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“Sense of Belonging” of LGBT Population
The Case study of Turin

Supervisor: Magda Bolzoni

Student: Liu Kaiyi s312203

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Liu Kaiyi

Abstract

Since the Turin PRG 1995, the city has undergone a significant developmental shift, transitioning from a traditional industrial city to a creative and inclusive city. This transformation has been inherent in the following strategic planning, with deeper emphasis on social inclusion and public services for minority and ethnic groups. Turin, recognized as one of the most LGBT friendly cities in Italy, has a rich history and culture responding to the struggle for LGBT equal rights. The creation of LGBT spaces in Turin started in 1970s, marked by the founding of FUORI! (Fronte Unitario Omosessuale Rivoluzionario Italiano). However, unlike other cities, LGBT individuals in Turin have not established dedicated gay neighborhoods or blocks. Instead, they have cultivated a network of LGBT spaces throughout the city, including clubs/discos, cultural facilities, and restaurants, fostering social networks through these venues.

This thesis explores the spatial transformation of LGBT urban spaces in Turin from the 1970s onward. Additionally, it examines the sense of belonging among the LGBT people in Turin, identifying key factors, such as sense of safety within urban environment and the spatial presentation and preservation of LGBT culture, that foster a sense of belonging for LGBT population within the urban environment. To address these research objectives, this study employs multiple qualitative approaches. This includes interviews with 12 individual interviewees, representatives from three LGBT associations and the LGBT service office in Turin, archival research and analysis of written materials on Turin's LGBT urban spaces, and spatial mapping using data from interviews and historical records.

The findings of this research reveal that the transformation of LGBT urban spaces in Turin can be divided into four distinct periods. Beginning in the 1970s, these spaces transitioned from underground venues to more open and visible locations. Between the 1982 and 2000s, LGBT urban spaces expanded across Turin, fostering a vibrant community culture and supporting political advocacy for equal rights. Following 2000, the city experienced gentrification pressures, which posed challenges

to LGBT urban spaces. However, during this time, the municipal government increasingly recognized the need of LGBT groups, in terms of space use and equal rights. After 2010, various social actors collaborated to construct LGBT-friendly urban spaces in Turin. Moreover, this study highlights critical factors influencing the sense of belonging among LGBT individuals in urban settings. These include feelings of safety in public spaces and the preservation and representation of their collective history and culture.

The research concludes that LGBT urban spaces as third space, it contains the social relationships and the LGBT symbolism meanings. Therefore the transformation of LGBT urban spaces in Turin is closely linked to the evolving relationship between the LGBT community and mainstream society, particularly its acceptance. To cultivate and strengthen this sense of belonging, society should prioritize improvements to the urban environment, meanwhile preserving the history and collective culture of the LGBT community.

Keywords: *Turin, LGBT Population, LGBT Urban Spaces, Sense of Belonging*

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Introduction

Recently, Metropolitan Turin 2025 has been released and proposed support for minority groups and socially vulnerable groups to promote the inclusion and harmonious coordination of Turin society. LGBT population, as a minority group in society, deserves recognition from the public and local administration for their use of urban space, lifestyle and status, and collective culture. At the same time, according to the theory of creative city, the emphasis on social inclusion and equal benefits for minority groups is conducive to attracting the “creative class” and promoting innovative and diversified urban development.

In Turin, the LGBT liberation movement has a “bottom-up” approach. Since 1971, the LGBT liberation movement has emerged in Turin (starting with the establishment of FUORI!), and the struggle for LGBT rights and the call for equality have gradually expanded in Turin. In 2001, Turin became one of the cities that initiated the administration network (RE.A.DY) for LGBT administrative services ; in 2001-2002, Turin became the first city in Italy that established an administrative office for LGBT social services (Servizio LGBT); in 2006, Turin became the host city of the Italian national Pride Parade; and in November of this year (2005), Turin successfully won the right to host the EuroPride event in 2027. Although the level of tolerance and acceptance of LGBT people in mainstream society in Turin is already relatively high, there are still discrimination and violent incidents toward LGBT people. Therefore, LGBT urban spaces should also be discussed and improved, to better present the LGBT friendliness in Turin.

Current academic discussions on LGBT urban space focus mainly on LGBT neighborhoods (also in the terms of “gay ghettos”, “gay villages”, etc.). They can be divided into three specific aspects. The first is from the perspective of the formation and cultural display of LGBT neighborhoods (Ghaziani, 2021; Doderer, 2011; McGlynn, 2018). Scholars point out that LGBT neighborhoods can provide safe spaces for LGBT groups, where they can freely express their love, dress and manners,

as well as their lifestyles (Valentine, 1992; Binnie, 1997, p. 230; Nash, 2006). The second aspect mentioned in academic discussions is the gentrification (Ruting, 2008; Doan and Higgins 2011; La Rocca, 2014) of current LGBT neighborhoods, along with the transformation of LGBT demand for urban space brought about by digital social platforms (Downing, 2016; Miles, 2021). These factors have led to the decline (“de-gaying” process) of LGBT neighborhoods, weakening the sense of unity and safety, inclusiveness and collective cultural expression of LGBT neighborhoods. Finally, there is a discussion on the re-planning of LGBT urban spaces, the protection of LGBT communities and the integration of urban development strategies based on the current decline of the LGBT community. These views consider the protection of LGBT urban spaces to be a systematic project (Doan, 2015; Kian, 2017; Misgav, 2019; Doan and Atalay, 2021) , including the optimization of urban planning and policies and the protection of LGBT culture (Rogel, 2019; Miller and Bitterman, 2021) . Through commercial upgrading, popular entertainment and catering businesses overlap with LGBT spaces, allowing LGBT neighborhoods to integrate into mainstream society (Gorman-Murray and Waitt, 2009; Gorman-Murray and Nash, 2017; Podmore, 2021). Nevertheless These views all point to the social inclusion of the LGBT communities.

However, current discussions are mostly based on the LGBT spatial practices in North America, Australia and other countries - LGBT neighborhoods. They are not necessarily representative of Southern European and Italian society. LGBT spatial practices in these regions are localized. In particular, LGBT neighborhoods or “gay ghettos are not the main spatial construction model in Italy, and have never existed in Turin. Second, although these academic discussions also explore how to protect and improve LGBT urban spaces and promote social inclusion of LGBT people, there are also certain limitations in these discussions. On the one hand, these discussions are still based on the protection and optimal use of LGBT neighborhoods and spaces by mainstream society and urban planning departments. On the other hand, when discussing social inclusion, there is still a dichotomy between mainstream society and

LGBT minorities, indicating the attitude of “acceptance” and “tolerance” of mainstream society. In addition, current academic debates rarely discuss the LGBT people’s feelings of belonging and sense of belonging to the city from their perspective. Probyn (1996), Rowe (2005) and other scholars argue that the discussion of “sense of belonging” should be conducted from the perspective of “people’s desire to ‘live together’” and “co-constructed among individuals who live together”, rather than based on a common identity within a community with clear boundaries (cited from Antonsich, 2010).

Therefore, this thesis will focus on the LGBT population’s sense of belonging within the city, in order to explore the main determinants of LGBT belonging. On this basis, the way in which LGBT spaces are constructed in Turin and the possibilities for future space practice and sense of belonging will be explored. Specifically, this study will first sort out what sense of belonging is and what factors determine the sense of belonging for the LGBT people; second, the development process of LGBT urban spaces in Turin and the changing relationship between mainstream society and the LGBT group; finally, based on document analysis and interview research, explore the current sense of belonging of the LGBT population in Turin and the direction for future improvement.

LGBT Group as the Research Object

The discussion of this thesis is about the LGBT’s sense of belonging, and their spatial practices within urban context in Turin. Therefore, before the discussion and research, it is necessary to clarify the term of LGBT.

The word “LGBT” is short for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. It is commonly used to define the group of people that show different sexual orientation to heterosexual people. However, as the society is getting more and more open and inclusive, more other sexual orientations members have obtained their recognition from mainstream society. Therefore, the term “LGBT” can also be described as “LGBTQ+”, “LGBTQIA+”. But in this thesis, to be more convenient, it remains the

term of “LGBT”.

Outline of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 is the literature review session. It sorts out the current literature of sense of belonging and LGBT home making practice. Moreover, it points out the key concepts of what LGBT Urban Spaces are in this thesis, the urban elements, LGBT friendly and spatial inclusion, which will help structuring the analysis framework.

Chapter 3 lists and introduces the methodologies applied in this research, which are interview, archival research and analysis of written materials, and spatial mapping analysis.

Chapter 4 analyzes the spatial transformation of LGBT urban spaces in Turin, from 1970 to present, with the written material and historical archives that obtained from LGBT associations, websites and other relevant channels. The analysis will be put into three different periods of time, with the important time nodes of LGBT movement and social changes: 1971, the launch time of FUORI!; 1982, the start of HIV pandemic; 2000, urban renewal projects were greatly taken into implementation in Turin.

Chapter 5, based on the interview study approach and achieve analysis, this chapter points out that the sense of safety and collective culture conservation are the key points of their sense of belonging. Moreover, based on the information and spatial experiences of interviewees, this chapter discusses their feeling within Turin’s urban spaces.

Chapter 7 concludes the key findings of the research, additionally, the suggestions regarding to urban planning and policy-making.

2. Literature Review

This chapter is to provide a literature structure of sense of belonging for LGBT population within urban context. Therefore, the analysis is first about what is sense of belonging and its dynamic with different elements within urban sites, including the social relations, urban environment, and specific group's collective history and culture. Following session of the literature review is about how LGBT has been constructing their spaces and neighborhoods in Global North, as well as how these spatial practices contributed to their sense of belonging.

Since Stonewall Riots in 1969, LGBT has become more and more visible in the all different societies globally. The semantic of "LGBT" has changed along with the society development. From LGBT "Liberation" in 1960s, to "Freedom" in 1970s and "Pride" in 1990s, in the recent decades, it has changed to "Act Up" and "Right for LGBT" (Hess & Bitterman, 2021). With the idea of living free from social stigma, LGBT has gained more attentions from the academic world. From the perspectives of sociology and urban planning, there have been lots of study and discussions over Gay (LGBT) neighborhoods and other forms of urban spaces created through the half decade of resistance movement of LGBT. However, as the acceptance of LGBT increased in Global North and the changing of the social climate, the phenomena of gentrification toward LGBT spaces, mass consumption of symbol of LGBT, the vanishing of LGBT spaces due to the development of digital technologies development, has been taken places. Therefore, it requires more about the new forms of LGBT urban spaces and inclusion, and the bringing back of the LGBT value and culture.

For the LGBT population, both their global migration to big cities in the second half of the 20th century and the construction of LGBT neighborhoods in cities can be seen as an "escape" from mainstream society: escaping from rural and small towns with strong traditional family values, and discrimination, even violence and institutional harassment (Doan, 2015; Doan, 2021). In these spaces, they can practice

building a “home” and find a sense of belonging. Therefore, we need to first sort out what sense of belonging is and, for the LGBT community, what a sense of belonging is.

2.1 What is “Sense of Belonging”?

The “sense of belonging” is usually bounded with places, people feel at home when they are at private spaces, communities where they live in, workplace and even larger scale, nations and states. Castells (2011, p.441) points out that, “space is not the simple photocopy of society, it is society ... space is the material support of time-sharing social practices”. Another words, the shaping and transformation of spaces are driven by the conflicts between different social actors, through their value and strategies of place-makings; on the other hand, space obtains social meanings through the articulation of the social practice that are simultaneous in time.

Sense of belonging is a social ties among a group of people or residents of certain area (Riger and Lavrakas, 1981). Sense of belonging refers to the residents’ identification and attachment to the city in terms of emotion, recognition and behavior (Duyvendak, 2011). There have been many studies on the definition and formation of sense of belonging. It can be divided into three different perspectives: the role of social network in cultivating sense of belonging, the impact of the physical environment on residents’ home making practice, and the effect of culture in enhancing sense of belonging.

2.1.1 Sense of Belonging and “Feeling at Home”

Through the above literature, feeling at home is main point of the sense of belonging. Bourdieu (1999) acknowledges the importance of familiarity in “feeling at home”, as “to be” a place so familiar that it feels almost like a “natural” place. This is culturally created. Milkki (1992) points out that this “rootedness” and “naturalness” usually refer to the terms of “homeland”, “motherland”, “vaterland”, which are territorialized at some stage. Even culture becomes “natural” in this territorializing perspective since it seems to be naturally connected to a specific place (Duyvendak,

2011). Nevertheless, what is “Home” in this sense? Duyendak et al (2016) define “home” as comprising three dimensions: familiarity, haven and paradise. Familiarity is based on the perception of places, people and norms, etc., and is a prerequisite for the other two dimensions. Haven provides shelter and a sense of security. Paradise is related to theories of place attachment, rootedness and connectedness, and involves personal development, collective expression and social connections.

From this, we can see that a sense of belonging is not a single dimension. It is a feeling of attachment formed by a combination of elements from multiple dimensions, such as people, psychological and emotional connections, and places. Scannell and Gifford (2010) propose the three dimensional model, person-process-place (PPP) model, to structure the framework of analyzing place-attachment. The person dimension, shows the connections between individuals or groups and the places. The place attachment evokes individual memories and is thought to contribute to a stable sense of self. On the other hand, the “sense of belonging” is a community process in which groups become attached to areas wherein they may practice and preserve their organizational culture (Ardalan, 2019, cited from Inalhan, Yang and Weber, 2021). The psychological process dimension, contains the affect that individuals or group members invest their emotions in a place or how they feel proud and well-being in places; cognition, which involves the construction of and bonding to place meanings, specifically, the memories, beliefs, meanings and knowledge of the individuals or group members; finally, place attachment is as well a behaviour, which can be to territories and places (Inalhan, Yang and Weber, 2021). The place dimension is about the place itself physically and its social characteristics. The former one consists of the elements that makes the places themselves, such as density, the facilities, constructions and built environment, as well as other social perspectives of these interactions. The social characteristic, on the other hand, usually compares to or conflates with the sense of community (Inalhan, Yang and Weber, 2021), which interacts between environmental qualities, personalisation, and attachment. In this model, the “processes” of home-making practices and the cultivation of “sense of belonging” receive more attentions during the analysis. The processes of

home-making are progressed from the values, meanings and symbols that associated within the places and everyday life within the places. Blunt and Dowling state:

"Home [as] a spatial imaginary: a set of intersecting and variable ideas and feelings, ... are related to context, and ... construct places, extend across spaces and scales, and connect places" (2006, p.2).

Therefore, we can say, "home" is often a space within which individuals and groups can form a certain emotional connection with certain elements in the space, and this connection is through symbolic value, collective memory and culture. At the same time, as a place where individuals and groups feel belonging and warmth, home must inherently give them a sense of security. As in Maslow's theory of needs (1943), the need for security is another basic need after the basic needs of survival have been met.

2.1.2 Sense of Belonging and Social Relations

2.1.2.1 Relations with "Others"

Social relationships, relationships with "others", personal identity, etc. are topics that cannot be avoided in discussions of a sense of belonging. Sense of belonging has been discussed in psychology, education and many other disciplines at an early stage. Therefore, sense of belonging is often equated with social integration (Lindgren, 1990; Steinkamp & Kelly, 1987; cited from Hagerty and Patusky, 1995). Belonging in human relations is connected to identity, both self-identification and identification with others (Bettez, 2010). In discussing social integration and a sense of belonging, factors such as citizenship and nationality identity, race, and group identity are considered to be the main factors in the process of cultivating a sense of belonging (Antonsich, 2010). In terms of psychology, Hagerty et al. (1992) believe that a sense of belonging is a unique state of mental health, and define it as "the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment that makes a person feel like an

integral part of it” (p. 173; cited from Hagerty and Patusky, 1995). Therefore, in the discussion of sense of belonging, communication between the “insiders” and “outsiders” of a space (Buttimer, 1980) based on identity became the core of the discussion.

With the wide range discussion and examination have been ranged within home (Wiles, 2008), school campus (Hurtado and Ponjuan, 2005; Lee and Breen, 2007; Museus and Maramba, 2010; Kember et al, 2001), neighborhoods and communities (Chavis et al, 1986; Chavis and Wandersman, 1990; Burgers and Zuijderwijk, 2016), and work places (Le Roy and Rioux, 2012; Jaitli and Hua, 2013; Inalhan, Yang and Weber, 2021). Further more, there are scholars holding a focuses on how associations, social works, community activities help consolidate members of the group and neighborhood (Itzhaky et al, 2013; Drammeh, 2019). In this sense, sense of belonging can be considered as the social ties among the people who hold the same value, culture and goal, with which members within the group can cultivate recognition and self identification.

On the other hand, the communication with the “outsiders” mostly about the co-existence of culture and social mixed. These discussions are more considered the sense of belonging related to in(ex)clusion (Antonsich, 2010). For instance, Wu et al (2011) believes that the sense of belonging of ethnic minorities lies in the group culture conflict and misunderstanding between them and the mainstream ethnic groups; At the same time, the attachment of ethnic minorities to their home country is also an important factor affecting their sense of belonging. Social contact with the local population can enhance a sense of belonging, while interaction with other foreigners alone may weaken this sense of belonging. Similarly, over-reliance on social networks within the community may also reduce a sense of belonging, as it may hinder integration into mainstream urban society. (Liu et al, 2021). However, Family and familiarity are vital for the concept of “home”. Wiles (2008) discovers that "Home" also involves a sense of belonging, comfort, social network and bounding with people similar, and local knowledge. Therefore, to cultivate the sense

of belonging within a multicultural background, communication and understanding among groups are not enough, but also the knowledge of spaces, which contains the collective memories and history.

2.1.2.2 Social Intolerance

Social intolerance is currently being discussed in various academic fields such as psychology and sociology. Maykel Verkuyten et al (2022) point out that social intolerance is opposition to the beliefs and behaviors of specific groups (usually toward feminists, LGBTs, migrants), and is manifested in intolerance towards certain behaviors or groups. Another words, Social intolerance can manifest itself in direct violence or other less obvious or subtle behaviors. Berry (2001) believes that it is both a social emotion, related to anger, cynicism, fear, hostility and humiliation, and a social behaviour that can be expressed in discrimination, prejudiced speech and hate crimes. The root causes of social intolerance can be found in a variety of factors, such as a backlash against the social acceptance of minorities and complaints about the transformation of traditional social structures and social relations by specific groups (*ibid*). This intolerance towards other groups in society can be spread and strengthened through various channels such as prejudice due to religion and cultural difference (Evi Velthuis et al, 2021), lack of educations about inclusion (White & Young, 2019), and the misguiding of media (Berry, 2001).

As one type of social intolerance, homophobia (also Transphobia, and many other forms that relate to sexuality and gender) can range from murders, to job discrimination, to unchanging and ungenerous opinions about homosexuals (Berry, 2001). Logan (1996) points out that homophobia is actually a homo-prejudge, in which people often consider homosexual people are sick. He further states that this prejudice and stereotype mostly show on male, that they consider gay people lack of muscularity that mainstream society requires on a male figure. Given the contribution on homophobia or say prejudice, homosexual people tend to stay together in their own neighborhoods (gay ghettos, Levine, 1979).

2.1.3 Sense of Belonging in Urban Environment

As mentioned above, the sense of belonging usually connect with the concept of “Home”. Terkenli (1995) develops a model of “home” from spatial, social and symbolical aspects: Spatially, “home” can exist simultaneously as a house, neighbourhood, city, nation or region. Temporally, it can develop through activities, habits and knowledge that differentiate some places from others; Socially, one can constitute a home by establishing social relations that validate an individual as a human being or a collection of people as a group; Symbolically, home develops through the investment of resources, emotional commitment or meaning, familiarity with past actions and future intentions, and the expression of personal or group identities. In short, “Home” as an physical environment, it is a warm and safe place, which gives its possessors familiarity (Duydenkak, 2011). So we can conclude that in these spaces which people call “home”, on the one hand, there are elements in the physical sense, such as the sense of familiarity and place that the urban environment gives people, and the feeling of safety in space; on the other hand, there are the socio-spatial conditions and status in the urban environment, such as opportunities for personal fulfillment for the individual, conditions for social equality and inclusion, etc.

From the perspective of the physical urban environment, Lynch states (1964, p. 5) that a good environment image gives people who are in it an important sense of emotional security, so that they can establish a harmonious relationship between themselves and the outside world. This is the obverse of the fear that comes with disorientation; it means that the sweet sense of home is the strongest when home is not only familiar but distinctive as well. Buttimer (1980), on the other hand, discusses the sense of place that Irish people feel towards American cities, pointing out that North American cities, especially the suburbs, gives the Irish people the impression of a lack of a sense of place, given the uniformity of residential arease, chessboard-like street layout and the same architectural appearance and monotonous environment. Physical elements in the environment, such as buildings, street furniture and cultural

symbols on the street and in the road, convey a sense of familiarity and place for individuals and groups. Wiles (2008) examines the sense of belonging of New Zealanders who live in London and New Zealand. She found that some people associate “home” with material things, such as personal belongings and furniture, while the natural environment of New Zealand (such as the scenery and the convenience of outdoor activities) is also an important manifestation of “home” and affects their perception of quality of life. Sense of belonging is first and foremost a personal and intimate emotion. An individual regards a place as “home” and feels familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment. It is an emotion related to factors such as an individual’s experiences and memories, such as the emotion one feels towards one’s hometown where one grew up or the community where one has lived for many years (Antonsich, 2010). People always form local attachments in certain environments that they are familiar with. These attachments are expressed in their familiar and habitual living conditions and ways of life, and these environments also make them feel familiar and know what they “can do”.

2.1.4 Sense of Belonging and Collective History and Culture

The discussion of a sense of belonging also includes a discussion of culture, symbolic values, etc., within groups and in spaces. Antonsich (2010) believes that a sense of belonging is intertwined with self-formation. The question of “who am I?” is closely linked to “where do I belong?” It is a personal, internal experience that narrates the self. In other words, a sense of belonging comes from the individual or group finding their place in the environment, and this belonging is often not necessarily interpersonal, but rather an identification with culture and values. Wiles, in discussing why New Zealanders have a strong sense of belonging to New Zealand, points out that New Zealanders (overseas) construct and reshape New Zealand’s identity through participation in related activities (such as sports events, cultural festivals, etc.), and related websites also reflect and shape this collective imagination to a certain extent (2008). In Europe, the European Union has also promoted a series

of cultural heritage protection projects to promote belonging among EU citizens by constituting a European heritage community of shared memory (Čeginskas and Mäkinen, 2020), through which celebrate and symbolize European ideals, values, history and integration¹.

Maurice Halbwachs, in his book *La Mémoire collective* (1950), pointed out that there is a concept of collective memory in society. He emphasizes the social framework of memory and defines collective memory as the organic past that constructs our identity. “The collective framework is precisely the tools by which collective memory can reconstruct images of the past”, and “in every era, this image is consistent with the dominant ideas in society” (cited from 陶东风, 2010). In other words, under this framework, social memory is external to the individual, and individual memories of a certain period are evoked through scenes, places, events, consciousness, etc., but these memories are all related to the current social environment. However the past to be neither totally precarious nor immutable mutable, but a stable image upon which new elements are intermittently superimposed (Schwartz, 1991). Memories of the past are accumulated, and people always intersperse the social structures and dominant ideologies of the “present” into their memories, superimposing new elements on top of collective memories to keep them alive. Moreover, Jan Assmann proposed the concept of cultural memory, which is studied from the perspective of cultural identity. He believes that collective memory has three important characteristics (Assmann, 2011, p.24-28): reference to time and place, memories need to be materialized in a specific space and period of time, and they also need to become real in a specific time period. Secondly, reference to the group, memories not only need time and space, but also need to be concrete in terms of identity. In other words, collective memory is based on the standpoint of a real group. Finally, reconstructivism, memories are interspersed with historical facts. In the process of our recollection, we always reconstruct history based on the frame of

¹ Source from Europe Commission: <https://culture.ec.europa.eu/cultural-heritage/initiatives-and-success-stories/european-heritage-label>

reference of the era. The carriers of collective memory can be diverse, including symbolic elements (Sadowski, 2021), places and scenes (Boyd, 2011; Land, 2023), rituals and celebrations (Assmann, 2011), and written media carriers (Assmann, 2011; Bar-Tal, 2013).

Culture and value often cultivate and strengthen an individual's sense of belonging (which can be toward neighbourhood, community, city or even country) in an imperceptible way. The significance of place therefore triggers protests when it is threatened. It is part of everyday life, often unconsciously, but nevertheless vitally important (Buttimer, 1980). Therefore, in the field of urban planning and urban studies, there are also discussions on the protection of cultural heritage and historic buildings in cities and their role in building urban social coherence and social justice (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007; Logan, 2016; 王维 et al, 2019). Because cultural heritage and historic buildings in cities are often cultural symbols. Together, they convey the local cultural traditions and values of the city to its residents and are passed down from generation to generation.

2.2 Discussion on LGBT's Home Making Practice in Urban Context

In the previous section, the concept of Sense of Belonging was discussed, as well as its relationship with social relations, the urban built environment and culture. This part further discusses the sense of belonging of LGBT in urban spaces. The focusing on urban spaces, mainly because of the fact that the LGBT people prefer to locate in big cities, where they can to a large extent escape from traditional family values (Spain, 2014). However, despite this, they are still a minority in big cities and thus face oppression from urban society, such as and discrimination and fear crimes towards LGBT (Valentine, 1995; Doan, 2015). Therefore, LGBT in cities actively create their own urban spaces and "homes". In the section we sort out the history of LGBT space making in urban context, as well as how they feel belonging to the spaces they made for themselves (namely LGBT neighborhoods, communities, ghettos)

2.2.1 LGBT Urban Space as Third Spaces

Before discussing the space-making and home making practice of LGBT within urban context, it is necessary to define the LGBT urban spaces. By clearing up the definition of LGBT urban space, it can help us to form a clear, identifying criteria for LGBT use of urban space. LGBT as one of the multiple identities of a individual, LGBT people can attend anywhere in the city with different identities they have, but the places do not necessarily have an LGBT attribute. Therefore, when we clearly define LGBT urban space, it will facilitate focused discussion in the subsequent analysis of urban space.

Ray Oldenburg (1982, cited from 冯静 et al, 2015) introduced the concept of the “third place”, and defines it as a place where people can interact socially and share knowledge. In Oldenburg’s description the “third place” is a social venue outside people’s homes and workplaces. It can take many forms, such as cafés, coffee shops, bars, bookshops, hairdressers and other leisure venues. In the “third place” he describes, conversation is the main activity and attraction. Later, Homi K. Bhabha (1994, seen in 袁源, 2017; Bhandari, 2022) also proposes the discourse on the third space. He believes that the third space is an intermediary space at the intersection of different cultures, thus placing greater emphasis on intercultural exchange in the space (hybridity). In this space, fixed cultural concepts and identities are challenged by new or foreign cultures. The two cultures collide, communicate and integrate with each other, thus providing an opportunity for dispersed individuals and groups to re-construct their identities.

In 1996, Soja proposed his theory of the third space. His theoretical basis comes from Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, etc., and incorporates various theories such as feminism and post-colonialism. Soja (1998) inherited Henri Lefebvre’s spatial three dimensions (spatial practice, representations of space and representational space). Soja believes that Lefebvre’s spatial practice is the so-called first space, in which we pay more attention to the materiality of the specific elements in the space and the

epistemology of our experience in describing things. The second space is representations of space, in which space is conceived through concepts and originates from human mental activity. Representational space is close to Soja's third space, which contains a complex "symbolic system" and is "full of symbolism", thus emphasizing the "relationship of domination, submission, and rebellion", with "the mystery of the subconscious and the limited knowability" (Soja, 1998; 张志庆 和 刘佳丽, 2019). Soja believes that the third space is a completely open and imaginative space. On this basis, he proposed thirding-as-othering, arguing that the third space is infinite and therefore borderless. As a result, the imagination of space becomes the persistence and tolerance of marginalized positions, deconstructing traditional dualism and injecting new possibilities.

LGBT urban space is a space in the city with social relations implied by the LGBT population. The social relations in this space can refer to the social networks among the LGBT people, while it can also be expressed as the relationship between the LGBT community and mainstream society (Oswin, 2008). Hence, we can get to the definition that the LGBT urban spaces are not only those contain the LGBT symbol, but also the social activities interacting within LGBT group or between LGBT and the mainstream.

Therefore, LGBT urban spaces can include public spaces such as parks, streets, squares, public facilities; also places that are semi public, such as clubs and discos, bookstores, restaurants. As a marginal group, LGBT people in cities often face exclusion from the mainstream society (heteronormativity). Therefore, in the process of LGBT resistance and rights struggle over the past half century (since the 1970s), a series of urban spaces have been constructed through a bottom-up approach. The use of these urban spaces reflects the resistance and breaking of heteronormativity in traditional society. LGBT urban spaces therefore take on a variety of forms and manifestations. They have taken on different forms, geographical locations and scopes, and meanings and symbolic significance in the urban development.

2.2.2 The Construction and Deconstruction of LGBT Neighborhoods

2.2.2.1 *Metropolis as A Haven for LGBT*

“Haven” literally means “a place for shelter, protection, safety or retreat” (from Oxford English Dictionary). Duyvendak (2011, p38) defines “Haven” as one of the appearance of place-attachment, it means “a physically and mentally safe place, in which people find relaxation, intimacy and domesticity”. In the passed half century, more and more LGBT population moved into metropolis from small cities and suburbans, inspired by the liberation movements since 1970s. However, it did not necessarily mean LGBT people would be seen as “normal person”, but they could easily found a corner for their self-expression an social opportunities. Whereas in the origin places, most social spaces are organized to reflect and express heterosexual socio-sexual relations, which associated with heterosexual romance, dating, and sex (Valentine, 1993), and put LGBTQ+ people in the marginalized positions. From LGBT space-making history, individuals lived under the shadow even thought they had moved into metropolis like San Francisco. They used to meet people alike in the dark corner of the cities, like underground gay public shower, cinema at the midnight or the last few row, or public toilets and parks during the nights (Spain 2014; Humphreys, 1970; La Rocca 2014). Given the inherent urban setting which were produced by the heterosexual mainstream and represented the idea of “heteronormativity”, therefore any other sexuality than heterosexual is “out of space” (Valentine, 1995).

However, even though the homogenization of “heteronormativity” in metropolis, living in metropolis seemed (and still do) to be easier for LGBT population than in small towns. Based on analyzing the process of Atlanta and Istanbul becoming the LGBT capital of the regions, Doan and Atalay (2021) discovers that, the reasons why LGBTQ+ people clustering in the big cities is the conservative family values in the origin places, usually the suburban areas and smaller towns, which causes low tolerance and high discrimination attitudes toward LGBT (Doan & Atalay, 2021). These mobilization of LGBT enabled the emergence of distinctly visible clusters of

residences and businesses catering to the LGBT groups (Doan, 2015, p.3). With the process of more residences and businesses related to LGBTQ+, it came with LGBT communities (also called “Gay Communities”, “Gayborhoods”, “Gay Villages” etc.).

Despite moving to the city, the LGBT community still faces challenges from mainstream society. As a result, LGBT people often initially cluster in marginal urban locations, such as the suburbs (Levine, 1979; Castells, 1983; Hess and Bitterman, 2021). However, strong solidarity develops in these clusters, whereby the LGBT community establishes itself in the cluster as a “home” and cultivates a group culture with a clear identity and a sense of belonging (Castells, 1983; Duyvendak, 2011).

2.2.2.2 The Construction of LGBT Neighborhoods

From LGBT space-making history, individuals lived under the shadow even though they had moved into metropolis like San Francisco. They used to meet people alike in the dark corner of the cities, like underground gay public shower, cinema at the midnight or the last few rows, or public toilets and parks during the nights (Spain 2014; La Rocca 2014). However, inspired by the Stonewall Riots in 1969, gay and lesbian movements have been raised in Global North, which led to the awareness of LGBT people’s self-identification, that LGBT people started to consolidate and create their own social networks and pronounced gay (LGBT) neighborhoods.

From the 1970s to the end of 1985, there had been “gay (LGBT) neighborhoods building” process in Global North, such as the Castro in San Francisco, Oxford Street in Sydney, Little Compton Street in London, Le Marais in Paris, and Schöneberg in Berlin (Hess and Bitterman, 2021; Nash and Gorman-Murray, 2014). These communities across the world, have provided Gay and Lesbian people a safe place where they could avoid the conflict with the society in terms of sexuality and the freedom of self-expression, moreover, the harassment from the mainstream, such as discrimination and violence toward LGBT people, and the exclusion from the workplaces and other business spaces. By making safe places and places for sexuality freedom, gay communities became an umbrella for other minorities, such as transgender groups.

In 1980s-1990s, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, gay community faced the social stigma of STDs and HIV, which stimulated LGBT communities to “Act Up” for the right to live free (Hess and Bitterman, 2021). However, the stigma from mainstream pushed the LGBT communities more consolidate, and cultivated associations that provide health services, and many other that helped building up the communities. Furthermore, in this period of time, gay communities cultivated their own codes and signs, which distinguished “we” (Duyvendak, 2011). The establishment of these symbolic and associations contributed to the social network and the “sense of belonging” in the community.

2.2.2.3 The Destruction of LGBT Neighborhoods

However, since 2000s, LGBT communities across the world have faced “de-gaying” process (Gorman-Murray and Nash, 2021), which stands for the phenomenon that LGBT population decreased in the LGBT communities. As Doan raises, the “significant portions of the LGBT communities remain marginalized both socially and economically” (2015, p.2). During this time, LGBT communities faced the threats of gentrification, which came from tourism that promoted by local authorities, as well as the real-estate development that coming along with (Duyvendak, 2011; Doan 2015; Gorman-Murray and Nash, 2017; La Rocca, 2014). Doan (2021) proposes a Centrifugal Forces model of the “de-gaying” process, and she states that, the gentrification that led by urban development and renewal trigger the rise of housing pricing in LGBT neighborhoods. This change eventually drives LGBT population leave for somewhere that they can afford, coming with it, the social network that relied on LGBT neighborhoods vanished and “pushing” more LGBT individuals moving out (Doan, 2015; Gorman-Murray & Nash, 2017; Vivian-Byrne, 2019) . Furthermore, LGBT neighborhoods have become the center of popular culture vanguard that welcome not only LGBT individuals, but more of the heterosexual visitors, contributed by the free sexuality expression, and the commercial and cultural facilities (Podmore, 2021; Ghaziani, 2021). After all, we can observe that urban development and renewal have led to the shrink and decline of LGBT neighborhoods,.

Moreover, the digital technologies and social platforms, such as Grindr, Blue, contributed to the “de-gaying” process, due to the convenience of meeting new people (Downing, 2016; Nash and Gorman-Murray, 2016; Miles, 2021). The virtual dimension for LGBT connection is redefining the importance of physical place (Misgav, 2019). As in many researches show that the younger generation prefer to get in contact with LGBTQ+ counterparts on dating apps and social media, such as Grindr, Hornet, Romeo and Blued, instead of the actual LGBT socializing spaces (Miles, 2021; Albury and Burgess et al, 2016; Downing 2010; Hillier and Harrison, 2007). Miles (2021) states that, with the social platforms helped create a hybrid space, which combines virtual space and physical spaces. Through hybrid space, LGBT people can sidestep the LGBT neighborhoods and other LGBT socializing venues (Miles, 2018; Miles, 2021), such as clubs, bars etc. This phenomena showed even stronger during Covid-19 pandemic, with the restrictions on attending public spaces (Miles, Coffin, et al, 2021).

Based on the fact of “de-gaying” phenomenon, and the general acceptance for LGBT in the society, some scholars have been discussing the future form of LGBT community, and inclusive places for LGBT. Doan (2015), Misgav (2019) suggest that urban planning should consider the needs of LGBT people, in the aspects of identity recognition, procedural and distributive justice for LGBT group; Ghaziani (2021), Gorman-Murray and Nash (2016) argue that LGBT neighborhoods are important, but in the neoliberal city, LGBT neighborhoods can be fitted into the commercial development in the city, and get along well with each other; Duyvendak (2011) elaborates the “sense of home” and “home-making” practices in Castro, and points out, to be inclusive, LGBT population and other groups in the city, should respect each other’s needs. Moreover, Doan and Atalay (2021) bring out the model of Centripetal Force, and highlight the indicators of which the cities attract and create inclusion place for LGBT residents.

2.2.3 Planning For LGBT’s “Home”

From the literature analysis above, scholars put the term of “LGBT urban spaces” in the spaces and areas where LGBT people attended and put the spaces into actual practices, or places where LGBT socializing events took place. In this term, LGBT urban spaces includes gay and lesbian neighborhoods which contain clubs, bookstore, associations targeting LGBT issues and services etc (Castells, 1983; Gorman-Murray and Nash, 2017; Hess and Bitterman, 2021). Moreover, the discussion of LGBT urban spaces has broadened vertical, which making LGBT resistance history and monuments, itinerary of the pride parades considered important puzzles of the map of LGBT urban space (Miller and Bitterman, 2021). These spaces are driven by the construction of the sex/gender of the mainstream (heteronormativity), which shows the resistance to the marginalized and oppression, seeking for self-identity and expression (Ruiz, 2012; Doderer 2011). However, with discussion of space extends to the social relations within spaces, LGBT urban spaces are not those that have given the “labels” of LGBT, but those contain the LGBT social relations network. Therefore, the LGBT urban spaces covers those LGBT friendly spaces in the cities, and housing which are not necessarily targeting heterosexual families. Doan and Altalay (2021) examines the processes of how Midtown, Atlanta became the LGBTQ+ city of the south of America, with the model of Centripetal Forces.

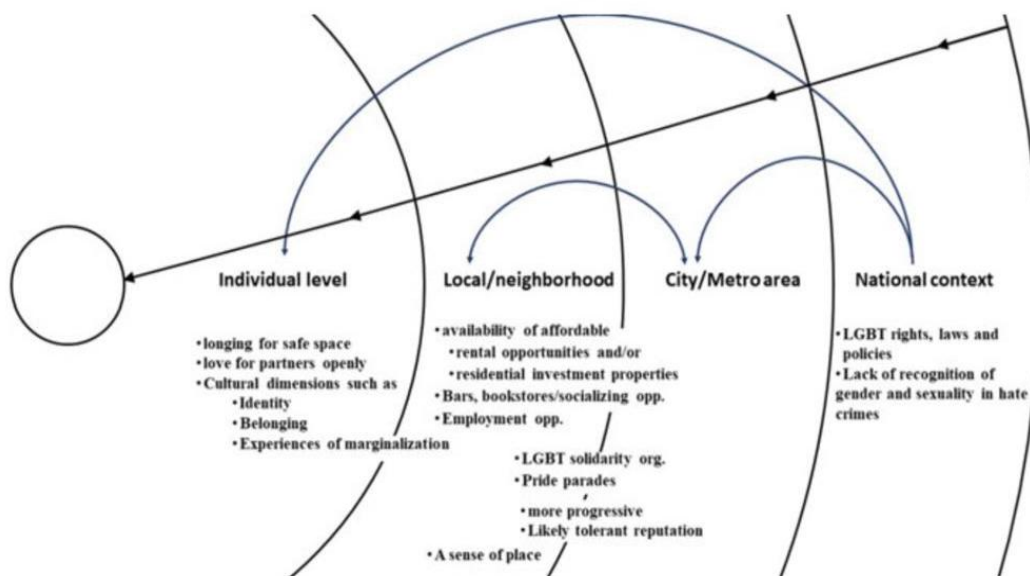


Fig. 2.1 Doan and Altalay’s Model of Centripetal Forces

(Source: Doan & Altalay, 2021)

Doan and Altalay divide the attractiveness of cities to the LGBT population into four different dimensions: personal, neighbourhood, city and country/nation. Among them, the personal dimension focuses on personal safety and a sense of cultural belonging, while the neighbourhood level focuses on socio-spatial and economic perspectives. Finally, the city and national levels are about the recognition and protection of the rights and culture of the LGBT people and community. Doan and Altalay's model brings us to a wider perspective, that involve the general legal structure from city/nation wide. In addition, the society's respect toward LGBT people, is also important for making an LGBT inclusive environment.

However, we think that their model ignores the fact that LGBT identity is not necessarily a dominant identity, i.e. LGBT people have multiple labels, and LGBT identity may also be hidden. Urban employment opportunities, shopping malls and other urban infrastructure are also accessible to LGBT people "in the closet". Therefore, we consider what is more important for the LGBT group is the safety guarantee of the LGBT identity in society, that is, they can be free from discrimination and even violence when they are open about their identity. In addition, there is respect from society and authorities for LGBT group identity recognition, group culture and living habits.

2.2.4 Example of Sense of Belonging for LGBT - Castro, San Francisco

Castro in San Francisco, a typical LGBT community in the world and often described as a "Mecca" of LGBT, have been analyzed by many scholars, from various perspectives, such as how it was built, how the LGBT movements contributed to the making of gay urban spaces and landscapes (Castells, 1983), the "sense of belonging" within the community (Duyvendak, 2011), and how it became a tourist destination (Boyd, 2011).

2.2.4.1 Actors of the Building of Castro

The initiatives of building up Castro as a LGBT community is driven by various forces, LGBT individuals, social media, LGBT movements, and local authorities.

From the LGBT individuals, they usually suffered from the traditional domestic and social environment, which they could not freely express their sexuality. Such limitation of expression includes pronouncing themselves as LGBT, showing love to their partners in the public; some of them may be pushed out from their family or original community. “As they leave the places of their birth and childhood in search of new homes, many gays and lesbians experience a strong sense of uprootedness” (Duyvendak, 2011, p.74). Therefore, finding a place where they could “come out” and feel themselves at “home” was necessary. However, gay and lesbian (referring to LGBT) individuals came to San Francisco were also driven by the media force. Castells points out when discussing Castro, “when the media focused its attention on the San Francisco beatniks, it pinpointed tolerance of homosexuals as evidence of their deviance. In so doing, the media reinforced the attraction to the city for thousands of isolated gays all over the country” (1983, p.142). In San Francisco, there cultivated magazines for LGBT topics, that owned nation-wide audiences, such as The Advocate, Ladder Magazine (ibid). Therefore, San Francisco became the destination for LGBT population.

With the enlargement of LGBT population, LGBT associations and organizations were blooming, from 1969 to 1973, the number of related organizations increased from 50 to over 800 (Castells, 1983). These associations and organizations became the forces of LGBT movements. From Castells’s research (ibid), Circle of Loving Companions, the Gay Liberation Front and the Gay Activist Alliance etc., aimed at raising the visibility of gay and lesbian individuals by “coming out” in the public and mainstream (Boyd, 2011). Apart from the liberal and political movements, they as well recognized that gay and lesbian individuals should establish a community in a certain urban settings and through a network of economic, social, and cultural institutions (Castells, 1983).

From the local authority perspective, Castells (1983, p.143-145) describes the political struggles of gay and lesbian community building. In 1973, Harvey Milk called for “gays to buy gay” which claimed that Castro would not be a cruising place

for LGBT people, but a space what owned by gays, live by gays and enjoyed by gays. In 1975, Harvey Milk was appointed to be an important city hall post as a member of the Board of Permit Appeals, which made him the first openly gay public official. However, he was shot and killed during the era of when the social sphere in general against the tolerance towards “sexual deviants”. On the other hand, San Francisco used to depend on the city’s libertine image (Boyd, 1997, p.85) to attract tourist economy. Therefore, LGBT community becomes a symbol for place brand of San Francisco, to promote the image of the freedom and diversity, where people can freely express themselves and enjoy lives. Later on, in order to keep the community’s LGBT identity intact, San Francisco’s local authority showed financial support to Castro, with \$100,000 to the project related. This project was driven by the fears of the disintegration of the LGBT neighborhood, due to the straight couples moving into the area, and slowing gentrifying the LGBT counterpart out.

2.2.4.2 The Cultural and Symbolic Landscapes in Castro

Home-making process is a series of social practices over time. These practices combine people and the place together - place attachment. Regular social events has been held in the area, which including yearly Pride Parade, the Castro Fair and other public events (Duyvendak, 2011), which showcased the LGBT life in the community. These events, on one hand, show the solidarity of the community to its LGBT residents; on the other hand, they make the place brand to the outsiders, either to show the LGBT characteristics and identity, or to attract other potential new comers. Furthermore, the merchants within the community, often showed the LGBT identities, and the promote the idea of “Castro is home” by the names such as “Home and Welcome Home”. Finally and most importantly, the subculture making, and the use of coding and signs. The core element of the coding is the body and sexuality, which related to the most contested aspects of LGBT experience (ibid). LGBT people developed their own sexual code, that consists of the dress preferences and norms regarding physical appearance, as well as their sex preferences. Through all these coding and signs, they distinguish themselves to the outside world and create the

recognizable “we” (*ibid*).

2.2.4.3 Discussion of the case study of Castro, San Francisco

Castro has become the Mecca of LGBT globally. In the area, LGBT people were excluded from San Francisco before the 1960s and concentrated here (Boyd, 2011). This has led to the formation of a united LGBT community. In this community, they can feel safe because the other residents in the area are all like them. With the beginning of the LGBT movement in the late 1960s, the LGBT community faced the outbreak of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s. As a result, they formed their own social network, as well as a collective culture and lifestyle, in Castro.

However, James Jasper (2006) comes up with the idea of “stigmatized identity” dilemma, which refer to an oppressed group wanting to mobilize to fight against the stereotypes from the mainstream and fit into it, to appear respectable . By fitting into the mainstream, they at some points need to determine where distinctive identities. Paradoxically, it is difficult to remain their identities without oppression, which often shows in legal and socio-structural discrimination (*ibid*). Therefore, making a communities to call “home” seems to be a ideal strategy for LGBT people, in which they are freely feel sense of self, and express their sexuality. The “sense of community”, can turn into exclusivity toward the outside world. From the Castro case study, Duyvendak introduced two “wars” that against the invasions from outside: the first one was the Starbucks new arrival, the other was about the cable car F-line. The former one, Starbucks was consider chain that may squeezes related business in the community out of competition, as well the generic symbolic that may harm the “unique” nature of Castro; the latter one, mostly based on the concerns of tourism, which may guide more generic business and more people (heterosexual people) moving in. Duyvendak at the end of the case study, adds up “Castro shows vibrant feeling of belonging at the community level, however, came at the price: to be a public, ‘heavenly’ home, the community had to be quite homogeneous” (2011, p. 83). Another words, the home-making practices in Castro exhibit a certain level of exclusivity. The community’s strong sense of belonging often leads to intense

reactions when faced with external influences. This raises important questions for discussion regarding Castro's case—does maintaining a homogeneous and exclusive community contribute to presenting a positive LGBT identity to the broader public? Furthermore, does it support the creation of a more inclusive society within the city?

3. Methodology of the research

This chapter describes the methodologies applied in the research, including interview approach, which have been done with Servizio LGBT of Citta di Torino, three LGBT associations in Turin, and ten different individual interviewees. Written material analysis, archival records, such as La Stampa historical archive², polodel900³, etc.,; second hand material analysis which included Macro La Rossa's research (2014), LGBT ethnography in Turin (Bertone, Casiccia et al., 2003), and materials provided by the library of Maurice GLBTQ Torino; other forms of online sources, such as LGBT tourist guidebooks, LGBT online forums. Spatial mapping analysis, with GIS and mapping during the interviews. With these approaches, this thesis is going to address the questions following:

- 1) How have the LGBT urban spaces been like in Turin? Through different period of time, how have the LGBT urban space transformation been in Turin?
- 2) How these transformation provide the sense of belonging to LGBT?
- 3) How do LGBT people feel in terms of safety and cultural identification within Turin?
- 4) With the current social and cultural background, how to create or reshape a “new form” of LGBT space and address LGBT sense of belonging?

3.1 Interview Approach

Space-making is a collective practice, which contributed by institutional sectors, associations and LGBT individuals. The institutional sectors provide guideline and planning for the spaces and constructions, and associations contribute on the public

² *La Stampa* is one of Italy's most influential newspapers, founded in 1867 in Turin. Its historical archive is a valuable resource for researchers, offering a comprehensive collection of articles covering Italian and international news, politics, culture, and social movements. The archive provides insights into the historical development of various social issues, including LGBT rights, through reports, editorials, and public debates. By analyzing its records, researchers can trace the evolution of LGBT visibility, activism, and public perception in Turin and beyond.

³ Polodel900 is a cultural center in Turin, Italy, dedicated to 20th-century history, democracy, and civil rights. It serves as a hub for historical research, exhibitions, and public discussions, housing various archives, libraries, and institutions focused on topics such as anti-fascism, migration, labor movements, and social change. The center actively promotes historical awareness and civic engagement through educational programs, cultural events, and interdisciplinary research.

services distribution and helping the conversing spaces into LGBT uses, such as association offices, LGBT events. However, the space-making forces from LGBT individuals.

3.1.1 Interview Introduction

In this thesis, qualitative research is suitable, to collect different points of view from LGBT individuals and institutions. An interview in qualitative research is a conversation where questions are asked to elicit information. It is a special form of conversation in which two (or rarely more) people engage in a verbal interaction with the purpose of reaching a cognitive goal previously defined (Cardano, 2003). Within the interviews, the topics and structure will be set and framed by interviewers, and interviewees are expected to express their point of view, perception and construction of meanings.

In order to know different LGBT individuals' points of view, and to get to know their feeling for planning and urban policies, the method of interview have been applied in this thesis. Aiming at knowing all different perspective, the list of interviewees included LGBT individuals, LGBT associations and NGOs, and the LGBT service office in Turin.

3.1.2 Interview Process

3.1.2.1 Interviews for LGBT individuals

With LGBT individuals, the interviews were structured, which questions were focused, within interview schedule. The topics and questions were about their experiences and feelings in the public and LGBT spaces, as well as their understanding and opinions about LGBT commercials in Turin. Additionally, how a gay friendly and “rainbow city” should look like in their thought. The number of LGBT individuals interviewees for this research was 12 homosexual people. The interviewees of the research were chosen through the following criteria:

1) Homosexual individuals (gay and lesbian)

First of all homosexual group has taken the biggest proportion of LGBT+ community. In addition, other group of member, such as transgenders, asexual people, etc., they should more different of lifestyle and difficulty than homosexual people, therefore, to discuss the inclusive and safe place for them, it should be specific in a particular research.

2) Young generation: from 20 to 35 year old

These group of people have bigger socializing needs within public or semi public spaces. Therefore they can provide more experiences and opinions about how the LGBT+ urban spaces are like in Turin.

3) Open to all different nationalities and occupations, but should be living in Turin for more than 2 years.

This interview session did not put limits to the nationalities, race and occupation of interviewees, given that they are all the residents of Turin, and their thoughts and voices should be heard. However, to assure the thoughts and acknowledges of the interviewees on the LGBT urban space topic in Turin, the requirement of living more than 2 years in Turin was put.

From the beginning of the interview approach, it started with relevant list of interviewees through local LGBT associations and LGBT social platforms, then ran the snowballing process, in order to get in touch with more related people (details see chapter 3.1.3).

3.1.2.2 Interviews for LGBT associations

The interviews for the associations, it focuses on LGBT topics in Turin, to get to know the general pictures of LGBT life in Turin from their point of view. Meanwhile, the information of LGBT movements, activities and city images of Turin in this perspectives. Through the interviews with associations, we built up the picture of social relations in the LGBT community in Turin, as well as the relation among

individuals, associations and city authorities. The interviews were run in semi-structured model, so that they could provide this research alternative point of view, to broaden the discussion dimension of this article. List of LGBT associations in Turin was provided by the Servizio LGBT Città di Torino. Criteria of choosing for interviews were:

- 1) LGBT associations that are located in Turin.
- 2) LGBT associations that focus on running public events and activities in Turin.
- 3) LGBT associations that have been lasting since 1980s, because they are able to provide the picture of how the transformation of LGBT environment and spaces in Turin, through their history of running LGBT services.



Figure 3.1 Booklet Provided by Servizio LGBT Città di Torino
(Source: http://www.comune.torino.it/politichedigenere/bm~doc/english_version.pdf)

3.1.2.3 Interviews for institutional sectors

As one of the most important actors in LGBT friendly city making, institutional sector was included. From the interview, the expected outcomes were: getting to know the recognition of LGBT from local authority's points of view, and how they launch urban planning and policies that making Torino LGBT friendly and inclusive. Therefore, this interview were made with the Servizio LGBT Città di Torino, with the semi-structure interview.

3.1.3 Interview Research Result

During the interview session, author has interviewed 12 individuals, who are homosexual, with 8 males and 4 females; 3 LGBT associations in Turin, and the LGBT Servizio Città di Torino. With the individuals interviews, four were taken through internet interviews, while all the others were held in places chosen by interviewees, where interviewees felt comfortable and safe or near where they used to hangout. These places were mostly in the city center of Turin, such as Maurice GLBTQ office, one LGBT friendly coffee shop in Via Madama Cristina, Parco del Valentino and one coffee shop near Via Garibaldi. All the interviewees with associations and institution were taken places in the office of theirs. Moreover, during the interview session of one of the interviewee, within an LGBT friendly coffee shop in Via Madama Cristina, author as well had an simply interview with the owner (Mr.E), which provides the thesis a angle from the LGBT friendly merchant point of view.

Table 3.1 *List of Individual Interviewees*

No.	Referred Names in the Research ⁴	Age	Occupation	Time Living in Turin	Originally from	Date of Interview	Online/Offline
1	Mr. Z	35	Self Employed	9 Years	Eastern European	20 th of Nov, 2024	Offline
2	Mr.Y	33	Employee	4 Years	African	12 th of Dec, 2024	Offline
3	Mr. T	32	Employee	9 Years	Asian	29 th of Nov, 2024	Offline
4	Mr. C	29	Student	2 Years	South American	28 th of Nov, 2024	Offline
5	Mr.A	28	Student	Born in Turin	Italian	12 th of Dec, 2024	Online
6	Mr. B	26	Unemployed	4 Years	Eastern European	26 th of Nov, 2024	Offline
7	Mr. S	26	Student	Born in Turin	Italian	25 th of Nov, 2024	Offline
8	Mr. G	22	Student	3 Years	Italian	12 th of Dec, 2024	Offline
9	Ms.G	33	Employee	Born in	Italian	18 th to 21 st	Online

⁴ Due to the privacy matters, the referred names of interviewees are fictional.

10	Ms.Y	29	Employee	Turin Born in Turin	Italian	of Dec, 2024 30 th of Dec, 2024	Online
11	Ms.R	27	Self Employed	Born in Turin	Indian Italian	29 th of Dec, 2024	Offline
12	Ms.E	24	Employee	4 Years	Italian	12 th of Dec, 2024	Online

Table 3.2 *List of LGBT Associations and Institution for Interviews*

No.	Names of LGBT Associations	Time of Founded	Details ⁵	Data of the Interview	Number of People for the Interview
1	Fondazione Sandro Penna FUORI!	1980	Was founded on the initiative of Angelo Pezzana who was also the founder of the homosexual liberation movement (FUORI!). The archive and bibliographic complex of the foundation is made up of various collections - paper, photographic, iconography, audiovisual, bibliographic and material - which preserve the memory of homosexual culture and liberation movements.	20 th of Dec, 2024	1 person (One of the Founder)
2	Maurice GLBTQ	1985	Its activity is aimed at fighting prejudice and discrimination, with particular attention to the right to free expression of sexual orientation and gender identity, in the belief that the liberation of sexuality concerns all of humanity.	17 th of Oct, 2024	1 Person (Vice President of Maurice GLBTQ)
3	Arcigay Torino	1985	Arcigay is the most widespread LGBT association in Italy and the largest in	22 nd of Nov, 2024	2 People (Working

⁵ Sources: Associations' official websites, booklet of Servizio LGBT Città di Torino

			terms of number of volunteers and activists. Arcigay Torino is the territorial committee that represents one of the most active LGBT associations in the city.		Stuff focusing on anti Discrimination work.)
4	Servizio LGBT Città di Torino	2001	It is an administrative department within Città di Torino, dedicated services to bring LGBT issues within the Administration. There are two cornerstones of the LGBT service: networking and education.	16 th of Oct, 2024	1 Person (Stuff in the Office)

3.2 Archival Records and Written Material Analysis

3.2.1 Archival Records and Written Material Analysis Introduction

Media analysis is the use of data, information that was collected by others for other purposes. In this case, the researchers pose questions that are addressed through the analysis of a data set that they were not involved in collecting. Therefore, the data was not collected to the answer the researchers' specific research questions and was instead collected for another purpose. When using secondary data in an analysis, there are some important things that must be done beforehand. Since the researcher did not collect the data, he or she is usually not familiar with the data. It is important for the researcher to become familiar with the data set, including how the data was collected, what the response categories are for each question, whether or not weights need to be applied during the analysis, whether or not clusters or stratification needs to be accounted for, who the population of study was, etc. Basically, the researcher needs to become as familiar as possible with the data set and the data collection process used. There are a great deal of secondary data resources and data sets available for sociological research, many of which are public and easily accessible. With using the

secondary data, it provides researchers data that are regular difficult to collected, due to the reasons of data being exclusive for individuals researchers or small research programs, cost and time consuming for primary collecting.

3.2.2 Archival Records Analysis for the Research

The archival records and written material provide us the historical facts and events about LGBT, since the LGBT liberation movement in Turin which include the transformation of LGBT urban spaces in Turin (La Rocca, 2014), LGBT ethnography in Turin (Bertone, Casiccia et al., 2003), and other materials, such as news paper, websites of LGBT associations and online LGBT guidebooks. Moreover, thanks to the library of Maurice GLBTQ Torino, for the researches materials and publications about LGBT related topics in Turin.

3.3 Spatial Mapping Analysis

3.3.1 Spatial Mapping Analysis Introduction

Spatial mapping can be described as a form of spatial visualization technique that helps to create customized maps suited to particular needs. The purpose of GM is to show objects that have geographical coordinates against some geographical context, in order to present a model of the real world on a map. Different techniques, solutions, and software of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) can be used to analyse available spatial data and geographical and territorial databases. Spatial mapping analysis enable researchers to explore complex spatial patterns and relationships, leading to deeper insights and more robust research outcomes. On the other hand, through mapping different layers of mapping of elements and different period of time, it allows researchers to observe the historical changes of the spatial objects.

3.3.2 Spatial Mapping Analysis of LGBT Urban Space

The understanding and definition of LGBT Urban Space is conceptional

transformation process, from directly identified LGBT to LGBT friendly. It shows the dynamic of acceptance of LGBT in the mainstream through time, and the relationship changing between LGBT community and society. On the other hand, LGBT urban spaces are not set in a particular location or area, through time it shows different location, different size and landscape, even the use of space.

Therefore, through mapping the spaces and landscapes of different period of time in Turin, we can observe the transformation of LGBT urban spaces, which provide us lens for revealing the social dynamic for LGBT, and the social relationship. Meanwhile, on the practical point of view, spatial mapping is an analysis tool and proof for urban planning, which helps Turin's future urban planning practice for creating an LGBT friendly city. The data and spatial materials are collected from the interviews and archival records.

Mapping from the Interviewees' Viewpoint

Adopting Lynch's method (1964), interviewees are asked to map out the spaces related to sense of safety and culture knowledge, to figure out the LGBT friendly spaces, and where people feel concerned of their safety within Turin. The sense of belonging is a subjective and collective topic, which relies on individuals and groups experiences and observation of the city. Therefore, to sort of the spatial characteristics of LGBT community in Turin and its trend, it is necessary to collect different interviewees' ideas of where and how the LGBT urban spaces are. During the interview, all different sessions of interviewees were asked about the related questions, and were kindly asked to draw the places and space on the maps of Turin which had been prepared and provided by author during the interview session.

4. The Transformation of LGBT Space in Turin

This chapter focuses on the space making of LGBT Turin from 1970 to 2010, in dimensions of spatial distribution, typology (the use of spaces), and quantity, these analysis and discussion are based on the achieve and written material, meanwhile, the spatial information from interviews are included. Turin, as a frontier city of LGBT equal rights resistance in Italy, has a long history of the creation of LGBT spaces (initially homosexual spaces, or even gay spaces).

LGBT spaces in Turin had showed before 1970s, however, in the earlier time, generally LGBT individuals did not have the idea of running discos or other form of spaces for socializing, but in the dark corners in open spaces (The Vice President of Maurice GLBTQ).

For the history of LGBT resistance in Turin, and indeed in Italy, the starting point is the birth and growth of FUORI! in 1971, so this chapter starts with the year 1970, and divide the history according to their respective key points:

From 1970-1982, the FUORI! has set up in 1971, which gave impacts on the LGBT equal rights resistance to Turin and Italy, as well as the space making. Therefore, the LGBT spaces in this period of time showed the characteristic of the coexisting of hidden corners in parks and other public places, and LGBT formal spaces (spaces established by individuals or associations). From 1982-2000, the impact of the HIV outbreak on urban LGBT spaces, meanwhile the gradual diversification of LGBT associations and their spatial organization and construction in solidarity. As a result, cruising open space in the city during this period has declined significantly or shifted outside of the city centre, while a more notable feature is the diversity, culture and politicization of spaces organized by associations to articulate LGBT rights claims. From 2000-2010, the decade in which the shifts in economic and social relations in Turin's cities, and the shift in the city's urban policies and planning, led to the transformation of LGBT spaces. As such, LGBT spaces showed a seemingly

contradictory picture, on one hand LGBT locations (associations, discos and clubs, etc.,) were moving out of city centre, as well as the “de-sexualization” of the LGBT agglomerations; on the other hand, given the raise of pink economics and commercialization of the city, LGBT population were included in the consumer base of businesses, and “LGBT friendly” became a “label” that businesses were willing to put on themselves. friendly. From 2010 to the present day, the basic direction of the previous period has been continued, with the city’s public sector paying attention to the need for equal rights for LGBT people and engaging in the process of building LGBT urban spaces. Hence, it shows lot of places that are run by associations, public sectors, merchants, and individuals.

Based on these four phases of LGBT urban space in Turin, this thesis also analyses the transformation of the relationship between the LGBT community and the mainstream society in Turin. From an initially gaming relationship to being recognized partially.

4.1 Why Does Turin Matter in LGBT Initiatives?

Turin, a city in the north of Italy, used to be an important city for rights of LGBT in Italy. Since FUORI! (Fronte Unitario Omosessuale Rivoluzionario Italiano) founded in 1971 and launched the magazine FUORI!, LGBT movement and spatial making for the community had started in Turin. With the launch and development of the FUORI! Movement, the spatial making process of LGBT population and their culture had been more visible and wide-spread within the city.

The literature review in chapter two mainly focuses on countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia. In these countries, the LGBT communities have chosen to establish a community based on the local social background and structure, and have developed a community atmosphere with local and LGBT characteristics. Although their spatial development and LGBT culture have also profoundly influenced the birth and development of the LGBT community in Turin, the model and form of LGBT spatial construction in Turin have still been very distinct.

4.1.1 Turin, An LGBT Friendly City in Italy

In 2006, Turin was chosen to be the host city for the 2006 Pride Nazionale. Meanwhile, in Turin, LGBT associations are actively and continuously making the city as a gay-friendly rainbow city. The LGBT associations in Turin has been working on the organization of Pride Parade yearly; LGBT tourism guiding and associating; public health consult for LGBT individuals, and the educations of LGBT identity. Historically, Turin used to be the LGBT capital and “rainbow culture” center of Italy.

Recently, Turin is aiming for enhance the city image of “rainbow city”, to show the diversity and city dynamic. As one of the milestone, Turin has been chosen to be the host city for 2027 EuroPride, which is expected to represent its LGBT sphere to European residents, meanwhile to be a great event to fight for the equal rights.



Figure 4.1 *Instagram of Turin Winning the EuroPride 2027*
(Source: Instagram account of Torino Pride)⁶

In Corbisiero and Monaco’s research on “rainbow city” (2017), they points out the five important indicators of how city can be LGBT inclusive and friendly (as “rainbow city”), including public services equality, urban security and safety toward LGBT, equal job opportunity and friendly environment for employment, cultural and social life; LGBT tourism, and LGBT association and network. In their research, they

⁶ Source assess: <https://www.instagram.com/p/DB4NP-ZKGUw/?igsh=NTYyNTJ0MwIxbHU3>

recon Turin is one of the most LGBT friendly city in Italy, with its history and social cultural of being opened to sexuality minorities. As a rainbow city, it should places that not only have welcoming gay-friendly spaces, but that are also actively engaged at the local level to promote well-being, full inclusion and equality for LGBT citizens (Corbisiero & Monaco, 2020). Therefore, with this aim of the city, how to make it more inclusive and provide the “sense of belonging (home)” to LGBT people, should be noteworthy and necessary. After all, this research will be focus on Turin, given the rich history of LGBT resistance, and the prolonged LGBT spatial making process.

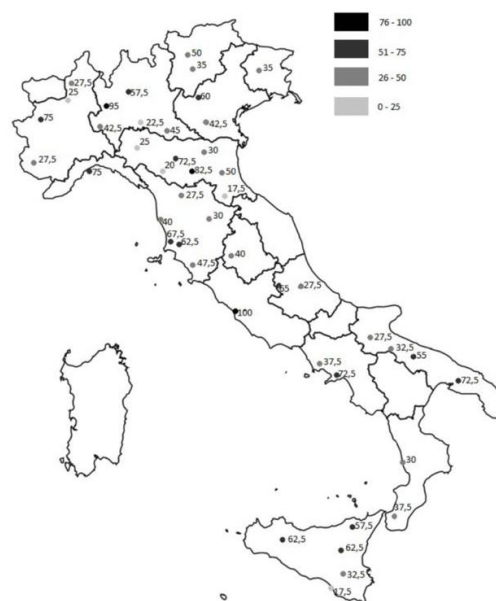


Fig 4.2 Ranking of Italian Rainbow Cities
(Source: Corbisiero & Monaco, 2017)

However, LGBT atmosphere in Turin faces some challenges, such as the discrimination and even violence toward LGBT, and the lack of presentation of LGBT culture and history.

A gay couple in Turin received letters from condominiums with signature collection, promising to kick them out, because they are gay and considered “cancer”. (Case reported in 2021 Oct)⁷

Three young people enter the Arcigay Turin headquarters, insult the people present at the cultural event and then leave. (Case reported in 2023)

⁷ Source from <https://www.gay.it/coppia-gay-minacciata-a-torino>

Oct)⁸

I was walking arm in arm with my boyfriend to a rental car we had booked. Two guys in their 20s approached us and one of them punched me right in the face. I was scared. I was afraid it could get worse, that they could continue with the punches. (Case reported in 2024 Sep)⁹

A gay couple got attacked violently by a group of four foreigners, after visiting bananamia, an LGBT party located in Parco del Valentino, for New Year's Eve celebration. (Case reported in 2025 Jan)¹⁰

Therefore, it is necessary to discuss how to improve the LGBT social acceptance and the spatial presentation of LGBT in Turin, through the scheme of “sense of belonging”.

4.1.2 The Different Approach of LGBT Urban Spaces Making

Turin, one of the metropolis in Italy, it has rich history of LGBT resistance and spatial making practices. However, its history shows some different characteristics, than those well-known LGBT friendly cities in other Global North cities, such as New York, London, Barcelona, etc.

First of all, Turin has not built a so-called gay neighborhood, or gay village, like Castro in San Francisco, Oxford Street in Sydney, which hosted most of the LGBT residents. Since FUORI!'s establishment in Via Garibaldi 13, in 1971, Turin has been one of the most LGBT friendly and inclusive city in Italy (Corbisiero & Monaco, 2017). According to La Rocca's (2014; 2018) research, Quadrilatero was the neighborhood in Turin that hosted a great amount of LGBT people, and related commercials and associations. However, this area has been rather LGBT friendly, than

⁸ Source from <https://www.torinotoday.it/cronaca/giovani-sede-arcigay-insulti-6-ottobre.html>

⁹ Source from <https://www.gay.it/torino-pugni-in-faccia-ad-un-ragazzo-che-passeggiava-con-il-compagno>

¹⁰ Source from <https://www.gay.it/torino-aggressione-capodanno-onlyfans>

“labeled LGBT neighborhood”.

Moreover, many of the commercial spots and places in Turin, should be rather called LGBT friendly as well, because many of them either have/had not been put on the label of “LGBT”, or are not timely continuity being LGBT places. Therefore, the planning and policy-making for addressing LGBT friendly city and spatial inclusion in Turin should focus on different aspects.

Therefore, this research has taken Turin as the case study, to explore how LGBT spaces are like in Italy context, meanwhile through media and achieve research, interviews with associations and individuals to map the spaces of LGBT to examine the transformation process through time. With doing so, we observe and discuss the dynamic behind the spatial changes and practices. By the end, based on the current distribution, type of spaces, what is the next step for Turin to address friendliness and inclusion, and helping LGBT population cultivating their “sense of home” in Turin.

4.2 From 1970 - 1982: Living in Underground Cruising Places

In this period, the data of LGBT spaces is difficult to obtain and collect, given the time issue and the recording method of data. Therefore, the locations and spaces mentioned for this period mostly collected from La Rocca’s exploration and research (2014), as well as information collected from La Stampa historical achieve, while some of them were collected through interview with Maurice GLBTQ and some other documents founded in public liberties.

4.2.1 The Anonymous Spaces Created Spontaneously by LGBT

During this period, Turin LGBT urban spaces already had a greater presence. They can be roughly divided into two categories based on the ways they were set up. The first type is unofficially setup, which refers to places that were not necessarily defined as “deviant” spaces or labeled as “LGBT spaces”, but they attracted many sexual otherness, and underground meeting (cruising). These spaces showed as public spaces like the corners (e.g. toilets) of railway stations of Porta Susa and Porta Nuova,

open spaces (such as Giardini Reali, Parco del Valentino, etc.), the backseats in cinemas and some of the public baths. These spaces provided LGBT people anonymity (the niches, hidden corners in this contents), that they could meet people without facing the mainstream. However, given these conditions, there were other illegal social sanctioned activities, for instance Via Susa used to be a street with many male prostitution; Giardini Reali was marked “AYOR” (at you own risks) and “R” (stands for “rent boy”) by Spartacus (an gay travel guidebook), this place was describe as the most dangerous spot in the city (La Rocca, 2014). Laud Humphreys (1970) points out, these public spaces were convenient for those who want homoerotic activity without commitment, with the reasons of accessibility, being easily recognized by the initiate, and providing little public visibility.

On the other hand, the second category are those places that set up by LGBT individuals, and labeled “gay”, “lesbian” or “transgender” places, usually as the forms of clubs and saunas. In Quadrilatero Romano, there hosted the biggest amount of clubs and bars, Bar Motta, La Nuova Idea Gay, Gaymen, Penny Club¹¹ (Via Garibaldi 11) which located in these sites, and they provided the LGBT night-life and contributed to the build-up of the LGBT social network.

Gay discos and clubs were the places where different homosexual people got to meet and know each other, we linked up eventually as a [political] community (Vice President of Circolo Maurice GLBTQ).

In the early of 80s, a gay sauna San Martino, was founded in the area near Porta Susa, and the soon became a pole of attraction for the male homosexual customers, as well as the customers from Milan, given the convenience brought by the railway station (La Rocca, 2014). Reflected in the literature (Ross, 2008), Turin was a pioneer in Italy in importing the gay sauna model (Cited from La Rocca, 2014).

However, apart from places for social meeting and cruising spaces, there were

¹¹ Source from the Interview with GiGi Malaroda, the Vice President of Circolo Maurice GLBTQ

other use and forms of spaces that LGBT community created. From La Rocca's interviews with LGBT individuals (2018), the Balon in the area was another key element of the area that attracted the LGBT population during the weekend; meanwhile, the living buildings in Piazza IV Marzo, which was named the Casa della Bambole (In English: House of Dolls)¹², housed a large number of LGBT people. "Home", is more the result of home-making than the effect of the place itself" (Duyvendak, 2011, p.37). In a time when homosexuality was not recognized and accepted in general, these spaces were generally regarded as "non homosexual". However, as the LGBT people appealing in these spaces, they presented their lives by living as "normal" people, and going to Balon on the weekends for walks and shopping. In addition, it helped make a "familiarity" and the solid icon, which made residents in the buildings and the larger scale of the community more "feeling at home" and "belonging".

4.2.2 Spaces Inspired by the LGBT Movement

Urban contexts have played a central role in fighting against the homophobic pressures in a heteronormative society, with different results context by context (Weinberg 1983; Adam, Duyvendak, and Krouwel 1999; Corbisiero & Monaco 2020). Turin, as one of the most LGBT friendly city in Italy, FUORI! (Fronte Unitario Omosessuale Rivoluzionario Italiano) was the turning point of LGBT community's visibility, in both perspectives of urban space and urban policy.

FUORI!, was the milestone of LGBT movement in Turin, even in Italy. FUORI! was founded in the spring of 1971, and through its own magazine "FUORI" started a critical debate on the homosexual condition in Italy (Rossi Barilli, 1999). The FUORI! magazine was perceived as a means of coming out from the confines of "oppression" from the mainstream, and drove "liberation process", with the written and published words. Homosexuality and liberation were the two poles around which the FUORI! strategy and militant agenda were organized (Bulgarelli, 2021). The FUORI!

¹² Information from Interview with one of the Founder of Fondazione Sandro Penna FUORI!

organization and its magazine raised the self identification among homosexual population, and got the mainstream society in Turin to notice this marginalized group.

Today we reject those who speak for us. For the first time, homosexuals are speaking to other homosexuals. Open-minded, proudly, they declare themselves as such. For the first time, the homosexual enters the scene as a protagonist, he runs his own story. The great awakening of homosexuals has begun. And the awakening will be immediate, contagious, beautiful (written by Pezzana Angelo, FUORI! Issue No.1; Quoted from Pivetta, 2020; Original in Italian)



Fig 4.3 Photo of Issue No.1 of FUORI! Magazine, in 1972
(Source: <https://archivi.polodel900.it>)

The FUORI! magazine described as emblems of the oppression from which it was necessary to emancipate oneself: “Farewell to the Toilets”, “Farewell to the Third Viewing Cinemas Last Row”, “Farewell to the Fear of ‘Appearing’”, “Farewell to the Mortification of Sex”(ibid). From these claims, the demand of visibility have been represented, with clarifying the spatial marginalization of homosexuality. Through publishing of FUORI! magazine, a community with FUORI! as the centre was built.

In this community, the reconstructing theory of homosexuality, collective and personal experiences and social practice had been dialogued.

With the launch and development of FUORI! Movement, the geographical emergence of LGBT community in Turin had been more and more strengthened and visible. There are more LGBT associations created or located in Turin, especially in the historical centre of the city. FUORI! ((Fronte Unitario Omosessuale Rivoluzionario Italiano), the first Italian homosexual movement, located in 13 Via Garibaldi, on the southern border of the Roman Quadrilateral; L'Altra Comunicazione, the association that organized the LGBT theme films festival until 2016, was founded in Quadrilatero; in late 70s, COSR (Collettivo Omosessuale della Sinistra Rivoluzionaria) was independent from FUORI!¹³, and set the office in San Donato. From the time on, the network of LGBT association in Turin started to be formed. Other than association spaces, they as well supported or set up places for social meeting, such as the nights of Disco Dance every Saturdays and Sundays, located in Via Principessa Clotilda 82, was run by FUORI!; Noni's Bar¹⁴, also located in Via Garibaldi 13, and supported the Turin section of Italian Transsexual Movement; Liberia Hellas¹⁵ which was located in Via Bertola, was founded by Angelo Pezzana, who was also one of the founders of FUORI!. The impacts of LGBT movements and associations on space making started to show, however, the networks and LGBT cultural at this period still remain cruising-oriented.

Moreover, in the 70s, there were Pride events taken place within Turin. From La Stampa historical archive, in January of 1978 Pride events was taken in various locations, Galleria Subalpina, Piazza Statuto, Piazza San Carlo and Galleria San Federico, as a "gay pride party". While in 1980, to memorize the Stonewall Riots in 1969, the gay pride event was held in June, in Via Garibaldi¹⁶.

¹³ Source from the Interview with the Vice President of Circolo Maurice GLBTQ

¹⁴ Source from the Interview with the Vice President of Circolo Maurice GLBTQ

¹⁵ Source from the Interview with the Vice President of Circolo Maurice GLBTQ

¹⁶ Information from La Stampa historical archive: <http://www.archiviolaStampa.it/>

4.2.3 Resistance of LGBT Visibility through Space Making and Activism

In this period of time, sex and cruising was the main theme of the spatial making of LGBT community. The space-making actor of this era was mainly the LGBT individuals. Therefore, from the spatial maps of this time, places were distributed in different areas, usually in places that were easy access and discreet. However, based on the “stigma” and the marginalization of LGBT group, they could build their spaces in the corner of the areas or in the outdoor sites, especially in the night. The narrow streets with hidden corners, buildings that provided “dark spots”, parks were the main characters of LGBT urban spaces at this time.

Despite of the FUORI! Movement was gradually growing, and extending their impact nationally, LGBT community was continually under tremendous social pressure. Myriam Cristallo (1996) recorded a case that inspired the FUORI! Movement, but at the same time very representative for what the mainstream considered LGBT population. In 1971, prof Romero, the chief neurologist of Ospedale Mauriziano, published an article in La Stampa di Torino, named *Dorain Gray: L'infelice che Ama la Propria Immagine*. However, the real purpose of this article was to advertise the book by a psycho-nazi-analyst Giacomo D'Acquino, *Diario di un Omosessuale*. The book claimed to explore the psychological struggles of a gay man and framed homosexuality as a form of narcissism treatable by psychoanalysis.

Based on the disapproval of mainstream society, outdoor cruising and encounter venues still existed in significant numbers during this period, although a certain number of gay and lesbian discos and public baths had appeared to provide places for homosexual people to socialize and have encounters. “The so called closet queens and other types of covert deviants make up the vast majority of those who engage in homosexual acts—and these are the persons most attracted to tearoom encounters” (Humphreys, 1970; p.10). These group of people could always provide some reasonable excuses to others when they got caught, especially by people they have connection with, which they might be not able to do so easily around the gay places.

However, the LGBT spatial making of this era was active, and was seen in three different areas of the city, which remained in the next few eras. Among them, the forming of association network and the LGBT friendly image has begun. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the historic centre at that time was not different to other places of the city, in terms of homosexual tolerance.

The gay clubs and saunas, and many other cruising places being located in the centre, did not necessarily mean that the city centre was LGBT friendly, but it was easy-access, people just came with public transports whenever they needed (The Vice President of Circolo Maurice GLBTQ).



Fig 4.4 LGBT Urban Spaces in Turin (1970-1982)¹⁷
 (Source: La Rocca 2014, and other historical archive)

4.3 From 1982 - 2000: Associations Centered LGBT Community

Information of this period of time is easier to collect, therefore some of the sources are collected from open sources on internet, including some articles and

¹⁷ Some locations in the map may not be precise, due to the limited data collected.

reports posted, associations' official websites. More details of spaces and places are sourced from Marco La Rocca's studies (2014), as well as information from La Stampa historical archive.

4.3.1 How HIV Pandemic Changed the Spaces for LGBT

In the beginning of 80s, HIV started to spread in the world, and Italy was not an exception. Since the first case of HIV positive was found in Italy in 1982¹⁸, the spread of HIV was one of the main factors that contributed to the transformation of urban spaces for LGBT. In the 80s, on the LGBT tourist guidebooks, those outdoor cruising places and public baths were marked half less comparing to the previous time, instead, more indoor places (La Rocca, 2014). Moreover, the associations organized themselves for anti-HIV events and distributing HIV/AIDS information leaflets and condoms outside of those places considered at risks, such as discos, cruising places, saunas, etc¹⁹.

In this period of time, the cruising scene had fallen in general in the city center. From La Rocca's research (2014), the most symbolical cruising place in the city center, Giardini Reali, stopped showing on the LGBT guidebook. However, by contrast, in Porta Nuova area, the cruising scene was transferred to the east, the San Salvario area. The prostitution was one of the labels of this area, given the nature of the urban fabric in the area, narrow streets, and grid form. In San Salvario district²⁰, it divided into two different parts, the north of the area was more for clubbing and indoor cruising, while the south was more for prostitution, especially on Via Nizza, Via Ormea. On the local spots aspects, near Porta Nuova on Via Sacchi, there were some indoor places for LGBT, for instance Evergreen disco, and cinemas (Alexandra and

¹⁸ *Breve storia del movimento LGBT in Italia: una conversazione con Porpora Marcasciano*, Giulia Selmi. <http://www.portalenazionalelgbt.it/breve-storia-del-movimento-lgbt-in-italia-una-conversazione-con-porpora-marcasciano/index.html>

¹⁹ *40 anni di Aids: «Il diario di Forti fu una bomba in un'Italia sessuofoba e bigotta»*, Simone Alliva, Dicembre 2021. <https://lespresso.it/c/attualita/2021/12/1/40-anni-di-aids-il-diario-di-forti-fu-una-bomba-in-italia-sessuofoba-e-bigotta/> 12419

²⁰ Information from the interview with the founder of Fondazione Sandro Penna FUORI!

Adrino). Despite of the possibility of prostitution and police control, the area of Porta Nuova became the “first choice” for LGBT cruising. Therefore, this area especially San Salvario had become the vanguard space for the emergence of a culture of eroticism in which phenomena of sexual otherness were widely included and diffused (La Rocca, 2014).

On the other hand, La Rocca (2014) points out that Porta Susa, had experienced some changes as well, in terms of spaces for sexual otherness. Giardini Luigi Martini and Via Susa, which used to be the agglomeration for LGBT sexual activities, had been unmarked from the guidebooks. However, the indoor places still remained. However, in general, this area seemed to be “unstable”, based on certain characteristics, first of all, the discontinuity of spaces, most of the spaces were distributed in different corners around Porta Susa and San Donato district; secondly, this area was one of the places in Turin for prostitution with the railway station located, and naturally under the control of the polices, which increased the “instability” of sexual otherness events.

However, due to the spread of HIV, the guidebooks for LGBT started to show the health sessions which introducing the HIV prevention measures. A noteworthy fact, in this period of time, there shown spaces for public health-care organization (located on Via della Consolata), HIV association (Il Gruppo Solidarieta AIDS, in Via Santa Chiara 1) and sex shops (mostly around Porta Nuova area). From the changes for these areas, the influences from HIV pandemic was obvious.

4.3.2 LGBT Association Actors’ Contributions to the Space-making

Apart from HIV pandemic that influenced the space-making practice in Turin, there was another main factor, the forming and association network. This characteristic of the time had shown dominantly and clearly in Via Garibaldi and Quadrilatero area.

In the previous era (1970s) Piazza Castello was the centre of homosexual

cruising, with the symbolic landmark, Giardini Reali. From 1982 to 1995, the centre of local LGBT community was shifted from Piazza Castello to Via Garibaldi and Quadrilatero area. In the former, FUORI! was the spiritual landmark of the city, which located in Via Garibaldi 13. However, on the same street no.11, there was Penny Club; no.9, one of the founders of FUORI! Marco Silombria moved in, and turned his home as an important meeting place for LGBT community. However, what made this spot the important node for local LGBT culture, was the set up of La Bottega di Monica e Patrick, which located in Via Mercanti 6. Via Garibaldi in this time saw the character of recreational dimension, and moreover a cultural and politically committed character (La Rocca, 2014. p.100)

The analysis turns the attention to Quadrilatero, putting Via Milano as the axe of the district, which connected Piazza della Repubblica and Piazza Palazzo di Città, crossing with Via Garibaldi. In terms of LGBT associations, Via Santa Chiara and Via della Basilica were the places where many of the associations clustered, Fondazione Sandro Penna, Informagay, Gruppo Soliarietà AIDS, Lo Specchio, Agedo and Arci Gay Maurice, as well as L'altra Comunicazione (which was located in Via Tasso). Within this area, the network of LGBT based on association was built up.

Table 4.1 LGBT Associations located near Via Garibaldi and Quadrilatero in this period

Association	Founded Time	Actions & Services Provided²¹
FUORI!	1971	Fronte Unitario Omosessuale Rivoluzionario Italiano. It published a magazine FUORI!, which was considered the first LGBT topic magazine in Italy. Meanwhile, it held various LGBT activism in Turin, and promoted the LGBT equality and liberation thoughts to LGBT population in Italy.
Fondazione Sandro Penna	1980	To preserve, enhance, enrich and disseminate materials, publications and video content related to the “Fuori!” experience and the Turin movement of those

²¹ Sources: Associations’ official websites, leaflet of Servizio LGBT, Città di Torino, La Rocca (2014)

		years. Furthermore, it organizes cultural activities, information initiatives, research aimed at the LGBT public and citizens.
MIT (Movimento Italiano Transessuale, Turin Section)	Early 1980s	The association provides services to LGBT people, especially trans-group, such as psychological and medical supports, legal issues supports.
L'Altra Comunicazione	1984	A private group that played LGBT related films regularly. It has been running the LGBT Film Festival in Turin every year.
Gruppo Solarietà AIDS	1985	Addressed people with HIV/AIDS and carries out hospital and home care activities and activates a telephone line for information and prevention
Arci Gay Maurice	1985	it has fought for equal rights, self-determination, the overcoming of stereotypes and prejudices towards LGBTQIA+ people and against all forms of discrimination. It provided training, reading and other forms of activities among LGBT people.
Informagay	1989	Creation of Informagay Press Review, which grouped together articles on homosexual issues published in the main national and local newspapers, later became the Informagay newspaper.
Lo Specchio	Late 1980s	A homosexual dating agency, provided LGBT people socializing opportunities and safe space for dating.
Agedo (Torino Session)	1993	It provides services for LGBT people and their parents, relatives and friends, with training and information about anti-discrimination, socializing opportunities and

		psychological supports. .
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However, from La Rocca's exploration (2014), the LGBT culture and aggregation of the historic centre of Turin was not limited to Via Garibaldi and Quadrilatero. Via Po and its surrounding was another area that represented the local LGBT culture. Along Via Po and its surrounding, there were a couple of sauna and bar located during 1970s, however, as time stepped into 80s, there set up more other facilities, such as Macho gay party, Luxembourg International Bookstore (still stands today) which has been an LGBT friendly bookstore, Bon Bon Fabrika disco, Orfeo cinema in Piazza Carlina. The setup that represented LGBT culture at this time the mostly, was the first gay and lesbian theme movie festival, "Da Sodoma a Hollywood", which was held in Faro Cinema on Via Po, by Giovanni Minerba and Ottavia Mai²² (who were the founders of L'altra Comunicazione). On this regards, Via Po and its surrounding area had become an LGBT friendly area.

4.3.3 Recognition of LGBT individuals

Although the acceptance of LGBT people by the local Turin society was still low during this period, LGBT communities and individuals could be found in ordinary social scenes. According to La Rocca's (2014) research, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a number of bars (which were not labeled as "LGBT") in the city opened up to LGBT people. Nepentha in the Donato area opened on Thursdays for a gay night, while the rest of the week it was open to mixed customers. In the same area, the Fire party complemented Nepentha by opening its doors on Fridays for a "lesbian night" and organizing events for the LGBT community at the weekends; the Friday lesbian event was also held at the same time at the Regine's bar in Via Ventimiglia. Later in the 1990s, bars such as Area, Network, Charleston and Lou Lou opened their doors for a weekly Gay Night Party on Wednesdays.

In general, such settings in the discos and clubs, in La Rocca's (2014) view, on

²² Information from La Stampa historical archive: <http://www.archiviola stampa.it/>

the one hand, these venues creating LGBT scene at a specific time, redefined the LGBT friendly spaces in Turin, given that this model is kept in Turin till today; on the other hand, the LGBT nights and parties were held and spread in “non LGBT venues”, and included LGBT individuals in these heterosexual spaces. However, it is also important to note the fact that behind this “friendly” appearance, under the neo-liberal economic development, LGBT people were defined as customers, and the essence is to create a consumption.

4.3.4 Reterritorialization of LGBT Urban Spaces

4.3.4.1 The Changing of the Forms of Spaces and the Builders of Spaces

In terms of the spatial distribution and the main bodies involved in the construction of LGBT spaces, in the mid-1970s, the formation and construction of spaces was generally in a fragmented state, and was more often formed spontaneously by the LGBT community based on their social and collective life experiences. Therefore, although LGBT spaces and places in the 1970s were mainly located in three areas of the city, overall, these areas did not form a stable and continuous spatial atmosphere.

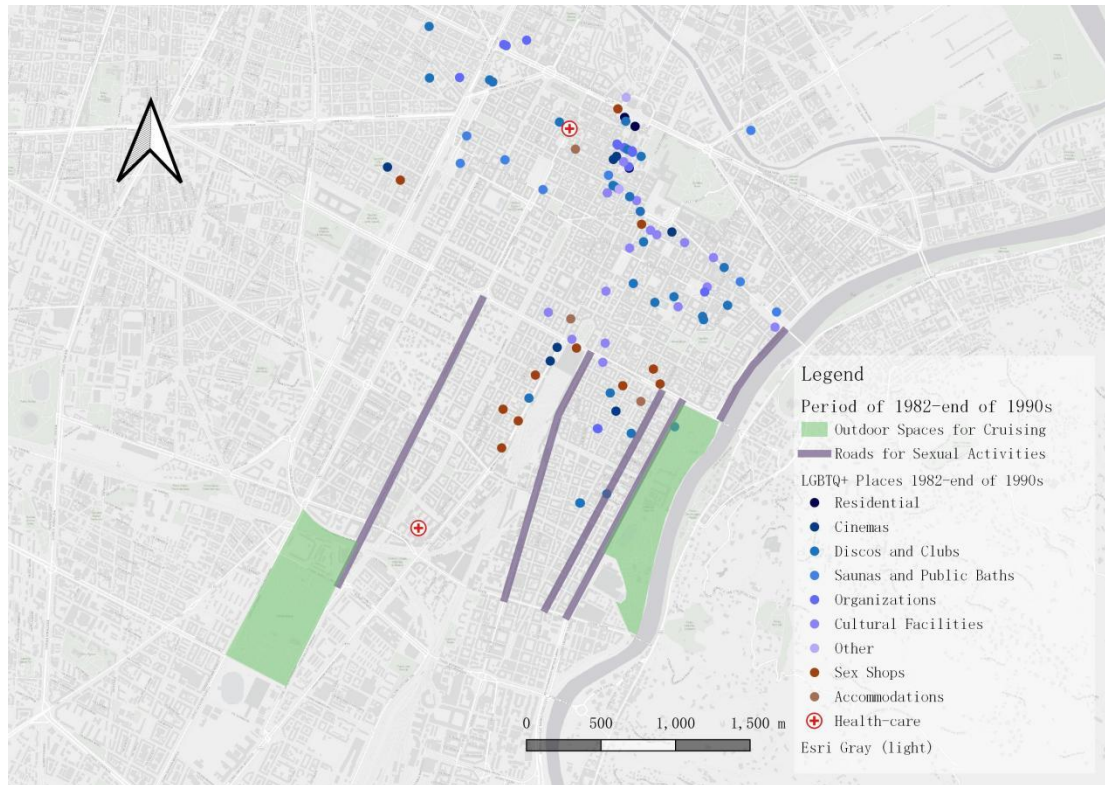


Fig 4.5 LGBT Urban Spaces in Turin (1982 - End of 1990s)²³
 (Source: La Rocca 2014; Online Materials)

However, from the 1980s to the mid-1990s, LGBT urban spaces gradually shifted towards being organized by subjects in the forms of organization and associations. Although the overall distribution still retained the previous year-long pattern of three areas, the central position of LGBT in the centre of Turin was constantly being strengthened. During this period, organizations in the form of businesses, associations, and self-employed individuals made a huge contribution to the construction of space, and also made the form of space more diverse. As a result, it showed that during this period, the main existences of LGBT spaces were the offices and event locations of associations, cultural service venues (bookstores, etc.), bars, shops, and even the emergence of a hotel with a “free and liberated” attitude.

4.3.4.2 From the Characteristics of LGBT Spaces in this Period

In terms of spatial characteristics, during this period, the characteristics of “sex” were significantly weakened comparing to the 1970s. This was mainly manifested in the corresponding decrease in the number of places for “sexual encounters” during

²³ Some locations in the map may not be precise, due to the limited data collected.

this period. Although there were more scenes for prostitution, they were no longer distributed in conspicuous locations in the city, such as the Giardini Reali and Parco del Valentino in the 1970s, as well as the train stations. This weakening of sexual character was undoubtedly due to the global and Italian outbreak of HIV, for which there was no cure or treatment at the time. However, the driving force of LGBT associations should not be overlooked. Thanks to these associations, LGBT urban spaces took on a significant cultural and political identity during this period.

Culturally, this period saw the emergence of more spaces and places that were significant in the creation of an LGBT culture and community atmosphere, such as the film event “Da Sodoma a Hollywood” in the Via Po area; bookstores selling publications in LGBT related topics such as the Libreria Internazionale Luxembourg and La Bottega di Monica e Patrick; and archives such as those of the Fondazione Sandro Penna and Arci Gay Maurice. The establishment of these spaces constructed the local culture of the LGBT community.

Based on the construction of LGBT cultural atmosphere and community culture, the attributes of political commitment have gradually formed. As mentioned above, Via Santa Chiara and Via della Basilica have gathered the offices of a number of LGBT associations. In this gathering, the local LGBT social network and associations network in Turin have been formally formed. In the process of sorting out, La Rocca (2014) also specifically pointed out Gruppo Abele, a media group that focuses on marginal events and groups in society. The homosexual community and associations seem to play an important role not only in terms of relational support, but also in deconstructing stereotypes and pluralizing homosexual identity (Bertone, Casiccia et al., 2003). In this process, the social visibility of the LGBT community and the equal rights and interests pursued by the LGBT community have also been conveyed to a certain extent.

4.4 From 2000 - 2010: Dynamic of Social Transformation

In the previous two eras, Turin was generally either in Fordist society or on the

eve of a transformation into the post-industrial era. Industry (with the automotive industry as the mainstay) was an important label of Turin (Vanolo, 2015). During this period, urban policies and planning focused on optimizing industrial land and building residential environments around industrial areas. At the same time, the recreational and societal needs of the incoming worker population (including some LGBT people) could be met on a large scale in the city centre, in areas with convenient transport links, and in the surrounding areas. However, by the turn of the century, the post-industrial period had already taken hold on multiple levels, including urban demographics, industry, and urban policy and planning. During this period of social transformation, LGBT urban spaces inevitably underwent significant changes.

Given the started of digital development, the sources of the geographical information are not only from Marco La Rocca's research (2014), but also from information provided online, such as newspaper, official websites of associations.

4.4.1 Gentrification of LGBT Spaces

At the turn of the century, the Metropolitan of Turin published PRG 1995²⁴ (PRG 1995 was not published after 2000, but its influence was more in this period, so they are also included), the first Strategic Plan in 2000²⁵ and the second Strategic Plan in 2006²⁶, and experienced a series of international events marked by the 2006

²⁴ The 1995 plan was based on a new, post-industrial identity and called for major transportation infrastructure investment, the reclamation and redevelopment of vast tracts of abandoned land, and the conversion of disused buildings for new uses. The Plan has located the 4 areas of the "Spina Centrale" (called "Spina" 1, 2, 3, 4) that constitute the most important complex of disused industrial areas that are suitable for redevelopment. (Source: <http://www.planum.net/street-life-turin-italy>)

²⁵ Through the first Strategic Plan ('to promote the city') strategic planning, Torino committed itself to a concerted effort to reinforce the city's ability to produce wealth and innovation by diversifying the local economy and refreshing the international image of the city - a goal which culminated in the organization of the Torino Winter Olympics. The first Strategic Plan, developed action-oriented public-private partnerships engaging economic, academic cultural and philanthropic organizations in a shared vision of an attractive and globally connected international city, which made the city transferred from a 'company town' to a vibrant cultural and innovation hub. (Source: <https://www.torinostrategica.it/en/storia/#:~:text=In%202000%2C%20Torino%20was%20the,plan%20was%20prepared%20in%202006.>)

²⁶ The second Strategic Plan instead focused attention on the knowledge economy. Alongside the intense efforts channelled into the plans, the Association worked to enliven local debate on development issues and promote the emergence of new agencies, new players and new issues and [Continue from last page] objectives. Moreover, this Strategic Plan enhance the connections and

Winter Olympics in Turin. In accordance with the direction of the city's development at the time, Turin would gradually transform itself from an industrial city (a "company town" that driven by FIAT) into a post-Fordist service-oriented city. In this context, the city would rejoin the international competition as a cosmopolitan city of knowledge, and therefore it was necessary to revitalize the historical, cultural and innovative aspects of the city. The PRG 1995 proposes a program of urban renewal and development in four "Spina" zones, where the LGBT urban areas of the past are located. Coming along with this transition, local authority has initiated a series of urban renewal projects, aiming at reactivating the abandon factories and old industrial sites in the city. These projects effectively improved the economics situations in the city, however, they also brought challenges to LGBT urban spaces, especially the businesses, such as discos and clubs, and eventually lead to gentrification.

Let's turn the focus onto the spaces in the Turin. Via Garibaldi and Quadrilatero as the historic centre of Turin, it was also the one of the main area that received attentions for the urban renewal around millennium, to show the city history and cultural heritages. In the previous two eras, this area was built to be the centre of Turin's LGBT community and cultural hub. However, as time came to millennium, its LGBT vibe and space-making shows the trend of shrinking on the map. For instance, Via Santa Chiara which used to be the home of numbers of LGBT associations during 1990s, however, during this period only the Fondazione Sandro Penna remained, while the rest of the associations either moved away (Infomagay to the Aurora area; Maurice to via Stampatori; L'altra Comunizione to Donato), or no longer be mentioned on the map of Turin. In addition, there had been a significant decline in the number of LGBT bars and other entertainment venues in the city centre. La Rocca (2014) argues that the gentrification of the area, which was led by urban regeneration, had had a negative impact on the willingness of the LGBT community to create space and the atmosphere of sexual otherness in the area.

corporations between public and private sectors, as well as the framework and network among municipalities, Turin - province - region - Italy, and EU. (Source: <https://www.torinostrategica.it/pubblicazioni/il-secondo-piano-strategico-dellarea-metropolitana-di-torino/>)

In Porta Nuova and San Salvario, there had been a significant reduction in the number of cruising spaces, gay and lesbian bars and related shops and venues in the neighbourhood (La Rocca, 2014). At the moment, the only LGBT venue in the area was Zi Barba, a restaurant with the gimmick of being “heterosexual-friendly”. In addition, unlike in the past, Associations retreated from the area during this period. In San Donato and the surrounding area similarly witnessed the weakening of the sexual characteristic of space, which used to be dominant. Nevertheless, during this period, the region has seen a significant decline in the number of cruising space. However, what made this area different from Porta Nuova, was that, this area started to become the area for lesbian group. In fact, the lesbian residency of this area had started in 1990s (La Rocca 2014), with the clustering of lesbian associations and business, for instance, Metropolis, L'altra uscita, circolo bridge and LILA (Lega Italiana per la Lotta all'AIDS). In 2000s, the club Le Vedove Allegre which mostly targeted for lesbian customers was set up in this area, together with other associations already existed or new founded (Anlaids located in Via Carlo Botta, an association fought against AIDS/HIV). La Rocca (2014) argues that, the reasons why this area became the lesbian area of the city, were that firstly the rent was relatively low; secondly, it was a popular area but relatively quiet with a neighborhood vibe, therefore it had lower crime rate; more importantly, with more and more lesbian individuals moving in, the local social network was built, for encountering and friendships.

Despite of the fact that those areas which used to be named “LGBT friendly” had witnessed great changes in terms of LGBT space, another area in Turin had raised and became another important area for LGBT community, north-east of Turin (area of Aurora and Vanchiglia). The LGBT urban spaces making process in this area started in 1990s, with 011 sauna beginning on Corso Palermo. In 2003, 011 sauna extended business, and started 011 club targeted for LGBT individuals; in 2004, xXx Cruising Bar was set up on Via Messina 5, which made explicit services and events for LGBT people; in the same year, Arcigay founded an association group “EGG” which aiming for serving homosexual students; later of this period, Informagay moved from

Quadrilatero, LGBT film festival “Da Sodoma a Hollywood” as well held in the nearby area in Cinema Massimo. On the other hand, In this period of time, this area became one of the agglomerations of LGBT service and population (La Rocca, 2014).

Urban renewal in the city, especially areas that hosted many LGBT spaces (such as Quadrilatero, San Donato and Porta Nuova), led to the rise of rents, commercialization of spaces. These dynamic triggered gradual dilution of the existing LGBT social relations and living atmosphere in the areas. In this context, we can see the “de-gaying”²⁷ of “traditional” LGBT spaces in Turin, such as the displacement of a large number of LGBT associations in Via Santa Chiara, listed above. But urban gentrification does not necessarily lead to the disappearance of a group or class in the city, but more to their marginalization, either in terms of spatial distribution or social relations. In Turin, LGBT urban space has shifted more to the Aurora and surrounding areas, with La Rocca (2014, p.132) noting that “this area was just too peripheral to develop a significant gathering place for the LGBT population”; lesbian social relations and gathering places also emerge to the northwest of the city centre.

4.4.2 The Recognition for LGBT Population from Local Authorities

Despite the gentrification of LGBT spaces that created by LGBT associations and individuals, in this era, there were some LGBT milestones happened in Turin. The launch of RE.A.DY authority network and National Pride 2006, shows that the local authorities in Turin has started to recognize LGBT population’s public services and their uses of urban space.

4.4.2.1 National Pride 2006: the First Institutionalized Pride Event in Turin

Turin was chosen to be the hosting city of National Pride 2006, because it was a gay-friendly city with a particular history that needed “to be shaken up a bit”, Charlotte Ross points out (2008), which means rising the visibility of LGBT

²⁷ “De-gaying” stands for the phenomenon that LGBT population decreased in the LGBT communities. However, in Turin, there had not built a literally “gay neighborhood”. Therefore “de-gaying” in this regard, referred to the dismissing and moving out of LGBT spaces and venues which used to be located in Turin city centre.

population, which would have cultivating social and cultural services in the city. It match one of the key themes of the event, “A Pride that looks to the future without forgetting history”²⁸. Inclusion, is one of the key word of the Pride, given that sexuality is transversal, which means LGBT population cover and contain people from all different social class, as well as different cultural background, ethic, race. The organization committee of National Pride 2006, wanted to make the parade as a space which “allows all the diverse components of the LGBT communities to be visible as they wish to be” (Ross, 2008). By the end of the Pride, it was expected to stimulate the social and cultural root of LGBT in Turin, which helped the self-recognition among the group, on the other hand, rose the awareness and acknowledgement of LGBT in the greater public and municipality administration.

The Pride started from Porta Susa and, passing through via Cernaia, reached Piazza Castello to continue on to Piazza Vittorio, the scene of the final concert²⁹. During the Pride, there were approximately 20 thousand participants in the parade, together with thousands of others who were curious of the events³⁰. Two government ministers are present for the first time together: the Minister of Equal Opportunities Barbara Pollastrini (Ulivo) and the Minister of Social Solidarity Paolo Ferrero (PRC)³¹. From this regard, the local government’s recognition and supports was observable.

With hosting the Pride 2006, public space was run for the use for LGBT individuals, which broke the “normality” of the regular use, which were usually about heterosexual social issues. Ross points out when studying on the “nationally relevant” Pride march in Turin in 2006:

²⁸ Source from The Torino Pride 2006 Committee, now Coordinamento Torino Pride. <https://www.torinopride.it/pride/torino-pride-2006-nazionale/>

²⁹ Source from Città di Torino, <http://www.comune.torino.it/scatTO/archivio/2006/giugno06/20060617.shtml>

³⁰ Source from Città di Torino, <http://www.comune.torino.it/scatTO/archivio/2006/giugno06/20060617.shtml>; however, from Arcigay, the estimated number was 150,000, <https://www.arcigay.it/en/archivio/2007/12/la-storia-di-arcigay/>

³¹ Source from Arcigay, <https://www.arcigay.it/en/archivio/2007/12/la-storia-di-arcigay/>

LGBT individuals and groups, in this particular context, have worked to destabilize spaces perceived as heteronormative by publicly insisting on the recognition and validation of their presence within them. This disruption can be understood as a process of “queering” space, of freeing up multiple (non-normative) modalities of use and existence which it may enable or host (Ross, 2013, p.131; quoted from Di Feliciano, 2015)



Fig 4.6 & 4.7 National Pride Turin 2006

(Source: <http://www.comune.torino.it/scatTO/archivio/>)

4.4.2.2 RE.A.DY Administration Network

Turin was the first Italian city that stay against discrimination related to sexuality and gender identity, from municipality administration level. This shows the recognition justice to LGBT from the city government. In 2006, the municipality administration promoted RE.A.DY, which was a network for public administrations that choose to adopt good practices with respect to issues related to sexual orientation and gender identity (Gusmano & Lorenzetti, 2014). This network is taken by various partners, from regions (Piedmont and Tuscany) to province (Rome, Turin, Cremona and Syracuse) then to city councils (such as Turin, Bologna, Florence, Palermo, Rome, Naples, Venice Pisa etc.), with the aim of “promoting a culture and policies regarding diversity and developing initiatives to tackle discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity”. (CIRSDe and Turin City Council LGBT Office, 2011)

RE.A.DY offers local public administrations a space for sharing and

exchanging good practices aimed at protecting the Human Rights of LGBT people and promoting a social culture of respect and valorization of differences. Through a light, horizontal and participatory structure , RE.A.DY invites all partners to actively contribute to its management and development, valorizing and networking the positive actions, anti-discriminatory LGBT administrative acts and provisions adopted at the territorial level. (Source:www.reteready.org)



Fig 4.8 RE.A.DY

(Source: <https://www.reteready.org/>)

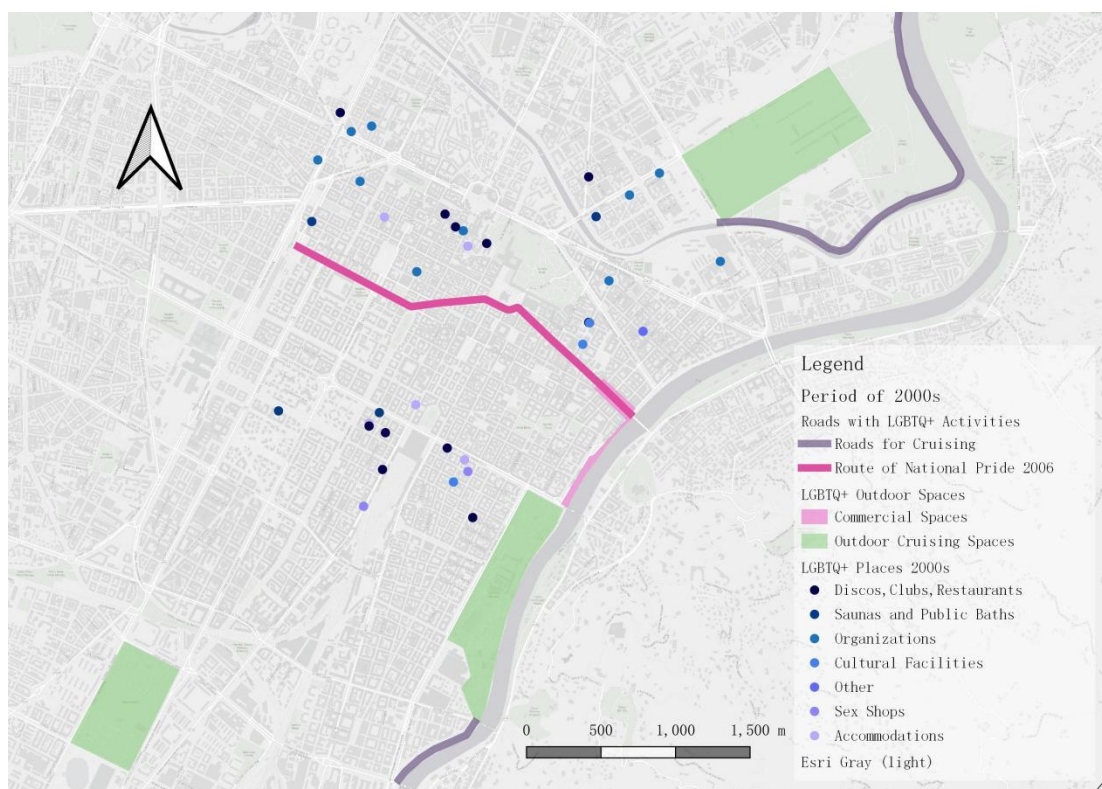
The creation of the Ready administrative network marks the beginning of the engagement of the governmental role on LGBT urban spaces in Turin, and in the major Italian cities. In the following years, the contribution of the public sector and policy makers would also gradually become visible.

4.4.3 As Part of the Targeted Group for Businesses

Although the distribution and number of LGBT spaces has changed considerably over time, with the rise of the urban service sector, the LGBT community has been seen by businesses as part of the consumer base. On this premise, the city of Turin has seen a phenomena of “shrinking of LGBT urban spaces” but also “LGBT friendly in general urban space”. This dynamic has positively rose the social acceptance of LGBT and the visibility of the LGBT population in the city.

Businesses (bars, clubs, restaurants, etc.) recognized the consuming capabilities of LGBT people as a consumer group after National Pride 2006 and began advertising in LGBT magazines and travel guides; businesses created LGBT events at specific times and created LGBT friendly environments, which were often “non-sexual” (Bertone et al, 2003; La Rocca, 2014). In the Quadrilatero area, bars, clubs,

restaurants realized the spending power of the LGBT community around the time of National Pride in 2006 and gradually began to attract the appropriate clientele. The restaurants Casa Martin on Via Santa Chiara, Café Chinese on Via Sant’Agostino, and L’Orangerie on Via del Carmine advertised in LGBT tourist guidebooks, with Café Chinese featuring the slogan “frequentato da gay e lesbiche (frequented by gays and lesbians)” (La Rocca, 2014). In the Porta Nuova area, on one hand, it continued from the previous era, in this period there was an increase in the number of regular events and parties for homosexuals in non-sexual venues (heterosexual or mixed audience venues), such as the La Gare disco in Via Paolo Sacchi, which hosted Vanity, an LGBT night on Fridays, which later on was transformed into a Queever night on Sundays; the Big Eye in Via San Secondo Bar on Via San Secondo for Saturday night, among others. On the other hand, other types of businesses have adopted the strategy of advertising in LGBT tourist guidebooks. Napoleon Hotel and Hotel Boston near Porta Nuova, had advertised on guidebooks.



*Fig 4.9 LGBT Urban Spaces in Turin (2000s)*³²
(Source: La Rocca 2014; Online Open Materials)

4.5 Conclusion

From the transformation of LGBT urban spaces in these three different periods, we can observe the changes of LGBT spaces uses, as well as the stakeholders, the social relations between LGBT group and mainstream society.

In 1970s, LGBT urban spaces were rather underground and anonymous, which mostly used as secret socializing and cruising activities. However the launch of FUORI! had started to call for the openness of LGBT identities and space use. Therefore, the city center of Turin had been the hub of LGBT urban spaces and social network, in which gay parties, LGBT discos were held. In terms of actors of constructing LGBT urban spaces, mostly FUORI! and LGBT individuals in this era.

As it came to 1980s, LGBT associations in Turin had been strengthened, and started to build LGBT social network within the city through various events and public services in urban spaces. In this period of time, LGBT urban spaces had no longer been anonymous and sexual, but showing political and cultural advocacy. The areas had also expanded to Porta Susa, Porta Nuova, and San Donato etc. Meanwhile, LGBT associations had been the main actors of the space making.

In the beginning of 21st century, Turin had proposed the development strategies, which turning Turin from industrial city into a creative city. Therefore, in the era, we witness the shrink of LGBT discos and clubs in the city center. However, given the goal of turning Turin into a creative city, local authorities also introduced services and events for LGBT people, to show the diverse and inclusive aspects of the city. Regarding public services, the setting up of LGBT service office (LGBT servizio) and the local government network RE.A.DY, LGBT population's demands of public services have been recognized. In addition, 2006 Nationale Pride event was held in Turin. Hence, the acceptance for LGBT by the mainstream society has increased, which led to the blooming of LGBT friendly spaces (spaces that were made for

³² Some locations in the map may not be precise, due to the limited data collected.

heterosexual customers, but also LGBT people were also welcome).

5. Analysis of Current LGBT Urban Spaces in Turin

This chapter aims at exploring the present situation of LGBT urban spaces in Turin, which includes the recent years distribution of spaces, and how this spaces are used for. Moreover, we discuss the collective culture and history which related to space uses and geographical distribution. The analysis of this chapter is targeted to the period from 2010 to now 2024/25. Information and sources are collected from online open access websites, such as spartacus³³, gay.it³⁴, queer in the world³⁵, La Stampa historical archive, and other relevant sources.

5.1 Present Situation: Increasing of LGBT Friendly Spaces

LGBT spaces in Turin shows the shrink of LGBT labeled spaces, such as LGBT discos and saunas, however, “LGBT friendly” titles have been an trend of space making, thank to the contribution of businesses, LGBT associations, local authorities and other public sectors³⁶.

5.1.1 The Fall of LGBT Labeled Spaces

in the historic centre of Turin Maurice, Libreria Internazionale Luxemburg is still open. There is Nora Book & Coffee where offers various of LGBT topics publications, located in Via delle Orfane 24/D; Rhum-More, a restaurant and cocktail bar located in Via Franico Bonelli³⁷. In the areas of Porta Nuova and San Salvario the “de-sexualisation” was more complete, with only Parco del Valentino and Zi Barba

³³ The Spartacus International Gay Guide is an international gay travel application and formerly an annually-published guide.

³⁴ Gay.it is an information site independent from associations and parties or large publishing groups. Its mission is to tell and support the rights of the LGBTQ+ community, its supporters, and diversity as a value of enrichment and progress of society.

³⁵ This website inform, inspire, connect, and empower the global LGBT+ community by shining a light on the world’s most fabulous gay destinations. It offers guides to 200+ cities worldwide and know the best gay bars, hotels, clubs, saunas, parties, beaches, and not-to-be-missed experiences. Plus films, fashion, pop culture, gay events, etc.,

³⁶ Public Sectors refers to the stakeholders and departments for Torino urban governance and public services, for instance regional/city council, government departments (e.g. Servizio LGBT - Citta di Torino), GTT (Gruppo Torinese Trasporti), Universities in Turin, public libraries, etc.,

³⁷ Source from Spartacus: <https://spartacus.gayguide.travel/goingout/europe/italy/torino-piemonte/>

remaining at the beginning of the period (Zi Barba had moved out of the area, to Borgo Vittoria³⁸); the phenomenon of the decline of places and spaces in the San Donato area was also observed, and according to La Rocca's accounts, the local lesbian community was already relatively weakened during this period. Moreover, there are LGBT cruising places that provide people opportunities to encounter, for instance, 011 sauna, garage club (in Corso United States), and Caffè Cesare (Via Vanchiglia) with "Bears and Friends" events which represent the LGBT subculture.

However, LGBT parties and discos with fixed times and places for LGBT people remain within Turin, such as Centralino's dating night on Fridays and Sundays (Bananamia), in Via delle Rosine; Lucignolo's queer night held in Via Pomba; Aperitivo Portafortuna is another one of the most popular gay nights (gay friendly actually, because it was very popular even among non-LGBT people) in Turin and is held regularly on Thursday and Saturday³⁹; Qumanji night organized by Club 84 every Saturday night (however, Club 84 was closed later in the period⁴⁰); Queever, one of the most popular LGBT party which held in Cacao Turin (this club was closed as well due to the problem of illegal construction⁴¹), located in Valentino Park.

However, those areas where used to show dominantly LGBT characteristics have been calm, and shows nothing related to LGBT, especially Quadrilatero area, Via Garibaldi where FUORI! was located, Balon where LGBT people used to hangout during the daytime of weekends, Via Torquato Tasso and Via IV Marzo in which La Rocca explores that there were two buildings (named the Casa della Bambole) that housed large number of LGBT residents.

³⁸ Source from Spartacus: https://spartacus.gayguide.travel/goingout/torino-piemonte/40474_Zi%27+Barba

³⁹ Source from: <https://www.gayfriendlyitaly.com/best-gay-clubs-in-turin-2017>

⁴⁰ Source from: https://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/01/27/news/torino_la_burocrazia_chiude_il_club_84_sigilli_allo_storico_locale_del_valentino-187378844/

⁴¹ Source from: <https://torinocronaca.it/video/torino/313318/futuro-parco-valentino-addio-discoteche-aprono-locali-chalet-rotonda-fluido-torino.html>



*Fig. 5.1 A Corner in Balon, Turin
(Photo taken by author)*



*Fig. 5.2 Current Development in Via IV Marzo & Via Torquato Tasso
(Photo taken by author)*

5.1.2 LGBT Friendly Spaces Made by Various Sectors

However, at this period of time, many LGBT friendly spaces have been made by various social sectors, LGBT associations, merchants, local authorities and public departments (Servizio LGBT - Città di Torino, public libraries, Gruppo Torinese Trasporti, etc.,).

5.1.2.1 Commercial businesses

Merchants in Turin contribute for LGBT friendly space and atmosphere. On

Spartacus, it shows some restaurants and hotels that claim “LGBT friendly” and “LGBT welcoming”, for instance Hotel Boston which located in Via Massena, has put on its advertisements on LGBT tourist guide since earlier of 21th century. Hotel Gran Mogol, Hotel Tourist advertise on *Queer in the World*, and note themselves as “LGBT friendly”. Furthermore, there are more gay-friendly venues in the shopping scenes of Via Roma, Via Po, Via Garibaldi, as well as in San Salvario district.



Fig. 5.3 An LGBT Friendly Bar in Via Madama Cristina
(Photo taken by author)

5.1.2.2 Public Sectors

LGBT friendly spaces made by public sectors in Turin. In 2017, on the day when Pride event started in Turin, Right Village was held in Torino Esposizioni, which located in the corner of Valentino park⁴². With an innovative format, it was an opportunity to spread the principles of non-discrimination and equality and promote equal opportunities. During the one-month event held in the Torino Esposizioni, the topics included the Piedmont law against all forms of discrimination, models of

⁴² Source from: <https://www.torinotoday.it/eventi/rights-village-torino-esposizioni.html>

inclusion in a multicultural society, discrimination in advertising, bullying and cyber-bullying, women's rights and the fight against stereotypes, the importance of gender difference in language.

Universities (UniTO, PoliTO, etc.) in Turin has also contributed to the LGBT friendly space making, by setting up related offices and events in the campus, for instance Comitato Unico di Garanzia (Equality Committee) in PoliTO; during the pride month in June (both in 2023 & 2024), "Safe(r) Spaces" event held in PoliTO, aiming at exploring how universities can be transformed into queer, welcoming, and inclusive spaces⁴³.

Turning attentions on Servizio LGBT - Città di Torino, which was founded in 2001. Servizio LGBT brings LGBT issues within the administration, with the two cornerstones of the services: networking and education. Servizio LGBT has brought programs into LGBT individuals cooperating with different other public sectors⁴⁴ (Patrizia Ottone, Service LGBT - Città di Torino):

1) Corporation with GTT, to promote an simplified methods to verifying tickets to transgender individuals, given that their genders may not be what are shown correctly on the cards or system. This program aims to provide transgender people a discreet and safe space on public transport, without making them "come out" unwillingly to the public.

2) Introducing to policy department and migrant office the potential violence and discrimination, the difficulty of resident permits applications that LGBT residents face with, so that the related departments could help making LGBT friendly and safe spaces for LGBT individuals.

3) Holding cultural events in public libraries, such as LGBT topic reading events, sexual orientation diversity training and youth education activities. These events are made to enhance the knowledge of sexual orientation and social diversity within the young generation.

⁴³ Source from official website of Politecnico di Torino: <https://www.polito.it/en/polito/communication-and-press-office/events/news?idn=23532>

⁴⁴ Programs information came from the interview with Patrizia Ottone, Service LGBT - Città di Torino

5.1.2.3 LGBT Associations

Quore is an LGBT association aiming at enhancing the rights of LGBTQ people, broadening its gaze to the international panorama and promoting social, cultural and tourist exchange. It promotes projects of Friendly Piedmont - Homophobia No Thanks program and TO Housing program. In the former program, Quore distributed the “Homophobia No Thanks” window stickers with the Friendly Piemonte logo in more than 1000 shops, tourist accommodation facilities and various merchants. The sign of “Homophobia No Thanks” is a distinctive sign for the LGBT users who favor the choice of “friendly” places and activities, that is, those places that support cultural diversity, hospitality and know the value of differences. From the data shown on Quore’s website (www.quore.org), some merchants and institutions have joint the project, within Piedmont, in Turin, Alessandria, etc.⁴⁵. Kian Goh examines the safe spaces making in New York through two associations’ strategies, and points out that making safe spaces for LGBT is not simply about an appeal to LGBT identities. *I think we just put on a filter; no homophobic people are welcome in my shops. But the public spaces outside of my shop, I know it is not necessarily the same as here. (Mr. E, LGBT friendly bar owner)*⁴⁶



Fig. 5.4 Photo of Quore’s Homophobia No Thanks Project
(Source: www.quore.org.)

Apart from running the *Homophobia No Thanks Project*, Quore also promoted TO Housing program which is a social co-housing project in Turin that

⁴⁵ Source from official website of Quore: <https://www.quore.org/friendly-piemonte-omofobia-no-grazie-lgbt/>

⁴⁶ Source from interviews.

welcomes LGBT people in difficulty (young people separated from their families of origin because of their sexual orientation; homosexual migrants and refugees, LGBTQI elderly people in conditions of loneliness or poverty, transsexual and transgender people) and in conditions of extreme vulnerability. This program can accommodate up to 24 guests in 5 apartments. The project was born to respond to the housing emergency but also to activate, starting from a primary and fundamental need such as housing, paths of social reintegration⁴⁷.

Other than Quore, many other LGBT associations have had contributed to the LGBT friendly spaces making process in Turin. LGBT Torino Pride Coordination is the association that helps organize the Pride event every year; Maurice GLBTQ raises activities in libraries and school campus to promote LGBT cultural events.

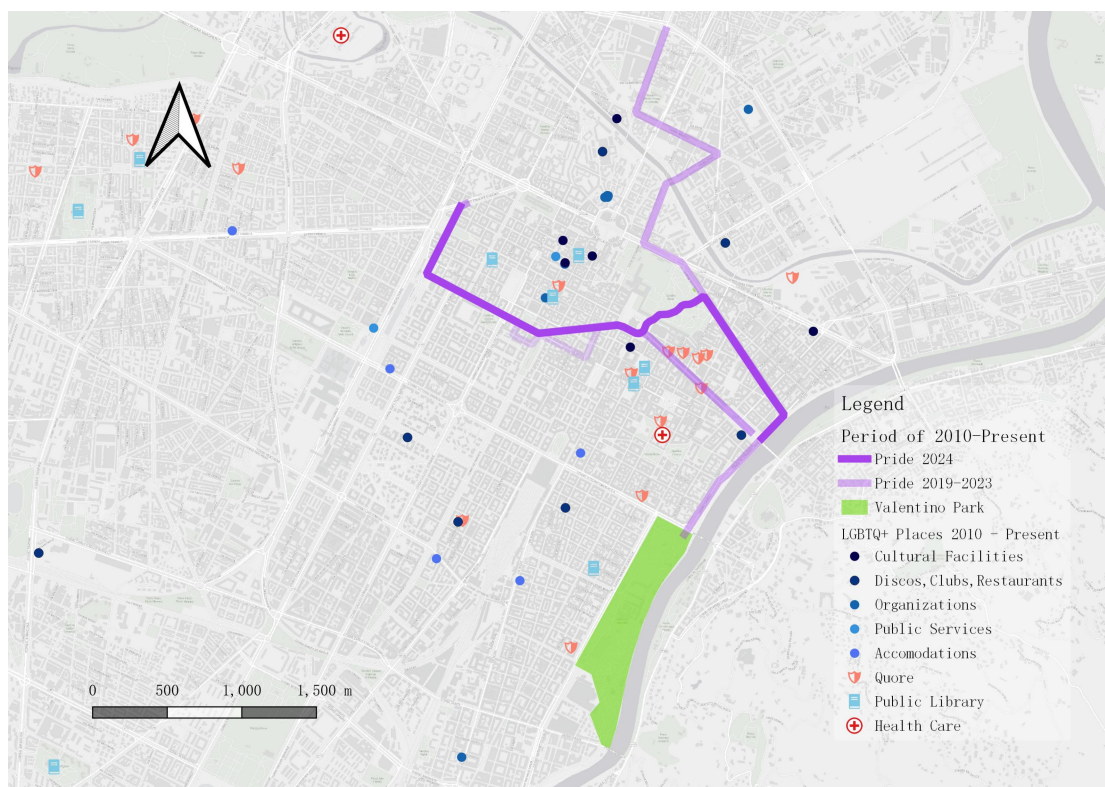


Fig 4.9 LGBT Urban Spaces in Turin (2000s)⁴⁸

(Source: Official Websites of Quore, Coordinamento Torino Pride; Online Open Materials, such as spartacus, gay.it, queer in the world)

⁴⁷ Source from official website of Quore: <https://www.quore.org/to-housing-accoglienza-lgbtqi/>

⁴⁸ Some locations in the map may not be precise, due to the limited data collected.

5.2 Refining the LGBT Spaces

5.2.1 LGBT Friendly Spectrum of Urban Spaces

From spatial perspective, LGBT urban spaces take on many different forms and types, including semi-public spaces such as bars, discos, and restaurants; public cultural facilities such as libraries, art galleries, and cinemas; public open spaces such as streets, neighborhoods, parks, and city markets; and even private spaces such as residential buildings. Therefore, in order to facilitate the subsequent discussion on the classification and sense of belonging of LGBT urban spaces in Turin, it is necessary to define and delimit LGBT urban spaces. In terms of LGBT, urban spaces show different level of tolerance and acceptance. Therefore, we can sort of out through the spectrum of LGBT tolerance, from acceptance to unwelcome. From the different tolerance and acceptance of LGBT communities and individuals, we can simply put urban spaces into five distinctions: LGBT labeled spaces, LGBT friendly spaces, general places, Spaces for LGBT hidden socializing and LGBT unfriendly spaces.

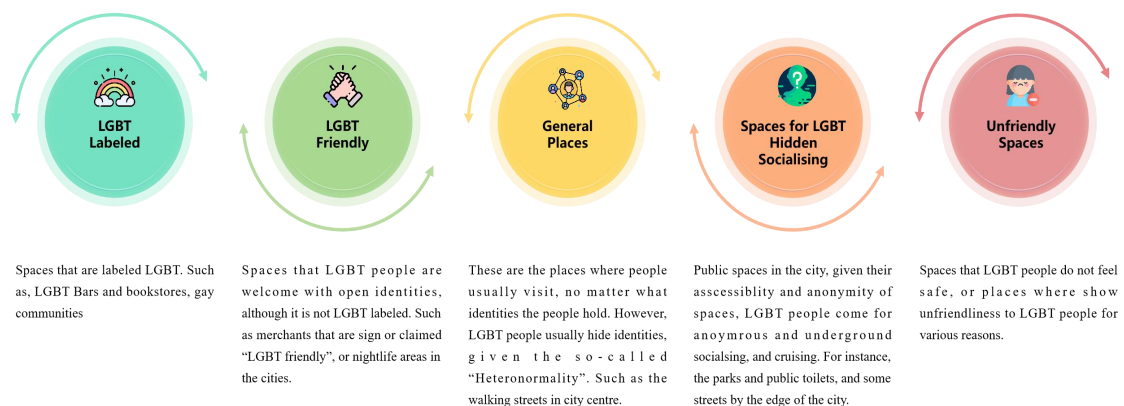


Fig 5.5 *The Classification and Definitions of Urban Spaces from LGBT Perspective*
(Diagram made by Author)

LGBT labeled spaces are those places that considered LGBT urban space, in the narratives of LGBT. This spaces are usually those have identified themselves clearly for LGBT, even though they as well welcome to non-LGBT visitors, for instance, gay (LGBT) neighborhoods across Global North, gay (LGBT) bars/discos and many other commercial places.

LGBT friendly spaces, they are those spaces that LGBT people are welcome to visit, with openly expressed identities, although they are not necessarily LGBT labeled. These spaces are usually in or near the nightlife areas in the city, given the huge amount of young visitors who are more open to the “free sphere”. However, some restaurants, shops, shopping malls that signed or claimed “LGBT friendly” can as well be put in this basket.

General spaces, this is the biggest type of space in the city. It refers to those spaces that are open to every residents and visitors, no matter what identities they hold. However, due to the “heteronormativity” and the potential discrimination, LGBT people generally appear in these spaces with hidden the identities. This kind of space, can be seen as the walking streets in the city centre, and central parks where people keen for recreation during spare time, for example.

Spaces for LGBT hidden socializing, are the places where LGBT people cluster spontaneously, for socializing (usually cruising). These places are usually the public toilets and hidden corners in public spaces, such as parks, real-way stations, etc. However, these types of places have been shown usually within the period or regions in which LGBT have been under serious oppression.

LGBT unfriendly spaces are usually the places where LGBT feel unsafe attending and walking. They can be due to the religious reasons, or the mistreat and discrimination cases that happened to LGBT individuals. These spaces show this characteristics for various reasons, but they all show “unwelcome atmosphere” to LGBT groups.

This research starts from analyzing the former two types of spaces, LGBT labeled spaces and LGBT friendly spaces, to figure out the trend of the changes of LGBT spaces in Turin, and the social dynamic behind the spatial making practices. On top of the analysis, it will discuss the possibility of transforming the general space more LGBT friendly, and how to achieve.

5.2.2 LGBT Friendly Space Making in Turin

5.2.2.1 Pride Parade: Breaking the “Heteronormativity”

Nazionale Pride 2006 was the first LGBT event to be held in Turin, and LGBT has since emerged into the public eye to fight for their own equal rights and freedom of identity expression. This event temporarily occupied public space in the form of a temporary site -- generally considered to be a “heterosexual-dominated space”. Since 2009, the Pride parade has been held annually in Turin, and has continued to convey the message that “we do exist” and “we demand to be treated equally”.

I do like the concept of LGBT pride parade, because it shows to the public that gay (LGBT) people do exist, and we are not alone. (Mr.C, 29, South American)

In addition, the route of the Turin Pride parade is adjusted every year to extend the parade route as far as possible to the north of the centre of Turin, Corso Regina Margherita and north where a large amount of working-class and migrant population live, in order to promote the participation of these groups in Pride activities.

5.2.2.2 Discos and Clubs: From LGBT Spaces to LGBT Friendly Space

LGBT spaces have gradually undergone a transformation. In Turin, since the late 1980s, discos and nightlife venues that are open to the LGBT community have appeared, and some venues also hold LGBT-themed nights at fixed times each week. On the other hand, LGBT discos and parties have been opened and welcoming to “non-LGBT” customers. This transformation has uniquely merged two spaces (heterosexual nightlife venues and LGBT venues) that are generally considered to be in parallel with each other, thus transforming LGBT nightlife venues from the more private and hidden “private spaces” of the past to “semi-public spaces”. This type of party and disco still exists today and is relatively popular.

In those places (LGBT disco party), we met some heterosexual people as

well, and i was personally been complimented by a straight woman, which i felt nice to heard. (Mr.T, 32, Asian)

I went to a couple of times in Bananamia, a gay disco night in Turin. I'd say i enjoyed it. But i mean every time i went, i enjoyed more the fact that there were many heterosexual people dancing, even though it is a LGBT theme disco night. (Mr.S, 27, Italian)

5.2.3 The Dynamic of LGBT Sphere in Turin

Through the historical evolution, the form of LGBT urban space in Turin has gradually moved from invisibility to openness; in terms of the driving forces, it started from the individual to the association and community, and finally to the integration of the commercial and public sectors. These changes show how the social relations between LGBT community and the mainstream.

At the initial stage, the spatial practices of the LGBT community were shaped by social marginalization, leading to the creation of discreet and often ephemeral meeting points in urban corners and “LGBT labeled” nightlife venues. These LGBT spaces were often informal and spontaneous, reflecting the need for safety and anonymity in a social environment that is discriminatory and even hostile to LGBT community, and based on which urban spaces are recreated. Public parks, hidden corners and underground venues became sites of connection and resistance, shaped by the social interactions and lived experiences of LGBT individuals. These early informal networks reflect how marginalized communities often reclaim and repurpose urban areas to create spaces of belonging.

In the 70s, the gays and lesbians had their own small groups, and these groups were bounded and interacted with each other through those meeting spaces. The parks, dark corners were the cruising spaces indeed, but as well helped the homosexual community and social network build. Therefore, the community was consolidate at some stage. (The Vice President of Maurice

GLBTQ).

As societal movements took root and started to grow, beginning with the foundation of the FUORI! in 1971 and the associations network presented in the 1980s, the LGBT urban spaces began to consolidate, reflecting an evolution from informal, anonymous encounters to organized, politically charged, and culturally enriched environments. These included association offices, cultural hubs, and advocacy-driven networks. On the other hand, LGBT individuals and spaces tended to be visible to the public. This evolution illustrates how social relations influence urban transformation, with solidarity and activism fostering more inclusive and resilient spatial practices.

By the 2000s, the dynamics of commercialization and gentrification which led by Turin re-identifying itself, and the shifting of urban development and form of society, reshaped LGBT spaces, highlighting the tension between economic interests and the preservation of community identity. Nevertheless, the impact of economic forces, such as gentrification and commercialization, reveals a dual-edged dynamic. While these processes brought wider societal acceptance and integration, they also led to the displacement and dilution of established LGBT spaces, shifting the focus to new areas or reducing the community's spatial presence.

The progression demonstrates the significant role of space as both a medium and a product of social relations (Lefebvre, 1974). Spaces that were once clandestine transformed into visible hubs for cultural expression and community-building, supported by activism and the establishment of associations. With time, these efforts achieved notable milestones, including policy advancements like RE.A.DY and public-sector contributions that endorsed LGBT inclusivity in urban planning and cultural events. Ultimately, the story of LGBT friendly spaces in Turin underscores the fluid relationship between social identity and urban landscapes. It highlights how marginalized groups transform spaces into sites of resistance, belonging, and cultural significance, while also adapting to broader societal and economic changes. These

findings illuminate the ongoing need for inclusive planning and active community participation to sustain the rich interplay between social relations and urban space.

5.3 Collective Culture and History of LGBT in Turin

The collective memory and culture of LGBT people can be divided into two categories. One is the public-oriented, explicit culture and memory, what the interviewees called the promotion of identity and the demand for equal treatment of LGBT people in the historical evolution process (including social acceptance and recognition of LGBT identities, same-sex marriage, anti-discrimination and violence, HIV/AIDS countermeasures, etc.). These demands and collective memories are more often than not expressed in public spaces through social movements, protests and rallies, the founding and promotion of associations, and even the organization of large-scale cultural events. The other category can be seen as “subculture” within the LGBT community. These cultures are often private, and often appear in places with an LGBT label, such as the “bear culture” and “cross-dressing culture”. Therefore, in the process of creating a “sense of home”, the preservation of culture and collective memory needs to incorporate the preservation and presentation of the historical struggles of the LGBT community in public spaces. At the same time, the private spaces of the LGBT community, discos, clubs, etc., should also be viewed more positively.

5.3.1 From the Venues Perspective: Historical Locations for LGBT

Turin is one of the main LGBT-friendly cities in Italy and one of the cities where the LGBT movement originated in Italy. The LGBT community has a large and diverse range of sports, cultural activities and forms of identity expression in the city. As a result, there are also many traces of the use of LGBT spaces with historical significance and cultural attributes. However, there is a need to identify the collective memory presentation space for the LGBT community in Turin.

The Chinese research team 赵星雅 et al (2024) classified and identified

historical urban sites and areas in the Chinese city of Xiangyang based on different eras and corresponding historical texts, and ultimately obtained a local urban historical space protection map based on collective memory. The texts on LGBT collective memories and venues in Turin can be found and categorised by searching for the terms “LGBT” and “LGBT Turin” in the historical archives of La Stampa, Wikipink, the historical archives of Turin of Polodel900, La Rocca (2014) and other open online sources. The spatial presentation of the collective memory of LGBT in Turin will proceed in two ways. First, a heat map analysis of the distribution of LGBT spaces in various eras will be conducted to obtain the main areas of LGBT activities and gatherings (including geographical information such as specific locations, roads, and urban areas). Based on the first step, with La Stampa as the main source, supplemented by other web materials, to summarize the main LGBT historical facts and places of occurrence in various eras; finally, overlay the two to obtain relatively specific geographical locations to present the history of LGBT activism and home-making practices in the urban space of Turin.

Heat maps of each era mentioned in chapter 4, is show as:



Fig 5.6-9 Heat maps of LGBT Urban Spaces in Periods of 1970-1982, 1982-End of 1990s, 2000s, and 2010-Present

Based on the heat maps of four different periods, we can see that the LGBT

urban space in Turin had a clear agglomeration phenomenon before 2010. Among them, the locations of Via Garibaldi and Via Milano were the thermal centres throughout the three periods; in addition, the locations around Porta Nuova and Via Po were also continuously important and key.

Based on searches for “omosessuale”, “gay”, “lesbica”, “gay e lesbica” and other LGBT-related keywords in La Stampa. On this basis, it was paired with the Turin place names (main locations in Chapter 4, such as “Via Garibaldi”, “Via della Basilica”, etc.). This produced the following table:

Table 5.1 Partial LGBT Historical Facts in Turin⁴⁹

Time	Historical Fact	Related Locations and Areas
1971	Founding of FUORI!	Via Garibaldi 13
1976	FUORI-Donna Conference	Via Garibaldi
1978	“Gay Pride Party” through the streets of city	Galleria Subalpina Piazza Statuto Piazza San Carlo Galleria San Federico
1979	FUORI protest against the Vatican’s view of sex	da Via Garibaldi ai Giardini Cavour
1980	Pride Party	Via Garibaldi
1980	Founding of Fondazione Sandro Panna ⁵⁰	Via Santa Chiara
1986	The First LGBT Flim Festival - Da Sodoma a Hollywood (It has been held till now)	Cinema Massimo
1989	Pride event	Via Juarra Via Virgilio Via Modena
1990	Pride Party	Via Santa Chiara
1997	MAURICE Homosexual Culture Debates and films	Via della Basilica Parco del Valentino
1998	Pride Event	Corso Vittorio Corso Massimo
2001	The founding of Servizio LGBT	Comune di Torino
2006	Nazionale Pride	From Porta Susa and, passing through via Cernaia, reached Piazza Castello to continue on to Piazza Vittorio

⁴⁹ Sources from historical archives of La Stampa (<http://www.archiviolaStampa.it/>), Wikipink (<https://www.wikipink.org/>)

⁵⁰ It is one of the four LGBT achieves in Italy, Information from Enzo Cucco, the Representative of Founding of Fondazione Sandro Panna.

More over, the numbers of mentions of all different spaces (“omosessuale”/ “gay”/ “lesbica”/ “gay e lesbica”+[Spaces]) are shown below:

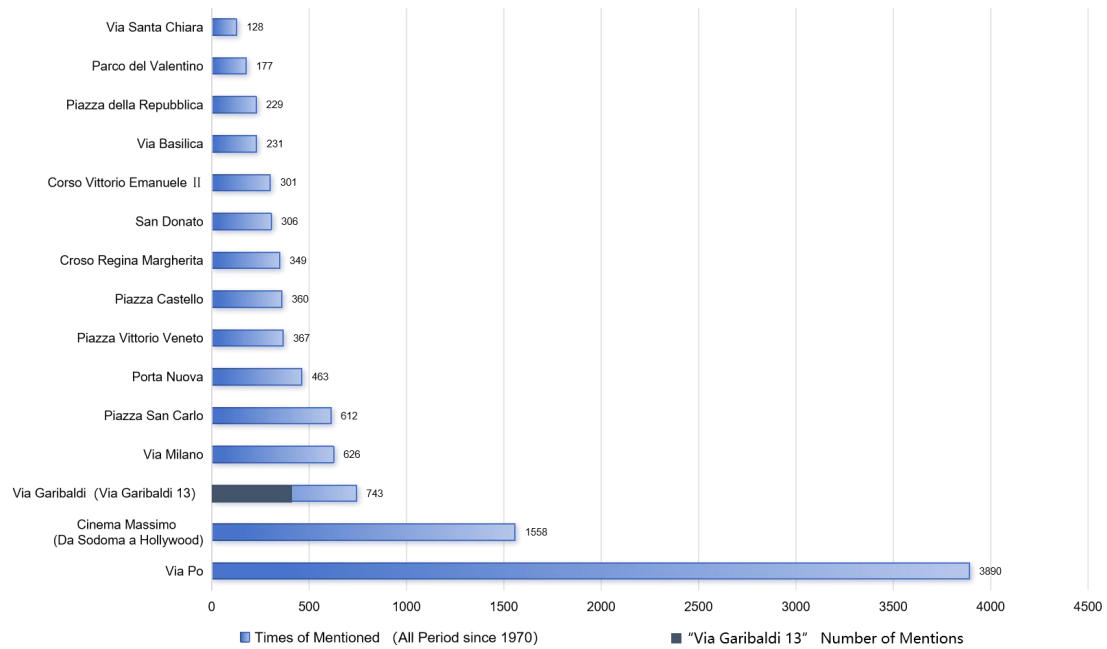


Fig 5.10 Numbers of Mentions of All Spaces (All Period since 1970)



Fig 5.11 LGBT Collective Memories Places and Zones in Turin

From the map and data, it is observable that, the city center of Turin is the zone where LGBT resistance and movements took places, and it represents the LGBT

history and culture. However, other than spatial presentation of LGBT history and culture (movements, protests, business and activities concentration), ritual elements are another important and distinctive manifestations of LGBT home making practice.

5.3.2 From the Ritual Perspective: LGBT Pride Parade and LGBT Film Festival

Festivals and rituals, as carriers of collective memory that are repeated regularly, ensure the transmission and inheritance of knowledge that consolidates identity, and thus the reproduction of identity in the cultural sense (Assmann, 2011). In Turin LGBT community, the Pride activities and LGBT Film Festival (originally called *Da Sodoma a Hollywood*, now changed to *Love Film Festival*) are considered the ritual, given that they are held regularly, meanwhile, contain the culture and ideas of LGBT equal rights.

5.3.2.1 LGBT Pride Parade

The Pride Parade is a large-scale annual event held in major cities around the world by the LGBT community, representing the LGBT community's confrontation with mainstream society and their fight for the rights of the community. In Turin, the Pride Parade also has important ritual and symbolic significance. The Turin Pride Parade is held in June each year. From a historical perspective, the first Pride event can be traced back to the 1970s, but at that time the Pride event was only small-scale and organized in a venue somewhere in the city. As time went on into the 1990s, the scale of Pride gradually expanded, and the choice of urban space gradually moved towards public space. The Pride Parade in Turin was initially a response to the Stonewall incident in the United States (the starting point of the global LGBT rights movement). For this reason, LGBT Pride events initially consisted mainly of more protest-oriented activities, such as debates on LGBT issues, LGBT art exhibitions, parties in city squares, and parades. Since then, it has become an institutionalized event since 2006, organized by LGBT associations and the city government.

“Festa dell'orgoglio omosessuale, per le vie della città Stravagante Capodanno (senza incidenti) di duecento “diversi”, giunti da tutta Italia



Dalla sera e mattinata con il tempo di festa di tutto il mondo, che si è celebrato con un gran numero di iniziative, si è svolta la grande manifestazione di Capodanno (senza incidenti) di duecento “diversi”, giunti da tutta Italia. La manifestazione si è svolta in un'atmosfera di allegria e di festa, con un gran numero di iniziative, tra cui sfilate, spettacoli e ballate. La manifestazione si è svolta in un'atmosfera di allegria e di festa, con un gran numero di iniziative, tra cui sfilate, spettacoli e ballate.

Il comitato organizzativo ha presentato un cartello con il tema dell'omosessualità ma allargate a tutte le componenti sociali. «L'orgoglio lesbico e omosessuale ha nei suoi anni», dice il programma preparato da Art di Gay, Circolo Triangolo Ro-

na, Fondazione Sandro Penna, Fuori! Gruppo Davide e Giunata, Informagay, L'altra comunicazione, Spiega Enzo Cucco, di Informagay: «Senza dubbio questa città è all'avanguardia, percorso dal dibattito e dall'interesse, anche se naturalmente quando qualcosa si muove c'è chi l'osteggia con la maggior forza possibile». La polemica è con buona parte delle istituzioni: se assessore comunale alla Cultura e presidenza del Consiglio regionale hanno dato il loro patrocinio al programma, altre forze amministrative (come giunta e assessore) lo alla cultura della Regione «non ne hanno voluto sapere».

Il cartello si era aperto con «Da Sodoma a Hollywood», la rassegna cinematografica internazionale che si è chiusa l'altro ieri. Ecco gli altri appuntamenti: lunedì 6 giugno, ore 21, teatro Juvarena (via Juvarena 15), dibattito su

«Politica e rapporto con le istituzioni. Un esempio: le proposte di legge sulla connettività», con i rappresentanti di più partiti politici e il ministro per gli Affari Speciali, Rosa Russo Iervolino; lunedì 12, ore 21, «Chiesà e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); giovedì 21, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); giovedì 28, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); venerdì 29, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); sabato 30, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); domenica 1º luglio, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); lunedì 2 giugno, ore 21, teatro Juvarena (via Juvarena 15), dibattito su

Massimo Anselmo

Festa per la «settimana dell'orgoglio lesbico e omosessuale» Festa «gay» in via Garibaldi majorettes e balli all'aperto



Dopo l'incontro di culto gay-etero di giovedì sera al campo Cenisia, la «settimana internazionale dell'orgoglio lesbico e omosessuale» è prorompita ieri sera in via Garibaldi, piazza Castello e ai Giardini reali con la parata musicale della banda e delle «majorettes» che più di erano esibite in esibizioni da-querati ai tremila che avevano affollato il piccolo stadio.

È stata una sera «festa», con canti e soprattutto dance, molti operatori curiosi e nessun incidente. Si sono visti, ancora in pantaloni verdi e maglietta rosa (la divisa gay della partita con i calciatori eterosessuali della squadra di Borgo San Donnato), i protagonisti dello «storico» incontro, forse il primo in Europa — come ha annunciato un po' ironicamente il «Fante» —, certamente il primo in Italia. E hanno ancora affollato questa volta non soltanto del terreno di gioco, le «stagioni» di Bruno Sillimberini, i trombettieri e i tamburini che per tutti i 90 minuti avevano incoraggiato riamorosamente e spiritosamente, all'annunciarlo, la loro uscita

contro a New York fra gay e polizie, diventata festa internazionale degli omosessuali forse vedremo decore, come promette il «Paolo», un clamoroso incontro di football ai Comandanti in squadra, tra i tentidute, pare calciatori di serie A che proseguiranno invece il consopio di non nascondere più la loro «differenza».

Si celebra l'«orgoglio gay»

Da lunedì un fitto calendario di appuntamenti - Dibattiti, politica, religione, musica, arte - Un samba sul fiume - Gli omosessuali e la perestrojka

Era il 1969, ultimo weekend di giugno. La polizia di New York tentò di chiudere «Stonewall Hill», il bar dei gay nel Greenwich Village. Mentre per tre giorni, barricate la dentro, gli omosessuali resistevano alle cariche, pochissimi s'accorgono che nasceva un «movimento omosessuale».

Ora, giugno 30, a Torino, si celebra l'anniversario dell'«orgoglio lesbico ed omosessuale», dove «oppo- glio» non è provocazione, ma sete di dialogo.

Ieri mattina, nei locali dell'Assessorato comunale alla Cultura, i rappresentanti dei movimenti gay torinesi hanno presentato un «cartello» di iniziative: mostre, dibattiti, feste legate al tema dell'omosessualità ma allargate a tutte le componenti sociali.

«L'orgoglio lesbico e omosessuale ha nei suoi anni», dice il programma preparato da Art di Gay, Circolo Triangolo Ro-

na, Fondazione Sandro Penna, Fuori! Gruppo Davide e Giunata, Informagay, L'altra comunicazione, Spiega Enzo Cucco, di Informagay: «Senza dubbio questa città è all'avanguardia, percorso dal dibattito e dall'interesse, anche se naturalmente quando qualcosa si muove c'è chi l'osteggia con la maggior forza possibile». La polemica è con buona parte delle istituzioni: se assessore comunale alla Cultura e presidenza del Consiglio regionale hanno dato il loro patrocinio al programma, altre forze amministrative (come giunta e assessore) lo alla cultura della Regione «non ne hanno voluto sapere».

Il «cartello» si era aperto con «Da Sodoma a Hollywood», la rassegna cinematografica internazionale che si è chiusa l'altro ieri. Ecco gli altri appuntamenti: lunedì 6 giugno, ore 21, teatro Juvarena (via Juvarena 15), dibattito su

«Politica e rapporto con le istituzioni. Un esempio: le proposte di legge sulla connettività», con i rappresentanti di più partiti politici e il ministro per gli Affari Speciali, Rosa Russo Iervolino; lunedì 12, ore 21, «Chiesà e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); giovedì 21, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); giovedì 28, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); venerdì 29, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); sabato 30, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); domenica 1º luglio, ore 21, «Chiesa e omosessualità», con don Ciotti e don Tallone (dice Cucco: «Non c'è bisogno tanto di polemica quanto di dialogo»); lunedì 2 giugno, ore 21, teatro Juvarena (via Juvarena 15), dibattito su

Massimo Anselmo

ORGOGGIO OMOSESSUALE

Il 20 e il 21 la festa torinese con musica jazz, mostre e incontri



posto elegante, ma il principale punto di ritrovo per i gay. Ed è lì che la battaglia si fece più feroce.

È proprio a quel 28 giugno di 29 anni fa che si fa risalire la nascita del movimento di liberazione omosessuale. E ogni anno viene regolarmente ricordato con una festa dell'orgoglio omosessuale. Pure a Torino, dove i festeggiamenti arrivano in anticipo per non accavallarsi con quelli nazionali a Roma del 28.

Festa dunque domenica 21 giugno al Parco del Valentino nell'Area del Palco, tra corso Vittorio e corso Massimo, dalle 18 alle 24. Vari gli intrattenimenti: il sestetto ironico-jazz «The Mark Melone's» di Marco Testa, banchetti informativi, e una mostra della poetessa lesbica nera nordamericana Audre Lorde. L'iniziativa, che ha il patrocinio del Comune di Torino, nasce dalla collaborazione dei gruppi Circolo Maurice, Davide e Giunata, InformaGay riuniti in un coordinamento cittadino.

Ma i festeggiamenti incominciano già sabato 20. Nel pomeriggio banchetti informativi saranno allestiti in via Po al-

Fig 5.12-15 LGBT Pride Events in 1978, 1980, 1989 and 1998 (from Left to Right)⁵¹

In 2006, Turin held its first official Pride Parade, the Nazionale Pride Torino 2006 (see chapter 4.3.1). It was then institutionalized in 2009 and has been held every year in June (except for 2020, when it was canceled due to the Covid-19 pandemic). In 2023 the route of the Pride of Turin changed the regular routine (which from Corso Principe Eugenio, to Piazza XVIII Dicembre, Via Cernaia, Via Pietro Micca, Piazza Castello, Via Po, end in Piazza Vittorio), to the north of the city, Corso Vercelli, passing Corso Brescia and Via Bologna and nearby areas which consider the agglomeration of working class people and migrants.

The Pride route was changed to the north of Torino, which usually considered more risky for LGBT identity. So the route adjustment was intended

⁵¹ Source from LA STAMPA Archivio storico: <http://www.archiviola stampa.it/>

to make LGBT identity and group more visible in this area. (*The Representative of Arcigay Torino*)

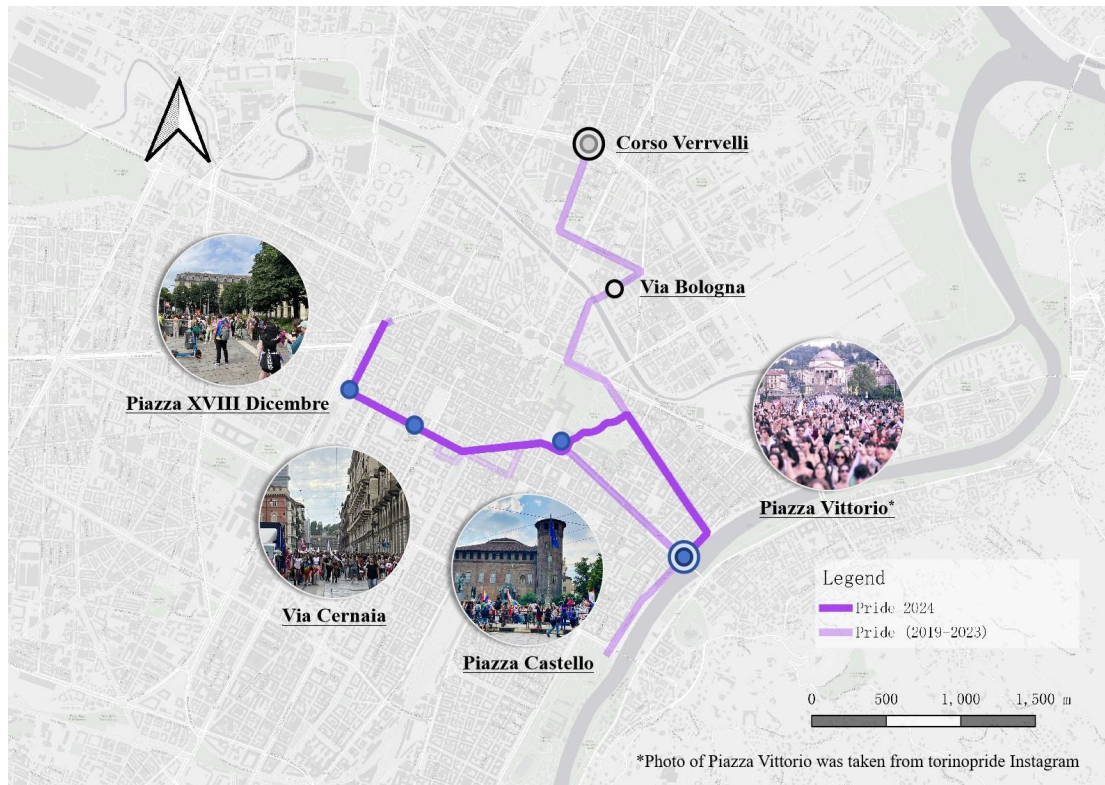


Fig 5.16 Routes of Pride Parade in Turin from 2019 to 2024⁵²

(Source: Official Website of Coordinamento Torino Pride, <https://www.torinopride.it/en/>; Online Materials)

5.3.2.2 LGBT Film Festival

In addition to LGBT pride events, the LGBT Film Festival is another regular event in Turin. LGBT film festival, found in 1986, used to known as Da Sodoma a Hollywood, is a film festival held annual in Turin. The festival presents a selection of films with LGBT themes. It is the oldest festival of its kind in Europe and the third in the world⁵³. The birth and holding of the film festival has made LGBT culture in Turin diverse and normalised. Turin has become an important LGBT friendly city, based on its recognition by tourism and culture entertainment of public.

Moreover, the film form of LGBT culture as well show how the LGBT symbolic

⁵² Sources from online open sources

⁵³ Source from Wikipink: https://wikipink.org/index.php/Torino_GLB_T_film_festival_-_Da_Sodoma_a_Hollywood

has been changing since 1970s, started with the LGBT movement. Malagrecia (2007) sorts the development of LGBT theme movies history, he states that in 1970s homosexuality finally became visible on screens due to the LGBT movements; while time came to 1990s, the LGBT movies represented the cultural and societal shifts that took places in the west, manifesting the struggle of queer subjectivity and politics, the struggle against neo-liberalism and corporatization, and also offered an critique with queer theory's questioning of contesting dominant representations of the mainstream. Therefore, movies have become a heritage carrier of LGBT culture and history, and LGBT film festivals have also become a regular cultural ritual to declare to the mainstream public the living conditions and interests of LGBT in today's society.



Fig 5.17 News Report of *Da Sodoma a Hollywood* in 1986⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Source from LA STAMPA Archivio storico: <http://www.archiviola stampa.it/>



Fig 5.18 *Poster of LGBT Film Festival Turin in 1991*⁵⁵

These two festive events, as symbols of LGBT culture in urban spaces, represent the LGBT community's struggle for visibility and recognition by mainstream society, and have a certain degree of universality. As a result, they have opened up a space with special meaning, alternative forms of interaction and cultural exchange in the everyday lives of the LGBT community in Turin. The special meaning of Pride and the LGBT Film Festival for the LGBT community is revealed in the differences between their experiences in everyday life. For LGBT Pride events, LGBT people are in a hidden position in the urban space in their daily life experience, while Pride uses the city streets and squares as a space for LGBT labeling. The LGBT Film Festival, on the other hand, is about presenting LGBT-themed film culture to a wider public, distinguishing it from other film festivals known to the general public.

5.4 Conclusion

Since 2010, Turin's LGBT urban space making has become a process that supported by multiple social actors, LGBT individuals and associations, commercial businesses in the city, and local authorities. This shows the societal changes in recent

⁵⁵ Source from <https://www.arsvalue.com/en/lots/527183/-autore-non-identificato-da-sodoma-ad-hollywood>

years, that general public in Turin has widely recognized and accepted LGBT group. Moreover, LGBT urban spaces in this period, has no longer a dichotomy (LGBT or non LGBT), but expended into a spectrum, from LGBT labeled spaces, LGBT friendly spaces, general places, spaces for LGBT hidden socializing, and LGBT unfriendly spaces.

Through the previous decades of LGBT resistance history and spatial practices, Turin has rich LGBT collective culture and history, in both perspectives of spatial elements and ritual elements, such as Via Garibaldi (one of the most important location for Italian LGBT liberation movement, thanks to the establishment of FUORI!) , LGBT pride parade events and LGBT Film Festival. However, given the sources of LGBT culture and history, LGBT group in Turin still face a series of challenges from the mainstream society, for instance, discrimination, violent cases and the burring of their culture and history. Therefore, the following chapter we turn out attention into the interview analysis and LGBT people's perceptions of sense of belonging.

6. “Sense of Belonging” Analysis for LGBT in Turin

In this section, we discuss the interviewees’ perceptions of the LGBT atmosphere in Turin’s LGBT spaces. Based on the notion of “sense of belonging” as a symbolic sensibility, the discussion is centred on symbolic symbols such as the free expression of personal identity, and the security of identity within urban environment, and LGBT collective culture and history.

6.1 “Sense of Belonging” as “Feeling at Home”

According to the citizenship of the respondents during the interview session, we can divide them into three different groups, *group of Turin locals, the group of Italian but non Turin locals, and LGBT immigrants*. These different respondent groups seemingly have different perceptions of sense of belonging regarding their lives in Turin.

For *Turin locals*, They generally feel that they are ease and “at home” in Turin. This “feeling at home” builds on the fact that they can present their identities in public without feeling insecurity. Furthermore, they do not think they will face much danger, such as violence and discrimination, even if they display more obvious queerness or non-traditional gender expressions and characteristics. However, this sense of belonging and “feeling at home” are also contributed to how much they know about Turin, and their nostalgia for city that they were born and grew up.

I can not tell you which area is more LGBT friendly while others are not, because I am so familiar with everywhere, Turin is the city in the world that I know the most. (Ms.G, 33, Italian)

The group of Italian but non Turin locals, has a high level of recognition of LGBT life in Turin, mainly because they compare Turin with other Italian regions or other cities in the Piedmont region. However, even though they think Turin as an LGBT friendly city, and they feel comfortable and ease living in Turin, they still share

a certain level of insecurity. This feeling of insecurity and danger regards to the dark environment, bad sanitary conditions of the spaces, and some people that have low tolerant to minority groups (such as youngsters).

I feel comfortable in Turin, in general. I think Turin is very LGBT friendly. But sometime there are places that I feel unsafe indeed such as Barriera di Milano. (Ms.E, 24, Italian)

LGBT immigrants, generally feel satisfied with the overall social and LGBT atmosphere in Turin, and they often refer to Turin as “my home” or “my city”. When asked about the living conditions of the LGBT community in Turin, they often cite their own past experiences (mainly in their original countries) as evidence of the high degree of acceptance and liberal atmosphere of Turin. When discussing the insecurity in urban spaces, this group often believes that these insecurities are not necessarily targeted at the LGBT individuals, but everyone or marginalized people.

I don't think queer people are safe really, because we are marginalized, and marginalized people are safe here. Yes, i think there is certain level of tolerance to it, but i think that on the foundation sense, people are not ready for that. (Mr.T, 32, Asian)

Therefore, the improvement of LGBT's sense of belonging, recognition of LGBT identity, the conservation and spatial displaying of their culture and history, and the safety problems are the main points that have been noted.

Protecting and showcasing the culture and history of LGBT community in the urban spaces is every important, it not only helps LGBT community to remember our history of resistance, also to educate the greater public. But of course, by doing this, the safety and security of LGBT deserve attention too. (The Vice President of Circolo Maurice GLBTQ)

The recognition of LGBT is the main point of making a “home” of ours. But not only about keeping us from the dangers, but our demands and identities, and our community’s history. (The Representative of Arcigay Torino)

Based on the above discussion on chapter 2, for the LGBT population, they have gathered in the suburbs or city centers (thanks to the urban hollowing out process in the second half of the last century) in order to escape the unsafe factors in mainstream society, such as prejudice, discrimination and even violence against LGBT people. People always feel sense of belonging in the space of “home”. This “home” can be a physical “house”, a community, a city or even a country (Duyvendak, 2011). However, the meaning of “home” is always defined in a dichotomous context, “home” and “non home” (Terkenli, 1995). Nicolazzo (2000) points LGBT spaces usually contain the borders of space, which define the physical LGBT space in which LGBT are visible and and feel out of hostility and discrimination.

In the process of gathering up LGBT population, a series of shops, bars, cultural facilities, etc. have been created around the LGBT community, and these commercial and cultural facilities have created nodes for the social network of the LGBT community. As the LGBT liberation movement developed, and later the LGBT community faced a series of challenges together (HIV/AIDS, destigmatisation and the fight against same sex marriage, etc.), a series of activities and urban elements with obvious LGBT cultural symbols were born (such as the Pride Parade and the rainbow flag). Finally, when Castro became a place of resistance for the LGBT struggle on a global scale and a LGBT tourist heat-spot to some measure, it also became a symbol of LGBT equal rights. This series of developments has established their sense of community culture and belonging (Ramirez, 2003; Boyd, 2011). Home making practice is a process of meaning investment, which includes activities contained with people’s tendencies and intentions, their everyday life actions in the place, and collective memories that connected to the past and the future (Terkenli, 1995). This is said, home is also a collection of symbolic meaning which provides reference to people of familiarity, and defines “home”.

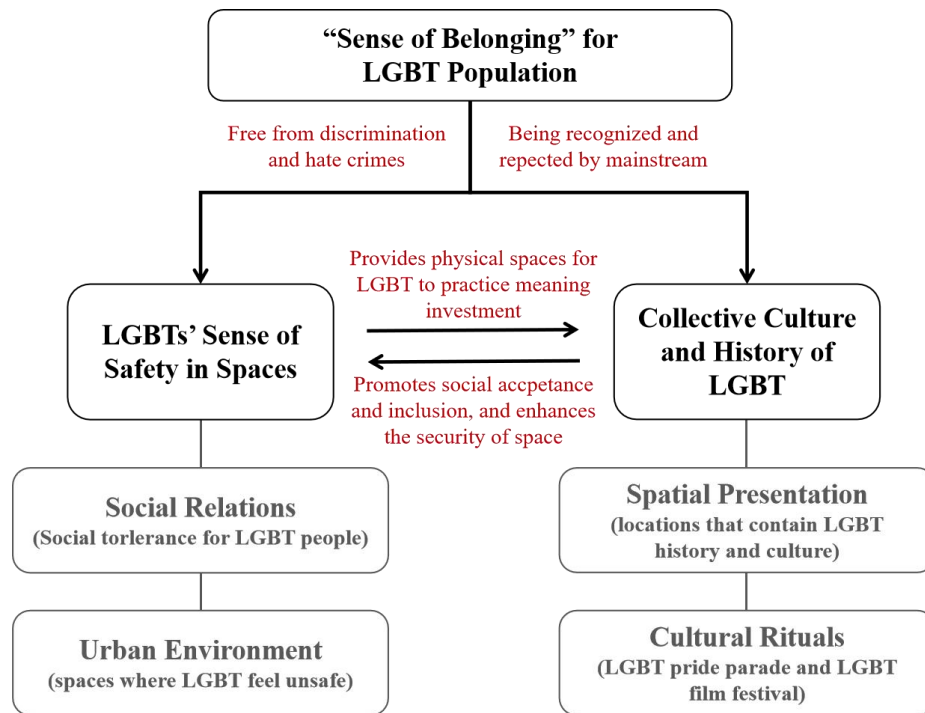


Fig 6.1 Mechanism among Sense of Belonging, and Sense of Safety, Collective Culture and History for LGBT

Therefore, we can see that for the LGBT community, their sense of belonging comes from the sense of safety that the environment brings them, as well as the group culture and collective memory formed within a space.

6.2 The Feeling of Insecurity in Spaces

Security of spaces is one of the main factors for achieving “sense of home” for all different kind of people. For LGBT, the potential of violence and crime, discrimination and even harassment are the topics that have been discussed in academia. No statistics have yet been compiled on violence and discrimination against LGBT people in public places in Turin, but in 2022 ISTAT published data at the national level. The statistics report illustrates that during the period of 2019-2021, LGBT people in Italy face discrimination and even violent incidences in the country.

[In 2019-2021] the incidence of those who said they had been threatened for reasons of sexual orientation, excluding incidents at work, was 3.9%; violent assaults were reported by 3.1% (ISTAT, 2022)⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ Source from ISTAT 2022: <https://www.istat.it/comunicato-stampa/discriminazioni-lavorative-nei->

However, Turin has gained more positive comments during the interview session of this research. From interviews of the research, even though interviewees have claimed that they feel safe in general, but some of them also have mentioned some certain level of concerns of insecurity toward LGBT people.

I don't think queer people are safe really, because we are marginalized, and marginalized people are safe here (Mr.T, 32, Asian).

Further more, there are still some security concerns in terms of some particular spaces and time, also sense of insecurity related to gender (lesbian). The sense of insecurity and the fear of crime should be considered as situated, complex and often arising from multiple reasons (Shirlow and Pain, 2003). Guedes (2016, as cited in Azevedo, Sani et al., 2021) argues, the perception of (in)security can be discussed in two distinct perspectives: objective which refers to the factual information about the statistics number of crimes, news or other forms of information about urban disorder; while the subjective perspective is impacted by the objective, usually shows as fear of crime, risk perception and safety behaviors. In addition, Alvarez et al (2022) point out that other than the crime statistics and information received, the urban setting in the areas, stigmas, and other societal conditions (i.g. employment, marginalized culture and ethic) can also bring the insecurity concerns and worry to residents.

Table 6.1 Answers from Individual Interviewees Related to the Insecurity of Spaces⁵⁷

Interviewee	Sexuality	Originally From	Locations/Areas/ Type of Spaces	Causes of Insecurity
Ms. E	Lesbian	Italy	• Barriera di Milano	Caused by the social intolerance and the environment in the area
Mr. B	Gay	Eastern Europe	• Metro or Bus • Questura	The environment in the area
Mr.C	Gay	South America	• Barriera di Milano • Areas by the south of	The social intolerance appeared in the area

confronti-delle-persone-lgbt-in-unione-civile-o-gia-in-unione-anni-2020-2021/

⁵⁷ Source from interviews.

			Lingotto	
			• At night, in the dark	
Mr.T	Gay	Asia	• Barriera di Milano	The social intolerance appeared in the area
Mr.Y	Gay	Africa	• Barriera di Milano	The social intolerance appeared in the area
Mr.Z	Gay	Eastern Europe	• Barriera di Milano	The social intolerance appeared in the area
Mr.J	Gay	Italy	• Barriera di Milano • Via Nizza, the part that near Porta Nuova	Caused by the social intolerance and the environment in the area
Mr.A	Gay	Italy	• Places that are crowded, dark with young gangs people. • Pride Parade, places with polices	The social intolerance appeared in the area

From spatial insecurity perspective, the interviewee' perceptions of safety in the spaces within Turin is relatively uniform, mainly focusing on the Barriera di Milano, as well as spaces with high pedestrian traffic within Turin, urban environments or areas with less than ideal urban social conditions (such as spaces with poor road hygiene, inadequate lighting, high social unemployment rates or spaces with a high concentration of vagrants, and even areas where drugs and alcohol are more prevalent). There are three main perspectives on the causes of insecurity: insecurity caused by relatively inadequate urban conditions (physical space, high social instability, etc.), areas with a high concentration of groups with low social tolerance and acceptance of LGBT people (including areas with incidents of discrimination and violence), and factors contributing to the insecurity of women (lesbians). Based on the "unsafe areas" and their causes, the respondents' "safe areas" and "reasons for feeling safe" are compared.

Table 6.2 *Answers from Individual Interviewees Related to the safety of Spaces*⁵⁸

Interviewee	Sexuality	Originally From	Locations/Areas/ Type of Spaces	Reasons of Feeling Safe
Ms. E	Lesbian	Italy	• City Center	Familiarity of spaces

⁵⁸ Source from interviews.

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Areas around UniTO (Aurora, Vanchiglia) • City Center 	
Mr. B	Gay	Eastern Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LGBT friendly places (such as: places join “homophobia, no thanks” project) • Places where LGBTs are welcome or party in (Such as Pride, queer parties) 	Familiarity of spaces and the acceptance of LGBT in the spaces
Mr.C	Gay	South America	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Area near where I live 	The acceptance of LGBT in the spaces
Mr.T	Gay	Asia	1.San Salvario, City Center, Vanchiglia	Familiarity of spaces and the acceptance of LGBT in the spaces
Mr.Y	Gay	Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turin is safe for me 	The acceptance of LGBT in the spaces
Mr.Z	Gay	Eastern Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I feel safe in general, apart from the northern part of the city • City Center • Areas near university campuses 	The acceptance of LGBT in the spaces
Mr.J	Gay	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valentino Park • Places where clustered many LGBT people (like Pride) 	The acceptance of LGBT in the spaces
Mr.A	Gay	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City center 	The acceptance of LGBT in the spaces
Mr.S	Gay	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The whole city 	The acceptance of LGBT in the spaces
Mr.G	Lesbian	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The whole city 	Familiarity of spaces and the acceptance of LGBT in the spaces

From the perspective of safe area, most of the interviewees considered the city centre of Turin to be a relatively safe place, because they believe that LGBT people could be accepted to a certain extent in the city centre area, even though different groups of people gather there. In addition, interviewees consider safe places to be places they feel familiar with, including the areas where they live and the places they frequent. Finally, LGBT friendly or LGBT labeled venues and public events (such as Pride, LGBT parties, LGBT associations) are also safe scenarios where they feel

surrounded by other LGBT people and like-minded people and therefore feel free to express their LGBT identities and behaviour.

The following analysis therefore focuses on the insecurity felt by the LGBT community in Turin's urban spaces. It is based on three main perspectives: feelings of insecurity based on homophobic and social intolerance toward LGBT; the physical and social conditions of urban spaces that trigger feelings of insecurity; and the perception of urban insecurity among women (lesbians).

6.2.1 Sense of Insecurity and Social Relations

When asked about their feelings of safety in urban spaces, respondents generally mentioned that in some scenarios and areas, the acceptance and tolerance of LGBT by others is a criterion for determining whether they feel safe. This source of tolerance and acceptance is generally based on one's own experiences of discrimination or even violence, or the experiences of friends.

[When asked where or what type of space he feels unsafe] In places that are conservative or I know there would be many people that are conservative [do not like LGBT], like youngsters, or people with religions of course. [When asked have you ever been in or heard of any violence or discrimination incidents] Once, I was with my ex, and we got in an aggression but not super violent. It was around midnight, and we walked along the Po River, [on the water-friendly platform]. So we hugged and kissed. But there was a group of uh people, young people okay i think men but i don't want to assume the gender okay. they were like a group of young men, probably drunk, i don't know they were calling calling us. Yes. Okay. And I responded. Okay. They started to speaking, yelling to us, and throwing us things, like bottles and stuff like that. Luckily they missed us because it was potentially uh hurting and then my ex actually um decided to throw back the things and like put me aside and say like don't respond to them. I mean the situation was okay in a way because it was

not like super violent outcome, but yeah, it could have been. (Mr.A, 28, Italian)

[Where and what types of places you feel unsafe] Barriera di Milano, and area after Lingotto, not only because i am gay, but i don't feel save around there in general. [When asked have you ever been in or heard of any violence or discrimination incidents] Yes, I have heard of a case about my friend, who was walking around Lingotto at that time. A construction worker was passing by, and said some word toward him. Although my friend didn't catch what he was saying, but from some other evidence, he felt it was toward his queerness. (Mr.C, 29, South American)

I don't feel safe in Barriera di Milano to be honest. Because I have heard of some incidents happened there. I was a bit worry and concerned when I was visiting my friend's home one night. Also i would worry about my friends when they were going home which is Barriera di Milano. (Mr.G, 22, Italian)

Apart from what interviewees have victimized or heard of, news about violence and discrimination also contributed to the insecurity feelings, *"I read from news about discrimination and other unfortunate cases in Barriera di Milano"* (Ms.E, 24, Italian). In this sense, the cases are not necessarily taken places in Turin, but in general. These cases could be from another city, or not even in Italy, yet they hit the alarms of the LGBT people in Turin, not toward specific places or locations themselves, but to the certain type of people, for instance the discrimination and violence incidents by Muslim Arabs and other group of people, *"I feel a bit concerned when I am around Piazza della Repubblica, because there are many Arab people"*(Mr.Z, 35, Eastern European). As a result, they also feel a certain insecurity towards the certain types of people (the types of people who have committed violence or discrimination toward LGBT people in the past). Therefore they also mention the insecure perceptions of strangers or specific groups of people (for instance, elders and youngsters).

This sense of insecurity on one hands contributed by the actually hate crimes

toward LGBT people. However, it also shows the reality that the lack of understanding from both sides, LGBT people and the groups that usually considered more homophobic.

From LGBT people's points of view, hate crimes taken from homophobic groups of people (often refer to people that are Africans, Arabs and Muslims, youngsters, according to respondents) have been reported on news and discussed among their friends. For the LGBT people, such behaviour is random and spontaneous, which means that the LGBT community faces potential risks in public spaces, especially in areas and places where discrimination and violence against LGBT people have occurred in the past. In this environment, LGBT people need to disguise and hide their LGBT identity, behaviour and language characteristics, and make themselves "part of the crowd". As a result, LGBT people would start going into LGBT labeled places (associations, discos and clubs), where they can seek for security and free from discrimination, and feel at home (Bertone et al 2003). However, as a form of self segregation, this process may ghettoize the LGBT places, and enhance the misunderstandings and intolerance of the mainstream. However, from the interviews, there shown that this concern and understanding may have been built on the stereotype toward certain type of people:

Not going to deny, some of the people from Africa in Turin, they do not accept LGBT. But I know some of these people are also friendly to them. (Mr.Y, 33, African)

I personally know some Muslims that are accept LGBT people, and show their friendliness to them. So to be honest, I do not have much fear of them. (Mr.B, 26, Eastern European)

Sex crimes toward female and the sense of safety of Lesbian people

Lesbians are important members of the LGBT community. However, due to their gender differences, they have a different sense of security. Fetchenhauer and Buunk

(2005) examine that women's fear and insecurity in the city come from sociocultural norms and expectations placed on women, and crimes against women. Norms that view women as "subordinate" to men and as "weak" place a certain amount of social pressure on women. At the same time, in order to meet society's expectations of women, they face a lot of pressure, which also brings a certain sense of insecurity. Furthermore, Belmonte and Holmes (2016) reveal that lesbians experience "negative feelings" in a heteronormative environment (usually homophobic environment). These negative feelings come from discrimination, security threats, and a sense of unease about being objectified or marginalized. Secondly, they also experience a certain degree of oppression in family environments and religious places. Even when they are in an LGBT environment, they still experience a certain degree of negativity. Ms.E (24, Italian) thinks that Turin is relatively high acceptance to LGBT people, and that being lesbian doesn't necessarily make her feel unsafe. However, as a woman or a woman-like person, she still feels a certain sense of insecurity.

From the perspective of a sense of security in space, the respondent Ms.G (33, Italian, who dresses and behaves in a relatively masculine manner) feels a stronger sense of security in the spaces within the city of Turin, while the other respondents all have varying degrees of security concerns. Ms.E (24, Indian Italian) feels a higher sense of security in the city centre and around Vanchiglia, mainly because she usually spends more time in the city centre and lives in this area, while Vanchiglia is familiar to her because she was a student at the University of Turin. However, Ms.E feels unsafe at night, especially in the parks and green ways on both sides of the Po River, "*these areas are usually dark with not much lights, also the dark corners in the parks, make me feel unsafe*". Other than spots that lack of visual control, the areas where crimes toward females also give the fear for lesbian, "*there was a sex crime happened in Parco del Valentino, it was at night. So I now kind of worry when I walk there alone at night*" (Ms.Y, 29, Italian).

Lesbians face a certain insecurity in urban spaces, based on physical conditions (lack of lighting, dark corners, etc.) in urban spaces, as well as homophobia and

sexual crimes against women. However, they also face the embarrassment of being ignored when they are in LGBT-friendly spaces.

6.2.2 Sense of Insecurity and Urban Context

Switching attention from the experiences and knowledge of crime and violence and discrimination, urban setting and social instability can as well be the cause of the sense of insecurity. However, the sense of insecurity that caused by urban context, is not necessarily toward LGBT people, but to general.

The feeling of insecurity may be a reaction to physical cues from the local environment that the area is in decline, and residents' inability to mobilize against the social disorder (Brunton-Smith and Jackson, 2012). further more. Loukaitou-Sideris (2012) states that the neighborhood incivilities contribute to the generation of the feeling of insecurity and fear, which can be distinguished as physical (building environment) and social (socio-demographic issues). Therefore, there are two different perspective of the urban context, the physical urban setting (including pedestrian, parks and vegetation, illumination, building conditions, etc.), while the other dimension is the social conditions of the areas (such as public drunks and drug addicts, beggars, homeless, etc.).

6.2.2.1 Sense of Insecurity Caused by Physical Urban Elements

Kelvin Lynch (1964) states that structuring and identifying the surroundings is instinct animals. He believes that observers in an environment can determine whether an area is safe by the visual elements (colour, shape, lighting, etc.) in the space and other sensory elements (smell, sound). The bad illumination and dark corners, due to the limited of visual control and sensing, it gives people the feeling of risk of unknown dangers and insecurity (Ewing, Clemente et al, 2013; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2012; Al-Ansari and Al-Khafaji, 2024).

I feel worry and unsafe when waking in the dark, also to my friends who are lesbians when they go home at night (Mr.G, 22, Italian).

For me, i don't mind holding hands and show some intimacy with my partner in general, and we often do in the public. Unless when it is dark, or no one around us, we would keep a bit of distance, because we don't want any threat which may come accidentally. Or sometime at night, when a stranger walking toward us in the dark and quietness, we may try to keep a bit of distance from each other, because we don't know if it is good to should intimacy or not. (Mr.C, 29, South American)

Beside, the cleanliness of public spaces show positive co-relations with the sense of safety (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2012). Another word, when a certain space is full of garbage and filth, people tend to be cautious and feel unsafe. The lack of maintenance of public spaces shows the lack of taking care of by the neighborhood and local authorities to people, which reflect on the spaces as “no one may come” as well as “people avoid coming”. Moreover, the abandoned buildings, and graffiti are also the elements that create fear, while the former one show the deteriorated scenes of the city, and the later may be signs of unwelcome.

In Via Nizza, near Porta Nuova, I always see some homeless people, and sometimes people who are drinking alcohol walking within the small of marijuana. It is uncomfortable, and indeed, I would worry about something is going to happen. (Mr.G, 22, Italian)

Another space is Questura⁵⁹. Sometime when i need to renew my document, my partner accompany me, he also feels scared and “out of Italy”. In that area, given different culture, nationality, and regions, not saying i have problem with those, but sometime these people can be aggressive, and their aggressiveness may triggered from different points, maybe your outfits, your behaviors in the public, let alone same sex kissing and holding hands. And i don't want to risk. (Mr.B, 26, Eastern European)

⁵⁹ Questura is the Immigrant Office in the city, where migrant people should visit for receiving their resident permits, and other significant documents.

The LGBT respondents' perception of safety is significantly affected by various aspects of the urban environment. Poor lighting, such as dark corners and poorly lit areas, can limit visual control and perception, creating a potential for danger and a sense of insecurity. The cleanliness of public spaces is also a key factor. Spaces with piles of rubbish and dirt not only look unsightly, they can also make people feel cautious and unsafe. Poor maintenance of public spaces can make people feel that the community and local authorities are not looking after the area, and they may avoid going there as a result. Abandoned buildings and graffiti can exacerbate feelings of fear. Abandoned buildings symbolize urban decay, while graffiti can be seen as a sign of unwelcome attention.

Some of the interviewees in this research have mentioned a certain fear of people in some areas of Turin. In addition to the fear of potential crime mentioned in the previous section, this fear also mentioned homeless, drunks and drug addicts, mentally ill people on the streets and residents in a similar state of unemployment (or with informal occupations).

For LGBT individuals, their sense of safety is also affected by their behaviour in public places. Generally speaking, they may not mind showing intimacy with their partner in public, but in some situations, such as in the dark or when there is no one around, they may keep their distance to avoid potential threats. At night, when they encounter strangers in a dark and quiet environment, they may also hesitate to show intimacy due to the uncertainty of the situation.

In areas such as the Questura, people from different cultures, nationalities and regions may make LGBT people feel uneasy. However, it is more from the surrounding being "*out of Italy*" (Mr.B, 26, *Eastern European*) environment. On the one hand, the surrounding buildings are relatively dilapidated (especially the immigration office), and on the other hand, the tidiness of the local streets is relatively poor. At the same time, around the Questura, the urban road structure is intertwined, with empty squares and fewer shops. Such an environment is more likely to become a scene of crime. LGBT people would be worried about being attacked by others, and

this fear may be caused by various factors, such as clothing or public behaviour, same-sex kissing and holding hands.

In short, within the city of Turin, the differences in the urban spatial environment and the physical conditions of the space have led to inconsistent perceptions of safety among the LGBT community. Factors such as the hygiene of the urban environment, building maintenance, insufficient lighting and visual blind spots can all cause the LGBT community to feel uncomfortable and unsafe in certain areas.

6.2.2.2 The Phenomenon of Gay Centric in LGBT Urban Spaces

There seems to be relatively high acceptance of lesbians in the city, but there is relatively little attention to lesbians in urban spaces. This situation existed in the 1970s: *“Lesbians were less visible, because people didn’t actually pay much attention to them”* (The Representative of Fondazione Sandro Penna FUORI!). Although there has been some improvement in recent years, there is still a gay-centric expression in LGBT-friendly spaces. Bertone et al (2003) discover that, lesbians people are less keen on LGBT community and associations, instead, they prefer to attend feminist venues and events.

Yes, I think gay people have received more representations in spaces, even those LGBT spaces. It doesn’t bother much really, but at some point I still think it should be more inclusive within the LGBT community. (Ms.E, 24, Indian Italian)

I think in general, gay centric in LGBT do exists. For instance, usually in LGBT places, they put the name of “gay”, instead “LGBT”. (Mr.G, 26, Italian)

I didn’t enjoy LGBT places too much, because it way too focus on GAY, which was dominated at some points, without other lesbians, transgenders people. It is queer, but so influenced by gay community. (Mr.T, 32, Asian)

The lack of lesbian urban spaces and the neglect of LGBT spaces on the

one hand make lesbians feel “out of place” again in LGBT urban spaces, even though these spaces are free from traditional heteronormativity. On the other hand, this situation also makes lesbians feel a certain sense of insecurity.

6.3 The Blurring of LGBT Collective Memories in Turin Urban Space

Collective memories and culture is the shared memory of the members of a group and therefore a marker by which a group distinguishes between “self” and “other” (Assmann, 2011). This distinction makes a form of sense of belonging to the group and, through frequent recollection, encourages the members of a group to deepen and strengthen their identity. In the chapter 2, we saw that the home-making practices of different groups in the city are about maintaining their own safety, both physically and mentally, meanwhile they are also about building social networks based on collective memories and culture.

At the same time, there is also a link between collective memory and conflict (sense of security). The collective memory narratives associated with intractable conflicts provide a black-and-white picture that makes understanding the history of the conflict simple, quick, clear and easy (Bar-Tal, 2013). In other words, social conflicts become part of the collective memory of a group, which also provides the group with a ethos of conflicts (Bar-Tal, 2013), such as imagery of the purpose, circumstances, conditions, and objects of conflicts and dangers, etc. As a result, the LGBT community feels unsafe in the urban space of Turin when confronted with certain scenarios and passers-by, which remind them of memories and news reports of past discrimination and violence (see 5.1.1 for details).

6.3.1 From Spatial Perspective

Although Turin has a rich history and culture of LGBT rights resistance, it has also been widely represented in the past (especially in the era of 1982-1999). However, at present, LGBT collective memories and culture have also faded in the eyes of the LGBT population and the general public. Therefore, in this part, the

analysis will be based on two perspectives: the LGBT elements and spaces in the city and LGBT knowledge, in order to discuss the lack of LGBT collective memory in the urban space of Turin.

Turin has a relatively large number of LGBT historical spaces (see 5.2.1). However, there is currently a large gap in the representation of LGBT history and culture in Turin's public spaces:

Via Garibaldi, once the centre of Turin's LGBT culture, has now lost all LGBT elements, to the extent that Via Garibaldi 13 has also been converted for other uses.



*Fig. 6.2 Current Development in Via Garibaldi
(Photo taken by author)*

Via Santa Chiara and Via Basilica, which used to be the centre of Turin's LGBT associations and the front line of the movement from the 1980s to the mid-1990s, is now quiet, with only the Fondazione Sandro Panne FUORI!.

Via Po, a city road often passed by the LGBT pride in Turin, and the LGBT Film Festival is still held in this area every year. However, during normal times, there are very few LGBT elements and activities held in this area.

However, the protection of LGBT urban collective memory is due to the conversion of the use of the site on the one hand, as La Rocca (2014) points out, LGBT urban spaces have been facing the challenges of gentrification in the 21st

century; in addition, it is also due to the lack of protection of LGBT collective memory and culture by the city administration.

Yes, the spaces and history of LGBT in Turin haven't been well protected and presented, but it is not that the government not willing to, but financial problem. (The Representative of Fondazione Sandro Penna FUORI!)

But the history's protection is very important for us [...] I have noticed that the government is trying to do something for LGBT, to be more inclusive. But somehow, there are many other key aspects they just forget or not notice. (The Representative of Arcigay Torino)

The blurring, even fading, of the spatial presentation of LGBT collective memories and history, on the one hand, this has diluted Turin's LGBT-friendly city attributes accordingly; but the greater impact has been to weaken the LGBT community's willingness to build LGBT spaces in Turin, while also weakening their sense of belonging and identification with the local LGBT community.

6.3.2 From Individuals' Knowledge Perspective

From individuals' knowledge perspective, the perception of collective memory is also gradually fading. In this study, only two of the respondents had a certain understanding and knowledge of Turin's LGBT culture and history. One of the respondents had an understanding of these cultures and history because he was an activist, while the other explored LGBT culture due to his own interests. In contrast, the other interviewees expressed a lack of knowledge about Turin's LGBT history and culture. *"I don't think there is any LGBT history in Turin. Maybe you mean the Pride event?" (Ms.E, 24, Indian Italian); "I have never heard or been told anything about it." (Mr.C, 29, South American).* This section therefore discusses the respondents' blurring of LGBT collective memory in terms of both spatial cognition and pride as an LGBT festival ritual.

For the Spatial and history Knowledge, the only place and event that respondents feel reflected LGBT culture and advocacy in the space is the annual Pride Parade. In addition, most respondents also believe that there is not much LGBT business and space in Turin, and there is even a lack of LGBT-friendly venues.

I don't know many LGBT places and even those friendly ones, I think Turin is not the city for it. (Mr.C, 29, South American)

For LGBT culture or entertainments in related theme, I think people can go to Milano, or to Spain and other European countries, instead of looking for in Turin, since there are not many. (Mr.Z, 35, Eastern European)

They were so surprised that they were told that Turin had given birth to the first LGBT movement in Italy.

It is unexpected, I wouldn't guess Turin was the city of the start of Italian LGBT movement, I thought I would be Milano or Roma, which are more international and open. (Mr.T, 32, Asian)

I don't know how to react, of course, Turin has always been left wing politically. But I seriously do not see the potential of Turin being in this position. (Mr.S, 27, Italian)

As a result, the sense of place for the LGBT community is also weakened. Most respondents, although they feel relatively safe in the areas and places where they often hang out, also said that they do not consider these places to be LGBT-friendly. In other words, this sense of security mainly comes from their familiarity with the place and the actual security situation in the area, yet they do not feel LGBT exists in spaces.

When we switch attention to the pride, the knowledge of LGBT people have also changed. The political advocacy of pride have weakened, instead, people recon that the pride now is more like an annual entertainment with LGBT theme. Therefore, we can see from the comparison of two aspects, “what LGBT people think about the

pride event” and “how pride should be like from LGBTs’ point of view”.

Respondents of the research believe that the current Turin pride parade is more of a public party. Although it has an LGBT theme, its political statements and advocacy have faded. Respondents also pointed out that this “party image” comes from the music, equipment and dancing during the parade, as well as the way some participants dress up (*Mr C, 27, South American; Mr.T, 32, Asian*); In addition, due to the weakening of LGBT venues and the LGBT cultural atmosphere in Turin, interviewee Mr. B (*26, Eastern European*) notes that many young people participate in LGBT pride, but they do not understand the history of LGBT rights struggles and only have some impressions from movies about the past struggles of the LGBT community.

Mostly of the young people [around me, and interviewees of my research] don't know the history and culture of LGBT movements. LGBT movements had gone through very long way, from oppression by the mainstream, to HIV and now to Prep society, many struggle and pain. They now in the pride, it is all about party and entertainments. (Mr.B, 26, Eastern European)

Comparing to where I am from and my original cultural background, the pride event is beautiful. But I think it is less political as how it should have been. The pride is more like a party. (Mr.T, 32, Asian)

To be honest, I don't think people know what the pride is for, either those join the pride, or those looking and filming by the sides. Pride is a party, a public festival. But moreover, because there is nothing to provide people and educate the public what LGBT has been and what the pride today is for. (The Representative of Arcigay Torino)

However, the understanding of Pride in each era is coherent historical, but also has its own distinctive characteristics. In today’s society, Pride cannot be expected to adhere to the political claims of the late 20th century, based on the current relationship

between the LGBT community and mainstream society and the transformation of perceptions. However, during the interviews, it was possible to discover the respondents' understandings of Pride in today's social context: Pride is a place for everyone to express their love and proclaim their identity, expressing that we (LGBT) do exist and are not alone; In addition, Pride is also a social symbol of equality and love, and we still need to fight for our rights. Moreover, we shall also care for the LGBT individuals, who has not yet received mainstream social acceptance, especially in countries and regions that do not recognize LGBT. Furthermore, Pride is not only for LGBT, but it also includes the rights and equality of other marginalized groups in the current context.

It's a great party to celebrate love in all its forms and I feel part of something big. I also know that it is thanks to the prides of the past and present that little by little things have become easier for people who love "differently" from the majority and for those who feel different. I think it's a manifestation that makes you feel whoever you are. (Ms.G, 33, Italian)

In reality, many people still have a lot of problems recognizing and accepting their own identities, whom Pride should also present to, to help them feel good and proud of their own self, rather than just a social party. (Mr.B, 26, Eastern European)

However, some respondents think that Pride event nowadays indeed can provide people a scenario for celebrate what LGBT and society have achieved, in terms of equality and liberation for LGBT and social diversity, yet, it should make a better balance, because we are not yet in the society that everyone is been included and respected.

I think the pride should find a better balance, between a yearly public celebration and the political advocacy which is fighting for the equal rights, that not only for LGBT, but also to all the other people. (Mr.T, 32, Asian)

LGBT in Turin, now it's like “не рыба, не мясо (neither fish nor flesh)”. It is like a illusory conceptual norm that people know what it is, but not know what it really refers to and stands for.(Mr.B, 26, Eastern European)

The history of LGBT rights struggles is part of Turin's urban development process, which has made Turin different from other Italian cities and even European cities. However, the current downplaying of LGBT culture and history has blurred Turin's LGBT friendly urban image accordingly.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Conclusion

LGBT population have been widely discriminated against (and even institutionally) and faced violence by mainstream society in modern times. They “escaped” from relatively conservative traditional town and village environments to metropolises in order to form spaces where they could be free from oppression. As a result, they have established their neighborhoods and communities in big cities in places such as North America. In these communities, they can relatively safely develop their own community culture and the symbolic value of “home”, as well as sense of belonging.

A sense of belonging for LGBT people lies in their sense of security and the inheritance and preservation of collective culture. With the help of these two elements, LGBT communities have established their own urban spaces around the world, either hidden or outwardly expressed. This paper therefore takes Turin as an example to discuss the pattern of LGBT communities being constructed in urban spaces. At the same time, it also explores the elements of LGBT people’s sense of belonging in Turin’s spaces.

Turin is one of the most important cities in Italy that LGBT fight for their equality and rights, and it is also a city with a good impression and atmosphere of LGBT friendliness. In this city, LGBT has a different process of space construction and home making practice from other places in the global north. Looking back at the approach and process of these space formations, we can clearly see the transformation of the relationship between the LGBT community (in Turin, LGBT community refers to the political and social community, different from the physical communities and neighborhoods in many other global north cities) and mainstream society.

LGBT urban spaces in Turin began to emerge in the 1970s, although LGBT spaces had existed before then, they were mostly used for discreet LGBT cruising and

other queer spaces. However, from the 1970s onwards, with the rise of the FUORI! movement (one of the first LGBT liberation movements in Italian history), a series of LGBT discos and other social spaces were formed around Via Garibaldi 13, which connected the LGBT community. At this time, “home making” was mainly about providing safe spaces for the LGBT population to socialize. By 1982, when HIV/AIDS cases were first detected in Italy, homosexuality was also stigmatized. From this point onwards, LGBT spaces, the result of the joint efforts of individuals and associations, increased in number and spread across a wider geographical area. On the one hand, these spaces provided the LGBT community with more diverse social venues and community service spaces, and on the other hand, they also formed a number of diverse cultural venues, including film culture, literary archives, etc., which also included LGBT political initiatives. From this period (from 1982 to 1999), the social network in Turin’s LGBT community gradually took shape, cultivating its unique community culture, and through the construction of spaces, it also broke the heteronormativity of Turin’s urban space. Starting in 2000, Turin underwent a transformation in its urban development direction and paradigm, and LGBT urban spaces also experienced a series of gentrification processes. Despite this, during this period the LGBT community began to see the emergence of institutionalized pride events, and the number of LGBT friendly spaces gradually grew. The main bodies involved in their construction also changed from LGBT individuals and associations to include the local authorities and businesses in Turin.

In regard to the sense of belonging of LGBT people to the Turin urban space, this thesis argues that a sense of security and the preservation of collective culture are the determining factors in LGBT residents’ definition of their “home” space in citywide. In terms of safety, respondents all believe that Turin has a high degree of acceptance and tolerance for LGBT people, but there are still factors in some areas that can cause feelings of insecurity, including physical elements of the urban space (such as inadequate lighting, blind spots in visual control, and dilapidated buildings in the city), as well as places where LGBT hate crimes have occurred and areas that are relatively

intolerant of LGBT people.

Taking into account the preservation of collective culture, LGBT collective culture in the urban space of Turin can be discussed from two aspects: LGBT historical spaces and collective culture in the form of festive rituals. LGBT historical spaces have been the starting point of the LGBT liberation movement since 1971 and the gathering place for associations and the main social activities of the LGBT community. These spaces embody the LGBT community's confrontation with and breaking of the heteronormativity of the urban space of Turin, as well as their hope of "coming out" safely. This study, on the one hand, summarizes the historical LGBT spaces in Turin based on the distribution and forms of LGBT urban spaces in different decades over half a century, as well as La Stampa and other historical data. These spaces are mainly distributed in the city centre, with Via Garibaldi and Via Po as the main spaces, and also covering areas such as Porta Nuova and San Donato. The LGBT collective culture, which takes festivals and ceremonies as its vehicle, is dominated by Pride events and LGBT film festivals. These venues, which are held regularly every year in Turin, show the LGBT cultural atmosphere that distinguishes Turin from other Italian cities. In addition, these events also showcase the political and cultural advocacy of the LGBT community to the general public in the form of large-scale LGBT cultural events.

However, there is a lack of space in the current urban space of Turin to present the culture and history of the LGBT community. This lack of space has weakened the sense of belonging and community solidarity within the LGBT community, and Turin's LGBT-friendliness is no longer as pronounced. In addition, although Pride and the LGBT Film Festival are still held regularly every year, their entertainment-oriented nature has gradually overtaken their political and cultural significance. Such transformation, on the one hand, reduces the external (towards mainstream society) promotion of LGBT identity, culture and history,

"I don't like the idea that Pride is the only time and way to showcase LGBT identities and our advocacy" (Mr.B, 26, Eastern European)

It is also not conducive to creating a safe space in Turin for multiple groups and diverse cultures based on mutual understanding. On the other hand, the LGBT community lacks their cultural and spiritual symbols, and it is difficult for them to form sense of belonging and community identity.

7.2 Future Research on LGBT Topics in Turin

This study still has some limitations, which prevent it from truly and completely presenting the living conditions of the LGBT community in the urban space of Turin and their relationship with mainstream society.

First, from the perspective of sample size, the sample size in this study is relatively small, and the discussion of the internal LGBT situation in Barriera di Milano is relatively weak. Second, due to the limited research materials and types of interviewees, the complete evolution of the LGBT space in Turin and the game and compromise between LGBT and mainstream groups and space use during this period cannot be fully discussed.

In addition, the social and urban space issues of LGBT cover a wide range, including (but not limited to): the mass consumption, commercialization and even politicization of LGBT groups and culture as symbols; the spatial presentation, expression and dissemination of LGBT culture and history; the connotation and evolution of LGBT culture and history; and the social relations and social inclusion issues between the LGBT community and other marginalized groups within the city. These topics, which are also worthy of research in the fields of urban sociology and geography, are as follows.

7.3 Suggestions for Planning for LGBT

From the previous chapter, we analyzed the “sense of belonging” of LGBT people through respondents’ perceptions, with the focus on their sense of insecurity and the lack of spatial presentation of collective memories and history. Therefore, we purpose suggestions to Turin urban planning accordingly.

7.3.1 Promoting Spatial Inclusion and Social in Turin

Alvarez et al. (2022) propose an integrated approach to urban security, emphasizing the need to combat segregation, promote cultural and religious coexistence, and implement policies that foster inclusion. To create a more equitable urban environment, Turin's local authorities should prioritize education and training programs that challenge discrimination and hate crimes while fostering awareness of the city's cultural and ethnic diversity. In addition, from the spatial and societal perspective, the social events and the more inclusive planning process shall be considered highly.

7.3.1.1 Temporary Use of Public Spaces

From an urban planning perspective, accelerating urban renewal projects and optimizing underused public spaces, such as abandoned buildings, streets, and parks, can mitigate crime risks by improving visibility and accessibility. A well-maintained urban environment reduces the sense of vulnerability experienced by LGBT individuals and other minorities while enhancing overall public safety. Additionally, city planning processes must integrate inclusive policies that encourage public participation from diverse communities.

Temporary urban interventions offer creative and experimental strategies for revitalizing underutilized or abandoned spaces while preserving their historical and environmental significance (De Smet, 2013; Gardini, 2020). By repurposing vacant factories, buildings, and cultural facilities, Turin can reinforce its commitment to social inclusion and urban innovation, ensuring that these spaces serve as safe and welcoming environments for marginalized and vulnerable communities, including migrants, low-income groups, and people with disabilities.

These temporary spaces can serve as platforms for cultural, social, and community-based events that foster belonging and interaction among diverse groups. By hosting activities that highlight the daily lives, traditions, and contributions of LGBT group and other marginalized communities, these spaces promote social cohesion and mutual understanding within an increasingly diverse urban environment.

Furthermore, activating neglected spaces can reduce insecurity and the risk of crime while creating opportunities for community engagement, skill-building, and local economic development.

The initiators of these temporary uses can vary, including grassroots organizations, municipal authorities, and independent cultural initiatives. Hosting diverse events, such as art exhibitions, film screenings, community workshops, and social gatherings, can create dynamic and inclusive urban experiences while strengthening the visibility and representation of marginalized communities in public spaces. Additionally, temporary pop-up resource centers could provide essential support services, such as legal assistance, healthcare, employment resources, and cultural programming, particularly in areas with limited infrastructure for vulnerable populations.

7.3.1.2 Participant of Marginalized Groups in Urban Planning Process

“Participation” has come to be considered a new hegemonic frame of reference in the policy-making process (Moini 2011). In another word, during the process of planning and decision making process of urban policies, individuals and different relevant sectors should be involved. On the other hand, Misgav (2019) pointed out that, during the planning and policy making processes, it is important to achieve three different types of justice, distributive justice, procedural justice and recognition. Through his study, distributive justice refer to the distribution of sources (for instance public services); procedural justice is about the LGBT people and other marginalized groups’ involvement and participation; while recognition justice consist of the acknowledgment of specific group’s needs in urban context, and their identities (ibid).

Therefore, heteronormativity should be actively avoided in urban design, ensuring that the spatial needs of LGBT individuals and other marginalized groups are fully recognized and addressed. By embedding inclusivity into urban policies, Turin can foster a cityscape that reflects and respects the diversity of its population, promoting a more just and harmonious society for all. Additionally, establishing LGBT resource centers and community outreach programs in the urban periphery can

provide crucial support and services to individuals facing social and economic challenges. These initiatives would help bridge the gap between central and peripheral areas, ensuring equitable access to LGBT-inclusive spaces and resources.

7.3.2 The Representation of LGBT Culture and History in Urban Spaces

LGBT history and culture are integral parts of Turin's heritage, reflecting the city's unique evolution. As Turin transitions from a traditional industrial hub to a creative and diverse metropolis, fostering inclusivity and acceptance of marginalized communities becomes a key priority (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002). Enhancing the spatial representation of LGBT culture and history requires identifying urban spaces that can effectively showcase these narratives.

Insights from interviews emphasize the importance of normalizing LGBT identities. One respondent stated, "*we should show to the public that we are just normal people, instead of [people with] 'alternative sexual behaves and outfits'*" (Mr.B, 26, Eastern European). Additionally, LGBT culture embodies resilience, the fight against oppression, and the pursuit of equal rights and freedoms (Mr. T, 32, Asian; Ms. G, 33, Italian; Ms. Y, 29, Italian; Representative of Arcigay Torino).

Beyond contemporary LGBT representation, historical locations associated with LGBT movements and activities should be preserved and highlighted. Key streets such as Via Garibaldi, Via Po, Via Santa Chiara, and Via della Basilica hold significant cultural and historical relevance and should be focal points for commemorating LGBT history. Establishing commemorative plaques, murals, or interactive exhibits at these sites could further enhance public engagement with LGBT history.

LGBT-friendly spaces serve as hubs for community activities, social interactions, and cultural expression. Uncovering and promoting LGBT stories within Turin can help residents recognize that LGBT identities have always been part of the city's

social fabric. Programs like L'altra Storia⁶⁰, an initiative by the LGBT association Quore, provide valuable resources by mapping the contributions of 12 local LGBT historical figures. Such initiatives can serve as a foundation for a dedicated LGBT-themed tourist itinerary, offering an immersive experience where people can explore the history and development of the LGBT community and its movements. This approach not only preserves LGBT heritage but also fosters greater public awareness and acceptance. Additionally, establishing an annual LGBT history festival could further amplify the presence and significance of LGBT culture in Turin.

⁶⁰ A program running by Quore, an LGBT association based in Turin. This program is design for LGBT population, with an itinerary of 12 local LGBT historical figures. The initiators of temporary land use can be diverse, LGBT associations, institutional sectors, and LGBT subject activities with diverse themes can show the daily life status of the LGBT community and also promote multicultural understanding and coexistence. (<https://www.quore.org/en/friendly-piedmont-tourism/>)

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