In this section, we provide an explanation and reflection on the use of these.

At the beginning of the interviews, we had a short introduction of ourselves to emphasize a personal dialog and the project followed up by an introduction to the mapping exercise. The respondent was encouraged to engage with the map and mark the locations in Copenhagen that they connect to their everyday life as a queer person. Alongside, the personal pictures were in an arbitrary order used to explain further and support the specific positionings on the map. The pictures were also used to initiate conversation or to embark on conversations of the different thematics. Additionally, we assembled and printed a collage, which was used for the thematic discussion on artefacts and the visibility of queerness in the urban scape. Furthermore, this allowed the conversation to 'zoom out of the map' and make the respondent reflect on some of the overall experiences of queerness in Copenhagen.
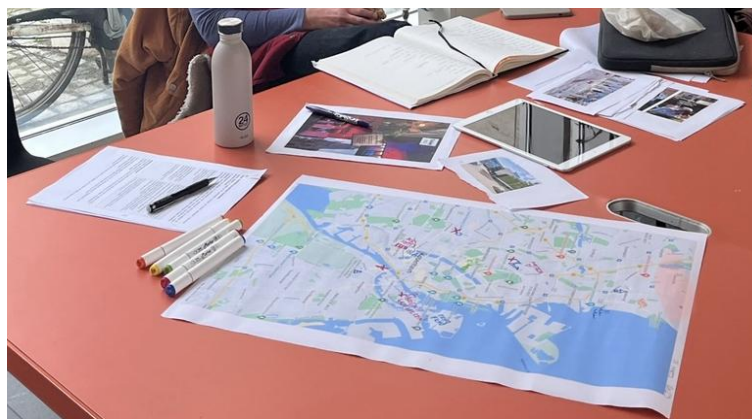

Picture 3. Example of an interview situation where all the components are represented, own picture.

Mapping

Prior to the interview, we informed the respondents that the interview would involve a mapping exercise and that it would be an advantage if they reflected a bit on their spatial use of Copenhagen before the interview. During the interview, the map was kept physically on the table, and the respondent was encouraged to return to it to mark new locations. We offered markers in different colours, enabling the respondent to be creative in their mapping. Some of them made categories and used different indicators, such as dots, paths, drawings and words; others made circulate indicators or spatial marks over certain areas.

The maps will not be used as the primary objects for our analysis, but a visualization of each respondent's personal map will be presented preliminary to the analysis.

However, we view them as successful tools for unfolding the narratives of the respondent creatively. By having a constant overview of Copenhagen, they often remembered new stories or experiences, by simply looking at a street name or a specific area. As we did not facilitate any correct or wrong way of conducting the map, the respondents produced very different-looking maps with different situated knowledge. Some of these personalisations have been lost in the process of making them digital and anonymous, so they can be displayed. Furthermore, the maps are not fit for comparison but should rather be seen as a reflection of each respondent's associations with being queer in Copenhagen. The map provided was from Google Maps, as it is a map most people are familiar with orienting themselves in, and because it provided landmarks that also were helpful to navigate after. The picture below shows the map, which the respondent was introduced to work with during the interview.
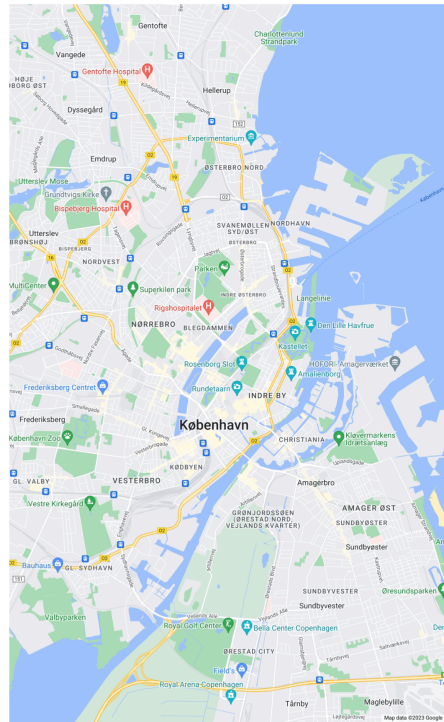
Picture 4. Image of the printed map that was used during the interviews. We intentionally used a map from Google Maps, as we deemed it more recognizable for the respondents, as they could navigate after various markers and names of districts, image from Google Maps.

Pictures

The personal pictures, which we asked the respondents to send in advance, also proved to be a great tool. As we received pictures of various locations and situations, these helped unlock personal anecdotes from the respondents. As pictures of physical locations could recall memories or associations, pictures of family and friends could recall deeper personal histories about their personal lives and relationship to their queerness. Thereby, the respondents were ready to share specific memories and stories, quickly in the interview, after having already reflected upon them. The pictures do not play a crucial part in the analysis, yet they were essential during the interview. This is due to vulnerable personal information.

Collage of Queer Symbols of the Cityscape

The collage which we as inquirers have assembled exemplifies visual queer artefacts and symbols we came across in the cityscape of Copenhagen. The collage contains the rainbow flag, an information sign with safer space policies, and a recreation of an infographic on genderless toilets. This is shown beneath:

Picture 5. Self-made collage representing queer symbols encountered in the cityscape of Copenhagen, own picture.

The collage proved to be a useful tool as the respondents often recognised the images and recalled new memories from which they shared more political opinions. By intentionally waiting to present the collage, around halfway through the interview, we were also able to keep the focus on the respondents' personal experiences before later allowing them to focus on broader problems and concepts within the queer community. It also allowed some respondents to present pictures that included queer symbols themselves.

Reflections on the Experimental Use of Methods

We argue the physical artefacts turned out to be useful to activate memories and experiences which can be hard to recall out of sole memory. As the printed map provided a birds-eye perspective of the respondents' queer life in Copenhagen, the pictures provided personal stories and anecdotes. Additionally, the collage initiated broader discussions on symbols and policies related to queerness in the urban scape, which did not necessarily have a connection to the respondents' personal life but which allowed them to express opinions on more specific issues. 'The third component' was fruitful during our interviews to unlock and gather narratives.

Reflections on the Selection of Respondents

For acquiring the experiences of the respondent, we found it crucial to ensure safe and comfortable conditions to build up trust and confidence to tell their stories. We are aware that our role as researchers is significant as the respondents were sharing their personal experiences, which can be vulnerable for some individuals who might be less comfortable with talking about their queerness and personal life to us as 'strangers'. Therefore, we acknowledge that we had to consider several aspects when framing the project.

Firstly, the reflection time between the preliminary contact with the respondent and the interview was important for the data we would collect. By asking them to consider locations and send pictures, which they associate with their queerness, in advance, the respondent was well-prepared for mapping their queer life on the physical map. Furthermore, we did not propose requirements for the pictures, thereby letting them decide how much they wanted to share with us. Finally, we made sure they influenced where the interview should be conducted to ensure a safe and comfortable environment.

Though our seven respondents have varying backgrounds, we realize that there are several aspects which we were not successful in covering in our empirical data. Firstly, we did not interview anyone who identified themselves as transgender, who might contribute to nuances that the other respondents had not experienced themselves. Another important aspect of the respondents' lives and experiences is their age. As the majority of our respondents were in their twenties, they did not have as much experience with being queer in the urban scape as someone who would have experienced the queer scene in Copenhagen for decades. Therefore, we realize that a wider variety of generations would have provided us with a broader understanding of the significance and development of being queer in Copenhagen. Finally, we did not interview any respondents with children, or who were a part of a rainbow family. These insights might also have provided nuances to navigating the heteronormative society as a queer family. However, we argue that we have been successful in gathering insightful and detailed nuances to the lived life of queer people in Copenhagen, due to the respondents' varying backgrounds.

CHAPTER #4

PRESENTATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

In the following section, the respondents will be presented. They represent a diverse range of queer voices, and, therefore, also various insights of the queer embodied lived experience of Copenhagen. As we are producing situated knowledge, it is important to present the respondents' sexualities and gender identities, along with their backgrounds and what is important to them in their everyday lives.

This section will provide a visualization of their personal map. This map is presented in the scale 1:100,000, and illustrates our respondents' spatial interpretation of Copenhagen. The level of detail is broad to not reveal personal information. The marks on the maps present locations which the respondents draw specific associations to; whilst some show locations where they enjoy spending their time, other marks are placed where they feel uncomfortable, or to where they draw on specific memories with friends, sports, Pride and much more. The following sheet provides a summary and overview of the respondents and their characteristics, which will be unfolded further in the section below.

Respondent	Pronouns	Age	Gender identity	Sexuality	Relation to Copenhagen
A	She/her	23	Cisgender women	Queer	She has always lived in Copenhagen
B	All pronouns but preferred they/them	26	Nonbinary	Queer	They have lived in Copenhagen for around 8 years
C	She/her	32	Cisgender women	Lesbian	She is an expatriate and has lived in Copenhagen for around 4,5 years
D	He/him	53	Cisgender man	Gay	He has lived in Copenhagen since 1996
E	They/them	24	Nonbinary genderfluid	Queer	They have always lived in Copenhagen.
F	He/him	24	Cisgender man	Bisexual	He has always lived in Copenhagen.
G	He/him	24	Cisgender man	Gay	He is a expatriate and have lived in Copenhagen for a year

Figure 1: Overview over the respondents

The first respondent is a 23-year-old cisgender woman, who uses she and her pronouns and identifies herself as queer. She is currently studying for her bachelor's degree in humanities, and she enjoys cultural and art events and visiting bookstores. She was born and raised in Copenhagen and has lived in almost every neighborhood throughout her life. She is well-oriented in the city and aware of where she feels comfortable during day and night time.

When mapping out her queer life, she pointed out a handful of bars and clubs, and furthermore, she marked locations such as cafés, bookstores and nature areas, where she finds peace and feels connected as simply being herself.
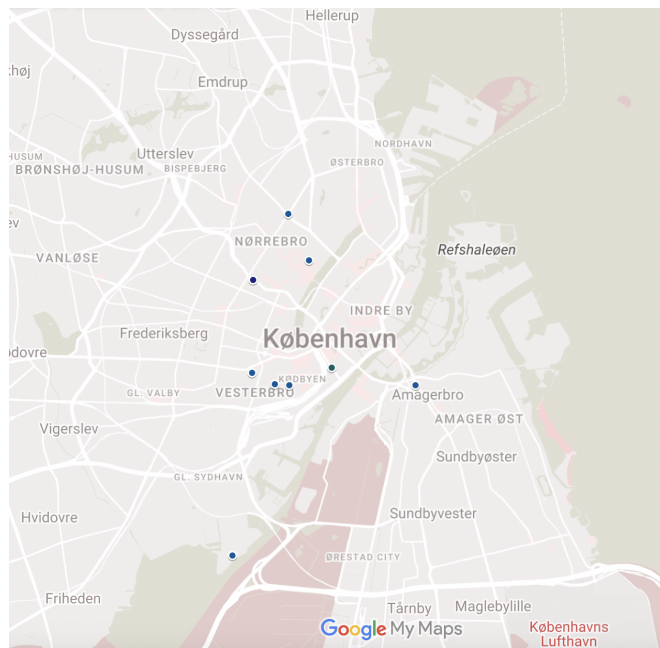
Map 1. Personal map by Respondent A, own visualization.

The second respondent is 26-year-old and described themselves as queer genderfluid. Whilst welcoming all pronouns, they prefer gender-neutral they and them pronouns, which we will address them by in this project. Growing up in a small Danish town, they moved to Copenhagen to attend high school and have now lived in the capital for a total of seven years. Today, they are studying to become a pedagog and work in a kindergarten.

When making their map, they pointed out their favorite nightclub, the Pride Parade and a few spots where they enjoy swimming. They also pointed out a few locations that are the center for stories which have been defining for their queer lives, either associated with a family member, friends or partners.
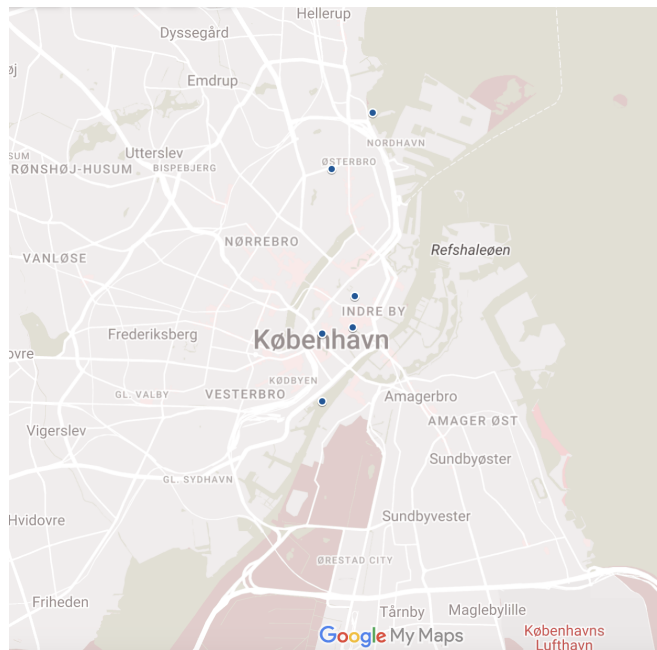
Map 2. Personal map by respondent B, own visualization.

Respondent C

The third respondent is a 32-year-old cisgender woman, who identifies herself as lesbian and goes by she and her pronouns. Being born and raised in an Eastern-European country, she moved to Denmark twelve years ago to study and have since lived in various cities around the country. She has previously worked with children and now works full-time in an LGBTQIA-oriented organization. Having put behind her lifestyle of partying in her twenties, she now enjoys doing yoga, producing music, attending arts and cultural events and helps co-organise queer-oriented events. She is well connected to people from her home country living in Copenhagen, but also expresses how her ethnic background as a Eastern-European person brings her more barriers than being queer.

For her map, she pointed out various yoga studios, current and former jobs, bars, her music studio and some of her friends' homes.
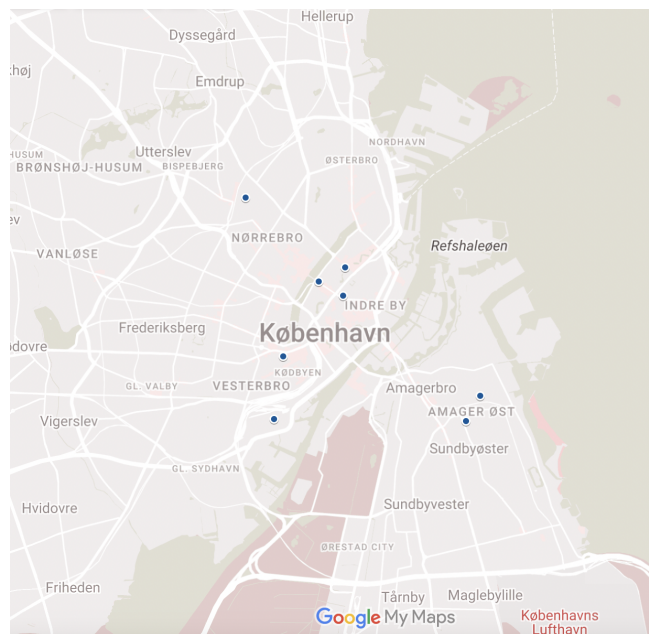
Map 3. Personal map by respondent C, own visualization.

Respondent D

Respondent D is a 56-year-old gay cisgender man, who goes by he and him pronouns. He is from Jutland and moved to Copenhagen when he was twenty years old in 1996, making him a current resident of the capital for 27 years. He enjoys going out to bars and holds many memories of the various gay bars and clubs around the city, some of which have either changed or closed since his youth. The annual Pride Parade is very important to him, and he enjoys going with all his friends. He is very active in a queer-oriented sports club, where he currently is participating in dance competitions and meeting with a running club every week. Though he enjoys an active week with sports and bars, he prefers the quieter neighbourhoods within the city. When creating his map, he pointed out streets that were important to the gay nightlife, the Pride Parade, his sports activities and former living areas and workplaces. With his knowledge, he shed light on some of the changes that have been regarding queer places in his time of living here.
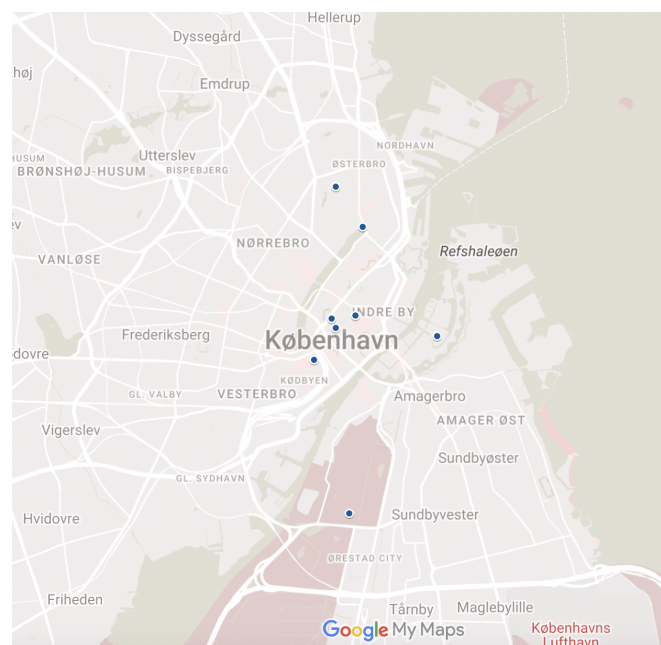
Map 4. Personal map by respondent D, own visualization.

Respondent E is a 24-year-old non-binary queer person, who goes by they and them pronouns. They are from Copenhagen and well-oriented in the city, they currently live in a collective in a suburban area of the capital, where they have found great comfort in the peaceful area with access to nature and facilities. Besides studying for a bachelor's degree in humanities, they work as a musician in multiple bands.

For their map, they marked places that feel safe to be in, but also spaces that they actively avoid. Additionally, they marked various locations relevant to their career, cultural and arts arenas and former workspaces, but also clubs and spots for swimming.
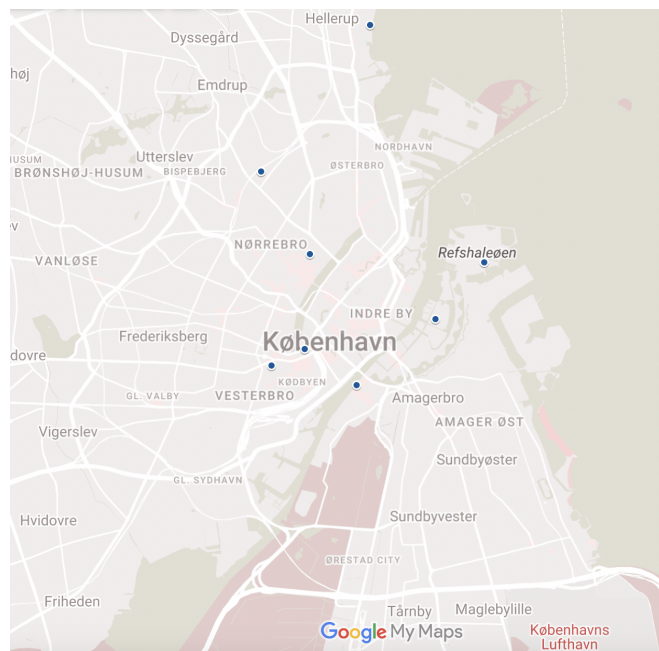
Map 5. Personal map by respondent E, own visualization.

The next respondent is a 24-year-old bisexual cisgender man, who uses he and him pronouns. He was born and raised in Copenhagen and is particularly grounded in the Nørrebro area, where he grew up with his family, who he is very connected to. He is currently finishing a Master's degree in social sciences and is active in a political party. He has an ethnic background that he points out sometimes is conflicting for him. He has found great comfort in an organization targeted towards queer ethnic minorities, where he has found a community that can relate to his challenges alike. In his spare time, he enjoys playing football, going for drinks with his political co-workers or dancing all night at gay clubs. For his map, he marked several gay and politically charged bars, locations connected to his political life, his family, friends and his football team.
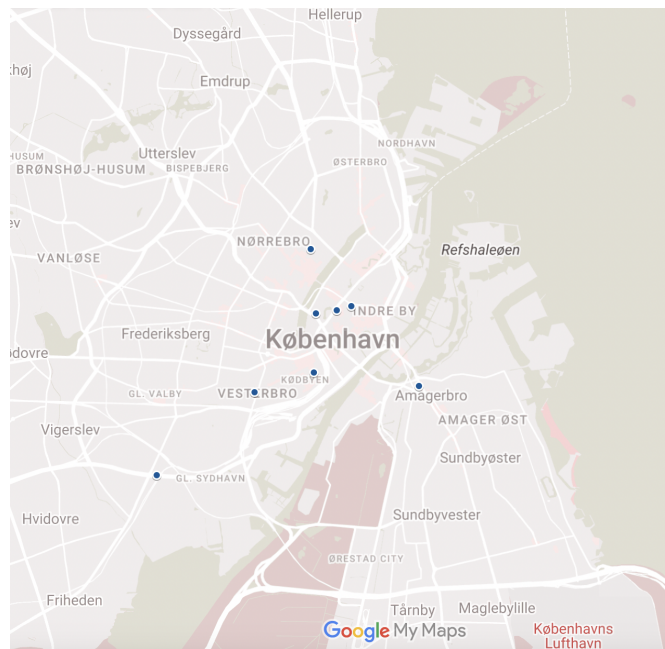
Map 6. Personal map by respondent F, own visualization.

Respondent G

The last respondent is a 24-year-old gay cisgender man, who uses he and him pronouns. He moved to Denmark four years ago from an Eastern-European country to study and has lived in Copenhagen for the last year. Since he moved he has interacted significantly with the queer nightlife scene, both as an employee and as a guest. He experiences a great contrast to his home country in terms of expressing his queerness, whereas he feels safer walking around Copenhagen holding hands with his partner.

For his locations on the map, he marked a big part of the Inner City as the main arena for his queer life. He also marked the Nørrebro area, in which he enjoys spending time with his friends, the Pride Parade and finally the Meat Packing District, where he has worked and spent many nights partying.
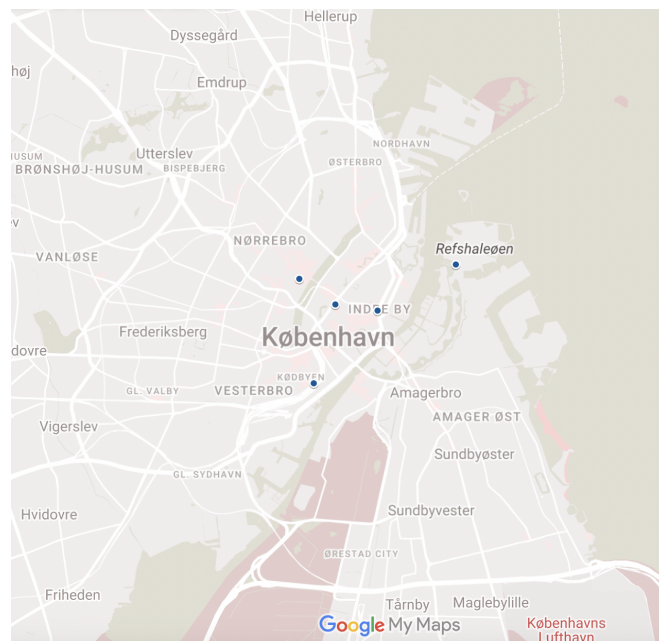
Map 7. Personal map by respondent G, own visualization.

Having presented the seven respondents and their backgrounds, it is clear that their situations and 'point of departure' for their lived experiences as queer people in Copenhagen vary vastly. This is partly due to individual everyday patterns, which can be interpreted as a result of their sexuality and gender identity, along with age and attachment to the city. Furthermore, as the maps are a digital visualisation of their original maps, they do not fully represent the creative mapping which the respondent conducted. However, they give an insight into the different lives which Copenhagen provides for its queer inhabitants.

CHAPTER #5

ANALYSIS

In this section, we provide our empirical findings by prioritizing space for larger sections of the interviews in order to recognise their narratives. These will be unfolded in the the three sections of the analysis, which focus on the queer routes of Copenhagen, twisting the binary and the battles, which queer people experience in their everyday lives in the capital.

Queer Routes of Copenhagen

The respondents of this project provide a broad range of perspectives within the LGBTQIA+ community. What is also shown and illustrated is that the queer routes of Copenhagen are very diverse. In the following section, we will unfold how Copenhagen is used and perceived differently according to the respondents.

In the map underneath, all the personal maps are assembled as one big collage of a diverse range of lived experiences in Copenhagen. The experiences should be seen and understood as situated bodily experiences in certain time and space figuration.
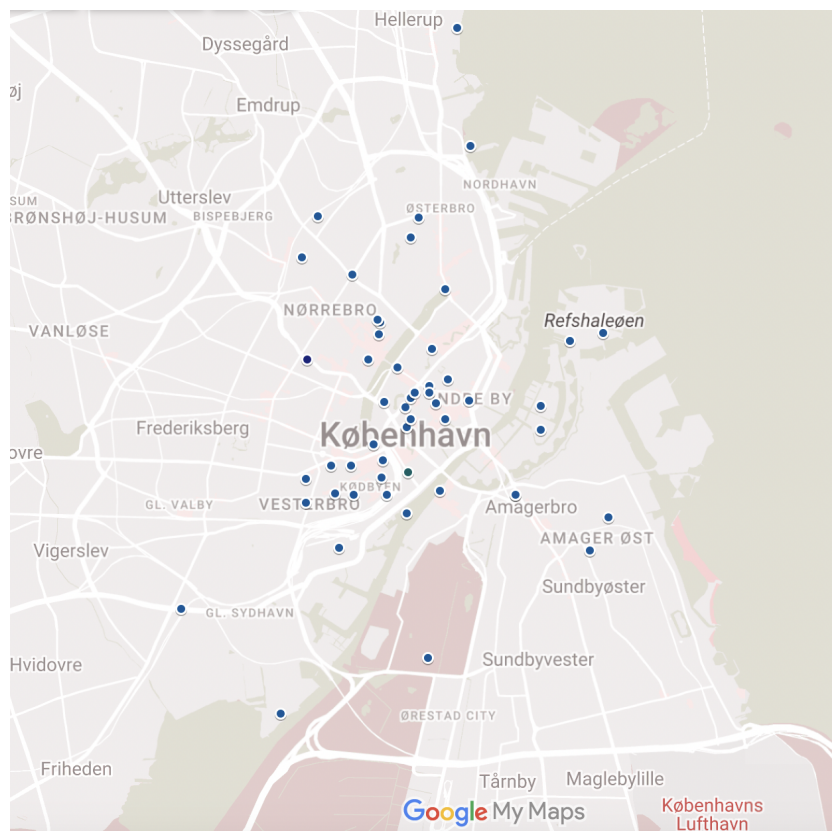
Map 8. Joint map of the respondents personal maps, own visualization.

Winding Road Ahead

The diverse usage of Copenhagen could illustrate Copenhagen as a patchwork of queer-friendly places and experiences; yet, there is more to the story. When we asked the respondents if they experienced Copenhagen as being queer-friendly, they did not experience it entirely as such. One of the respondents answered:

"That is simply just not true. I mean, there is Studiestræde, where various things are located, but when you move away [from Inner City], there is just nothing. I actually think Copenhagen is quite... not bad, but... it is maybe a bit harsh to say, but I think it is not a super good queer city, because there is a lack of places, where you are one hundred percent safe as a queer person. And I actually think that apart from Pride, there is really nothing..."

(Bisexual cisgender man, 24. Respondent F: 11)

"I feel like: 'No, it is a mega-conservative country, but Copenhagen is a mega-progressive city', but at the same time there are also places where I... I think it is a good city to be queer in, and I think it is a safe city to be queer in, absolutely. But it is not one big gayborhood, because then it would be a more flamboyant city."

(Queer cisgender woman, 23. Appendix A: 12)

It is important to note that the respondent feels different in terms of safety. Whereas one respondent feels as if the city is safe to be queer in, the other feels the opposite and wishes for a general feeling of safety to express their queerness. Both respondents reflect upon 'safety' when asked about 'queer-friendliness'. This is interesting, as safety is a primary need, and it indicates a crucial point where safety is actively on our respondents' mind. Additionally, the respondents are reflecting on two different scales. The first statement is problematizing the lack of queer places in

Copenhagen and how that is problematic to feel 'one hundred percent' safe here as a queer person. The other respondent adds another nuance as she reflects on a national level, how she experiences the city of Copenhagen as a more liberal and broad-minded place as she describes it as 'mega-progressive city'. She sees the nation as a contrary to this and as a 'mega-conservative county'. In this staging of Copenhagen versus the rest of Denmark, Copenhagen is deemed a good place to be queer; yet not one flamboyant queer city.

Spatial Interpretation of Queer Copenhagen

One respondent expressed how everything related to his queer life is located within the Inner City of Copenhagen, with a few locations for clubbing in the Meatpacking district in Vesterbro. He did so by drawing an arbitrary shape on his map stating that 90% of all his queer experiences and places are located within this area. We have digitalised the illustration and it demonstrates a spatial interpretation of his queer belonging in Copenhagen.
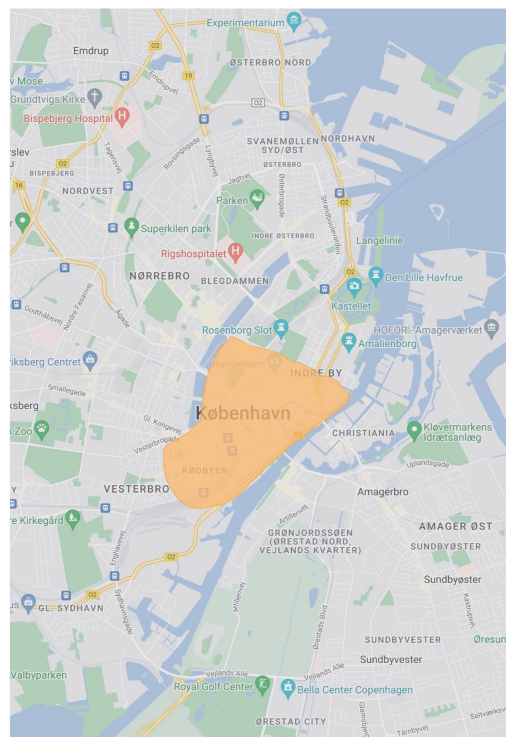
Picture 6. Spatial interpretation of queer Copenhagen, own visualization.

We have chosen to highlight this part of his map as it also aligns with the locations other respondents provided which shows that individual and collective narratives spatially bound to this area. This is also shown by the clustered locations in Map 8, which indicates that many queer-related locations are located within the Inner City area of Copenhagen. It is also the area in Copenhagen where some streets are visibly queer-coded and in the streets such as Studiestræde, cafes and shops are displaying rainbow flags in windows and doors.

Picture 7. Collage of pictures showing queer symbols encountered in Inner City.
Pictures by respondent B, D and G.

In 2014, a crucial step was taken towards ensuring visibility for the LGBTQIA+ inhabitants of Copenhagen, as a previously unnamed centrally located square next to The Town Square hall was named the Rainbow Square, in a political of embracing queerness and showing visibility with a rainbow flag waving all year around (Københavns Kommune, 2014).

Picture 8. Waving over the Rainbow Square, a rainbow flag is raised 365 days a year.
Own picture.

One respondent reflected on the decision of the name, which he finds exceptional:

"(...) the fact that it is decided such a central location in a capital is called The Rainbow Square, which is quite new (...) and that there's a café in the middle. It's not seen very many places, that something like that's been unpacked. It's something, or often something [around] the railway station together with all the hookers in many cities, and I think it's a little telling for Copenhagen"

(Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 5).

The respondent uses a stereotypical narrative about another marginalized social group to exemplify and explain how they historically have been something society have been looking down on. This statement exemplifies how they have been left out of the public eye and hidden away "next to the railway station". This also remarks that an official naming of a centrally located square is remarkable for the respondent because it breaks with the experience of being hidden away to instead being given

a more prominent central location. Clearly, this symbolic act of naming it The Rainbow Square has been striking for the respondent and brings gratification in a comparison with other cities. Yet as the respondent reflects further on the matter he mentions a concern that is in the back of the respondents mind, when he is in clearly queer-coded space.

> "I think that when there were shootings in Oslo against that cafe up there, and there are some attacks around the world, in that way it's actually also a very obvious target. I've seen that there are flower boxes (...) around, I don't know if it's some of those massive ones that are supposed to prevent trucks from breaking in, right, but then I come to think of that sometimes, that you sat there in an open square called The Rainbow Square, and there are many cars whizzing by at fairly high speeds. It is in the middle of the city and by The Town Hall Square, so there are all kinds of people."
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 6).

This statement shows an ingrained concern based upon prior experiences and narratives of violence targeted towards the queer community as an active part of the embodied lived experience. Though the respondent is aware that the political gesture is an acknowledgement of queer people and their visibility, the respondent reflects on the risk which the name simultaneously creates. As attacks targeted towards queer-coded nightclubs and Prides globally are not uncommon occurrences, a central and explicit location as The Rainbow Square in the Inner City is considered an obvious target by the respondent. However, the naming of the central location can be seen as an important step towards the acknowledgement of sexual and gender minorities that inhabit and co-exist in the city.

As a broader acknowledgement of queer rights is on the rise, Copenhagen is still figuring its ground to increase visibility and inclusive rhetoric. However, when one respondent was asked if Copenhagen could learn more from cities such as Berlin

and Brussels that are known to have certain areas associated with the queer community, he reflected on the future of Copenhagen and designated queer spots:

> "I think that we kind of have a gay district already, again with Studiestræde, I guess that would be our gay street. But I don't really know, if I would support creating more and more of these separate areas, again, personally I would just emphasize, that I would just like it all mixed together as much as possible, like, I don't wanna feel like, if I wanna go out, I have to go to this one specific area in the city to feel good, you know? Like, I don't wanna feel that, I wanna feel like I can go anywhere I want."
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 24. Appendix G: 13)

Describing the street of Studiestræde in the Inner City as a 'gay street', the respondent expressed how he doesn't feel Copenhagen needs more designated queer areas, as seen in some other cities, as he feels more comfortable with the idea of feeling safe anywhere in the city. This indicates conflicting feelings and opinions on possible future development of areas that explicitly are targeted to queer people. For this respondent, inclusivity and ensured safety is a higher priority rather than the creation of more exclusively queer-coded locations.

Having presented different perceptions and reflections of Copenhagen as a queer city. This shows a more profound comprehension of Copenhagen than simply acknowledging the city as queer-friendly.

In the Landscape of Queer Nightlife

Remarkably, many of the events and places our respondents provided during the interviews were nightclubs, bars, and temporary places or events connected to The Pride Parade (which ends with a big celebration at the Town Hall Square in Inner City). Interestingly, most of these places are used in the evening or nighttime. Thereby, the collage of narratives which the respondents have shared is dense in this timespan. Such a finding is interesting, as it indicates that the majority of queer

places in Copenhagen are related to nightlife, and therefore, also partying. One respondent shares this about their preferred gay club:

> "There are many queer people. It felt like a nice and safe place to be. I love when there are a lot of people dancing at the same time you can be openly gay. What I like about being on the gay scene is that you can be more extra. There is just room for you to wear what you want and be completely colorful or wear what you want without having to worry too much. And I love playing with makeup and stuff. The club itself was very colorful and there were sometimes drag queens, who came there."
>
> (Non-binary queer, 26. Appendix B: 2)

Here the respondent points out how the parameters of knowing that there are 'many' other gay people in a given space and the freedom to be 'openly gay' is essential for them. The respondent does also use the term 'gay scene' and how it is more tolerant to 'be extra'. This indicates a perspective on social norms here advocating a place where they can feel authentic and without concern and the need to 'cover up' queerness. This indicates a fracture of what Butler describes as the heterosexual matrix, which is normally dominating society (Butler, 1990: 23-24). Queer-orientated venues and places bend, twist and expand the binary societal gender norms in a heteronormative understanding and also explain how the respondent in everyday situations in 'the straight scene' acts closer to the socially accepted norm and common sense of promised good (straight) life. Additionally, these two worlds are seen as opposite. Another respondent shares a story about a bar designated towards lesbians, where they brought along friends who identify as straight cisgender males. Before entering the space, they had a conversation about the norms, how to act and who the space is for. The respondent reflects on that conversation:

> "The fact that they have doubts about whether they are allowed to be there, it's so refreshing. It taps into a much larger debate about gender, something I talk a lot with my friends about: That there is a large part of masculinity that is about, or conventional toxic masculinity, that is about feeling entitled to things such as space."
>
> (Non-binary queer, 24. Appendix E: 14)

This exemplifies a situation where norms can be seen as being turned upside down from heteronormativity to queernormativity. As this respondent finds it 'refreshing' that such a space is dedicated for a minority group and is 'othering' in this case the straight cisgender males who are normally 'in place', for whom the inhibition of spaces are orchestrated more towards their desires and thereby making the space more easy for them to inhabit than others. This indicates a space that embodies queernormativity is one that embraces and fosters accepting norms for the queer community. The respondent points out how this production of space is structurally problematic. By addressing the change of hierarchy, the respondent also indicates the everyday experience of feeling 'out of line' with the heteronormative societal expectation. Here, the phrase 'refreshing' indicates the respondent is normally experiencing the need to actively take space, in opposition to those, who are given more space. In designated queer-coded spaces, the norm is reset and gives queer people the opportunity to create and structure their own space and judge what behavior is unacceptable. As several of the respondents mentioned queer-designated nightclubs and bars as places they associate with their queerness, it indicates that they orient themselves towards these spaces as the production of these spaces are structured differently than in spaces that are heterosexually-coded.

Safer Space Policies

As we claim queernormativity as an opposition to heteronormativity, it is relevant to introduce the policies for safer spaces, which several queer-oriented clubs and bars in Copenhagen have implemented to create a safe queer environment. That itself is an expression of a specific constellation of networks that are pushing towards a more queer Copenhagen. At these spaces, visible signs are either placed outside or inside to inform the users of the policies that rule the space, and sometimes pickers are hired to state these rules, and judge who can enter or who can not, as they estimate they potentially could disrupt the safe space.

During the interviews, the respondents reflected differently upon the initiatives and the need of places to be specifically outspoken about stating to be a 'safe space'. Some feel a stronger need for having visible queer-coded places in order to truly express themselves, whilst other respondents feel more comfortable in places that are not necessarily branded as queer or as 'safe spaces'. One respondent had noticed a sign in a gay bar in The Inner City shown below.

Picture 9. Infographic from Jailhouse CPH[2]. Picture from respondent D.

---

[2] Gay bar located in the Inner City of Copenhagen.

When the respondent was asked about his opinion of it, he replied enthusiastically:

> "R: (...) I think that's good. So it should be like that everywhere, but it isn't.
>
> I1: So you would choose that place even if there were two places that were the same. And one had this outside…
>
> R: Well, then I would feel more comfortable there. It's not because I feel unsafe when I go into a place where it's not stated, but just the fact that a host like them has taken a stand on it, I think is positive (...) you can easily not be racist or homophobic without having written on a sign, but I think that if you do that, then you have actively created some rules. And that's what safe space is, which is somewhat important."
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 15)

Though this respondent expressed how he does not necessarily feel unsafe in places where similar rules have not been stated, it makes him prefer such places as he realizes that it shows considerations and awareness and thereby creates a safe space for queer users. Therefore, it actively creates a safer environment for him

Another respondent, however, reflected more skeptical upon the rules, indicating frustrations about the principles:

> "(...) I feel a bit conflicted, you know, that 'Oh, this place does not accept racism', but (...) shouldn't all places enforce that? I mean, maybe all places should just have these infographics or whatever, cause it should be obvious…"
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 24. Appendix G: 5)

That frustration showcases how these locations and initiatives in themselves are advocating a problem of co-existence for minority groups whether it is about class, race, nationality, sexuality or gender identity. For another respondent, they found themselves skeptical of the policies, as people who do not actively correspond to the rules, and adapt their behavior, are still let inside the clubs and bars:

> "My theory is that queerphobic people can't read. I don't think it helps to have a sign. But I also don't know if it helps if people say it at the door. I seriously can't figure it out. I don't know what happened to Culture Box, because if I'm a fucking homophobic dude from the province in a white tight shirt in Chelsea boots and skinny jeans who just went to Cucaracha and now I really want to go in and see some girls make out in Culture Box, then I also say "yes, I'm not homophobic"
>
> (Non-binary queer, 24. Appendix E: 10-11).

For this respondent, they draw on specific experiences from a nightclub whose policies are stated at the entrance, but where some guests did not live up to the rules. Therefore the concepts failed to create a safe space for its queer users. Another respondent also finds herself rather sceptical about the effects of safer space policies and said: "Any idiot can press 'Accept the terms and conditions'" (Queer cisgender woman, 23. Respondent A: 10). By referring to the 'terms of conditions', which are found in the bottom of many online forms, she reflects on the process as being something that people can say yes to without enforcing them and ensure a safe space.

Therefore, the policies for safer spaces can be seen as a complex component of the queer nightlife in Copenhagen. Though a framework is set to ensure a safe experience for minorities, who use the space, some respondents have experienced spaces with the rules not reflecting the actual feelings of safety. This creates complex conditions for the queer nightlife, as the places that are created to ensure

their users' freedom to express themselves, can also not truly ensure that the clientele respects the sexual and gender minorities within the space.

It appears that the current rules for some designated queer bars and clubs reflect a bigger structural issue which minorities can be exposed to in many different locations and scenarios. Additionally, it shows that these issues occasionally find their way into spaces designated for a queer atmosphere. Hence even the spaces where the queer lives are looked out for constantly needs to ensure and fight for the atmosphere to be queer-friendly.

Not Simply Queer

Another area of Copenhagen, that was directly mentioned during several interviews, is Nørrebro. Interestingly, the narratives and experiences of Nørrebro present nuances towards cultural backgrounds as the respondents explained how they, or queer people they know, belonging to cultural or religious minority feels like being on slippery terrain at Nørrebro. Therefore, we are in this section unfolding how Nørrebro is experienced from an intersectional perspective; in other words how a person with several minorities, is not simply queer, but queer with a heritage. Such bodily situations are affecting how they are perceived and seen from 'another perspective', which creates situations of disorientation. Such disorientation can be seen as a situation where bodies inhabiting space that does not accommodate their encounter a disorientation that 'puts pressure on the surface of their skin', in such a way their actions become corrected (Ahmed, 2006: 160-161). One respondent told us:

> "I have been dating some people, who are Muslim or Black or African, and their experience of the city is very different. And I have been aware of how they behave, and how they become, like, scared or ashamed when we walk in Nørrebro, for example, which I never thought, that Nørrebro could be a scary place. But because those communities are much more conservative, we wouldn't hold hands in Nørrebro or Blågårdsgade (...) And it's just shameful to do that. Or the other person that I dated, who was Muslim, like Middle-Eastern, they would for example be very scared to show affection (...) I remember before we kissed, they were really looking around, and I was like: "What's going on?" and she was like: "I was just scanning the crowd". So I think I'm very lucky to be so free in my expression, I'm also not visibly not Danish, so I can enjoy the freedom, but there are a lot of communities that regardless… both of the people that I'm telling you about, they grew up here, so it's not like they just came here from Middle East or Africa, they grew up here, they went to school here, so they are actually Danish with a heritage. But they still grew up in a different culture, so they're experience of being queer in the daytime in the city out of the queer spaces is very different from mine."
>
> (Lesbian cisgender woman, 32. Appendix C: 13-14).

The situations of the people the respondent has been dating are individual and situated, yet the situation of having a heritage exemplifies how it produces an intersectional burden of being queer, with a heritage. The encounter of these different burdens and potentials the respondent is identifying between her and the people she dated are present stigmatisation due to power structures by having a multiple-minority identity. The respondent is reflecting upon how different they experience certain situations by mentioning she never thought Nørrebro could be a scary place. The different factors are shown in the feeling of being ashamed and unsafe, but also by the act of precaution taken, such as the need to 'scan the crowd' before showing affection. Interestingly, the respondent also classifies these experiences as experiences outside of the 'queer spaces'. This is similar to a story from respondent B who exemplifies a meeting they had with the situated differences in being queer:

> "For example, with my ex, who is from the Middle East, if we went somewhere to buy durum somewhere here [pointing to outer Nørrebro] or a place where they speak Arabic, as she does herself, she would be like: "Don't say anything Arabic to me" and she really wanted us to keep a low profile. I would still keep it in mind, if I was with people, but I would stand my ground, and then they would have to throw me out, if that is the case. I trust that nothing would happen. But she has her own story and wants to be on the safe side."
>
> (Non-binary queer, 26. Appendix B: 9).

These stories are situated, but also intersubjective and show a social practice influences a trustful relation to the city, in this case, an area. In other words, they indicate alienation of belonging in urban space due to cultural and ethical repertoire. Nørrebro cannot be claimed as a space where queer people cannot express themselves, but it is important to stress the fact that people who belong to an ethnic minority and identify themselves as queer might experience a bigger sense of otherness when navigating in spaces that hold diverse neighbourhoods. As both respondents only became aware of the issue as they dated someone and, therefore, also became restricted in showing affection, they were introduced to a fraction of the lived experience of other queer people, who lived with several burdens as a minority.

For this section of the analysis, we have unfolded the queer routes of Copenhagen as a collage of intertwined and sometimes overlapping stories. As most respondents pointed out the nightlife as a time and space, where they engage in designated queer bars and nightclubs, it appears that policies for ensuring the structures of safer spaces are complex, as the rules do not always provide the necessary safe experience, as intended. Furthermore, it is important to note that all queer bodies are situated and that the spatially bounded experience is also dependent on other burdens which minorities carry with them. In this section, Nørrebro was exemplified as a spatially bound place where some queer people find

themselves extra cautious and hesitant from showing affection to a queer partner. However, it is important to note that Nørrebro is also a complex and diverse neighborhood that is perceived and experienced very differently. As the examples provided only show a fragment of the lived experience of some minorities, it shows how not all queer people can move around freely within the city of Copenhagen.

Twisting the Binary

Though queer people of Copenhagen and their lived experiences are vastly different, we identify a common story of discrimination among the respondents. If they had not experienced any instances themselves, they knew people close to them, who had been a victim of discrimination, due to their queerness. This indicates that even though Denmark has the second highest ranking of queer rights in Europe (ILGA Europe, 2022), the threat of discrimination is still a premise for being queer. Unfortunately, this is a well-known problem. For the Danish Government's 2018-2021 strategic plan for improving and ensuring improved quality of life for people within the LGBTQIA+ community, data was presented showing that 31 pct of queer people in Denmark have experienced discrimination due to their sexuality or gender identity, whilst 49 pct of queer people actively avoid holding hands with their partner for fear of discrimination (Regeringen, 2018: 25).Although these numbers offer only a limited insight into the consequences of expressing queerness, they indicate that despite significant progress in the legal recognition of queer rights after years of activism, ensuring safety remains an unresolved issue.

In the following section, we will unfold some of the different types of discriminatory acts, which the respondents have experienced due to their queerness. Drawing on Judith Butler's concept of gender performativity, we also explore the respondents' experiences with straight-passing and how they scan the crowd to stay inside the line, These concepts are perceived as active strategies to either express or downplay queerness, making them either visible or invisible for peers.

Unfolding Different Experiences of Discrimination

The respondents unfolded a common experience with having their queerness pointed out as something wrong or different, or completely silenced. These experiences emerge in vastly different scenarios and ways, which the respondents shared stories about:

> "I am dating a guy, who has told me that he was beaten up in the open street because he once walked in a dress on Nørrebrogade. And seriously, some guy just came and punched him. And we just talk too little about that, I think. It's seriously scary that you can just risk being beaten up in the open street here in Copenhagen."
>
> (Bisexual, cisgender man, 24. Appendix F: 1)

> "I also have a friend who came out of [a gay bar] (...) Where suddenly one day he posted a picture of his face, which was completely smashed, and not at all recognizable. He had come out from [the bar] where there were [some people who had] simply waited to beat him up. There are hate crimes and that is also the case in Copenhagen. It's so that it is not too jubilant that the whole city is just gay-friendly."
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 26)

> "(...)This military life, at least back then you couldn't just like... you were told that 'gays, it's something we shoot with', that's what the officer said out loud like that (...) So, it wasn't a place you really wanted to be... and plus, you're young, 18-19 years old and might think that some of your fellow soldiers are cute and such. It was a lot when you hadn't come out of the closet yet."
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 14)

> "I dated a woman once, and we were at her friend's party (...) and then we're kissing at the party, then someone's uncle comes and says "It's just so good that you're allowed to be who you are". Where I was like, "Mate, who the fuck are you?" It is a confrontation I would really like to avoid, even if it is at its core positively intended"
>
> (Non-binary queer, 24. Appendix E: 9)

From these quotes, we see experiences with discrimination in different forms. The first quote shows how a person the respondent is dating has experienced a physically violent act by being knocked down in the open streets. He was targeted due to his bodily and gender representation in his choice of expression. The next quote also exemplifies how a friend of another respondent experienced being a victim of physical violence, by being beaten up outside a gay club, by a group that had waited for him. Both examples illustrate clear public physical hate crimes and discrimination on a very visible level. Significantly, the respondents behind the two quotes both address the lack of attention to such problems in public debates. This reflection is supplementary adding to the problem of discrimination towards queer people. That is enhanced by the one respondent calling it 'seriously scary' and the other respondent addressing that the interpretation of Copenhagen as a queer-friendly place should not be too 'jubilant'.

In the third quote, the respondent reflects on his time in the military, where he was told that homosexuality was not to be talked about or considered of any significance. Such a silencing and lack of recognition and acknowledgement made him repress himself and his queerness during a time when he was struggling to come forward with his sexuality. Thisadds to the argument of a heteronormative point of departure, that you have to come forward if you diverge from that. This form of discrimination is operating in the unsaid values between the lines, nevertheless, it is a discriminatory act dismissing the opportunity for a queer existence and also actively creating a dread for challenging the premise by clearly addressing and alienating such scenarios.

The final quote is a story told by a respondent, who experienced unwanted attention about their sexuality, when kissing their partner. Though they reflected that the comment was intended to be received positively, it still hinted that their mere act of affection stood out from the crowd at the party. This form of discrimination is significant to understand how attention targeted towards queer people as 'something special' is still an act of othering them by confronting them with a spoken comment in this scenario: "You are allowed to be who you are".

The quotations are not comparable, yet they show and exemplify different levels of discrimination and the feeling of uncomfortableness, which queer people are facing and experiencing. From violent attacks to being silenced, and singled out, the stories show examples of the consequences being met with hatefulness or internalized homophobia, which forces the respondents to be confronted with being different, and in some eyes wrong, as they have not managed to stay inside the heteronormative line. These experiences exemplify discriminatory behavior in various forms from the act of speech, and institutionalized norms to physical acts. We have highlighted these to express how queer embodied lives meet different levels of battles in their everyday life, where they relate commonly to being 'stopped' in one's tracks of everyday activities. They indicate a spatial construction of otherness and form the basis of an understanding of narrative hierarchies. Such

positioning as 'the other' or those 'out of line' operates on many scales. It affects one's orientation in the world. Additionally, such disorientation can burst one's belief on the ground and one's actions that make life feel livable.

Straight Passing

For some queer people, the common story of discrimination results in them 'straightening out' their queerness to blend into the crowd to actively avoid unwanted attention and confrontations. This was also apparent during the interviews with the respondents. One respondent reflected on past experiences with publicly showing affection to partners:

> "If I was with my now ex-boyfriend, it was really rare that we walked hand in hand. For example, if we did that and some young guys came walking on the sidewalk towards us, or on the other side, we automatically let each other go (...) Then you can say we're some wimps or something or sissy boys. I don't know if you could say that, but we did [let go of each others' hands]. I also think that if you decide to stand and kiss, I think there would still be many who would be provoked by that. I don't think we are that developed in Copenhagen. There are many places where you can't do that. I was actually kissed by someone I met down at [a bar]. We had been texting together, then we met there and then on the way out, we stopped and then he kissed me. It was like, wow, and in the open street and in the middle of Frederiksberg. It was like, wow that doesn't happen that often. It is more to say that I think many people think about where they might stand and kiss each other. I wish there were more people who just did that"
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 23-24)

Later, he reflected on the tolerance which queer people are met with, that he indicated as being dependent on the behaviour and expression:

> "I think from the outside, Copenhagen seems to be very inclusive, so maybe that's true. But again [pause]. I think that tolerance, you don't really know how deep it actually goes. As long as people behave and look fairly average, ''Nordic normal', then things go very well."
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 26)

Another respondent shared reflections on how he actively 'straightens out' his sexuality and adapt his behaviour according to the environment he is in:

> "I2: Are you [talking about your sexuality] in different rooms?
>
> R: Yes, absolutely. I feel more comfortable saying it when I'm with other queer people, or you can also talk about... 'I met a guy out in town', then I don't say it to some of my friends. I think they would be cool with it. But there is something in my head that tells me that maybe I don't need to tell. Without being able to put into words what it is, it's just... it's a bit different when you meet other queer people because there is that understanding for...
>
> I1: Do you feel that if you meet a woman, for example, it would be easier to talk about?
>
> R: Yes, one hundred per cent. It is always easier to say that you have scored a woman than to..."
>
> (Bisexual cis-man, 24. Appendix F: 7)

These quotes show examples of how the two respondents are aware they express themselves through either clothing, talking about their sexuality or simply holding hands with a partner. Both reflections show acts influenced by a world shaped by the directions taken by the mobility of the straight world. These situations can be seen as what Ahmed describes as 'stress points' where the desired action is affected by social and physical pressure (Ahmed, 2006: 160).

For the first respondent, he was aware of the norms in the places where he actively expressed his queerness. Being used to letting go of his partner's hand when walking in public, he was surprised to be kissed publicly. Establishing contact with others who introduce and enlarge the possible world outcome is necessary to wander off the arranged path (Ahmed, 2006). This example showcases how the act of kissing caused by desire causes surprise for the respondent reflecting upon 'that is also a possibility.' The act of affection can also be seen as an act extending the reach of the possible, for the respondent, by disturbing the inverted expectation of what is possible regarding the public social norm.

Respondent F, who identifies himself as bisexual and, therefore, dates both men and women, experiences feeling more comfortable when telling his friends about meeting a woman. This respondent can actively hide his bisexual side by only talking about women, giving him the ability to blend in as solely straight.

By straightening out their queerness and being aware of how to blend into the crowd, they are aware of what is considered rightful behavior and what stands outside of the norm, and can be a potential for discrimination. Thereby the possible acts in these situations work as delimiting mechanisms that hold them 'in place'. This indicates that the more queer you signal, the more likely you are to be the victim of discrimination. This depends on the situation in which the body is situated, hence their expression of gender identity, ethnic background, neighborhood, network, socio-economic status etc, which structures the body and its burdens and potentials (Simonsen, 2005: 56). Many of the respondents mentioned how they can 'straight-pass' and thereby avoid discrimination or other uncomfortable situations. It indicates a spectrum where the more deviation from the normative binary expectation of presententing in public space the more at risk the respondents feel. They inform that a strategy to avoid unwanted attention, from speech of act to physical actions, is actively intended to wipe out any visible queer-coded actions or stereotypical appearance. In other words, a coping mechanism simply becomes to go under the radar. To do such is differently situated depending on the circumstances of what body in what world.

Performing Gender

Though sexuality and gender identity are arguably interconnected, the mere performance of gender is also a topic which some of the respondents find themselves battling. This also relates to the individual queer person's body and what they can reach - and what they can not reach. For some, they feel more free to express themselves in certain places, whilst also holding the privilege of being able to freely choose what places they want to be in and which to avoid. For some people identifying as queer, they are not provided with the same opportunities, as they visibly 'fail' to blend in or straight-pass, or if their behavior simply does not meet the expectation of the place.

One respondent, who also identifies themselves as non-binary, reflects on how their gender performativity follows the binary understanding of gender and the hierarchy that is found within:

> "(...) what is coded into your way of being queer. Where I am in a position where I conventionally give up femininity and acquire masculinity in relation to being non-binary and in a way perform my form of masculinity rather than femininity in relation to being a cis woman, and in relation to my romantic relationships with women I also acquire some masculinity. Which is generally a more accepted thing in society, it is again this with the misogynistic patriarchal society rewarded masculinity that I perform to a greater degree in contrast to if I had been cisgender heterosexual. Where the transgender acquires femininity in the public eye and the same with gay men and it's just less accepted because it's conventionally feminine qualities."
>
> (Non-binary queer, 24. Appendix E: 17)

This can be seen as a rejection of the heterosexual matrix as they perform masculinity and dismiss femininity which the heterosexual matrix would expect them to perform. By enforcing masculinity they also indulge in a status within a

hierarchy that preaches masculinity over femininity. As they reject femininity as a gender identity and performativity, whilst not identifying as a man but rather adopting masculine traits, they realize that they can be interpreted differently by (heterosexual) peers. They also reflect on how people who dismiss masculinity and acquire femininity are in a more vulnerable position than those who acquire masculinity, because of the hierarchy of masculinity being positioned above femininity. Both reflections concern gender performativity and how one's gender is produced regardless of the constraints of the heteronormative matrix.

These expectations of gender performativity are something that the respondents are aware of when they dress for different occasions, as one respondent explains as he reflects on his choice of clothing and accessories to fit into certain crowds:

"R: Now if I have to go to [an event], for example, if I'm wearing an earring, I take it off. And I also have a pearl necklace, if, for example, I'm going out to have a fun evening at [a gay club], I could think of putting it on. But I know I'm going to a very straight crowd, so I don't do it. Just to blend in.

I1: Okay, I can see that, so it's also your clothes, it's not just your mask.

R: Yes, one hundred per cent clothes. Then I put on a blue or white shirt and dress pants, yes.

I1: What do you feel most comfortable wearing?

R: It always depends on where I am. I will say, I have a pink shirt that I am very happy with. I would be super uncomfortable in it if I were to be in a straight crowd. Because then I just wanted to think that I totally stood out. I'm one hundred per cent more into colors when I'm with other queer people."

(Bisexual cisgender man, 24. Appendix F: 20)

In this quote, the respondent reflects on how he regulates himself through his choice of outfits according to the expectations of the crowd he will be spending time in. He sees clear connotations to specific pieces of jewellery and colors and what they can express, which actively affects his choices.

The respondents are also aware of how they perform their gender and can have certain predetermined privileges which directly relate to their queer bodies. According to Judith's Butler concept of gender performativity, societal structures have shaped gender expression and behavior in a certain manner, which creates certain expectations of ways of doing gender. The same respondent from above reflected upon how they feel more free to express their gender identity, as they realize how they can 'pass' under heterosexual expectations:

"Personally for me, it all feels pretty safe. It's more about having a female body that doesn't feel so safe. In general, I would say yes. But other people I know, my former roommate, they looked a lot like a man and wore dresses a lot. So basically looks like a man wearing women's clothes, for people who don't know them. When we lived together, approximately 1-2 times a month they experienced really severe discrimination. Where they got knocked down for example and got yelled at and stuff like that. I thought that if I looked like that I would probably have experienced even more. I've also experienced with my ex-boyfriend that people would come and say it's wrong and stuff like that. But it is so little. Because I'm not my former roommate, I can't quite get my head around whether it was just the three months we lived together that they were so unlucky or how and how. I would immediately say yes, but there are some places where we just have to keep a low profile. You never know, but I don't try to keep a low profile, I just try to be myself and haven't experienced anything like that."

(Non-binary queer, 26. Appendix B:9)

By comparing themselves to a former roommate, who relatively often experienced charged hate crimes, the respondent realized how they have certain privileges which make them feel freer to express their gender identity. Though this respondent also identifies themselves as non-binary, they realize that the queer body plays a big role when it comes to being visibly queer. As their biological body does not necessarily define their gender identity, they are able to both 'pass' according to societal expectations, whilst others, like their roommate, who was perceived as a man wearing women's clothing, had visibly expressed a non-cisgender gender identity, making them a target for not blending in. In other words, there are different deviations of a path, and these different deviations encounter different returns of wrongdoings. Therefore, it appears that when queerness is visible or has been explicitly expressed, the queer person whose body is explicitly queer suddenly is clearly out of line and required to align.

Double Consciousness

These stories, which the respondents experience as a result of openly expressing their queerness, also affects how they navigate within the public urban scape.

Some of the respondents experienced a double-view being in the world to get a sense of the possibility of them getting judged for their queerness. The respondents therefore orient themselves with a double view regarding their own orientation and the expected orientation from 'the other's point of view.' In other words, the heteronormative expectations are taking into account the experience of the world whereby they meet the world with the double view, by being subjects but also objects of alienation and 'otherness'. Such a way of inhabiting space affects their behavior. In the following quote, one respondent reflects on scanning the room to adapt his behavior according to the norms that dominate the places:

> "You can see that if you are in places where you feel safe. I would say there is probably also something to do with adapting yourself. Well, what is the norm in this place and what can I get away with? So in that way, I don't think we have a totally open society. I don't think we have."
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 24)

In this quote, the respondent also reflects on scanning the crowd to adapt themselves in terms of either expressing their queerness or sticking to straight-passing. For respondent E who is polyamorous and dating a cisgender man and a cisgender woman, they realize that the relationships are met with different reactions depending on where they express it. Therefore, they are very aware of where they go partying and have expectations about who is welcomed through their gender expression, they mentioned the nightclub HIVE[3], which they draw negative associations with:

---

[3] HIVE is a nightclub located in the Inner City of Copenhagen.

"HIVE is very much about the clientele and definitely a feeling of not fitting in. I feel this whether I see myself somewhere or not. Really matters a lot if I'm interested in it and if I fit in with the surroundings. It's really a double-edged sword [...] You know, showing up with armpit hair, cargo pants on or whatever the hell it was. Then you stand out. I don't think you are welcomed very well. Especially not in relation to the sexualization of feminine people who are with feminine people. I'm dating a cis guy. We are in an open relationship and I am seeing a [cisgender woman] on the side. I think she defines herself as a lesbian. There are definitely places where I would have very little fun with my boyfriend [cisgender man], but absolutely terrible with her. I think HIVE is one of the places. I think that is definitely a thing. People who are in same-sex relationships or same-sex similar presenting relationships, especially for the feminine side, there are just places where you are not interested in being perceived. Where if me and the woman I'm dating go to Mayhem then no one gives a fuck if we kiss. Where I have experienced several times that if you have scored a woman in the city, also when I define myself as a woman, then a group of men stands and watches. It is definitely something that affects where I go in the city. On a completely subconscious level, I just know where not to go."

(Non-binary queer, 24. Appendix E:8-9)

This respondent has experience with being watched when showing affection to a woman, as they have presented themselves as feminine, whereas they know which places not to enter, to avoid uncomfortable situations, which confront them with their sexuality. This prior experience can function as a mechanism for how they orient and interact with the world in future situations alike. A third respondent also shared his thoughts about scanning the crowd before feeling free to express his queerness:

> "R: You can see that if you are in places where you feel safe. I would say there is probably also something to do with adapting yourself. Well, what is the norm in this place and what can I get away with? So in that way, I don't think we have a totally open society."
>
> (Gay cisgender man, 56. Appendix D: 24)

Another respondent also takes serious considerations towards which venues he enters. In the following outtake from the interview, he talks about his preference for the nightclub Cosy[4]:

> "R: It's just a cool place. I mean, it is just a fun place to be, good music and a cool dance floor. It's just not... Actually, it doesn't have to be more than that to be completely honest. Then there's also the fact that it's a queer place, so you know that when you go there, you know... You kind of know that it's not here that I'm confronted by someone who thinks that I'm disgusting or what the hell do I know.
>
> I1: Can you feel that it is a queer space you are entering?
>
> R: Yes, I can
>
> I1: Is it a way you can see or sense it, perhaps?
>
> R: First of all, there are many men who.... I mean, there's just a different energy in there (...) I don't know how to explain it, but there's just not that testosterone vibe in there if you can put it that way. You can tell that there aren't a lot of guys who want to score tonight."
>
> (Bisexual, cisgender man, 24: Appendix F: 6)

---

[4] Cosy is a gay nightclub located in the Inner City of Copenhagen.

Though not sharing whether he had been a victim of a situation in which he was called 'disgusting,' his reflections about nightclubs indicate that he notices which environment he is entering when clubbing, and where he feels free to express himself. He also reflected on the difference when going on a date with a man, which he will plan differently, than with a woman:

"R: Yes, it's a bit of a cliché, somehow. But there I had a date with a guy [in Ørstedsparken] some time ago. And it was also more of an easier place to meet as two men than if you go for a walk in Fælledparken, for example. So it's more like the status it has as... Now I'm not saying gay park, but like...

(...)

I1: But there were some dog walkers that night?

R: Yes, so they looked an extra time or glared when they saw me and him walking, because they knew... in my imagination anyway, that this is the place where some men come to meet.

I1: Have you tried going on dates in other public places?

R: No, not really.

I2: But you would only go there on a date if it was with a guy?

R: Yes (...) It's because I feel that when you have to go on a date with someone of the same sex anyway, I do it in a place where I know that okay, at least it's safe here."

(Bisexual cisgender man, 24. Appendix F: 9-10)

In this date situation, the respondent describes the others' gaze, which he was very aware of, as he was almost seeing himself from the outside. This encounter of getting 'double glances' from the dog walkers works as a mechanism affecting the action patterns of the respondent. Also to such an extent that the respondent deviates from going on dates with people of the same sex in certain spatial places, despite his desire for it.

These quotes show a common story, where queer people scan the room or area to see if they can allow themselves to express their queerness, or if it is necessary for them to straight-pass to avoid uncomfortable situations. In other words, they are on the watch and orient themselves through a double lens; one indicating their desired acts and one through how they are viewed from the other's lens. The lived experience thereby indicates a double consciousness which affects the possible scenarios acting out and also expresses that they are often 'on alert' in their everyday movements in the city.

The Everyday Battles

Being the victim of historical systematic repression, criminalization and violent attacks, the prior and current experiences of the threat of expressing queerness is still present in the everyday lives of queer people. In the following section, we will unfold some of the battles, which the respondents meet in their everyday lives. These battles take various shapes as barriers, which 'stops' the queer person in their paths and forceforce them to either fight for their right to be queer, or to stay silent to protect themselves. One respondent reflects on the political fight that is apparent in the public debate:

> "(...) You have followed that debate with this drag show in Frederiksberg at a library, where I am a bit like... For me, it is just an example that even though we imagine that Denmark is such a super tolerant society, then there are still, I think, relatively large pockets. It is clearly taboo to say 'faggot' today, but from that point of view, I still think that there are many battles to be fought in Denmark, such as on the LGBT front. When you look at people who think that drag queens in a children's library are obviously paedophiles... it's really just a continuation of the rhetoric you had about homosexuals 30-40 years ago..."
>
> (Bisexual cisgender man, 24. Appendix F: 9)

For this respondent, a recent public debate about a drag show targeted towards children resulted in online hateful rhetoric that reminded him of the outdated public rhetoric on homosexuals. This indicates a feeling of a battle that still needs to be fought, as only some sexualities within the queer spectrum have gathered legal rights and social acceptance, whereas some sexual and gender minorities still are lacking acknowledgement. Though Denmark was the first country in the world to allow registered partnerships for same-sex couples in 1989, it was only in 2017 that identifying as transgender was removed from the official list of mental illnesses (Regeringen, 2018:

10-11). This indicates that the political and public awareness of queer peoples'' rights has resulted in an uneven distribution of legal rights and social acceptance of different groups of people within the queer spectrum. In this case, homosexuality is claimed as something that was recognised earlier than for example transgenderism.

Initially, queer people are being treated as political objects, who have to fight for their fundamental rights and the acknowledgement of their mere existence. Therefore, the political fights for the rights of queer people from various sexual and gender minority groups are still to be fought. Another respondent expresses how she actively takes on the fight in an activistic perspective when she was asked about her feelings of safety to express herself:

> "(...) I took it up on myself to be an activist. So not every person that I know that is mostly out is shouting about it, as I do. So I think that's the reason why I feel good, because I'm kind of ready to speak up, and I am in the community, I'm looking at the news, I'm going to protest, but if a person doesn't feel obligated to do that, which is fine, not everybody has to fight for their rights, but you don't have to be an activist. I hope that's how it's gonna stay. Then I don't, like, I don't think that it matters that much, and maybe they don't have the need to be perceived as fully themselves, cause more people are just more intrigued... They feel maybe like they don't want everybody to know that about them. But it might also be because they don't feel fully comfortable, but I don't know. But yeah, I think it's very personal and specific to each person."
>
> (Lesbian cisgender woman, 32. Appendix C: 8)

This respondent experiences a personal fight to express her queerness, which she feels comfortable with, but is still present in her everyday life. As she actively chooses to be an activist who is ready to speak up for herself, she acknowledges that it is a battle to be queer and defend the right to be queer. She indicates that it takes 'energy' to take up space, to speak up, and to show up to demonstrations

outbursting the disorientation of how the world is arranged and discarding queer embodied and lived lives. She also recognizes that it is an individual matter to take the role of an activist upon oneself and to share and educate others about their sexuality and gender identity. She hints that taking the role upon oneself can be related to 'how comfortable' one might be about expressing their queerness. Importantly, it is to state that the way to express queerness is different and influenced by the concrete situation one might find themselves within. This quote exemplifies the respondent's feasible action pattern of an activistic approach suitable for the battles needed to be fought.

For some respondents, this personal battle is also presented regarding their gender identity. Personal pronouns can be an important matter to ensure that people with queer gender identities are being addressed correctly and according to their perception of themselves. This shows how fluid gender identity and queer sexualities stand in the shadow of the heteronormative worldview. This is also shown in the act of speech as the choices of pronouns often are dichotomously perceived as either he and him or she and her. Thereby it becomes a fight of simply getting addressed and acknowledged correctly when taking they and them pronouns or differencing from the pronouns that 'meets the eyes'. In this way, the fight becomes an opening vision of the possible and pushes the 'norm' to go beyond the binary understanding.

One respondent, who identifies as a genderfluid non-binary and goes by they and them pronouns, reflected on who actively asks them for their pronouns, and in which situations they introduce them:

> "(...) Mostly by queer people. I can also feel it, something I do myself, if I've noticed a name change or the like, I ask something like "Hey, which pronouns do you use now?" but it is very limited to that. I can also feel it in relation to when I introduce myself with pronouns. It clearly also depends on who it is. At my studio, I haven't introduced myself with pronouns, but I have told people. I am part of [an anarchist students association], where I introduce myself with pronouns and ask other people about theirs'"
>
> (Non-binary queer, 24. Appendix E: 7)

For this respondent, they sense that it is easier to introduce their gender identity to some people, rather than others. This indicates a battle in which queer people meet and choose whether to address it. This appears to be easier for the respondents in environments that are already accepting and respectful towards people's pronouns. By deliberately choosing to introduce themselves with their pronouns, they actively influence the way their peers perceive them through their gender identity, which in this case is non-binary, and by addressing them with the correct pronouns they contribute to a more rightful understanding of the respondents' gender identity.

Another respondent, who switch between pronouns, reflected on the difference between telling their family and other queer friends about their gender identity:

"I know they are totally supportive of all queer people and trans people and stuff like that. I know they are. But I don't feel settled with my gender identity and I don't feel quite strong enough in what I really want with these pronouns until I want to have that conversation with them. Just in itself having to have that conversation with them I feel is so confrontational that I can't bear it at all. Although I know they support it. The friends I have switch between he/him and they/them pronouns for the most part and I'm also fine with people using she/her. I don't know how to bring up that conversation with my family. I have a very inclusive family, but I just can't. It's also to my straight friends that I don't start talking pronouns. It's just simple for people who can familiarize themselves with it and understand it themselves. Then I'm like "Yes cool - it's easy for you to get used to it". [It is] My own little thing in the queer environment - where I'm like "Remember to use all these pronouns - then I'll be really happy". Maybe one day."

(Non-binary queer, 26. Appendix B: 12)

Though the respondent recognizes that their family is rather accepting, they do not feel like taking up the battle to make them understand their gender identity until they are certain of how to define themselves. Likewise, respondent E feels more comfortable telling people, who are already situated within the queer community, about their preferences for pronouns.

Though these respondents' situation can not represent for all experiences of people who are gender non-conforming, it indicates that it can be easier to introduce a preference for pronouns, when they meet people who are also situated within the queer community or allies. It is also a matter of being recognised and perceived as non-binary rather than perceived as a man or woman, which they do not find represents their gender identity. For some queer people, the battle that is not taken can therefore also result in them being misgendered or wrongly perceived. This also

exemplifies that the binoculars they are perceived through are reproducing norms and limiting their way of seeing the world and identifying themselves.

Respondent B works in a kindergarten, where they sense prejudice from their co-workers on queer gender identities. Whilst not feeling comfortable sharing their gender identity at work, they instead try to challenge the children's relationship with gender and performativity:

> "(...) I don't feel I can express my queerness [at work] at all (...) My bosses are two old people. In general, it is rare that old people are so inclusive. For example, when I told them that my ex-boyfriend was going to have [top] surgery, she also had to share her opinion by saying that of course she accepts everyone but can not understand at all why you would want to change your body, she thinks it is completely wrong. I don't know how they would feel if I came and asked if they would use they and them pronouns for me. When I started working in the kindergarten, I had a buzz-cut hairstyle, the children were always confused as to whether I was a boy or a girl, which made me super happy. Every day they were like "he, she, he, she, he, she". All the boys thought I was a boy and all the girls thought I was a girl. Then I said that "On apple days I am a boy and on pear days I am a girl". Then they were like "Oh, it's a pear day today, you a girl today". But it was really something I only kept for myself and the children. They understand it well. There we had a song where a boy had to go and take a girl by the hand and sit at the table. They would always be confused with me. Then the adults would correct them. If I had a bit more courage I would say they shouldn't fix them, if a girl took me if she thought I was a boy because I feel like both. That I am not ready to address. Of course all the dolls with long hair wear dresses and the ones with short hair wear trousers and a shirt. Then I change it sometimes and they get completely confused and I say it's perfectly fine. So I try my own way. Then of course I try not to discriminate. It is underway and maybe one day, I can start my own institution and make sure that it is completely queer-friendly."
>
> Non-binary queer, 26. Appendix B: 14-15)

This respondent did not find themselves comfortable sharing their pronouns specific to their workplace. Here a paradox is sensed, where two battles were being fought simultaneously; whilst having to navigate their co-worker's negatively connotated opinions on the bending of gender binaries, the respondent felt comfortable challenging the children's perception of gender stereotypes.

By having experienced an older generation represented by their co-workers they find it important to educate the younger generations so that they can feel free to express themselves and live their lives regardless of the stereotypical expectations connected to gender. This also produces a space in which the respondent feels more free to express themselves and educate the children, who have not yet been shaped by the heteronormative lens to which they are exposed to from an early age. Therefore, the respondents are met with curiosity rather than judgment.

Another everyday struggle operates on a systemic level and thereby the built environment created that is deeply rooted in the heteronormative worldview. Speaking with respondent B about the gender-neutral toilets put up by Copenhagen Municipality in 2020 at The Town Hall Square, they reflect on past experiences revolving around encounters of a binary built environment and share their experience and feelings connected to it:

"(…) I love it [gender-neutral options] – I usually go to a cosplay convention in Sweden where they have all three options because the dressing rooms and the toilets are gender-neutral. For the changing rooms, there is [one for] men, [one for] women, and [one for] non-binary. Anything I can take that is gender-neutral, I'll take. Unless it's a sketchy place, then I would take the one for women. In case there could be some men who could make me feel insecure. That would be the only reason [to take the women's dressing room if a gender-neutral option was possible]. I don't feel so good when there are only two toilets. Then my stomach sinks a little because it's really difficult. I just went to the swimming pool for the first time since I was like 13 years old or something. Because I could tell at the time that I was having a hard time with this. It took all my strength [to go to a swimming pool], but luckily, I've become more comfortable with just being my body. (…)

I1: Would you use the swimming pool more if they had more inclusive changing rooms?

R: 100%, it's the only reason I haven't gone to a swimming pool for such a long time. Now I feel so confident in myself, that it doesn't bother me, in the same way. I'm a little more comfortable with people maybe thinking I'm one thing, because I know who I am, and my queer friends respect me for who I am. So, it's okay, but in my teenage years, it has really been hurtful. There's a small part of me that still doesn't feel so good about it. I would definitely come more to swimming pools, generally, at any place that divides gender into more than just two, I would come more.

I1: Are there other places you don't use because you find it uncomfortable to go there?

R: Places with changing rooms that are only divided into two. I can't think of anyone else. Yes, hospitals, and that too, and when you are going flying and must show your passport."

(Non-binary queer, 26. Appendix B: 13-14)

The respondent starts by telling us how they in Sweden have experienced changing rooms with three options: one for people who identify as women, one for people identifying as male and one for those who identify as queer or non-binary. A situation where they feel included because they are incorporated into the system. Later they reflect upon situations where they were 'stopped' in their path because the spatial and built environment was built from the heteronormative point of view and a firm understanding of the binary genders. Such a stop alienates subjects rejecting and deviating from the heteronormative matrix from interacting with the 'world.' The respondent exemplifies this by expressing how they feel very uncomfortable facing gendered toilets. They express how they feel reduced and how their 'stomach sinks a little because it is really difficult.' Additionally, they exemplify how the constellation of changing rooms divided into female and male in swimming halls prevent them from accessing it. This embodied experience operates

and is explained on two different time figurations; one from past experience(s) and the other fairly recent, that are intertwined in the present experience. The respondent states they have not been to a swimming hall for more than ten years because the built environment is an obstacle. It appears from experiences that being forced to bend and fit into the binary boxes the changing rooms represent. Such experiences have been 'really hurtful' because of the delimitation of their existence, as it unarguably takes away the opportunity for them to be perceived correctly. They also declare that facing such obstacles continuously is a hurtful encounter with the world, as they are perceived as 'one thing'. They have found comfort to endure such situations, in contrast to when they were more vulnerable as a teenager, knowing themselves who they are, and that the queer community they have today respects who they are, and how they defined themselves. Additionally, the respondent exemplifies that other situations where they are 'stopped' on their path due to the system cut out for binary norms such as the health service(s) and other places demanding personal information containing information of one's gender, such as passports. Importantly, this shows everyday fights the respondent meets when they orient themselves. Furthermore, it shows that their patterns of actions are influenced and delimited due to attacks from the heteronormative inherent consensus about binary gender conception and contract about 'the good life'. It also shows that these norms bound within heteronormativity are embedded in the spatial and physical environment we inhabit. In other words, these fights are fought against the overruling heteronormative worldview that reproduces itself. That works as straightening devices as 'other ways of seeing' is made invisible.

This section gives insight into the everyday lives of queer people. Here, it is present how the point of departure, which does not follow the straight path, causes what we call everyday battles; In other words, how the world is marginalizing and discrediting queer existence. This happens on several levels as it is incorporated into systems, the dominant worldview, and the built environment, which reproduces itself. It is here the fights are rooted. It acts out in many shades as the collage of lived experiences presents above. It does so in the act of speech, by assumptions from a

heteronormative point of view, and in the lack of acknowledgement of queer existence. These battles can be fought differently; the respondents show examples of how some fight on a personal level and others on a more political and activist level. When combined, these insights show that inhabiting space as queer it is inevitable to not be 'stopped' on one's path and engagement in the world.

Summing up

There is a broad variety of queer routes of Copenhagen, which we demonstrate in the first section of the analysis. We do so by sketching up spatial understanding and use of Copenhagen which shows a collage of intertwined and overlapping usage. A common reference among the respondents is the experience that the Inner City is a queer-friendly area, due to the dense representation of venues that are targeted towards the queer community. The stories unfolded indicate how the visibility of queer symbols positively impacts such feelings of belonging. Furthermore, the stories reveal that beneath the surface there are struggles and nuances that show the queer community in Copenhagen continuously must ensure their safe spaces. Additionally, the embodied experiences are sensitive to differences and situated. This is exemplified in the part of the section where Nørrebro from an intersectional perspective is a vastly different experience for a person with multiple minority backgrounds. The stories unfold experiences where the pattern of action of queer people with a heritage is delimited. These insights into the embodied lived experience provide nuances and broaden the understanding of the 'different lived worlds' of Copenhagen.

In the section 'Twisting the Binary', we unfold that discrimination is experienced differently, and how queer people make use of various strategies to avoid being the target of such discriminatory acts. The respondents involved in this project share common stories of scanning the crowd and adapting their behavior and expression of queerness in order to 'straight-pass' to avoid confrontations. Some individuals are prohibited from using coping strategies, as their queerness is an inherent part of

their physical expression. Therefore, it is important to recognise queer bodies as positioned in different situations, providing them with different conditions to avoid discrimination.

Finally, in 'The Everyday Battles', we identify situations and barriers as inevitable battles, queer people meet in their everyday life. These encounters and battles indicate that queer people are objects to political fights that force them to constantly insist on their existence. The sections unfold different scenarios and exemplify how these battles take several shapes. The respondents shared stories that indicate how they fight differently, some on a personal level, and others on a more political level against systems and public rhetorics. This section illustrates how the inhibition of the world for queer people is a constant fight where they are 'stopped' on their path.

CHAPTER #6

DISCUSSION AND REFLECTIONS

Due to the historic and systematic oppression, queer voices have not been included and acknowledged as valuable contributions to planning practices. This has led to a structural exclusion of queer people, who live their everyday lives amongst the heterosexual structures that shape their behavior, re-orients them and make them repress their queerness to blend into the crowd. The following section will draw on the current absence of queer voices and the valuable contribution they can draw to influence the development of urban scapes planned for humans.

The (Absent) Recognition of Queer Voices

In the municipality of Copenhagen's 2019-2023 action plan aiming to create a 'capital for everyone', a total of fifty concrete initiatives were presented to be implemented across the municipal departments to ensure awareness of queer-related issues (Københavns Kommune, 2019). In the introduction of the plan, former Mayor of Copenhagen, Frank Jensen, stressed the importance of implementing an LGBTI+ policy in order to provide 'equal opportunities for all citizens of the municipality of Copenhagen, regardless of, for example, sexuality, gender identity or gender expression' (Københavns Kommune, 2019: 5). However, as the initiatives are dissected, we identify several issues within the action plan.

Firstly, it appears the current action plan lacks adequate initiatives to ensure the active inclusion of queer voices. Rather, the action plan is mostly targeted towards the services and offers that the different sectors within the municipality provide. For example, the municipality turns to the continued funding of the Copenhagen Pride Parade, the development of educational flyers and gender-neutral communication. Though these initiatives arguably align with the practical role of a municipality, none of the fifty initiatives appears to facilitate the active inclusion of queer voices and narratives in the concrete processes of the development of the municipality.

However, concrete initiatives targeted towards facilitating and creating gender-neutral public bathrooms, workshops for educational institutions and workspaces, are also included in the action, along with the creation of an LGBT+ community house. Though such ambitions arguably can help break down some of the heteronormative structures that shape society and which can provide safer spaces for the queer community, they appear to be initiated administratively rather than through the active involvement of queer voices. This is also apparent as none of the initiatives appears to reflect any inclusion of the actual lived lives of queer people. Instead, they are merely reduced to statistical data, showing how queers are more exposed to discrimination, have a higher suicide rate and participate less in sports. This connects to the final point for criticism, as the action plan does not

provide information on how the concrete initiatives were shaped, and whether they were based on knowledge from actual queer lives. This indicates that the proposals were articulated by the individual departments without external influence, thereby missing the opportunity of working towards truly including policies rather than crushing the numbers found in the statistics. This is problematic, as we deem this approach to develop a more diverse and inclusive Copenhagen as unsuccessful in working towards the actual needs of queer people. Instead, we point towards an inclusive approach, which emphasizes co-existence and experience as the point of departure for LGBTQIA+-oriented policies (Kofoed & Simonsen, 2020).

Overall, the plans appear to be inadequate to provide inclusive initiatives, as the framework approach excludes the possibility for queer people to influence the very politics that are supposed to embrace them. It can be argued that these policies have been articulated from the perspective of others, thereby influenced by expectations and assumptions shaped by the heteronormative structures, which also echo within planning practices.

The importance of inclusion

Based upon the analysis of the respondents' lives as queer individuals, and the examination of the current action plan of Copenhagen, we turn to argue for the importance of including queer voices in urban planning practices.

Firstly, *queer voices help ensure inclusion by expressing the needs they must have fulfilled in order to live a true life*. As it appears that the top-down approach is based upon assumptions on queer needs, the municipality's action plan fails even to consider the significance of including their narratives when articulating the initiatives. By involving the population group, which the initiatives are targeting, the municipality would have to review whether it is adequate to improve and prevent queer-related issues through administrative initiatives, or if other different approaches are necessary to address them.

Secondly, *it contributes to knowledge about the lived lives* which does not fit into the dominant heterosexual systems and structures. As was present in our findings, people live vastly different lives and have each found their own ways of navigating the heteronormative society, which permeates everyday life in urban settlements.

A concrete example of the lack of inclusion in planning practices is the case of the development project Fælledbyen. As the project has already received massive backlash for its lack of consideration towards the endangered species living and inhabiting the area, parts of the area have also historically served as a cruising spot, where gay men have met each other for decades. A similar case has been seen in Aarhus, where the newly developed harbourfront in a literal sense removed the cruising spot that was located within the former industrial area[5]. The use of these locations has not been present, as they have appeared to be absent of significance and 'empty'. Due to the systematic exclusion it is evident that some places are being erased as the users are not heard in the process of deciding change. Therefore, it is important to include inhabitants and therefore also users of the city's spaces in order to set the framework for the common life that is lived in between the physical framework and buildings that make up the city.

A third argument for the significance of queer voices is *the opportunity to be recognised as more than a vulnerable group*. It is crucial to recognise that queer individuals should not be treated as a homogeneous group (pun intended) with longings that are different to heterosexuals, but rather as a diverse patchwork of citizens who have just as complex needs required to live a fulfilling life within Copenhagen. Furthermore, the involvement could help unfold the barriers queer people are met with, which are causing them to thrive less in society than cisgender people, as stated in the action plan. But as long as queerness is synonymous with being vulnerable and marginalized, their inputs are not viewed as valuable contributions to planning practices, but rather as a development project.

---

[5] We have been informed about the stories of these cruising spots through a respondent.

Finally, we argue that *queer voices are important to nuance the current perspectives found within planning practices*. The current approach to LGBTQIA+related policies found within the plan is alienating the population group, and we must instead turn to involvement and representation from *within*. Queer lives are important to integrate to create a nuanced understanding of the world, in which queer people also live their lives. They should not be perceived as an isolated group but rather as active members of society, who go to work, host birthday celebrations, take up house loans, enjoy gardening and attend their children's soccer games. If we recognise that queer lives are lived everywhere, it is evident that they must be included in the future development of Copenhagen in their vision to be an embracing, diverse and inclusive city.

In this discussion, we have presented our main arguments for the significance and crucial importance of involving queer voices in urban planning practices. By conducting a critical dissection of the current LGBT+ policies of the Municipality of Copenhagen, it appears that the proposed concrete initiatives from the various municipal departments are inadequate, as they aim to improve and prevent queer-related issues from an administrative approach, instead of involving the nuanced perspectives of queer lives. With the active involvement of queer narratives and experiences from their lived lives, previously unacknowledged perspectives should be treated as valuable knowledge on the LGBTQIA+ community who systematically have been repressed in societal structural hierarchies.

CHAPTER #7

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, we have from a critical queer phenomenology point of view assessed the situated and embodied experience of queer lives in Copenhagen. Central for this thesis is the acknowledgement of the city as *produced.* Within this production rules a hierarchy that favours the heteronormative body, life, and orientation in the inhabitation of the city. Additionally, we turn towards the understanding that the city is experienced through subjective engagement in time and space. Such subjective experience and engagement in the world are situated and embodied. We argue that it is crucial to unfold the narratives of queer inhabitants for a more nuanced and detailed understanding of the lived lives in Copenhagen.

Through our empirical work, we have found that queer lives make up a patchwork of varying lived lives and routes. Through mapping exercises and the narratives of the respondents, we have found that their spatial interpretation of a 'Queer Copenhagen' is centered in the Inner City, especially in the nighttime at designated bars and nightclubs. We have identified that these spaces operate with policies for creating safer spaces for their queer users which have created, what we see as, a place where *queernormativity* is ruling.

Beyond that, we stress that discrimination is an intertwined part of the respondents' lived experience of queer people. These discriminatory acts are played out in different ways from physical acts of violence to acts of speech and operate on different scales within society. This has led to a double consciousness, where queer people find themselves scanning the room showing a double gaze in which they perceive themselves, this acts as a coping mechanism. Another coping mechanism is the awareness of how one is performing their gender, which reveals that queer people possess different privileges in order to either downplay or openly express their queerness.

Furthermore, we illustrate that the everyday life is filled with battles regarding acknowledgement of queer existence. These fights are fought differently among the respondents, some on a personal level and others on a more systemic and political level. This illustrates how the queer people are constantly 'stopped' on their twisted path.

Lastly, we discuss and reflect upon the importance of including queer voices in the urban development of Copenhagen and changing the approach of looking upon the queer community as one coherent unit from the outside to instead include their lived experiences from within. Inclusion is crucial to create cities that emphasize co-existence and to acknowledge those who walk astray. Therefore, we stress that their voices are crucial in order to plan for a more inclusive city.

Bibliography

Ahmed, S. (2006).

Queer phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others. Durham: Duke University Press.

Brinkmann, S. and Tanggaard, L. (2015).

Kvalitative metoder : en grundbog. Kbh.: Hans Reitzel, pp.13–55.

Broto, V.C. (2021).

Queering Participatory Planning. *Environment and Urbanization*, 33(2), pp.310–329.
doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/09562478211019377.

Butler, J. (1990).

Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1993).

Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'. New York: Routledge.

Cambridge Dictionary (2020).

QUEER | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary. In: *Cambridge.org*. [online]
Available at: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/queer. [Accessed 31 May.
2023]

Haraway, D. (1988).

*Situated Knowledges: the Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial
Perspective.* Feminist Studies Inc, pp. 575–599.

ILGA Europe (2022).

Rainbow Europa Map and Index . [online] ILGA-Europe . Available at:
https://www.ilga-europe.org/report/rainbow-europe-2022/ [Accessed 18 Apr. 2023].

Københavns Kommune (2014).

Navngivning af plads ud for adresserne Rådhuspladsen 75 og 77. [online] Københavns
Kommune. Available at:
https://www.kk.dk/dagsordener-og-referater/Teknik-%20og%20Milj%C3%B8udvalget/m%C
3%B8de-07042014/referat/punkt-14 [Accessed 29 May 2023].

Københavns Kommune (2019).

Københavns Kommunes LGBTI+ Politik 2019-2023. En ligeværdig del af fælleskabet.
[online] *Københavns Kommune*. Økonomiforvaltningen. Available at:
https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/2021-11/koebenhavns_kommunes_lgbt_politik.pdf.

Kristensen, I. (1969).
Et samfund kan være så stenet . In: *Højskolesangbogen*. Forlaget Højskolerne. Nr. 116.

Neves, J. (2022).
London, Queer Spaces and Historiography in the Works of Sarah Waters and Alan Hollinghurst. transcript Verlag.

Regeringen (2018).
Handlingsplan til fremme af tryghed, trivsel og lige muligheder for LGBTI-personer. [online]
Available at: https://www.regeringen.dk/media/5348/lgbti-handlingsplan.pdf.

Sandercock, L. (2003).
Out of the Closet: the Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice. *Planning Theory & Practice* , Vol. 4(1), pp.11–23.

Simonsen, K. (2005).
Byens mange ansigter - konstruktion af byen i praksis og fortælling. 1st ed. Frederiksberg:
Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Simonsen, K. and Koefoed, L. (2020).
Geographies of Embodiment - Critical Phenomenology and the World of Strangers. 1st ed.
SAGE Publications, Limited.

World Bank (2023).
Urban Development. [online] World Bank. Available at:
https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/urbandevelopment/overview. [Accessed 28 May. 2023]