Out of the Salon

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Paper från ACSIS nationella forskarkonferens för kulturstudier, Norrköping 13–15 juni 2005. Konferensrapport publicerad elektroniskt på www.ep.liu.se/ecp/015/. © Författaren.

Abstract

Genom en studie kring Salongen undersöker jag de performativa aspekter som finns i all arkitektur. Salongen är både den materiella, rumsliga behållaren och den tidsbegränsade händelsen – en typ av iscensättning där människorna och handlingarna inte kan särskiljas från det byggda. Texten kretsar kring den litterära, feministiska och sexuellt gränsöverskridande salong författaren Natalie Clifford Barney iscensatte i sitt hem på 20, rue Jacob i Paris under nittonhundratalet, och ett par samtida Stockholms salonger som låtit sig inspireras av Barney. På café Copacabana har det under flera säsonger hållits litterära salonger en gång i månaden. Där har "historiska och dagsaktuella kulturella och queerfeministiska teman" presenterats. För att komma salongsarkitekturen närmare gav jag, som ett slags fullskaleexperiment, en salong hösten 2004 inom ramen för mitt avhandlingsarbete. Det försöket som var ett akademiskt seminarium förklätt till salong hade också sin utgångspunkt i Barneys evenemang. Genom salongens rollbesatta arkitektur framträder relationen mellan människa och arkitektur skarpare eftersom aktörer och publik alltid redan är inskrivna. Jag frågar mig hur konstruerar arkitekturen genus, "lägre" stående grupper eller "avvikare" från normen? Mitt huvudtema är queera strategier, frågan om motstånd och överskridande av sådana ordningar. Det handlar om maskerad arkitektur, det queera eller icke-straighta. Mitt antagande är att sambandet mellan människor och arkitektur har mycket att göra med ytan; beklädnaden. En arkitekt i Barneys samtid som arbetade utifrån detta synsätt var Elsie de Wolfe. Det är arkitektur betraktat som visuella rumsliga avgränsningar, vilket rör sig i skala från accessoarer och klädedräkter, via scenerier och kulisser, till väggar och husgrupper.

Stockholm 2004

Friday November 12, 2004 a fire bomb was thrown through the window of the café Copacabana on Hornstulls strand in Stockholm. The entire place was destroyed. The kitchen melted and smoke entered everywhere. All the work invested in the place, managed by Susanne Mobacker, and the careful atmosphere created was brutally ruined. Two young men, around twenty years old, were arrested. They had severe burn injuries; one of the boy's faces was completely damaged.

The café has been vandalized twice before. During a period, when the threat was heavy, volunteers of AFA, anti-fascist action, patrolled the area. At a literary salon held at Copacabana the participants were told to watch out for each other and not walk home alone.

Why has Copacabana become a target? Café Copacabana has never been promoted as "homogay". Their standard ad asks the question: "Who will make the coffee the day after revolution?"

I think what is so provoking with Copacabana is its overwhelming boundlessness. It has acted as a queer space, connected with political feminist activism, which has not prevented the café to also be an everyday hang-out. A place of dissonance for "people like us". The café

is a symbol of a culture that won't stay in place; it refuses binary categories such as heterosexual and homosexual. Part, as it is, of a "threatening" movement that challenges the norms of gender and sexuality.

Since a year back the café Copacabana has staged literary Salons in honor of Natalie Clifford Barney (1876–1972). For each salon there has been a theme, 'Selma Lagerlöf and her women', 'Kristina –the king of all queens', 'Suzanne Osten in dialogue with Tiina Rosenberg'. My sister Malin and I have often talked about the events as living utopias. Through the large windows of the café the bouncing light of a space full of people spread to the street outside. Some slipped out to have a smoke. Passersby speculated on what was taking place.

Paris 1909-1968

Natalie Barney was not only a literary person but also a legendary seductress – she rescued women from heterosexuality, a mission she carried on well into her eighties. An economically independent North American heiress Barney first came to Paris in 1894. In 1909 she bought the house on 20, rue Jacob and started giving her famous Friday night Salon. The last one was held in the year 1968. The underlying motives of Natalie Barney's Salon were feminism and politics. For instance in the 1920's Barney established *Académie des Femmes* as an answer to the misogynic *Académie Française*. In 1917 people were gathered to anti-war meetings in Barney's *Temple à la Amitié*, 'Temple to Friendship', in her wild and overgrown garden. With her *Académie des Femmes* she brought together Anglo-Saxon and French writers and journalists such as Djuna Barnes, Anna Wickham, Colette, Mina Loy, Gertrude Stein and Elizabeth de Gramont.

Barney was a main character of the lesbian avant-garde, an intellectual, social and economic privileged constellation. Djuna Barnes (1892–1982) gave an account of the sexually charged Salonière in the *Ladies Almanack*, Paris, 1922. This calendar for an audience of lesbians was written by Djuna Barnes under pseudonym: 'A Lady of Fashion'. Ingrid Svensson, who was a force behind the publication of a Swedish translation in 1996, wrote in her informative epilogue that the *Ladies Almanack* does not only presuppose and celebrate a lesbian identity, but even makes it normative.¹

Natalie Barney had one of the 50 hand colored copies of the *Ladies Almanack*. In the margin she has identified all characters in the almanac; she was herself the central character Evangeline Musset. Month by month the reader can follow Evangeline Musset and the ladies she gathered around herself.

In February we are told on what merits Evangeline Musset has been sanctified, it is due to her erotic achievements. It is not only a calendar of ladies, an attempt at a women centered cultural history, but also a text about same-sex desire. Djuna Barnes has in her "slight satiric wigging" created a language that expresses women's longing for women; "A celebration of the tongue that gives linguistic and sexual pleasure."

Barney drew a map of her Salon.³ She did not only map the spaces and props but also the people that had been present between the years 1910–1930. The drawing is filled with names, about one hundred and fifty. An octagonal table with eight cups and a tea pot is placed

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Ingrid Svensson writes about this in her epilogue to the Swedish translation of the Ladies Almanack, Djuna BARNES, Damernas Almanacka: som föreställer deras himlatecken och dessas banor; deras måntider och dessas växlingar; deras årstider såsom de följer på varandra; deras dagjämningar och solstånd, liksom en fullständig uppräkning av deras dagliga och nattliga sinnesväxlingar; nedskriven & illustrerad av en dam av värld. Transl. Elisabeth Zila (Stockholm, 1996), 101. Svensson also draws our attention to the fact that the Ladies Almanack was published the same year as Radclyffe Hall's tragic novel The Well of Lonliness. Hall asks for sympathy for lesbians, but even though her heroine, Stephen Gordon, commits suicide in the end her book was a scandal, prosecuted and withdrawn, Damernas Almanacka, p.95.

² Svensson in Barnes, *Damernas Almanacka*, my translation, p.100.

³ Natalie Clifford Barney, Aventures de l'esprit, (Paris, 1929), frontespis.

slightly off center, along the right wall a side table with glasses, drawn as tiny circles, is to be found. Details of what the glasses are filled with are written down: "orangade", "fruits", "porto" and "whisky". Walls and furniture as well as other parts of the built architecture, like the three door openings and the garden, make up only a small part of the map. The map emphasizes the people present in the enactment of the Salon. The map of "Natalie Barney's personal museum", as her Salon has been called, mainly records the characters she assembled in the Salon. It also gives a hint to their personal relations. Barney's intimate friends Romaine Brooks and Elizabeth de Gramont are close to the tea table, both next to a teacup, in front of each other but on opposite sides of the table; they were central actors of the Salon. Adrienne Monnier, Sylvia Beach and James Joyce are grouped together; and Dorothy Irene Wilde stands close to the orangeade. Eileen Gray's name is just inside the exit and Radclyffe Hall is backed by her Lady Troubridge in the lower right hand corner.

A decorative black line strolls about through the landscape of characters printed on the map, showing how Barney, "the Amazon", moves through it. She underlines the Salon with her presence. On top of the map, the meandering line of the Amazon comes out of a temple drawn as an elevation; a temple gable with four columns and a fronton with the text "à la Amitié" underneath a garland ornament. The recorded movement of the Amazon continues down the flight of five stairs, in perspective, goes through the wall into the plan of the Salon and, having moved back and forth among the guests (at one point with "une belle de jour"), leaves it again through the garden door on the bottom of the page and probably returns to the temple. Next to the temple, outside the walls of the salon, Barney has also mapped out some "deceased guests" such as Isadora Duncan, Renée Vivien, Appolinaire and Pierre Loüys.

What are the implications for architecture here? The Salon Barney staged in her home in Paris involved such an important architect of modern domesticity as Eileen Gray (1878–1976). In *Women of the Left Bank, Paris 1900–1940* Shari Benstock has revealed the central role of Barney's Salon in the twentieth century culture of literature. This queer space was not only an alternative, but an active scene at the center of culture. Following queer theory I think that "architecture behaves as one of the subjectivating norms that constitute gender performativity". The way our built environment plays a role in the construction of gender and sexuality is more explicit in the culture of the Salon, since it emphasizes the sociality as well as materiality of space.

Tentative

On November 17, 2004, I staged "une tentative" a Salon-seminar in the Turkish salon of the former amusement establishment the Fenix Palace, now turned into a church and hidden as a public space by the Pentecostal Movement.

The tentative was to let my research on the Salon borrow the shape of a Salon to further understand the architecture that appears in the event. I understand the Salon as an overtly performative architecture, since the staging of a Salon relies on the physical architecture as well as of action. The content of my Salon was inspired by Natalie Barney's, a way to open up the research to fiction. It was an attempt to try to grasp the interaction with others, and the settings, that will both shape the space as well as form the actors. Nevertheless my Salon was also an academic seminar in which three texts from my on-going research were to be assessed.

In the Salon there is a blurred distinction of theater and life. In my Salon this came through for instance in the various roles of the present people; the guests are also the actors; they are friends, colleagues, lovers, students and acquaintances of mine. My PhD advisor Katja Grill-

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⁴ Shari Benstock, Women of the Left Bank, Paris 1900-1940, (London, 1987).

⁵ Joel Sanders, *Stud – Architectures of Masculinity* (Princeton, 1996), p.13.

ner stated some of the different roles in her opening speech, herself dressed in the role of hostess-moderator. Our guest of honor was art theorist Gertrud Sandqvist with a critical mandate to examine the work presented. In the academic cast of characters she was the opponent. My role as both the respondent and the salonière, was translated by Grillner to regissör, 'director' (or if I may suggest something French; "metteuse en scène").

Architecture historian Lena Villner was invited to tell us the story of the "theater-salon" in which my Salon was staged; the Turkish Salon of the Fenix Palace. To her surprise she had found out that the Fenix Palace was not from the 1890's, but built in 1912. The architecture is of such an extravagant style we normally connect it to the nineteenth century. I think we can blame our surprise on the modernist denial of the decorative. The Turkish Salon had probably been the smoking room of men, an imperial environment for the young parvenus, but Villner had also found out that in 1912 the Fenix Palace accommodated one of the greatest congresses in the persistent votes for women campaign (that finally succeeded in 1921).

The walls of the Turkish Salon are covered in an almond green relief wall-paper rimmed with a Moorish stucco frieze. A large gilded mirror doubles the length of the space. The 1912 interior decoration also includes an elaborate coffer ceiling and two truss columns. The parquet floor is to a great extent covered by a "discrete" brownish carpet. The Turkish Salon has four doors, but you can only pass through two of them; they are in the same wall on each side of a large garden painting. One door leads to the kitchen and the other to the exit through a small entrance hall (with a clothes hanger and a toilette). The opposite wall is facing the street, but there is no visual connection to the city since the two grand windows are of lead glass in green and yellow. Above the windows, probably part of the original interior, there are white doves in pairs on dark green valances decorated with tassels.

Nowadays the salon is used for conferences and for religious ceremonies. For the Salon-seminar we removed most of the conference tables, but kept the chairs, and the little pulpit became a table for the slide projector. The chairs were put in various constellations, a play with backs and fronts, across the floor. After the seminar it was strange to discover that most chairs stood in straight rows along the perimeter of the large carpet, it thus made it disturbingly easy for us to restore the room to the conference layout.

The Salon of Natalie Barney was part of the public sphere but took place in a private space, the house where the salonière lived. The container of the event, the "theater salon", was her home. In my Salon there were slippers on the floor, free to use, and intimate clothes and private things laying about to give a hint of domesticity to the event (This could have been pushed further by for instance putting my name on the door, setting up a bed or introducing a pet animal). Framed portraits of my architectural heroines, the deceased guests, were placed on top of the piano; Eileen Gray, Elsie de Wolfe and Gottfried Semper. Maybe there were slightly too many people, we were thirty-six, 7 to make everyone feel at home, but I think we managed to slightly move the official event towards intimacy. A question I posed was how, in my Salon, the certainty of the heterosexual matrix could be loosened (I guess I simply could have flirted more with my women guests).

Two extraordinary waiters, embodied by artists Tilda Lovell and Karin Drake, in cream white uniforms with golden buttons, shoulder straps and orange and yellow trimmings, served

⁶ Gwen, 'I Fenixpalatset. Mötet i Stockholm', *Rösträtt för kvinnor*, No 1:5, 1912, 2. In *Digitalt arkiv över äldre svenska kvinnotidskrifter*[www], from http://www.ub.gu.se/kvinn/digitid/, Kvinnohistoriska samlingarna, Göteborgs universitetsbibliotek, 1999–2004 (041215).

Alphabetic list of participants, November 17, 2004: Katarina Bonnevier, Marie Carlsson, Karin Drake, Katrin Fagerström, Mari Ferring, Sanna Fogelvik, Catharina Gabrielsson, Katja Grillner, Anneli Gustafsson, Maya Hald, Jan Hietala, Linnea Holmström, Rolf Hughes, Ola Jaensson (+ 1), Kent Renen Johansson, Jens Jonsson, Ulrika Karlsson, Lovisa Klyvare, Daniel Koch, Ann Lindegren Westerman, Magnus Lindgren, Tilda Lovell, Frida Melin (+ 1), Gertrud Olsson, Christina Pech, Klas Ruin, Monika Sand, Gertrud Sandqvist, Horst Sandström, Vita Strand Ruin, Lena Villner, Joanna Zawieja, Ylva Åborg and Linda Örtenblad.

tea and Catalans, a sweet pastry with rose colored topping. From a little hip flask everyone was also offered a dash of Negrita, dark rum, in their tea. The two waiters main task was to cause a pleasant disturbance to the event. In the next-door kitchen a woman working for the café of the Pentecostal church asked Lovell and Drake what sex they had. Very little is needed to pass as a man, just a little bit of mascara in the fine hair of the upper lip, broad shoulders and a stiff posture. I do not know if the woman in the kitchen of the church saw that the two waiters held hands and kissed, but I suspect she probably could not see that.

From the Salons of Natalie Barney I borrowed the culture of portraiture. All guests, but two, were portrayed against a back-drop of a Mediterranean garden which was, in fact, the permanent wall decoration of 1912. This generous act of giving away one's portrait, created a sense of participation and presence, it also gave the event a sense of importance. As they were asked to pose, by a charming photographer in a black suit, Marie Carlsson, each person portrayed an idea of the Salon. There are many serious faces, however most of them with a smile lingering in the corner of their eyes. The portraits are also strikingly difficult to situate in time, they are all modern, and a few definitely contemporary, but some could just as well have been taken at Barney's Salon. (Or maybe this is just my wishful thinking?) Some of the guests had taken the opportunity to dress up, for instance ten year old Lovisa Klyvare in traditional dress from Rättvik in Dalecarlia. There were also false moustaches to try on; the Casanova, the Smarty and the Bandit, turned out to be popular.

The confusion of academic seminar with Salon gave a quality of uncertainty to the event. I think the uncertainty destabilized the space which also made it more present. The move from a conventional seminar space at KTH's Architecture School to a hidden place in the city also contributed to this. My colleagues were curious; what is this space? When I searched for a suitable salon for my Salon the generative idea was to open up a place that is normally off limits. I saw it as a way to disclose another history, not necessarily connected to a queer culture, but definitely to an act of appearance. Even to those who know of the old Fenix Palace, the given address, Wallingatan 3, disguised the space – it is the backdoor. The main entrance to the establishment is on the other side of the block, on a parallel street, Adolf Fredriks kyrkogata. The Wallingatan street entrance and the staircase to the third floor does not differ much from Stockholm's residences in general. It could have been the entrance for a private apartment, were it not for the information on the metal plate: "Turkiska salongen". I found it very well suited not only for a salon but also for a concealed club. The Turkish Salon does not fit in either of the categories of private and public.

The seminar turned into a Salon should also be understood as an attempt to subvert the given order from within. My wish was to shift the normal academic procedures highly marked as they are by a patriarchal hierarchy. Of course the hierarchy does not miraculously disappear because of this move, but it is not completely repeated. And to some extent I also needed the normal procedure to give credibility to the event, it could not all be theater, could it? This was mainly achieved through the professionalism of the people involved. For instance Gertrud Sandqvist used her role to pull out important strands in my work but also to create a critical conversation. Since the Salon needed to be "porous", in order to be receptive to any responses or actions, she saved more straight forward operational critique to a letter.

To explain the background to my wish for an architectural shift I would like to make a reference to, in my mind, the most oppressive seminar space at KTH; Kollegiesalen the formal auditorium in the principal's building, Valhallavägen 79. This is where a male middleclass professor of the School of Architecture with no insight in his own position had a fit when a PhD candidate referred to her private life during the defense of her doctor's thesis. He stood on top of the steep auditorium and shouted, she answered him from beneath. The space is decorated with ten portraits of the men that have been head principals of KTH. They are in oil

color with gilded frames. Not all the men wear ties but they are all in the drag of power. What place is there for people like us in that room?

In the Turkish Salon there were also portraits on the wall, king Carl Gustaf and queen Silvia Bernadotte, the current heads of our Swedish monarchy. The portraits, simple reprints of the 1970's, had gilded frames decorated with a couple of tiny crowns. Already quite kitschy I decided to camp them up further. Silvia got the Scoundrel and Carl the Bandit mustache. The mustaches hung and dangled below their noses from invisible fishing-threads tied to their respective crowns.

Drag

Apart from critical dialogues and poetry readings there were also other performances in Barney's Salons. In my salon there was one explicit theatrical performance. With a pig-snout and in a strikingly pink mini-dress, D Muttant (Maya Hald), panties rimmed with lace and shoes like a High Heel Sister, sang:

Lookin' out on the mornin' rain
I used to feel uninspired
And when I knew I had to face another day
Oh it made me feel so tired
Before the day I met you
Life was so unkind
But your love was the key to my peace of mind

Cause you make me feel
You make me feel
You make me feel
Like a natural woman

Who is addressed? A male lover, who, in his heterosexual confirmation, makes her feel like a natural woman? D Muttant's out-fit obstruct her natural "woman-ness", but even when Aretha Franklin sings this song, the words are plausible. They both need someone to make them feel like natural women. The confirmation can not be taken for granted. What if D Muttant sang to me, after all it was my Salon? Or, to "a drag queen whose performance somehow confirmed her own?"

Since the "natural" gender can be revealed, by the right person (of the right sex), gender, or sex, are not the causes, but the effects, of an appearance. The effects of gender presentations are that they feel natural. They produce an illusion of a psychic essence; an inner sex or gender core. Gender can be understood as drag. Judith Butler remarks that it is always a surface sign that produces this illusion of an inner truth; "it produces on the skin, through the gesture, the move, the gait (that array of corporeal theatrics understood as gender presentation)..." If the meaning of architecture sits in the surface, then architecture can be understood similar to gender, even as gender. Architecture as drag – what does this mean?

When Judith Butler writes about gender as drag she takes the lesbian butch-femme couple as an example. Such a gender bending couple, of female masculinity and female femininity, is, in Judith Butler's words, a "replication of heterosexual constructs in non-heterosexual

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⁸ As Judith Butler suggests when she writes about Aretha Franklin's performance of the song. Judith Butler, 'Imitation and Gender insubordination', Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale and David M. Halperin (eds.), *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York & London, 1993), p. 317.

⁹ Butler, 'Imitation and Gender insubordination', p. 317.

frames". ¹⁰ The status of the heterosexual "original" is brought out as utterly constructed. "Thus, gay is to straight not as copy is to original, but, rather, as copy is to copy." ¹¹

One such couple in the circles of Natalie Barney was a North American lesbian butch-femme couple; theater producer Elizabeth Marbury and interior decorator and famous arbiter of taste Elsie de Wolfe. In their home in New York Marbury and de Wolfe also cultivated a salon culture, an "Amazon enclave". It was regularly visited by leading American and European writers and artists. ¹²

De Wolfe had first become famous as a well-dressed actress, who always designed her own costumes. In the early 1890's Elizabeth Marbury inherited a house on Irving Place, New York, and moved in with de Wolfe. ¹³ It became the first of innumerable transformations of buildings that de Wolfe accomplished.

Elsie de Wolfe thought about the house as a second container, after clothes, for the body. ¹⁴ She wrote in her 1911 bestseller *A House In Good Taste* "It is the personality of the mistress that the home expresses." ¹⁵ Whether the "mistress" is conscious about it or not, the home, will, just like her clothes, display her personality. In this gendered construct de Wolfe argues out of an inner self that is expressed in the architecture. De Wolfe feminizes the Irving Place house when she writes about it; her house is not a gender-neutral container but a feminine dress:

And like a patient, well-bred maiden aunt, the old house always accepted our changes most placidly. There was never such a house! 16

The house was just like the ladies living there, well-bred and unmarried – queer. The house also participates in the construct of the inhabitant, just like masks and clothes creates character. This is how we can understand architecture as drag. De Wolfe refrains from this argument, although she was well aware of the fact that appearance creates for instance status. From my perspective this seems to have been a crucial part of her strategy in good taste. Just like the black suit, she stated the norm but simultaneously achieved something that was beyond the limitations of the norm.

De Wolfe was active as an architectural designer from the 1890's to the 1930's and she spent much of her time in Paris, in her Villa Trianon by Versailles, during the intense years of the Salon culture of Natalie Barney. De Wolfe both escaped the North American culture and became one of its most influential designers. She was part of a queer culture at center of the mainstream. As I understand it De Wolfe did not emphasize the split, but sought to bridge the two centuries – the nineteenth and twentieth – in her work and thinking. She was not uncriti-

177

¹⁰ Butler, Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity (1990), (New York and London, 1999), p.41.

¹¹ Butler, Gender Trouble, p.41.

¹² Marbury's and de Wolfe's Sutton Place home, where they moved after their Irving Place residence, was regularly visited by for instance Anne Morgan, Anne Vanderbilt, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Patricia Juliana Smith, 'Wolfe, Elsie de', *glbtq: an encyclopedia of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer culture* [www], from http://www.glbtq.com/arts/wolfe_e.html, Chicago: glbtq, Inc., 2002 (041028)

¹³ Penny Sparke, 'Elsie de Wolfe and her female clients, 1905-15: gender, class and the professional interior decorator', in Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke (eds.), *Women's Places: Architecture and Design 1860-1960* (London and New York, 2003), p.67.

¹⁴ Sparke, Women's Places, p.50.

¹⁵ Elsie De Wolfe, The House in Good Taste (New York, 1911), p.5.

¹⁶ De Wolfe, p.28.

cal to the extremes of the nineteenth century designs "guilty of the errors of meaningless magnificence" and dreamed of a near future when

... we shall have simple houses with fireplaces that draw, electric lights in proper places, comfortable and sensible furniture, and not a gilt-legged spindle-shanked table or chair anywhere. 18

But she argued that we should build upon what we already have, keep the old furniture that we like and order them differently. "We shall all be very much happier when we learn to transform the things we have into a semblance of our ideal." In my further study I wish to get closer to the materialized architecture of de Wolfe, as well as the physical architecture of the Salon of Natalie Barney. This text is merely a hint, to what might be discovered, and various starting points for a continued research. I suspect that there is much more to be found in the Salon.

Finale

Let us return to the literary Salons at Café Copacabana. December 10, 2003 I wrote in a letter to my PhD advisor Katja Grillner:

Last Saturday there was also a Salon at Copacabana, Kristina Fjelkestam talked about the first Swedish novel with a lesbian theme, Charlie from 1932. It was so beautiful, about 50 people, many academics, between 20 and 75 years old, all women (or maybe, as the gender scholar I am becoming, I should perhaps not write women but people in female subject positions... it is tricky when all categorizations are sliding...) I felt surrounded by love. My wish is that this reality could infest the ruthless reality. There are too many things in our patriarchal world that aren't as they should be. I hope that this pocket of resistance can grow. This is my utopia, the queer feminist...what buildings will it create?

In the letter I go on to discuss the research studio at the School of Architecture in feminist, especially queer, perspectives on architecture I was then preparing and that I have been responsible for during the academic year 2004/05. It was called 'Jalusi – forskningsstudio om queerfeministisk arkitektur.' It was my way to increase the number of pockets. That was also a part of Stockholm last year.

Jalousie is a shutter made of angled slats but the term is also a feeling of jealousy. Through an etymological connection jalousie can be thought as something that enviously protects against unwanted gazes. ²¹

On Monday, November 29, 2004, there was a support gala for Café Copacabana. To give Mobacker and the others energy to continue and, ironic enough, to raise money to install a jalousie of metal. More than seven hundred people joined the party. We were asked to "Keep the fire burnin' – homogay heterogay unite!"

¹⁷ De Wolfe, p.16.

¹⁸ De Wolfe, p.16.

¹⁹ De Wolfe, p.4.

²⁰ In English: 'Jalousie – research studio in queer feminist architecture.' The course has gathered 24 students of various ages and backgrounds; some are students at the School of Architecture, KTH, but there are also artists, students of interior design and cultural studies and some professional architects.

²¹ The artist Christina Iglesias has worked materially on the double meanings of Jalousie, her worked inspired the title of the course.

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