

**EPHEMERAL NIGHT**  
THE ROLE OF EPHEMERALITY IN THE  
QUEER NIGHTCLUB

XAN XACOBO GOETZEE-BARRAL



Ephemerality is a multi-faceted and multi-scalar concept through which queer nightlife spaces continuously adapt to the people they accommodate. Discussions of nightlife and queer spaces often refer to their ephemeral nature, as is evident in academic literature and colloquially (Betsy, 1997 and Wilkinson, 2020 respectively). When these two entities are brought together in the case of the queer nightclub, ephemerality becomes a prominent feature, such as in Betsy's description of New York's iconic club 'Studio 54' as a space formed by "rhythm and light" and elements that "appeared and disappeared" (1997, p. 5), illustrated in figures 1 and 2. In discussions of queer space, the term ephemerality is frequently used but without adequate interrogation, therefore a critical approach is necessary to better understand how and why it operates. This interrogation of ephemerality will also serve as means to explore queer spaces, without attempting to explicitly define what 'queer space' is – considered an antithetical act (Reed, 1996, p. 6).

Ephemerality is defined in imprecise terms, as short-lived and transient happenings. To critically consider its role in the queer nightclub, this essay considers the spatial, temporal and material dimensions of ephemerality at three distinct scales: the urban, the nightclub and the body, respectively. At the urban scale, ephemerality will be understood spatially, as the queer community's method of survival to withstand the impacts of gentrification; this is exemplified in the closure of London's queer nightlife venues. At the scale of the nightclub, ephemerality will be considered in temporal terms by exploring its potentiality to facilitate queer forms of intimacy. The concept of transgender architecture will be applied at the scale of the body by exploring how the material ephemerality of the trans\*<sup>1</sup> body can promote a truly inclusive queer nightclub, by drawing from by Diller Scofidio + Renfro's Blur Building.

In the context of the research carried out, the queer nightclub is considered as an architectural typology that is also better understood through its multiple facets. At the experiential, it can be defined by Betsy's description of its immaterial and atmospheric qualities. At the social, it can be understood by the explicit and implicit prominence of queer identifying people – in broad terms, people who are not heterosexual and/or cis-gendered and might include those who identify as LGBTQIA+<sup>2</sup>. At a broader scale, the queer nightclub can be understood as civic and community infrastructure (UCL Urban Laboratory, 2016, p. 37). Campkin and Marshall's research of London's queer nightlife venues (2018) highlights how queer communities recognise them as political places of cultural and artistic production that offer the queer community protection from discrimination experienced elsewhere. Chapter 1 draws from Campkin and Marshall's work to explore the role of spatial ephemerality at the urban scale.

Additional multimodal research has been carried out in the form of eight anonymised interviews of nightclub patrons and site visits to three club nights, brought together in a short film. A varied group of individuals, queer identifying and not, have been interviewed to understand their personal experience of queer nightclubs and different forms of ephemerality. The interviews serve as experiential readings of queer nightclubs and a source of primary research that contextualises the theoretical critique of queer nightlife spaces. Also, the interviews expand this essay's data gathering to qualitative forms that can better capture a wider variety of experiences and identities, as advocated for in Campkin and Marshall's investigation into London nightlife (2018). Key extracts from the interviews anecdotally illustrate each chapter and a focused analysis of the interview data informs the argument of the role ephemerality at the scale of the nightclub (Chapter 2). The short film builds on the discussion in Chapter 2 about intimacy in the queer nightclub to explain how and why sex define it as a queer space. Through a series of overlaid and translucent scenes, a visual impression of the spatial, temporal and material ephemerality of the queer nightclub is cast.

<sup>1</sup>Trans\* is a relatively new term that includes all gender identities, such as gender-fluid, alongside the usually considered transgender and transsexual identities (OED Online).

<sup>2</sup>LGBTQIA+ is a term used to describe people who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer and/or Questioning, and Asexual and/or Ally. The plus sign indicates identities in the spectrum of gender and sexuality that are not yet described in words.



FIGURE 1 (ABOVE)  
Light emitting from towers and moving silhouettes in New York's Studio 54 created a space defined short-lived moments formed by immaterial elements such rhythm and light. Accessed [here](#).



FIGURE 2 (RIGHT)  
The user experience of space in nightclubs, such as in Studio 54, is formed by images of overlaid and shifting bodies. Accessed [here](#).

FIGURE 3 (FRONT AND BACK COVERS)  
An illuminated axonometric drawing of London's Fabric nightclub imbues a sense of impermanence by illustrating the space as a series of overlaid and translucent structures. It seems then, people might be the space's most defining and permanent element. Unknown author.



CHAPTER 1: THE (SPATIALLY) EPHEMERAL CITY

“Impermanence is the nature of nightlife and going out, you live a fantasy when you go out. Social norms are suspended”  
Interviewee KD

“Parties in central London are more gay than queer, and more of the nights in east London are queer”  
Interviewee KD

Ephemerality in the queer nightclub can be understood in spatial terms, as the ability of queer communities to appropriate space and withstand the forces of gentrification. At the scale of the urban, queer neighbourhoods, ‘hotspots’ and localities are dynamic and geographically ephemeral – they are in a constant state of flux as queer communities are priced out of neighbourhoods due to rising rents and land values, an effect of gentrification. In response to this, queer communities shift throughout the city by establishing new queer neighbourhoods and by appropriating derelict buildings and spaces. This ability of queer groups to adapt, reappropriate, rechorograph and skew existing physical spaces into immaterial environments for their night-time playground is discussed by Betsky’s 1997 text ‘Queer Space’. Betsky’s text has not dated well, drawing on tropes of gay cultures from the perspective of the middle class gay cis-male<sup>3</sup>, however, the adaptive ability of queer space can nevertheless be exemplified in the case of London’s shifting queer nightlife hotspots: “Earls Court and Shepherd’s Bush in the 1970s and 1980s; King’s Cross and the Angel in the 1980s and 1990s; Soho from the 1990s until the present; Vauxhall from the late 1990s and early 2000s; east London from the 2000s; and, since the 2010s, a rise in events in south-east London, an area with a scene during the 1970s and 1980s that had since declined” (Campkin and Marshall, 2018). In the case of London, we see how the queer community responds to a perpetually impermanent physical condition through a pattern of displacement and appropriation, as illustrated in Figure 4.

The significant loss of London’s queer nightlife venues highlights why the ephemeral nature of queer space should not be misinterpreted as inherent, but instead should be considered as the queer community’s method of survival. Campkin and Marshall’s research into London’s queer nightlife venues (2018) describes how the queer community has shifted across neighbourhoods and suffered from a loss of 58% nightlife venues over 11 years, from 121 in 2006 to a mere 51 in 2017; considering the social, cultural and political importance of nightlife spaces, this loss has significantly impinged on the mental health of the queer community. Also, the increasing number of LGBTQIA+ events identified as being hosted in non-LGBTQIA+ venues due to queer nightlife venue closures, emphasises the adaptive nature of queer space as a method of survival. And yet, the queer community’s spatial ephemerality at the urban scale cannot fully evade the impacts of gentrification without discrimination, as Campkin and Marshall’s research also identifies the significant prominence of surviving venues as those owned by and catering towards a gay cis-male demographic. Considering Betsky’s theorisation of queer space from this same perspective, it highlights the needs for the discourse on queer nightlife spaces to, in fact, be queer. A transgender discourse in queer nightlife and nightclubs (Chapter 3) provides a more inclusive approach that better articulates and reflects its subject.

<sup>3</sup>Betsky draws on stereotypical and clichéd ideas of queer culture and nightlife, through tropes such as ‘the closet’ and hedonism, and focuses on the perspective of the middle class gay white cis-male (Kolb and Betsky, 2017). The use of wording at times even presents as derogatory, “It is a misuse of deformation of a place, an appropriation of the buildings and codes of the city for perverse purposes” (Betsky, 1997, p. 5).



FIGURE 4 (ABOVE)  
A pattern of displacement and appropriation - the continuous shift of London’s queer communities within inner London since the 1980s. Today, Soho and east London (Hackney and Tower Hamlets) as well as areas of south-east London (such as Camberwell) are the more commonly known queer neighbourhoods, with increasingly visible communities emerging northwards, towards Tottenham.

CHAPTER 2: THE (TEMPORALLY) EPHEMERAL CLUB,  
THE QUEER COUNTERPUBLIC

“You can just appreciate the moments without having to meet them properly...you can enjoy dancing, a fleeting moment, touching, maybe making out, without having to engage further.”

Interviewee MS

“I can go up to a guy in a club, express interest in a guy and that's fine - that's the bottom line of what a queer party is”

Interviewee AY

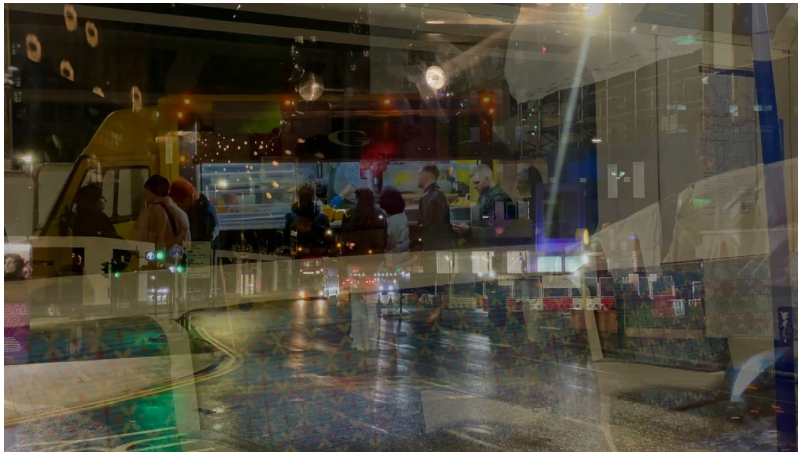
“I don't find the environment of clubs very sexual...in London they are not designed in a very nice way. I don't seek it, it happens”

Interviewee KD

Interpreting interviewee's experiences of the queer nightclub together with the concept of the Queer Counterpublic allows us to understand how these spaces allow for a queer form of intimacy. Berlant, Lauren and Warner (1998) define the concept of the Queer Counterpublic as a reaction to heteronormative society; a 'queer world-making project' of undefinable spaces and 'incommensurate geographies' (p. 558). Crucially, a Queer Counterpublic requires non-heteronormative forms of intimacy between people that do not relate to narratives of domestic space, property and reproduction (p. 558), and in this view the typology of the queer nightclub can be understood as such. Queer nightclubs allow for intimacy between patrons, in a non-heteronormative way, by utilising and relating to sex as a means of belonging rather than as a reproductive and generational function (p. 554). Sex in this sense is not merely limited to intercourse, rather it encapsulates sexuality and sex culture through a mixed, overlapping and undefined reading. Interviewees explained how they found open-minded attitudes towards sex in terms of orientation and practices, mostly in queer nightclubs, providing them with a feeling of acceptance that they might not feel outside of the club, establishing an intimate and safe space: “... the feeling of security in being accepted for who I am rather than what I do, it plays into my mind as a sex worker...in a queer space I feel like I'm appreciated for me” (Interviewee JA). In essence, the common understanding that other people share similarly open views about sex establishes a safe space – intimacy and sex in the queer nightclub imbue a sense of belonging.

Intimacy in the queer nightclub is not temporally fixed, rather it is temporally fluid, as experienced in promiscuous acts that are not defined by a fixed or expected timespan. Berlant, Lauren and Warner argue: “heteronormative culture of intimacy leaves queer culture especially dependent on ephemeral elaborations” (p. 562). In the context of the queer nightclub, this argument seems shortsighted and overly referent to heteronormativity – it indicates a reliance on short-lived moments as the only form of intimacy. Instead, the potential for intimacy in the queer nightclub to be transient, and to not be, should be considered as an essential characteristic that makes a nightclub queer. Further, Berlant and Warner argue how promiscuity has been stigmatised as non-intimate to such an extent that it is described as anonymous (p. 560); however, the queer nightclub, as a Queer Counterpublic can subvert this understanding of promiscuity and instead celebrate the temporal possibilities it allows for, short-lived and long-lived intimate experiences, as means of facilitating a queer form of intimacy. Queer nightclubs can be spaces that allow for promiscuity, an intimate or sexual act that can take any amount of time, as a socially accepted norm. Sex and sexuality, as has been previously defined, is established as a possible means of relating and feeling a sense of belonging that is fluid in its timespan. When asked to attempt to define a queer nightclub, interviewees described a space where the quality of engaging and interacting with others was not defined by the amount of time the interaction took, but by potential for intimate and sexual moments to happen irrespective of this. Intimacy is described as having a transformative effect in encouraging patrons to redefine what forms of intimacy are acceptable, as explained by interviewee T1: “You see someone being sexual or being naked or being free, sometimes for a second or for the whole night...It expands your mind in terms of what's possible and what's acceptable. There is an openness, and

that's very exciting”. Therefore, in a queer nightclub the temporal nature of intimate moments, whether explicitly sexual or not, is not considered as a factor in determining the level of intimacy or quality of experience, rather one of many facets of the uncertain and exciting experiences of the space. Stills of the short film (Figures 5-9) illustrate the transient and open-ended nature of both interactions and the spaces they inhabit in the queer nightclub.



FIGURES 5-9 (RIGHT)  
Stills from the short film.



### CHAPTER 3: THE (MATERIALLY) EPHEMERAL TRANS\* BODY

“Historically, trans people have been important to queer spaces... they have helped me understand that there are a lot of ways of being, that there are many intersections between gender identity and sexual orientation and how important it is not to overlook members of our community..”

Interviewee DO

The material ephemerality of the body can provide a more inclusive reading of queer space by applying the transformative capabilities of the trans\* body to the queer nightclub. Crawford's concept of transgender architecture (2020) can be contrasted with traditional references to gender essentialism where gender is determined by sex (Butler, 1999). Just as architectural classicism draws from the human body as a means to understand the beauty of nature, in its cis-male and cis-female form, queer spaces such as nightclubs can then perhaps draw from the material ephemerality of the trans\* body. The notion of 'material ephemerality' is based on Crawford's reading of the body as inherent spatial matter (2020, p. 5) and can serve not to undermine a desire for a particular or permanent identity or body, but to challenge essentialist cis-gendered readings of space (Gorny and van den Heuvel, 2017) and therefore open the possibilities of participation in space to all kinds of bodies and body identities. The body as spatial matter refers to the physical as well as the identity of the body, and a transgender reading allows for fluid interplay between both. Further, the material ephemerality of the trans\* body has the potential for a multi-scalar application to the nightclub, beyond the body, to ensure it is a truly inclusive space; by challenging the gay cis-male prominence in 'queer' space at the scale of the urban (Chapter 1), and by challenging queer notions of sex to further broaden the possibilities of intimacy at the scale of the club (Chapter 2).

Crawford's reference of the Blur Building by Diller Scofidio + Renfro (Figures 10 and 11) is an interesting case study from which elements of transgender architecture can be transposed to the queer nightclub to imagine it as a truly inclusive space. Completed for the Swiss 2002 EXPO, the Blur Building was a temporary pavilion built to explore the architecture of atmosphere. The state of the Blur Building is in constant flux, as nozzles emit water mist in response to the continuously changing conditions of the lake it is situated in and the clouds produced by water vapour means visitors do not hold a clear and intelligible understanding of what constitutes the structure, inside and outside of the building, let alone the extent of the building itself. The temporary and lightweight structure further adds to the building's seeming impermanence and materially ephemeral user experience. A queer nightclub could draw from these conditions with a view to establish a space where inclusivity is promoted by a fully dynamic design that can adapt to every type of body and identity. In physical terms, this might materialise as a space that is adaptable, responsive, fluid, dynamic and undefined, responding to the changing environmental and social conditions so as to ensure it can be appropriated and utilised with a wider variety of people and communities, at the body, nightclub and urban scale.



FIGURES 10-11 (ABOVE)  
Water mist is produced by Diller Scofidio + Renfro's Blur Building as a response to the changing environmental conditions, as detected by a smart weather system. The experience of each visitor into the structure is unique and defined by specific conditions at the that time, not simply by the inherent or visible structural design. Accessed [here](#).

### CONCLUSION: EPHEMERALITY IS AN EVASIVE AND DESTABILISING FORCE

The ephemerality of the queer nightclub is a means for survival (at the scale of the city), a means for queer intimacy (the nightclub) and a means for promoting inclusivity (the body). In the context of the heteronormative society that queer nightclubs operate in, ephemerality can therefore be understood as an evasive and destabilising force; ephemerality can be necessary and empowering, allowing these important spaces not only to survive, but to also encourage queer people to express their identity and to relate to each other in innovative and inclusive ways. As has been highlighted by Campkin and Marshall's research (2018), queer nightlife spaces often lack inclusivity and therefore a greater emphasis on qualitative research that draws from personal experiences is necessary to understand how idealistic notions of queer space in fact play out. In this view, exploring how queer ways of expressing and relating could potentially be extended beyond the queer nightclub, to other architectural typologies and communities should also be considered. Crawford's reading of the Blur Building according to the concept of transgender architecture demonstrates how alternative ways of relating to space could materialise in a different typological and user context, through ever-changing and fluid space. Perhaps then, we can attempt to understand queer spaces not simply as those used by queer people, but also as those that are able to continuously adapt to and celebrate the diversity of its users.

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APPENDIX: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Eight interviews of patrons of queer nightclubs were carried out in their homes. Each interview lasted between 10-20 minutes and interviewees were asked to retell their experiences of queer nightclubs in the first instance e.g. “Tell me about the last time you went out, about the club, the night and what you enjoyed”. Follow up questions were made to critique answers and understand how the interviewee relates to the space at different scales e.g. “Why is the feeling of intimacy so important to you?” and “You mentioned you enjoyed the feeling of being around a lot of bodies, can you expand on this?”. Key interview responses are summarised in figure 10.

Site visits were made to three nightlife events in East London that are marketed towards the queer community: Howl (hosted at Colour Factory, Hackney), Adonis and Riposte (both hosted at The Cause, Tottenham).

FIGURE 10 (RIGHT)  
Summary of interview data gathered

INTERVIEWEE	TIMESTAMP	COMMENT	THEME	SCALE
TI	1:30	when you enter the club it's a lot more freeform...you don't know who you're gonna meet/kiss...it's nice to embrace the uncertainty in your night	uncertainty	club
TI	3:00	you really inhabit a club...	inhabitation	club
TI	10:00	the icons of clubs, NYC in the 80s with drag scene, rave culture in London and Amsterdam in the 90s, berlin clubs of 2010s. You adapt to each icon atmosphere. You are in a lineage of hedonism that you adapt according to your own experience	club history and identity	club
TI	16:50	you see someone being sexual or being naked or being free...sometimes you see these things for a second and sometimes it carries on all night... you see them being super outgoign or outbullish in a joke you didn't think was possible. It expands your mind in terms of what's possible and what's acceptable. There is an openness that is very exciting. We get to go wild, go further, set your own rules. It's a reset. It's a liberation and an extension of what's possible	sex and behaviour	club
MS	5:00	the experience is very intense...a spiritual experience where you feel yourself getting constructed and deconstructed. You feel like you are part of something, you are experiencing something bigger than you	bodily experience	body
MS	6:20	it's much easier to navigage the space without caring how you look, letting you be	self awareness	body
MS	6:55	taking into account what's going on there...all these people who are half naked/ dancing/making out/having sex, it feels freeing and repsectful at the same time...I was dancing with a thong for 10 of the 14 hours I was there, I wouldn't do that so easily in other places, being exposed and feeling OK about it	self awareness	body
MS	8:00	it's not just a space that allows this to happen, it's a wider personal/relational work	self awareness	body
MS	9:30	it's bringing us closer, creating memeories together,	memory	body
MS	10:00	you can just appreciate the moments without having to meet them properly, you can enjoy dancing, a fleeting moment, touching, maybe making out, without having to engage further	sex and behaviour	body/club
MS	11:30	if it's a bigger night where lots of friends are there, something special, there is more expection to go all the way, take more drugs, be more sexual	misc.	body
MS	13:00	memories are connected to feelings, that's what keeps it alive. When you are high/tired, it's hard to keep track of what's going on	memory	body
MS	15:20	the space is important to cool down, rest, relax, to have a cigarette, when that's missing it feels oppressive, perefer having two spaces	spatial design	body
JE	1:40	not sure if places are always inclusive, we flock to these places in a tribal way, they are inclusive to anyone who is an outlier, I remember the first time I Went to Berghain I found the school weirdos there. There are a lot of different demographics of queer people and that's why I'm not goin gto GAY every weekend	identity	body
JE	2:30	the more people the bigger it feels	spatial design	body
JE	3:20	there's a freedom about a party being at an illegal venue, not a club, you feel safer.	safety	urban
JE	4:30	queer parties feel tribal, to protect a community. Tribal is not neccesailry a bad thing, just an instict. Why queer spaces exsit and why people flock to them.	club history and identity	urban
JE	6:00	spaces are inclusively exclusive	diversity and inclusivity	urban
JE	7:30	things are changing, more women, sometimes I feel I'm one of three women. Should people be allowed to have things just for their demographic?	diversity and inclusivity	urban
JE	10:20	sense a protectiveness over space from queer people that I've never seen from straight people because they don't feel marginalied	identity	urban
JE	11:20	don't like skin contact, but going out has desensetised me. Attitude around sex has desensetised, how much on show it is	sex and behaviour	club
JE	12:40	I'm very squeamish around people, I don't like skin, if someone touches me (recoil), I remmeber I used to wear short sleeves, slowly my clothes got shorter as I got desensetised		
JE	13:30	intellectually my ideas about sex were liberal, but instinctively my bodilyreactions weren't, queer spaces have made a change. No one is being predatory towards me	sex and behaviour	club
JE	16:00	same people, same music, intimate, you become part of a tribe, boundaries change, connections with people are those that take years to build	intimacy and relating	club
JE	18:00	queer clubs are like church, a form of church	identity	club
JE	19:00	clubs in UK are missing side rooms, smoking areas are important (laugh), heaters, not cramped, basically not anything that's like XOYO	spatial design	
JE	20:30	workship themselves, go there for the community, loose yourself, especially with techno	identity	club
JE	22:20	release, given a space where you can talk about things you don't allow yourself to talk about, you forget after anyway	intimacy and relating	club
BN	1:00	a good night is seamless, loosing yourself, dancing to smoking, don't come out of the experience, a bad moment can knock you off, a queer nightclub doesn't have that	intimacy and relating	club



BN	3:00	queer clubs are more inclusive, better vibe, feeling included	diversity and inclusivity	body
BN	4:30	music has to be on point, social side of smoking provides a break	misc.	club
BN	8:00	in a smaller club where you recognise people, builds a sense of community in a night,	intimacy and relating	urban
BN	9:00	moments in the night where everything comes together, a great conversation, leave the club having learnt something	intimacy and relating	club
AY	0:30	like the cause, favourite club, adventurous place, prefer the venue than the peope	personal experience	urban
AY	1:20	exploring the club, a series of rooms, doing stuff you're not supposed to do but it's not that serious, it reminds me of being a teenager	spatial design	club
AY	3:00	papa loko vs adonis, lots of bodies and a sense of adventure vs being in any old space	personal experience	body
AY	5:00	used to make me feel excited when people were into me, being desired, parties like adonis make you feel bad to say no to someone	intimacy and relating	club
AY	5:45	I just don't care about pulling the day after	intimacy and relating	club
AY	9:00	papa loko can be about pulling but not dominant force, people are nice.	intimacy and relating	club
AY	9:40	if you want a good time don't go to a big gay night and feel good	intimacy and relating	club
AY	11:00	favourite night in london going to succulent	personal experience	club
AY	12:30	what made succulent good was the drugs in the cold, pride of going out, dancing by myself	personal experience	club
AY	13:00	when you enter a club and there's no one to meet you, it feels like you're free. I could pull people or I could dance in the corner by myself		
AY	14:00	I don't have a separate day and night identity. Queer culture can be all or nothing sometimes which is an issue	identity	club
AY	15:00	needing to navigate not wanting to go to afters after queer nightclub	personal experience	club
AY	17:00	I find it tricky to talk to people outside the club	intimacy and relating	club
AY	18:50	exclusivity of clubs, bad example of queer nights,	issues	club
AY	20:45	gay life should not be defined by struggle	identity	urban
AY	20:20	a queer party is one that is marketed towards gay people. Difference between queer club and queer party	club history and identity	urban
AY	22:50	I can go up to a guy in a club, express interest in a guy and that's fine - that's the bottom line of what a queer party is	intimacy and relating	club
AY	0:10	inherent queerness is nothing because we are all inherently queer, if I go to office there are gay people there. Different from being explicitly queer. Clubs having a door policy is a form of being explicitly queer. I don't know what being being inherently queer is	identity	body
AY	1:30	25:30 because if you're onpen minded you're inherently queer, it's there, and by not being an asshole you're being inherently queer		
JA	0:15:00	I feel free and I feel welcome, in a queer space I feel like I can be touched, I feel valued and wanted, without expection	sex and behaviour	body
JA	2:00	security in accepting who I am rather than what I do, plays into my mind as a sex worker, in a queer space I feel like im appreciated for me	identity	body
JA	3:20	I am celebrated but on top of that I can utilise my body in how I dress, appreciate in a non sexual but also sexual context, sexual without expectation	sex and behaviour	body
JA	4:10	in a heteronormative context there is so much more of an expectation to fuck, girl plays into a role, in a queer space you can act in a fluid way,	sex and behaviour	body
JA	5:00	a queer space is where I feel free and can have a hug	intimacy and relating	body
JA	6:30	perfect queer club is where security is lax, music has euphoric moments, people are dressed up, you can catch smiles, no expectations for sex	sex and behaviour	body
JA	7:20	if you catch eyes with someone in a queer space it's a nice experience, vs in a heteronormative space the expectation is you want to fuck, which sucks	sex and behaviour	body
JA	11:10	if you're not empowered and gorgeous you're not seen in these queer spaces, an issue that need's to be addressed	issues	body
JA	12:50	there is more love in the queer community because of the diversity, multiculturalism	diversity and inclusivity	body
DO	0:30	Berghain is a place where queer people can have a central place but not sure if I would call it a queer club specifically	club history and identity	club
DO	3:00	for hours you live in an alternate reality, it seems like your only reality, you behave and interact differently from ordinary life, different codes, the way you are performative	intimacy and relating	club
DO	4:30	build an alternative world where you model yourself, a lot of things are accepted more than in nrormal world	intimacy and relating	club
DO	5:30	what is a queer nightclub? Freedom	club history and identity	club
DO	6:30	it would be an undefined place, a space where you can take drugs, a place where identities are the underdog/deviant in society are welcomed/included/cherished, people feel their gender and sexuality is respected	club history and identity	club

DO	8:00	sexual identity plays a massive role in people I want to be with and relate to	identity	club
DO	8:20	I don't want people to expect me to have sex because I'm there, and that sometimes makes me a little uncomfortable	sex and behaviour	club
DO	9:00	I feel a lot of intimacy with friends, sometimes with strangers	intimacy and relating	club
DO	11:00	I wouldn't say Hackney is a gay neighbourhood, although it is easier to find queer like minded people there	identity	urban
DO	12:00	historically trans people have been important to queer spaces. I have not been exposed to many trans people as parties fail at including trans people. The few trans people I know have taught me a lot about other ways of being/possibilities. trans and non-binary people have helped me understand that there are a lot of ways of being, that there are many intersections between gender identity/sexual orientation and how important it is not to overlook members of our community	identity	body
DO	14:45	trans people have helped expand my view of sexuality, it has encouraged me to push my gender boundaries	identity	body
DO	16:00	trans people presence has made me question things and unerstand them as artificial ideas e.g. how we dress and be one thing or the other	identity	body
KD	1:30	Queer spaces don't make enough money to sustain a venue, maybe not enough people to sustain them. People go to events rather than venues. I don't care about venues	club history and identity	urban
KD	4:40	impermanence is the nature of nightlife and going out, you live a fantasy when you go out. Social norms are suspended	uncertainty	urban
KD	9:00	going out in London is a social thing and it has a certain freedom. Also substances can have a therapeutic effect	club history and identity	club
KD	10:15	queer nightlife is referrent to heteronormativity. It is something like a heterotopia, exisiting at the hinterlands of what is deemed normal. Similar to queer ballroom culture in NYC in 60-80s	club history and identity	club
KD	13:00	more parties in central london are more gay than queer, and more of the nights in east london are queer	club history and identity	urban
KD	13:45	trans people have always been part of the queer nightlife scene. There is a marked change in gender non-conforming behaviours	identity	body
KD	15:00	trans people have always existed in the community	identity	body
KD	16:10	most people that go out aren't interested in trans people/issues, femenity is seen as attractive	identity	body
KD	17:45	I don't find the environment of a club very sexual, in london they are not designed in a very nice way. I don't seek it, it happens	sex and behaviour	club
KD	18:30	after covid, due to anxiety, I was not used to a party atmopshere, everyone is at a different level	personal experience	club
KD	20:00	what is a queer nghtclub? It is subjective, feeling safe, comfortable, I see a community of people - that's what makes it queer for me. There are gatekeepers, but I don't agree with that. It doesn't have written rules	club history and identity	club



