



RE-MAPPING ZAGREB'S URBAN SPACE: IN SEARCH FOR GAY RESIDENTIAL CORE

COBISS 1.01

DOI: 10.4312/dela.61.99-119

Abstract

Areas with a higher concentration of queer population are a well-established feature of the spatial structure in major cities across the Global North. However, there is a conspicuous lack of research on queer population within post-socialist cities. This paper addresses this gap by exploring the possibility of a higher concentration of queer men population in the Croatia's capital, Zagreb. Based on the analysis of various spatial datasets, we assumed the existence of a queer men's residential core in Zagreb, described its position within the city's spatial structure, and examined the spatial dynamics of its development. Our findings reveal that the urban geography of Zagreb is less heterosexual than is usually perceived. Additionally, we demonstrate how the global patterns of the queer community spatialization have adapted within the post-socialist context with all its local specificities that enabled the unique integration of queer man spaces into Zagreb's post-socialist urban structure.

Keywords: queer residential core, pink consumption, Zagreb, post-socialist city

*Department of Geography, Faculty of Science, University of Zagreb, Trg Marka Marulića 19, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

**Antun Gustav Matoš Grammar School, Andrije Hebranga 26, 10430 Samobor, Croatia

e-mail: mjakovci@geog.pmf.hr, karlo.mak2@skole.hr

ORCID: 0000-0001-5555-4383 (M. Jakovčić), 0000-0001-7058-0299 (K. Mak)

KARTIRANJE ZAGREBŠKEGA URBANEGA PROSTORA: V ISKANJU GEJEVSKEGA REZIDENČNEGA JEDRA

Izvleček

Območja z večjo koncentracijo kvirovske skupnosti so uveljavljena značilnost prostorske strukture večjih mest na globalnem severu. Vendar pa obstaja pomanjkanje raziskav o kvirovski skupnosti v postsocialističnih mestih. Članek želi odpraviti omenjeno vrzel, saj raziskuje možnost večje koncentracije moške kvirovske populacije v hrvaški prestolnici Zagrebu. Na podlagi analize različnih zbirk prostorskih podatkov smo predpostavili obstoj rezidenčnega jedra kvirovskih moških v Zagrebu, opisali njegov položaj v prostorski strukturi mesta in preučili prostorsko dinamiko njegovega razvoja. Naše ugotovitve kažejo, da je urbana geografija Zagreba manj heteroseksualna, kot se zdi na prvi pogled. Poleg tega smo pokazali, kako so se globalni vzorci prostorske organizacije kvirovske skupnosti prilagodili postsocialističnemu kontekstu in njegovim lokalnim posebnostim, ki so omogočile edinstveno integracijo kvirovskih moških prostorov v postsocialistično urbano strukturo Zagreba.

Ključne besede: kvirovsko stanovanjsko jedro, rožnata potrošnja, Zagreb, postsocialistično mesto

1 INTRODUCTION

The queer consumption places¹ in Zagreb mainly concern the consumption entertainment system and are concentrated in the wider city center. Their distribution roughly coincides with the greater spatial concentration of gay dating applications users (Mak, Jakovčić, 2023). Considering that the spatialization of the queer community² in the West originated primarily in gay clubs (Collins, Drinkwater, 2017; Lugosi, 2007; Mattson, 2015), queer geographies provide a useful framework for understanding the role of space and place in the production of sexual identities and communities. This concept highlights how spaces such as gay clubs, have shaped queer identities and communities, while also highlighting the impact of these spatial relationships on social justice (Mayhew, 2023). This paper aims to examine the existence of a concentration

- 1 Although there is no consensus on the appropriate terminology to describe queer consumption, Mak and Jakovčić (2021) suggest the term “pink consumption” due to its broad applicability. Other terms, such as “LGBT consumption” or “queer consumption,” either do not encompass all gender and sexual minorities or, while comprehensive, imply additional meanings that can be somewhat confusing. Therefore, later in this paper we adopt the term “pink consumption”. We define pink consumption places as those specifically intended for queer people and/or that communicate openness to and welcome queer communities (Mak, Jakovčić, 2023).
- 2 The term “queer” is used as an umbrella term for all sexual and gender minorities, without implying any additional meanings.

of queer male population, i.e. of a residential core of queer men in Zagreb. We hypothesize that a higher concentration of pink consumption places leads to a higher concentration of user profiles on gay dating applications, and that the above indicators potentially point to a higher concentration of queer men. By confirming the hypothesis, we would be contributing to what Collins and Drinkwater (2017) call the re-mapping of social space with clear indications that it is less heterosexual than is commonly assumed. Research on the spatialization of queer communities is well-documented in Western societies (Clement, 2022; Ghaziani, 2022; Gorman-Murray, Nash, 2017; Hess, Bitterman, 2021; Howard, 2013; Podmore, Bain, 2021; Poltz, 2022). However, similar studies are lacking in the context of post-socialist cities. Using Zagreb as a case study, we aim to address this gap in literature. In the paper we will try to determine: 1) the residential core of queer male population in Zagreb; 2) the timing of its emergence and 3) the spatial dynamics of its development.

2 SPATIALIZATION OF THE QUEER COMMUNITY

2.1 Spatialization of the queer community in the West

In the initial phase of queer spatialization at the beginning of the 20th century, key gathering points were pink consumption places, such as gay clubs, pubs, and bars—almost the only public venues where queer people could meet each other and spend their free time (Collins, Drinkwater, 2017; Lugosi, 2007; Mattson, 2015). Although these places were usually located in less safe neighborhoods and subject to police raids, pink consumption places provided greater safety than any other public space. This safety enabled the formation of the core of the spatialization of the queer community (Hinrichs, 2021).

Gay neighborhoods emerged around pink consumption places as queer residential areas. They were mostly located in the immediate vicinity of city centers. The shift of queer community spatialization toward the city center is the result of several interwoven processes, with suburbanization and deindustrialization being key factors (Gorman-Murray, Nash, 2017). The spatialization of the queer community has thus evolved alongside urban development, taking into account the particularities of each case. For example, in 1930s San Francisco, suburbanization was accompanied by the reinforcement of heteronormative sexuality through more favorable loan conditions and housing subsidies for (heterosexual) married couples with children. At the beginning of the 1940s, this policy was further strengthened and, together with the post-war baby boom, contributed to the acceleration of the suburbanization process. Unmarried and queer people were simultaneously excluded from these benefits. As a result, the USA inadvertently encouraged changes in the demographic and sexual urban geography (Howard, 2013), as poorer population with different socio-demographic characteristics remained in the cities.

At the same time, the deindustrialization process caused commercial and residential property prices to fall (Gorman-Murray, Nash, 2017). This reinforced conditions for a greater spatial concentration of people of lower socioeconomic status. In such circumstances, gay neighborhoods began to form, usually located in abandoned and/or undesirable spaces near city centers, where real estate and rents were cheap(er) (Hess, Bitterman, 2021).

The gay neighborhoods not only marked the beginning of residential gathering for queer people, but also created more favorable conditions for the establishment of queer businesses and the emergence of new places and forms of pink consumption (Poltz, 2022). This was a prerequisite for entering the mature development phase of queer community spatialization. The gentrification process transformed gay neighborhoods from marginal areas, often resembling slums at the beginning of their development, into commercially successful districts organized around pink consumption and predominantly inhabited by an increasingly affluent queer community, as seen in West Hollywood, Greenwich Village in New York City, or Castro in San Francisco (Poltz, 2022).

However, gentrification did not stop there. In the next stage, it led to a dispersal of the queer population due to rising housing prices. With the increasing social acceptance of sexual and gender minorities, gay neighborhoods ceased to function as a spatial response to experienced oppression. At the same time, technological developments meant that gay neighborhoods were no longer crucial for queer socialization, as the widespread use of the internet created a new, virtual space for sociability. Gentrification also led to changes in socioeconomic conditions, resulting in decreased investments from queer people in the businesses of pink commercial facilities, which contributed to a wave of their closure (Hess, Bitterman, 2021). For instance, in London, over fifty percent of these venues closed between 2006 and 2016 (Ghaziani, 2022). Simultaneously, more queer-friendly people from wealthier social strata moved into gay neighborhoods (Clement, 2022). Thus, gay neighborhoods contributed to reurbanization, urban revitalization, and changed social attitudes towards queer people. Yet, they also became unaffordable to the queer community itself—the very community that created and transformed them (Poltz, 2022).

2.2 Spatialization of the queer community in Zagreb

The spatialization of the queer community in Zagreb does not coincide chronologically with that of the West. Nor can it be concluded that it follows the development patterns of pink consumption in post-socialist Europe, since the spatialization of the queer community there only took place at the very end of the socialist period. Even then, queer spatialization was limited to less publicly visible places and the first Pride parades (Burmaz, 2014; Dimitrov, 2014; Lorencova, 2006; Pitonak, 2022; Stella, 2013). However, (post)socialist cities and societies were marked by common

development obstacles to the emergence of pink consumption. First, the socialist elites' disdain for capitalism, consumption, and consumer society in general, as well as state control over the economy during socialism, made the emergence of pink consumption places impossible, as they are hardly possible without a free market. Secondly, with an emphasis on industrialization, there was an intensive migration of the population to cities, urbanization in post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe was gaining momentum at the same time as the cores of gay neighborhoods were forming in the West due to deindustrialization and suburbanization. Thirdly, just as pink consumption cannot develop without a free market, the democratic deficit of socialist societies did not support it either. The repressive state apparatus made it impossible to organize the queer movement almost until the collapse of socialism. It is true, the repressive apparatus also hindered a freer development of the queer movement in the West, but it was significantly weakened from the end of the 1960s (Pitonak, 2022).

In any case, the development of pink consumption and the spatialization of Zagreb's queer community cannot be understood within the Western European or Anglo-American framework. Similarly, the experiences of Central and Eastern Europe cities are modest and do not provide an adequate basis for comparison. Therefore, considering local specificities emerges as the only reasonable option. There are important differences that distinguish Zagreb from most other post-socialist European cities, making it possible to discuss the development of pink consumption places, and thus about the beginnings of the spatialization of queer community even during socialism.

First, Yugoslav society was freer and more consumer-oriented than the rest of socialist Europe. The song *Tata kupi mi...* [*Dad, buy me...*] by Ivo Robić and Zdenka Vučković from 1957, which openly celebrates consumption, could never become a hit in a society lacking a consumer mentality. In addition, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, personal consumption in Yugoslavia grew by more than 10 % per year (Duda, 2004). On the other hand, while most of Central and Eastern European countries experienced increased political opportunities after the collapse of socialism—leading to the rise of activism and the creation of the first queer organizations (Darakchi, 2019; Francoeur, Noonan, 2003; Mikulak, 2019; Pitonak, 2022)—Croatia was drawn into armed conflict, during which conservatism and traditional values were reinforced (Bilić, Stubbs, 2015). It is precisely for this reason that the democratization of society, i.e. greater acceptance of the queer community, took place later. Not so much in parallel with the economic transition, but much more during the Croatia's accession to the European Union (Bilić, Stubbs, 2016; Čemažar, Mikulin, 2017). The lengthy EU accession negotiations played a key role in improving the legal standing of the queer community in Croatia and mitigating the effects of the re-traditionalization of society in the 1990s. Therefore, it is also difficult to draw parallels with the rest of the post-Yugoslav societies, as most of them are still not part of the EU, while Slovenia, which is already a member, did not experience war on such a scale and duration in the 1990s.

Based on this, we argue that the development of pink consumption and the process of spatialization of the queer community in Zagreb are completely specific and different from other cases in post-socialist Europe.

To explain why gay neighborhoods never formed in Zagreb, we compare its urban development with that of American cities, as the spatialization of the queer community is best documented in the US. We have seen that the processes of deindustrialization and suburbanization significantly contributed to the emergence of gay neighborhoods in the US after the Second World War. However, intensive urbanization stimulated by industrial development took place in Zagreb in the same period (Vresk, 1997). Socialist societies focused their economic development on traditional industry for much longer than was economically viable, which delayed the deindustrialization and suburbanization processes (Pacione, 2009). The suburbanization of Zagreb only began in the 1970s, and was driven in a planned manner—by the decentralization of city functions. This process intensified in the 1980s, when the Zagreb agglomeration entered the phase of relative decentralization of housing (Vresk, 1997), while in the 1990s, absolute decentralization of its population development occurred (Bašić, 2005).³

The increasing depopulation and functional transformation of the central parts of Zagreb since the 1970s (Vresk, 1997), did not lead to the spatialization of the queer community. The relatively homogenous socio-spatial structure (Prelogović, 2004) prevented the formation of a concentration of cheap(er) residential buildings as gathering place for poorer and/or oppressed social groups. Furthermore, the economic basis on which gay neighborhoods could function could hardly exist under the conditions of a planned economy (Pacione, 2009). Socio-legal circumstances also did not favor the creation of pink consumption places and spatialization of the queer community, as (male) homosexuality was only decriminalized in 1977 (Vouk Nikolić, 2022), and socialism inherited the practice of conservative bourgeois moralization from the period that preceded it, and therefore sexuality, especially minority sexuality, was taboo (Béres-Deák, 2022). Of course, this does not mean that the queer community did not exist prior to the end of socialism; but rather that it was not officially recognized and often remained “hidden” from public view.

Although the LGBT movement in Zagreb and the rest of Yugoslavia began to develop at the end of the 1980s, its progress was abruptly halted in the 1990s due to the war, rising homophobia, and growing conservatism (Stepanović, 2022; Vouk Nikolić, 2022). The transition process from a planned to a market economy also resulted in changes in the socio-spatial structure of the city, with increasing social polarization being the most notable shift (Prelogović, 2004). However, unlike in Anglo-American

3 The relative decentralization of housing in the city region means that the growth of the population in the surrounding area is relatively higher than the growth in the population of the home city (Vresk, 1997). Similarly, the absolute decentralization of housing implies an absolute greater increase in the number of inhabitants of the surrounding area compared to the home city.

and Western European cities, the population of higher socioeconomic status was concentrated in the central parts of Zagreb (Prelogović, 2009).

Following the development of gay neighborhoods in the US, this would suggest that space for the concentration of the LGBT population (cheaper housing, lower socioeconomic status) opened up on the outskirts of the city—where new planned residential areas emerged after 2000, similar to abandoned industrial sites (Mlinar, 2009). However, given the traditional inhospitality of the city's periphery towards sexual and gender minorities, and the significantly lower population density, such a concentration was unlikely to occur.⁴ Additionally, Zagreb experienced a different historical and geographical development compared to Western cities. While post-industrial cities emerged in Western societies as early as the 1970s, shifting from manufacturing to service sector development (Backović, 2005), in post-socialist cities, significant and rapid changes in the retail and service sectors only became noticeable in the 1990s. Thus, the economic transition played a key role in changing the socio-spatial structure of Zagreb (Prelogović, 2004; 2009), leading to increased commercialization of the city center, the expansion of the central business district and a certain degree of gentrification (Slavuj, Cvitanović, Prelogović, 2009). This post-socialist development also led to the belated emergence of pink consumption places as a basis for the spatialization of the Zagreb's queer community.

3 METHODOLOGY

The lack of official statistical data is a common problem in research concerning the queer population and significantly limits the understanding of the characteristics of this social group.⁵ Since official statistics in Croatia also do not track sexual and gender minorities, the spatial distribution of the queer population can only be estimated. We will base the reconstruction on the application of several different datasets that more or less directly concern the queer male community. First, during May and June 2021, data on pink consumption places in Zagreb was collected through 14 semi-structured interviews.⁶ The initial respondents were provided by the Zagreb-based queer organizations “Zagreb Pride” and “Iskorak,” while the sample was expanded using the snowball sampling technique. Second, data on the

- 4 After all, the socio-spatial structure of a city has not proven to be a key factor in the concentration of the queer population. Amsterdam for example, has a relatively even socioeconomic spatial distribution of the population, and no clustering of queer people in residential areas has been observed (Poltz, 2022). Therefore, it can be argued that gentrification in Zagreb has occurred in opposition to the queer movement, and not as a result of it, as it was the case in the US.
- 5 Western countries are increasingly successful in collecting data on the sexuality of their population, either through national surveys of a large sample, as in the USA (Conron, Goldberg, 2020), or through questions in census questionnaires as in England and Wales (Barton, 2023). None of these methods have yet been used in Croatia.
- 6 The Interviews were part of a wider research conducted in preparation for a doctoral thesis. For this work, only data on the location of pink consumption places were used. Only 29 of them were recognized.

spatial distribution of the profiles of its users was collected using the queer men dating application Romeo in the spring of 2022.⁷ The two datasets were also used in the study by Mak and Jakovčić (2023). Although previous research has shown that pink consumption places are central to the spatialization of queer communities, we do not claim that the Romeo application users set the location to their actual place of residence. To better identify the core of the queer male population, we used data from 2021 Census on the marital status of the population specifically focusing on never-married men.⁸ Comparing city neighborhoods where the proportion of never-married men exceeds the city average with neighborhoods that show a higher concentration of Romeo application user profiles could support the thesis regarding a potential core of the queer male population. Similar data also exists for the 2001 and 2011 censuses, based on the current administrative division of the City of Zagreb.⁹ Finally, if the data on the spatial distribution of never-married men, serves at least partially as evidence of the queer male population, it should reflect the general distribution of population density. High population density is a key factor for queer life – often even a more important factor than the total population (see for example Jubany et al., 2021) – since it allows them anonymity, which in turn provides safety and facilitates freer expression of queer identity.¹⁰ The methodology used to delineate the queer men's residential core is only partially adequate, due to the lack of direct statistical data. As a result, all findings from this research are approximate estimates of the queer men's residential location.

7 The Romeo application allows for the collection of data on the location of its users. Although the provided locations are not entirely reliable (± 50 meters), even approximate data can be useful. However, it is important to recognize the methodological limitations of this approach. First, the Romeo application is primarily intended for queer individuals who identify as male. Second, not all queer individuals use this application, and a single individual may have multiple open profiles. Furthermore, the user's location in the app does not necessarily correspond to their actual place of residence, as individuals can manually adjust their location according to their preferences and needs. Finally, the spatial distribution of Romeo app users may be significantly influenced by tourists and other visitors to the city, rather than its residents alone, which means a higher concentration of users can typically be expected in tourist areas, especially in the historic city center.

8 This is not to imply that all never-married men are part of the queer community, nor that some married men are not part of the queer community. Regarding the available data on marital status, we opted for never-married men since previously collected data on users of dating applications concerned men. Furthermore, the research by Mak and Jakovčić (2023) found that the majority of users of pink consumption places are men.

9 Data on never-married men at the level of city neighborhoods of the City of Zagreb are also available for the year 1961. However, the administrative division at that time was significantly different, so it is not comparable with the current situation. Furthermore, due to the different migration characteristics, it is less likely that the potential "excess of never-married men" is related to the queer male population.

10 In the study by Mak and Jakovčić (2023), it was determined that the consumer shopping system is not recognized as pink at all, although it also includes very strictly controlled consumer facilities such as suburban shopping centers. However, the suburban area is marked by a significantly different population density, so visiting the shopping center entails exposure to a more hostile part of the city.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Since we have the strongest base for the existence of a core of the queer male population in Zagreb for the most recent period, the discussion will be presented in reverse chronological order. For the period 2021–2022, we have the most comprehensive dataset, including the spatial distribution of the Romeo application users, number and spatial distribution of pink consumption places and the data on never-married men. We do not have data from dating applications for 2001 and 2022, and for earlier periods, data on pink consumption places are increasingly scarce. The further we investigate the past, the less reliable the available data becomes.

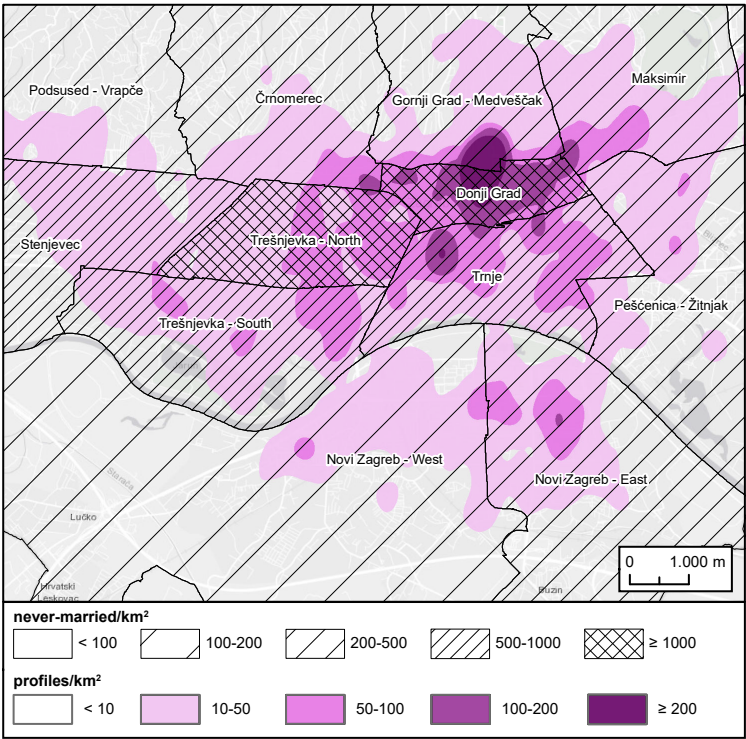
4.1 Queer men's residential core in Zagreb in the early 2020s

An analysis of the spatial distribution of Romeo app user profiles ($N = 3,693$) shows that their concentration is primarily in the central part of the city. This area, along with submountainous region of the Medvednica Mountain to which it is adjacent, forms a traditional residential zone of the more affluent population (Prelogović, 2009). This concentration coincides with a higher concentration of pink consumption places, and it is reasonable to assume that, for safety reasons, many Romeo application users set their location to a pink consumption place, rather than their actual place of residence.¹¹

However, if Romeo users are indeed setting the location to the place of residence, it would indicate a significant concentration of queer male population in the city center. The thesis that the city's central neighborhoods truly represent the core of Zagreb's queer male population is also supported by the spatial distribution of never-married men (Figure 1). Although not entirely reliable, the method of "excess" number of never-married men seems indicative, especially when combined with other data. Therefore, it is very likely that the neighborhoods of Donji Grad (Lower Town), Trešnjevka-North and Trnje, apart from being the base of pink economic activity (Mak, Jakovčić, 2023), also serve as the residential core of Zagreb's queer male population.

¹¹ Since most of these places are coffee shops and nightclubs, their concentration can be explained, according to the work of Skočir and Šakaja (2017), by the need for security that a central location provides. In addition, safety is considered one of the basic characteristics of pink consumption places (Kates, 2002; Pereira, Ayrosa, 2012).

Figure 1: Spatial density of never-married men (2021) and of Romeo application user profiles (2022) in Zagreb.¹²



Data sources: CBS, 2021; Romeo, 2022.

Since the early 2000s, the socio-legal position of queer people in Croatia has improved significantly (Vouk Nikolić, 2022). Despite these advancements and the established concentration of the queer male population in the city center, it remains unlikely that a spatially separated gay neighborhood will emerge in Zagreb. Western societies have shown that the liberalization of social attitudes leads to a deconcentration of the queer population. After all, Zagreb's queer men residential core coexists with the majority population of heterosexual orientation—in the very same area. It largely coincides with the most densely populated neighborhoods: Donji Grad (Lower Town),

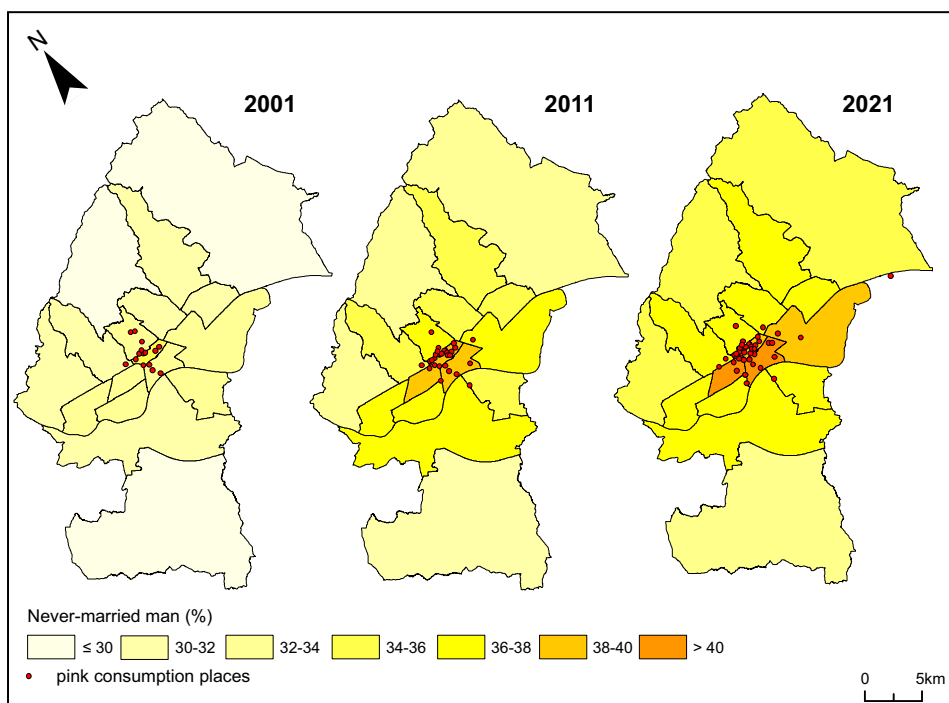
12 The mapping of Romeo application user locations extended from the city center to the outskirts until at least one new profile was found within 500 meters of the last identified profile. For this reason, some districts were not mapped at all, while others were only partially covered. Since we do not have data on Romeo app user profiles for all districts of Zagreb, we mapped their spatial density using the Kernel Density function in ArcMap. This data was then overlaid with the spatial density data of never-married men available at the district level, as this is the lowest spatial level for which data is available.

Trešnjevka-North and Trnje (CBS, 2021). Thus, population density proves to be an unusually important factor for the spatialization of the queer community in the post-socialist city, as it provides anonymity which provides (relative) safety, allows for freer expression of queer identity, and reduces social stigmatization and violence (Braun, Cleff, Walter, 2015; Clement, 2022).

4.2 Development of the queer men's spatial distribution from 1999 to 2021

We have no data to confirm that there was a pronounced concentration of the LGBT population in Zagreb in the period between 1999 and 2021. However, it was during this period that the first pink consumption places emerged that publicly communicated their openness to the queer community, which undoubtedly enabled the process of its spatialization.

Figure 2: Spatial distribution of pink consumption places and the share of never-married men by Zagreb city neighborhoods in the period 2001–2021.



Data source: CBS, 2001; 2011; 2021; interviews.

The first club in Zagreb that publicly communicated its openness towards sexual and gender minorities, i.e. the first gay club in Zagreb, was *Bad Boy* in the Ksaver neighborhood, which opened in 1999 (Štulhofer et al., 2003). As this club soon closed, the *Global* club became the key place of nightlife for LGBT people in Zagreb. In the early 2010s, there were three gay clubs in Zagreb — *g.CLUB* in Savska Street, *Rush* in Amruševa Street and *HotPot* in Petrinjska Street. Later, *Rush* was moved to Savska Street, where *g.CLUB* closed (Hermann, 2016), but due to the COVID-19 pandemic, *Rush* was also permanently closed.

Table 1: Share of never-married men in Zagreb 2001–2021.

Neighborhood	2001	2011	2021	Change 2011/2001	Change 2021/2011
Brezovica	28.95	31.43	33.09	2.48	1.66
Črnomerec	31.75	35.51	37.58	3.76	2.07
Donja Dubrava	31.88	36.16	36.27	4.28	0.11
Donji Grad	34.57	38.52	39.44	3.95	0.92
Gornja Dubrava	31.43	34.78	36.07	3.35	1.29
Gornji Grad-Medveščak	33.10	36.03	37.80	2.93	1.77
Maksimir	31.07	34.45	36.13	3.38	1.68
Novi Zagreb-East	33.12	35.05	37.46	1.93	2.41
Novi Zagreb-West	31.65	36.54	36.37	3.39	-0.17
Peščenica-Žitnjak	32.17	37.26	38.41	5.09	1.15
Podsljeme	29.16	32.07	34.15	2.91	2.08
Podsused-Vrapče	31.51	32.96	34.25	1.45	1.29
Sesvete	29.97	32.92	34.53	2.95	1.61
Stenjevec	33.27	36.13	36.51	2.86	0.38
Trešnjevka-South	33.45	36.61	37.85	3.16	1.24
Trešnjevka-North	32.49	39.51	40.88	7.02	1.37
Trnje	33.15	38.74	40.05	5.59	1.31
City of Zagreb	32.17	35.77	37.02	3.60	1.25

Data Source: CBS, 2001; 2011; 2021.

Based on the overview of the business activities of gay clubs and the data on the changing share of never-married men in Zagreb’s neighborhoods (Figure 2), several observations can be made. First, the peak of Zagreb’s gay club scene occurred in the early 2010s. Notably the 2011 Census showed a significantly higher increase in the share of never-married men compared to both the previous and the subsequent census (Table 1). This

suggests that the emergence of pink consumption places contributed to the spatialization of the queer community in Zagreb. Additionally, this spatialization process was much more dynamic in the 2000s¹³ than in the 2010s.¹⁴

Second, during the 2000s, there was an intra-city redistribution of the concentration of never-married men (Figure 2). A significant increase in their share was recorded in the city neighborhoods of Trešnjevka-North, Trnje and Donji Grad (Table 1), setting these areas apart from the rest of Zagreb. This indicates that they became the centers of queer male population. This distribution remained unchanged into the early 2020s, and the data presented in the previous section suggest that it has become permanent.

Finally, the decline in the number of gay clubs towards the end of the 2010s¹⁵ coincides with a significantly slower growth in the share of never-married men during that decade. This suggests that the process of spatialization of the Zagreb queer men's community is slowing down and possibly coming to an end.

4.3 "Pre-phase" of the spatialization of queer community in Zagreb

The earliest data on the number and spatial distribution of never-married men in Zagreb are available for the year 1961. At that time, 29.6% of never-married men lived in the city. By 2001, the proportion had risen to only 32.2%. It follows that the assumed spatialization and concentration of queer male community Zagreb during this period was an extremely slow process, if it took place at all. Both today and in the early 1960s, a significantly higher concentration of never-married men was recorded in the central city neighborhoods (Donji Grad, Gornji Grad) (Table 2). However, since the territorial boundaries of Zagreb's city districts in 1961 differed from those of today, the data are not fully comparable.

13 The liberalization of the legal framework (e.g. the *Same-Sex Life Partnership Act* or the *Anti-Discrimination Act*) and social attitudes towards queer people, as well as the beginning of the organization of queer associations (*Iskorak*, *Zagreb Pride*, *Domino...*) and Pride parades possibly contributed to the faster growth of the number of gay clubs and the spatialization of the LGBT community.

14 The largest increase in the proportion of never-married men in the 2010s was recorded in the neighborhood of Novi Zagreb-East (+2,41 %). Based on the data on the spatial distribution of Romeo application users in 2022, it can be assumed that the increase in the proportion of never-married men in the 2010s is due (among other reasons) to the concentration of the queer population in the area (around) the Mamutica residential building (Figure 2). Mamutica is the largest residential building in Zagreb, which implies a large demographic mass and thus guarantees anonymity, which has already been noted as a very important feature when choosing a place to live for members of the queer community.

15 The decline in the number of gay clubs is not a phenomenon that occurred only in Zagreb, nor is it solely because of the COVID-19 pandemic. The dissolution of gay neighborhoods and the reduction in the number of pink consumption places is also recognized trend in Western countries as well, and it is interpreted in different ways. For example, through changes in family life for same-sex couples, which includes the adoption of children (Bitterman, Hess, 2021), the increasing acceptance of queer people that makes them feel safe even outside of exclusive queer areas, gentrification, the increase in the number of heterosexual orientation visitors to pink places and spaces, the ability of queer people to connect with each other through digital channels, and so on (Ghaziani, 2022).

Table 2: Marital status of men over the age of 15 in Zagreb municipalities in 1961.

Municipality	Total	Never-married		Married	Widowed	Divorced	Unknown
		N	%				
Črnomerec	16,368	4,995	30.5	10,456	384	470	63
Donji Grad	15,312	5,209	34.0	9,070	384	580	69
Gornji Grad	7,915	2,660	33.6	4,746	191	281	37
Maksimir	18,488	5,477	29.6	12,046	479	414	72
Medveščak	20,084	5,721	28.5	13,193	452	612	106
Peščenica	10,212	3,118	30.5	6,597	171	247	79
Remetinec	10,267	2,406	23.4	7,379	363	88	31
Susedgrad	14,112	3,863	27.4	9,593	303	247	106
Trešnjevka	26,820	8,288	30.9	17,144	590	708	90
Trnje	18,940	5,674	30.0	12,403	305	425	133
Zagrebačka Dubrava	10,105	2,545	25.2	7,109	215	174	62
Zagreb	168,623	49,956	29.6	109,736	3,837	4,246	848

Data source: FBS, 1961.

In the 1970s, important socio-spatial changes took place that could have significantly contributed to the formation of the core of the queer population in Zagreb. First, the suburbanization of Zagreb's population and the functional transformation of the central parts of the city began during this decade (Vresk, 1997). As we have seen, suburbanization is one of the key urban-geographical processes that contributed to the spatial concentration of sexual minorities in the West. Furthermore, male homosexuality was decriminalized in Croatia in 1977. Finally, at the very end of the decade the first points of consumption-related gatherings among queer people in Zagreb started to emerge, which can be seen as the initial cores of the queer community's spatialization. Early key venues included *Splendid* in Zrinjevac, the *Club of Literary Workers*, and the *Club of Film Artists*. By the 1980s, other important spots like the *Croatian Association of Artists* (at the coffee shop *Kod Stipe*) and *Bacchus* located in the city center, had become notable gathering places (Dobrović, Bosanac, 2007). The sexual revolution, which had its echoes in Yugoslavia during the 1970s, also likely contributed to the formation of the core of the spatialization of the Zagreb queer community (Miljan, 2018). However, the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s (Anušić, Kovač, 2021) and the particularly strong re-traditionalization during the 1990s likely slowed this process. Since even the places where queer people gathered did not communicate their openness publicly and thus remained largely invisible, the period from the 1970s

to the end of the 1990s can be considered the “pre-phase” of the spatialization of queer community in Zagreb.

Despite its limited scope, this period is crucial for understanding the development and dynamics of the spatialization of the queer community in Zagreb, since it laid the groundwork for a more permanent queer presence, even in the face of continuous socio-political challenges.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The paper presents the thesis that a residential core of queer men exists in Zagreb. Our thesis is supported by multiple datasets, whose overlap suggests that the urban geography of Zagreb is less heterosexual than it might appear at first glance. Roughly following the patterns of spatialization of queer communities in the West, albeit with a considerable time lag and significant deviations, the spatialization of the queer men's community in Zagreb was preceded by the emergence and development of pink consumption places.

They appeared timidly as early as the 1970s, bolstered by the echoes of the sexual revolution. However, the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s, coupled with the war in the 1990s hampered further development. It wasn't until 1999 that the first openly gay club was opened in Zagreb, marking the true beginning of the spatialization of the Zagreb queer men's community.

The extremely dynamic development of pink consumption places in Zagreb in the 2000s was reflected both in their number and in the clear spatial concentration in the city center. At the same time, the place of residence of never-married men also changed—they also gravitated towards the city center. Both processes were strengthened by the liberalization of the legal framework and social attitudes towards queer people. However, during the 2010s, the growth of both pink consumption places, and the share of never-married men slowed. Their spatial distribution remained largely unchanged, and in 2022, it largely coincided with the spatial distribution of profiles on Romeo dating application. According to all the above indicators, the city neighborhoods of Donji Grad (Lower Town), Trešnjevka-North and Trnje stand out as centers of queer men's residence.

Unlike some cities where gay neighborhoods are distinct, Zagreb's queer men's residential core is not spatially segregated; instead, it coexists with a heterosexual population in areas of high population density. This density provides anonymity, fostering a sense of safety and helping queer people manage the stress associated with minority status.

The development of queer men's residential core in Zagreb highlights the complexity and dynamism of post-socialist urban life. Areas with a greater concentration of queer male population, which are simultaneously shaped by social processes and the feedback influence on these same social processes, reflect both global patterns of

urban population relocation, as well as their local specificities that led to the subtle integration of the queer community into the framework of the urban fabric.

However, the research has limitations due to the lack of official statistical data on sexual and gender minorities, which prevents a more comprehensive understanding of the residential distribution of queer men. As such, our findings should be understood as approximate estimates. To improve the results, future studies could incorporate a broader range of data sources and methods, including information on queer women and housing advertisements in queer media, to provide a more holistic view of the entire queer community and its dynamics.

References

- Anušić, N., Kovač, V., 2021. The impact of moral panic on morbidity of sexually transmitted diseases in SR Croatia at the beginning of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. *Radovi*, 53, 1, pp. 267–304.
- Backović, V., 2005. Evropski gradovi u postsocijalističkoj transformaciji. *Sociologija*, 47, 1, pp. 27–44.
- Barton, C., 2023. 2021 census: What do we know about the LGBT+ population? URL: <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/2021-census-what-do-we-know-about-the-lgbt-population/> (accessed 05.01.2024).
- Bašić, K., 2005. Apsolutna decentralizacija u populacijskom razvoju Zagrebačke aglomeracije. *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, 67, 1, pp. 63–80.
- Béres-Deák, R., 2022. Out in the country and in the city: Discourses and practices of being out in the Hungarian LGBTQ community. In: Blidon, M., Brunn, S. D. (eds.). *Mapping LGBTQ spaces and places. A changing world*. Springer: Cham, pp. 555–568.
- Bilić, B., Stubbs, P., 2015. Unsettling ‘the urban’ in post-Yugoslav activism: ‘Right to the city’ and pride parades in Serbia and Croatia. In: Jacobsson, K. (ed.). *Urban grassroots movements in Central and Eastern Europe*. Ashgate: Farnham, pp. 119–138.
- Bilić, B., Stubbs, P., 2016. Beyond EUtopian promises and disillusion: A conclusion. In: Bilić, B. (ed.). *LGBT activism and Europeanisation in the post-Yugoslav space: On the rainbow way to Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan: London, pp. 231–248.
- Braun, K., Cleff, T., Walter, N., 2015. Rich, lavish and trendy. Is lesbian consumers’ fashion shopping behaviour similar to gay’s? A comparative study of lesbian fashion consumption behaviour in Germany. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 19, 4, pp. 445–466, DOI: 10.1108/JFMM-10-2014-0073.
- Burmaz, B., 2014. Gej klubovi u Beogradu: unutrašnja periferizacija kvir prostora. In: Blagojević, J., Dimitrijević, O. (eds.). *Među nama: neispričane priče gej i lezbijskih života*. Hartefakt Fond: Beograd, pp. 190–209.
- CBS [Croatian Bureau of Statistics], 2001. Population aged 15 and over by sex and marital status, by cities / municipalities. 2001. Census. URL: https://web.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/Census2001/Popis/E01_02_09/E01_02_09.html (accessed 29.11.2023).

- CBS [Croatian Bureau of Statistics], 2011. Population aged 15 and over, by legal marital status, age and sex. 2011 Census. URL: https://web.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01_01_15/E01_01_15.html (accessed 29.11.2023).
- CBS [Croatian Bureau of Statistics], 2021. Population aged 15 and over, by legal marital status, age and sex, by towns/municipalities. 2021 Census. URL: <https://podaci.dzs.hr/en/statistics/population/> (accessed 06.12.2023).
- Čemažar, S. A., Mikulin, T., 2017. Europeizacija kao (ne)prijateljica: razvoj LGBT pokreta u Hrvatskoj. *Mali levijatan*, 19, 4, pp. 29–58.
- Clement, N., 2022. 'The whole neighbourhood is becoming gay!' Reflections on the effects of geolocated dating apps on the practice and perception of the urban space of gay men in major French cities. In: Blindon, M., Brunn, S. D. (eds.). *Mapping LGBTQ spaces and places. A changing world*. Cham: Springer, pp. 147–168.
- Collins, A., Drinkwater, S., 2017. Fifty shades of gay: social and technological change, urban deconcentration and niche enterprise. *Urban Studies*, 54, 3, pp. 765–785. DOI: 10.1177/0042098015623722.
- Conron, K. J., Goldberg, S. K., 2020. Adult LGBT population in the United States. URL: <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/LGBT-Adult-US-Pop-Jul-2020.pdf> (accessed 07.01.2024).
- Darakchi, S., 2019. Emergence and development of LGBTQ studies in post-socialist Bulgaria. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 67, 3, pp. 325–334. DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2018.1534413.
- Dimitrov, S., 2014. Gej i lezbijski klubovi u Beogradu: društveni prostori, identiteti, otpor. In: Blagojević, J., Dimitrijević, O. (eds.). *Među nama: neispričane priče gej i lezbijskih života*. Hartefakt Fond: Beograd, pp. 210–226.
- Dobrović, Z., Bosanac, G., 2007. *Usmena povijest homoseksualnosti u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Domino.
- Duda, I., 2004. *U potrazi za blagostanjem. O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.
- FBS [Federal Bureau of Statistics], 1967. Vital, ethnic and migration features. Results for municipalities. 1961 Census. Beograd.
- Francoeur, R., Noonan R. (eds.), 2003. *The Continuum complete international encyclopedia of sexuality*. New York-London: Continuum.
- Ghaziani, A., 2022. Belonging in gay neighborhoods and queer nightlife. In: Fischer, N. L., Westbrook, L., Seidman, S. (eds.). *Introducing the new sexuality studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 540–550.
- Gorman-Murray, A., Nash, C., 2017. Transformations in LGBT consumer landscapes and leisure spaces in the neoliberal city. *Urban studies*, 54, 3, pp. 786–805. DOI: 10.1177/0042098016674893.
- Hermann, E., 2016. Kako se kalio Zagrebački LGBT clubbing. URL: <https://voxfeminae.net/pravednost/kako-se-kalio-zagrebacki-lgbt-clubbing/> (accessed 26.06.2022).

- Hess, D. B., Bitterman, A., 2021. Who are the people in your gayborhood? Understanding population change and cultural shifts in LGBTQ+ neighborhoods. In: Bitterman, A., Hess, D. B. (eds.). *The life and afterlife of gay neighborhoods: Renaissance and resurgence*. Cham: Springer, pp. 3–39.
- Hinrichs, D. W., 2021. Foreword. In: Bitterman, A., Hess, D. B. (eds.). *The life and afterlife of gay neighborhoods: Renaissance and resurgence*. Cham: Springer, pp. vii–ix.
- Howard, C., 2013. Building a „family-friendly“ metropolis: Sexuality, the state, and postwar housing policy. *Journal of Urban History*, 39, 5, pp. 933–955. DOI: 10.1177/0096144213479322.
- Jubany, O., Adiego, J., Mas Grau, J., 2021. There is LGBTQ life beyond the big city: Discourses, representations and experiences in two medium-sized Spanish cities. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 69, 11, pp. 1908–1927. DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2021.1933787.
- Kates, S., 2002. The protean quality of subcultural consumption: An ethnographic account of gay consumers. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29, 3, pp. 383–399. DOI: 10.1086/344427.
- Lorencova, V., 2006. *Becoming visible: Queer in postsocialist Slovakia*. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses.
- Lugosi, P., 2007. Queer consumption and commercial hospitality. *Communitas, myths and the production of liminoid space*. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 27, 3/4, pp. 163–174. DOI: 10.1108/01443330710741093.
- Mak, K., Jakovčić, M., 2021. Pink consumption areas: Research accomplishments and future perspectives. *Croatian Geographical Bulletin*, 82, 2, pp. 59–77. DOI: 10.21861/HGG.2021.83.02.03.
- Mak, K., Jakovčić, M., 2023. ‘Gay space is wherever I am’: The outlines of pink consumption spaces in Zagreb. *Geographica Pannonica*, 27, 2, pp. 91–103. DOI: 10.5937/gp27-42432.
- Mattson, G., 2015. Style and the value of gay nightlife: Homonormative place making in San Francisco. *Urban Studies*, 52, 16, pp. 3144–3159. DOI: 10.1177/0042098014555630.
- Mayhew, S., 2023: *A dictionary of geography*. Sixth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mikulak, M., 2019. Between the market and the hard place: neoliberalization and Polish LGBT movement. *Social Movement Studies*, 18, 5, pp. 550–565. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2019.1598353.
- Miljan, Z., 2018. *Seksualna revolucija u Hrvatskoj 1960-ih i 1970-ih godina, doktorska disertacija*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu.
- Mlinar, I., 2009. Zagrebačka stambena naselja nakon 2000. godine. *Prostor. Znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 37, 1, pp. 159–169.
- Pacione, M., 2009. *Urban geography. A global perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Pereira, S., Ayrosa, E., 2012. Between two worlds: an ethnographic study of gay consumer culture in Rio de Janeiro. *Brazilian Administration Review*, 9, 2, 211–228.

- Pitonak, M., 2022. A decade of Prague Pride: Mapping origins, seeking meanings, understanding effects. In: Blindon, M., Brunn, S. D. (eds.). *Mapping LGBTQ spaces and places. A changing world*. Cham: Springer, pp. 417–444.
- Podmore, J., Bain, A., 2021. Whiter queer suburbanisms? Beyond heterosuburbia and queer metronormativities. *Progress in Human Geography*, 45, 5, pp. 1254–1277. DOI: 10.1177/0309132520979744.
- Poltz, K., 2022. Space and identity: Comparing the production of queer spaces in Amsterdam and Hong Kong. In: Blindon, M., Brunn, S. D. (eds.). *Mapping LGBTQ spaces and places. A changing world*. Cham: Springer, pp. 341–370.
- Prelogović, V., 2004. The socio-spatial structure of the city: the example of Zagreb. *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, 66, 1, 29–46.
- Prelogović, V., 2009. Primjena faktorske analize u istraživanje socio-prostorne strukture grada: primjer Zagreba. *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, 71, 1, pp. 67–85.
- Romeo, 2022. Romeo – your GPS-position, your security. URL: www.romeo.com/en/care/locations (accessed 26.06.2022).
- Skočir, D., Šakaja, L., 2017. Prostorni aspekti posjećenosti kafića u Zagrebu: dobne i rodne razlike. *Acta Geographica Croatica*, 43/44, pp. 37–58.
- Slavuj, L., Cvitanović, M., Prelogović, V., 2009. Emergence of problem areas in the urban structure of post-socialist Zagreb. *Spatium*, 21, pp. 76–83.
- Stella, F., 2013. Queer space, pride, and shame in Moscow. *Slavic Review*, 72, 3, pp. 458–480. DOI: 10.5612/slavicreview.72.3.0458.
- Stepanović, N., 2022. Policy makes a family: Croatian LGBTQ movement and the struggle for fostering rights. In: Blindon, M., Brunn, S. D. (eds.). *Mapping LGBTQ spaces and places. A changing world*. Cham: Springer, pp. 45–56.
- Štulhofer, A., Hiršl-Hećej, V., Mrkšić, Ž., Korać, A., Hoblaj, P., Ivkanec, I., Mamula, M., Tiljak, H., Buljan-Flander, G., Sagasta, S., Bosanac, G., Karlović, A., Mimica, J., 2003. Croatia. In: Francoeur, R., Noonan, R. (eds.). *The continuum complete international encyclopedia of sexuality*. New York, London: Continuum, pp. 241–258.
- Vouk Nikolić, M. (ed.), 2022. *Uđite u naša 4 zida. Izložba povodom 20 godina Povorke ponosa u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Tifološki muzej.
- Vresk, M., 1997. Suburbanizacija Zagreba. *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, 59, pp. 49–71.

KARTIRANJE ZAGREBŠKEGA URBANEGA PROSTORA: V ISKANJU GEJEVSKEGA REZIDENČNEGA JEDRA

Povzetek

»Kvirovska« geografija je uporaben okvir za razumevanje vloge prostora in kraja pri oblikovanju spolnih identitet in skupnosti. Ta koncept poudarja, kako so prostori, kot so gejevski klubi, oblikovali kvirovske identitete in skupnosti, hkrati pa izpostavlja vpliv teh prostorskih odnosov na družbeno pravičnost (Mayhew, 2023). Namen tega prispevka je preučiti obstoj koncentracije kvirovske moške populacije oziroma rezidenčnega jedra kvirovskih moških v Zagrebu. Trdimo, da večja koncentracija rožnatih potrošniških krajev vodi do večje koncentracije uporabniških profilov na aplikacijah za gejevske zmenke in da omenjeni kazalniki potencialno kažejo na večjo koncentracijo kvirovskih moških. V članku na primeru Zagreba raziskujemo: 1) rezidenčno jedro kvirovske moške populacije; 2) čas njegovega nastanka in 3) prostorsko dinamiko njegovega razvoja.

V začetni fazi prostorske umestitve kvirovske skupnosti v zahodnih državah so bila mesta rožnate potrošnje, kot so gejevski klubi, pubi in bari, skoraj edina javna mesta, kjer so se pripadniki kvirovske skupnosti lahko srečevali in preživljali prosti čas (Collins, Drinkwater, 2017; Lugosi, 2007; Mattson, 2015). Okoli rožnatih krajev potrošnje so počasi začele nastajati gejevske soseske kot kvirovska stanovanjska območja. Njihov nastanek je bil rezultat več prepletajočih se procesov, med katerimi sta imela ključno vlogo suburbanizacija in deindustrializacija (Gorman-Murray, Nash, 2017). Gejevske soseske so se običajno nahajale v zapuščenih in/ali nezaželenih prostorih v bližini mestnih središč, kjer so bile nepremičnine in najemnine poceni (Hess, Bitterman, 2021).

Gejevske soseske so ustvarjale ugodnejše pogoje za ustanavljanje kvirovskih podjetij ter pojav novih krajev in oblik rožnate potrošnje (Poltz, 2022). Kasneje je proces gentrifikacije gejevske soseske iz obrobni območij spremenil v komercialno uspešna okrožja, organizirana okoli rožnate potrošnje in pretežno naseljena z vse bolj premožno kvirovsko skupnostjo (Poltz, 2022). To je pripeljalo do rasti cen stanovanj in najemnin, kar je povzročilo izseljevanje in razpršitev kvirovske populacije.

Prostorska umestitev kvirovske moške skupnosti v Zagrebu se je razlikovala od tiste v zahodnih državah. Prva mesta rožnate potrošnje so se sramežljivo pojavila že v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja. Vendar je epidemija aidsa v osemdesetih letih skupaj z vojno v devetdesetih zavrla njihov nadaljnji razvoj. Šele leta 1999 so v Zagrebu odprli prvi odkrito gejevski klub, kar je pomenilo pravi začetek prostorske umestitve zagrebške kvirovske moške skupnosti.

Izjemno dinamičen razvoj prostorov za rožnato potrošnjo v Zagrebu po letu 2000 se je odražal tako v njihovem številu kot v jasni prostorski koncentraciji v središču mesta. Hkrati se je spremenil tudi kraj bivanja nikoli poročenih moških – tudi oni so

gravitirali proti mestnemu središču. Oba procesa sta se okrepila z liberalizacijo pravnega okvira in družbenega odnosa do istospolno usmerjenih oseb. Vendar se je v letu 2010 rast tako krajev rožnate potrošnje kot deleža nikoli poročenih moških upočasnila. Njuna prostorska porazdelitev je ostala večinoma nespremenjena, leta 2022 pa se je v veliki meri ujemala s prostorsko porazdelitvijo profilov v aplikaciji za zmenke Romeo. Glede na vse navedene kazalnike kot središča bivanja kvir moških izstopajo mestne četrti Donji Grad, Trešnjevka - sever in Trnje. V nasprotju z nekaterimi mesti, kjer so gejevske soseske ločene, zagrebško kvirovsko moško stanovanjsko jedro ni prostorsko ločeno, temveč sobiva s heteroseksualno populacijo na območjih z visoko gostoto prebivalstva. Ta gostota zagotavlja anonimnost, spodbuja občutek varnosti in pomaga pripadnikom kvirovske skupnosti pri obvladovanju stresa, povezanega s statusom manjšine.

Razvoj stanovanjskega jedra kvirovskih moških v Zagrebu kaže na kompleksnost in dinamičnost postsocialističnega mestnega življenja. Območja z večjo koncentracijo kvirovske moške populacije, ki jih hkrati oblikujejo družbeni procesi in povratni vplivi na te iste družbene procese, odražajo tako globalne vzorce preseljevanja mestnega prebivalstva kot tudi njihove lokalne posebnosti, ki so pripeljale do subtilne integracije kvirovske skupnosti v okvir mestnega tkiva.

Zaradi pomanjkanja uradnih statističnih podatkov o spolnih in seksualnih manjšinah je ugotavljanje natančne prostorske porazdelitve kvirovskih moških zelo oteženo, kar vpliva na celovitejše razumevanje problematike. Ugotovitve raziskave je treba razumeti kot približne ocene. Za izboljšanje rezultatov bi lahko prihodnje študije vključile širši nabor virov podatkov in metod, vključno z informacijami o kvirovskih ženskah in s stanovanjskimi oglasi v kvirovskih medijih, da bi zagotovili celovitejši pogled na celotno kvirovsko skupnost in njeno dinamiko.