Constructing a Victim of Violence:
The Politics of "Safe Space" in Toronto's LGBTQ Village

by

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Abstract
As North American LGBTQ communities have become increasingly visible and subsequently been targeted by violence for this visibility, urban LGBTQ villages have often been framed by activists as "safe spaces" where these communities can protect themselves. The way violence is constructed within these spaces, however, has implications for who the space is ultimately seen to belong to, especially as police involvement in notions of LGBTQ protection increases. This thesis examines iterations of "safe space" activism in the Canadian city of Toronto during two moments in the 1980s and 1990s, focusing in particular on two organizations, the Toronto Gay Street Patrol (1981-1984) and the Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee (1992-2000). I argue that in response to anti-LGBTQ violence, attempts to form "safe space" in Toronto's LGBTQ village during the 1980s and 1990s often constructed a particular victim of violence whose safety was central to LGBTQ community, and which increasingly coincided with the figure welcomed by local business and residential interests. As police presence in the neighborhood increased, the privileging of these interests allowed for the public framing of groups that were seen as bad for business owners and residents as also threats to LGBTQ safety, ultimately justifying their forced removal from the village.

Key Words: safe space; LGBTQ activism; gay street patrol; community-police partnership; urban geography

CHAPTER 1: VIOLENCE, SPACE, EXCLUSION: AN INTRODUCTION

Violence has been one of the major factors that has historically shaped LGBTQ lives and communities, influencing the ways in which these communities organize. Taking many forms, this violence has been perpetrated both by civilians as well as state agents like the police, the latter of which has both enacted direct attacks on LGBTQ individuals while also often refusing to respond when violence has occurred. Both of these actions are tied to larger processes of both state-sanctioned neglect and aggression, which fundamentally favor some citizens while leaving others vulnerable. As a risk so associated with LGBTQ life, violence has also served as the driving force behind greater LGBTQ community building, activism, and political movements. This story, told similarly in many countries of the Global North, sounds familiar in Canada, a country which "presents itself as unique in its relatively progressive, yet not uncontested legislative, regulatory and human rights protection for gays and lesbians" (Nash, 2013a, p. 195), but which has its own history of violence against its LGBTQ populations. This violence increased in the latter half of the twentieth century as LGBTQ communities became increasingly visible in Canada's social fabric, especially as they obtained new forms of legal recognition and protection (Kinsman, 1987; Janoff, 2005). As laws have legitimized LGBTQ lives, violence has been one way for conservative forces to combat this legitimization, and has subsequently become the impetus for even greater visibility and recognition.

Most associated with urban locales, LGBTQ visibility has largely become tied to particular spaces within cities, particularly with "gay" or "LGBTQ villages" that, having first coalesced in their presently recognizable forms in major American cities like New York and San Francisco and Canadian cities like Toronto, have since emerged in cities across the globe (Bell & Binnie, 2004). In Toronto, this space developed following the Second World War as various factors including gay- and lesbian-friendly establishments drew the city's gay and

lesbian populations to the area surrounding Wellesley and Yonge Streets in the downtown core (Kinsman, 1987; Nash, 2013a), and has since shifted its nucleus to the intersection of Wellesley and Church. Having started as a space of disdain for not only many of the city's straight inhabitants but also a large portion of its LGBTQ communities (Nash, 2005; 2006), the village eventually came to be widely embraced as part of the city's diverse identity, "marketed […] as an example of the city's diversity and tolerance" (Nash, 2013a, p. 199) and incorporated into the city's "multicultural" self-brand. In this process, the village has become a useful basis for activism, as a space where LGBTQ events can be organized and political support can be garnered from condensed residential LGBTQ population (Nash, 2005). As well, in the fight against violence, the village, while in some ways an easy target, has also served as a consolidated space in which activists have sought to secure a right to safety, claiming a "safe space" where they can expect to feel protected. Even these attempts to achieve safety, however, have not produced perfect inclusion, and any claim to Toronto's multiculturalism in relation to LGBTQ rights requires an exploration into exactly who has been granted safety this "exceptional" and multicultural city.

Following recent trends in queer studies scholarship (eg. Nash, 2006; 2013; Hanhardt, 2013; Haritaworn, 2015; Lenon & Dryden, 2015), this thesis examines the relationship between queer space and LGBTQ activism in the Canadian city of Toronto, focusing on various forms of activism whose primary objective is to deter violence. Studying the years after the city's village was widely embraced by Toronto's LGBTQ communities for its political usefulness in the late 1970s (Nash, 2005; 2006), I examine shifting notions of queer 'safe space' that were tied to the city's LGBTQ village in the decades stretching from the early 1980s up until 2000. In this twenty-year period, I pay particular attention to the years during which the city's first gay and lesbian street patrol walked the village streets (1981-1984), as well as key years in the early 1990s when the relationship between the city's

LGBTQ communities and the police saw major efforts towards improvement (1990-1996). During the latter years, the city also saw as part these efforts the creation of its first community-elected police advisory committee in the Church/Wellesley neighborhood, which significantly changed how policing operated within the village. In studying these years, I attempt to better understand how anti-violence activism constructed a particular figure of the victim of violence during the years following the bathhouse raids, and how this figure carried into the years when police presence within the area noticeably increased. This effort is to ultimately better understand the ways in which this figure has become associated with the city's LGBTQ village and how it has factored into debates over who has ownership over the space, a debate which still emerges today.

Taking a geographic approach to this study of queer history, I consider notions of queer geography as both the space inhabited by classically "queer" (meaning largely LGBTQ) bodies as well as the ways in which all nonnormative sexuality organizes and is regulated spatially, including LGBTQ communities but also considering straight bodies such as straight sex workers whose sexual practices are still discouraged and regulated by the state (Cohen, 1997, p. 452). This approach involves understanding how notions of queer "safe space" first emerged, as well as for which queers these spaces were imagined and intended, to then understand how discourses around queer safety have since circulated. Focusing on Toronto, I draw on Canadian scholarship while also seeking to extend works that focus on other cities and places (primarily the United States) to Canada, taking into consideration both the general and unique traits of Toronto in relation to other global cities. I examine Hanhardt's observation that "LGBTQ political goals based on the terms of protection and safety are inextricable from spatial development and crime control strategies" (2013, p. 32), an observation useful for linking LGBTQ activism and spatial development with wider processes across global cities like Toronto. Using this assumption, I also examine in the

Canadian context a phenomenon that Sarah Lamble terms "queer investment in punishment" (2014, p. 151) to refer to the process through which LGBTQ communities that were once the target of police persecution come to rely upon the police regulation of others to legitimize their own belonging within the city or nation, even while it actively persecutes others—an example of the ways in which the "deployments of dispossession and (un)belonging are the very conditions for inclusion to occur" (Lenon & Dryden, 2015, p. 5).

While studying LGBTQ "safe space" in Toronto, several questions guided my research: How has safety become integral to notions of LGBTQ community? How has it been associated with a particular identity, and by extension, how has safety also become tied to a particular space? What consequences have processes of producing "safe space" engendered, especially as the relationship between certain segments of Toronto's LGBTQ communities and the police have improved? Has inclusion for some LGBTQ bodies come at the exclusion of other bodies, and if so, how has this exclusion manifested spatially? How are these related to larger processes of urban investment and disinvestment? Using these questions, I attempted to examine the ways in which a particular discourse around anti-LGBTQ violence came to be, and how it then influenced relations between various groups within the village. This thesis argues that in response to anti-LGBTQ violence, attempts to form "safe space" in Toronto's LGBTQ village during the 1980s and 1990s often constructed a particular victim of violence whose safety was central to LGBTQ community, and which increasingly coincided with the figure welcomed by local business and residential interests. As police presence in the neighborhood increased, the privileging of these interests allowed for the public framing of groups that were seen as reducing local "quality of life" as also threats to LGBTQ safety, ultimately justifying these group's forced removal from the village.

The remainder of this work is broken up into five chapters. Chapter 2 reviews my methodological framework, exploring what it means to apply a geographic perspective to queer history, as well as well as what a queer approach to geography might look like. This chapter also examines the city as a scale of study and justifies my timeline, and then lays out the terminology for subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 serves as a review of relevant literature on the topic of urban "safe space," anti-LGBTQ violence, and what queer belonging has historically entailed, creating a conceptual framework for my own research. Chapters 4 analyzes anti-LGBTQ violence and LGBTQ anti-violence activism in Toronto in the early 1980s, and homes in on the work of a gay and lesbian street patrol that operated from 1981 until 1984 in the Church/Wellesley village. In doing so, it examines early activist efforts at forming an LGBTQ "safe space" in Toronto specifically for the purposes of community building, questioning to whom this space was seen as belonging. Chapter 5 fast-forwards to the early 1990s, again laying out an image of anti-LGBTQ violence in Toronto during this time and examining activist responses at a moment when certain responses began to more actively involve the city's police. By focusing on a particular liaison committee formed between the Church/Wellesley neighborhood and the 52 Division of the Toronto Police, this chapter seeks to examine how notions of LGBTQ "safe space" rely on historically created notions of certain LGBTQ bodies as victims, and how these notions have been used to justify the removal of other groups from LGBTQ space. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the arguments laid out in the preceding chapters and considers how a critical exploration of urban LGBTQ spaces will require insights from both queer theory and critical urban studies, attempting to use these conclusions to better inform future attempts to create queer urban space.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

In her important recent book *Safe Space*, Christina Hanhardt notes that "studies on formal LGBT efforts to combat violence have been few" (2013, p. 8). This thesis seeks to help fill this gap, utilizing a "historical-geographical" (Brown, 2013, p. 6) approach to the study of Toronto's LGBTQ village, meant, as Brown notes, to "help us remember the processual nature of urban morphology" (2013, p. 6) and its impact on queer spaces. This involves reviewing important historical moments in the city's history with special attention paid to their spatial manifestations, and the ways in which discourses around particular spaces have historically been constructed. In doing so, this project also draws on previous works of "queer geography" to examine not only the spatial practices of bodies historically thought of as "queer" (meaning primarily "LGBT"), but also the ways in which space factors into the organization and regulation of all nonnormative sexualities and sexual practices, while also considering the ways that regulating processes of heteronormativity work alongside other processes such as classism, sexism, and racism (Oswin, 2008).

In this chapter, I first consider the implications of choosing Toronto and its LGBTQ village during the 1980s and 1990s as the where and when of my study, noting both the historical dominance of urban spaces in queer scholarship and the limitations of this dominance while still arguing for the need to continue studying the city to document the erasures that occur there. I then discuss specific methodological practices used to collect data for this thesis, and consider some limitations to this data. In the final section, I review my choices of terminology.

The Where and When: Justifying 1980s/90s Toronto as a scale of study

The field of queer studies has largely focused on the circumstances of LGBTQ populations in urban space, constructing the city as the central site for LGBTQ life and

struggle. D'Emilio (1983) famously described the process of rural to urban migration that gay and lesbian populations undertook after the Second World War, with the simultaneous convergence of these populations in industrial cities and the weakening of family ties due to changes in wage labor allowing for the formation of gay (and, to a lesser extent, lesbian) communities. The urban focus of this and other similar narratives from the time D'Emilio was writing have factored into later writings within queer studies; concerning Gayle Rubin's seminal 1984 essay "Thinking Sex," for instance, Judith Halberstam notes that, for the author, "erotic dissidents require urban space because in rural settings queers are easily identified and punished" (2005, p. 35). Along with this urban focus comes a normalizing narrative of LGBTQ identity that threatens to privilege the experiences of certain LGBTQ populations over others, a tendency that Halberstam terms a *metronormativity* in the field of queer studies that "reveals the conflation of 'urban' and 'visible'" in many queer studies narratives, with the normative urban experience threatening to become the only visible one (Halberstam, 2005). This tendency comes at the expense of rural LGBTQ experiences—or even those experiences that occur outside major urban centers like San Fransisco or New York—whose lives fascinate urban LGBTQ populations but who are rarely allotted the complexity given to their metropolitan counterparts (Halberstam, 2005), as well as of urban LGBTQ populations who are further marginalized along lines such as class, race, and gender.

This metronormative focus extends past the discourses of queer studies, and can be found within mainstream LGBTQ activism. Exemplary of this trend, anti-violence activism often simplistically constructs its subject as white, gay men who experience violence in urban space—and LGBTQ villages more specifically—at the hands of either other urban populations or youth from the suburbs. Works of queer studies are directly influenced by this activism and the urban experiences that it popularizes, and theory then reciprocally serves to inform later activism. Therefore, a focus on normalized urban LGBTQ experiences is never

neutral, and can lead to the erasure of both rural and marginalized urban LGBTQ experiences from mainstream activist agendas, ultimately excluding them from policy benefits.

Although Halberstam theorizes metronormativity from an American context, Canadian queer studies mirrors this metronormative tendency, with large Canadian cities like Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal assuming dominant roles in the theory and history of LGBTQ lives. As D'Emilio's work on queer migrations set the agenda for many later works, Gary Kinsman, in *The Regulation of Desire*, describes a "mass 'sexual migration' of gays and lesbians from rural areas to the larger cities, where our lifestyles are more acceptable and family connections are weaker" (1987, p. 183). This focus heavily influenced the rest of Kinsman's seminal description of gay and lesbian life in Canada and numerous works that came after. As such, the experiences of both rural and marginalized urban Canadian LGBTQ populations have often been ignored in the literature (for a notable exception, see Michael Riordon's 1996 *Out Our Way: Gay and Lesbian Life in the Country*).

However, while an urban focus in theoretical and historical Canadian queer studies risks perpetuating the exclusion of rural and non-metropolitan LGBTQ experiences, it is important to challenge metronormative accounts of queer experience by returning to the city as an object of study, in order to lay bare the erasures that occur there. Edelman argues that "the 'city,' and how bodies come to be regulated by its terrain, is a powerful site of ideological work" (2014, p. 176) that we must continue to unpack, especially to aid contemporary activism that is still centralized in urban settings. This is especially important for those experiences that are marginalized within the discourse of mainstream LGBTQ activism, but who continue to inhabit the city, albeit often pushed out of popularized LGBTQ spaces dominated by white and relatively wealthy gay men. Manalansan, writing about queers of color, contends that cities offer "some semblance of a possible democratic future" (2005, p. 53) for those queers who are currently marginalized and who continue to be drawn

to cities' promises, and thus cannot be abandoned as objects of study and sites of activism. Hanhardt, when considering changes in cities under neoliberal governance, adds that analyses of LGBTQ urban experiences must ask "to whom the city belongs" (2013, p. 10), an increasingly important question as urban spaces becomes increasingly privatized and exclusions are justified based on that privatization. Therefore, as Hanhardt does in *Safe Space*, I maintain the "centrality of the city" (2013, p. 41) in keeping Toronto as my object of study, aiming to examine the exclusions that have taken place within Toronto's LGBTQ village. I do acknowledge that other examples of queer space can be found elsewhere within Toronto, especially as groups who have felt unwelcome in classically LGBTQ spaces have sought places to gather elsewhere (Nash, 2013a); however, it is these very processes of unwelcoming in LGBTQ villages that most interest me here, processes that have become increasingly noticeable as these spaces have been folded into cities' wider marketing strategies (Bell and Binnie, 2004).

Within this particular space, I study the years from 1981 until approximately 2000 as key years in the development of Toronto's LGBTQ anti-violence activism, while also referencing events that came before that helped set the stage for this period. Beginning in 1981, I examine the years following the "Operation Soap" bathhouse raids by the Toronto police on four downtown gay bathhouses, seen as a watershed moment in LGBTQ organizing in Toronto, and after which violence against the city's LGBTQ communities was articulated publically in new ways. I then continue to the early 1990s because of the increased role that the city's police force came to attain in community notions of security, to better understand the processes that emerged from this development. This history, however, is anything but complete; rather, it presents a broken timeline of anti-violence activism, even if some incidents in the fourth chapter may directly influence events in the fifth. Drawing structurally from Hanhardt's own chapter breakdown which presents five disjointed case studies from the

LGBTQ histories of San Francisco and New York, I attempt to present "a light and jagged line" (Hanhardt, 2013, p. 15) from one distinct moment in the city's history in the early 1980s to another in the 1990s, to illuminate underlying similarities between them. By doing so, I hope to point to the continuity in certain processes that have played out within Toronto's LGBTQ village, and in particular to trace a genealogy within the discourse around anti-LGBTQ violence in the city, to ultimately better understand the way that the figure of violence has been constructed and deployed.

Data collection: Practices and limitations

After having chosen 1980s/1990s Toronto as my subject of study, I applied a methodology reminiscent of the one Hanhardt applies to San Francisco and New York, while noting the shift from an American to a Canadian context with its own unique legal and activist framework, as well as particular influential events in Toronto's LGBTQ history such as the 1981 "Operation Soap" bath house raids. I conducted a literature review of relevant scholarship on LGBTQ villages, as well as on anti-queer violence and activist responses to it; carried out archival research at both the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives and the City of Toronto Archives, which consisted primarily of documents produced and circulated by the organizations studied, biographical material pertaining to particular activists, and newspaper clippings from a variety of both mainstream and LGBTQ publications; and held semi-structured interviews conducted with a total of seven anti-violence activists active in Toronto's LGBTQ community during the 1980s and '90s. Initial interviews were obtained by contacting people whose names I acquired through personal connections or in archival material, and many interview subjects thereafter recommended me to further interviews.

I should also note several limitations to my data. First, while the LGBTQ communities in Toronto (and globally) are internally fractured along lines of race, class,

gender, ability, and other categories that are structured hierarchically, and while much of the theory that I draw on studies the way these categories are reinforced (which I also allude to), my data primarily lent itself to studying class difference. Specifically, it lent itself to examining the differences between home and business owners in the Church/Wellesley neighborhood and other, commonly poorer groups whose claims to the space were seen as less legitimate. Second, I should note that many of the relevant activists to whom others wished to direct me have since died of HIV/AIDS-related complications, an important factor in any attempt at writing interview-informed LGBTQ history since the onset of HIV/AIDS.

It is also important that, while this thesis is often critical of the negative consequences of LGBTQ activism from the past quarter century, I do not mean to suggest that individual activists necessarily had these consequences in mind. I was not involved with the organizations that I write about here, and therefore the analyses that I offer do not stem from engagement, as Gilmore writes, "in everyday activism 'on the ground'" (2007, p. 27). The theme of anti-LGBTQ violence is inherently emotional and often tied to either first- or second-hand experiences of violence that can have long-lasting and traumatic effects, and it is impossible for me to access the fear and other particular emotions felt by the activists whom I examine. However, as Gilmore further notes, "where scholarship and activism overlap is in the area of how to make decisions about what comes next" (2007, p. 27); living amidst the present exclusions that these past efforts have engendered and which current efforts perpetuate, an acknowledgement of past actions is necessary to construct future activist practices that hope to take these consequences into account.

Terminology

One activist whom I interviewed expressed frustration at the "academicization" of language, arguing that it makes works of queer studies inaccessible to those who actually

lived the experiences about which queer theorists are writing. Therefore, wherever possible, I have attempted to address the wishes of my interview subjects by using language most familiar to those about whom I write, while also considering popular LGBTQ terminology, shifts in this terminology over time, and trends in academia.

Throughout, I utilize the umbrella term *LGBT*Q (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans*, Queer) as an overarching description of non-normative gender identities and sexualities and the people who identify with them, while also shifting between more specific terms such as *gay* or *gay and lesbian* whenever appropriate for a particular historical period. While *queer* has frequently been used in recent years as a reclaimed umbrella term, encompassing all non-heterosexual sexualities and (usually, though not exclusively,) all non-cisgendered gender identities, many scholars have noted the way that *queer* has been attached to certain bodies that complicate its attempts to be all-encompassing, and can obscure divisions along further lines of oppression (eg. Awwad, 2015; Gentile and Kinsman, 2015). Therefore, I include it within the oft-amended acronym *LGBTQ* to historically situate it beside other popularly used terminology. This acronym is far from complete, and excludes several letters that often come after, but is meant to be encompassing while also drawing attention to the difficulty in fitting all nonnormative sexualities and gender identities under one term. As well, it is important to note that the use of *LGBTQ* as an umbrella term threatens to erase the underrepresentation and exclusion of certain groups beneath the umbrella (Trevenen and Degagne, 2015), which I will attempt to account for in this thesis' explorations.

As Brown notes, numerous terms have been used when referring to urban gay enclaves, including "gay ghetto," "gay village," "gay district," "gay mecca," "gay neighborhood" or "gayborhood" (2013, p. 1). Levine's (1979) definition of the gay ghetto is exemplary of descriptions used throughout the literature on these enclaves; for Levine, the gay ghetto "contains gay institutions in number, a conspicuous and locally dominant gay

culture that is socially isolated from the larger community and a residential population that is substantially gay" (1979, p. 364). Bouthillette (1997), however, points out that these criteria are difficult to substantiate and leave exactly which spaces qualify as gay ghettos open to debate. Though the term *village* to refer to LGBTQ urban enclaves did not acquire its current popularity until the 1980s, I use it here with a definition comparable to that of Levine's "gay ghetto" expanded to include other nonnormative sexualities and gender identities, choosing "LGBTQ village" precisely because of the popularity it has acquired.

When referring to *violence*, I take my lead from Hanhardt and refer to "acts that cause immediate bodily harm…without denying either the fact that verbal threats can be the first stage of physical violence or the injurious power of words" (2013). This is primarily to account for the ways in which anti-LGBTQ violence has been used discursively by Toronto's anti-violence LGBTQ activists, who construct physical violence as its clearest example. However, I at times also use the term "gaybash" to refer to homophobic violence committed against gay men, as the phrase was commonly used by anti-violence activists in the 1980s and 1990s, such as those who opened the hotline discussed in Chapter 5. Hanhardt also makes a point to specify her definition of *state violence*, a discursive distinction that I find valuable; here, I use *state violence* to refer to both violence brought about physically at the hands of police officers as well as the effective erasure of marginalized communities through varying forces that act in the shadow of state neglect, here bringing to mind both Gilmore's (2007) definition of *racism* as "the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death" and Haritaworn, Kunstman, and Posocco's observation that

> letting die, abandonment and differential belonging are directly connected to the operations of forms of governance in late liberalism that constitute some subjects as morally deserving, while simultaneously justifying punitive measures on those

deemed undeserving as necessary, just and rational. (2014, p. 7-8)

This distinction points to the systemic nature of state violence that extends past individual instances, illuminating the underlying structures that legitimize each event.

CHAPTER 3: A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Early scholarly geographical literature on North American LGBTQ villages tended to focus on the ways in which these villages constituted gay or queer space, in opposition to the dominant coding of urban space as heterosexual. Gay or queer space, in this work, referred largely to areas in which nonnormative sexualities were able to express themselves more freely and form a spatial community, as well to those places in which "the socially constructed nature of sexual identities and sexually identified spaces" was made apparent (Bell, Binnie, Cream, & Valentine, 1994, p.32). Most early narratives highlighted the ways in which gay male populations were drawn into areas through gay establishments such as bars and baths, followed by an influx of a residential gay population adjacent to these establishments (Castells, 1983; Kinsman, 1987; Bouthillette, 1997). The development of these villages is described as intimately linked to the construction of gay identity (Castells, 1983; Lauria and Knopp, 1985), an identity that became more visible as the gay population increasingly announced its presence to the rest of the city (Bouthillette, 1997). After having visibly established themselves within a particular urban area, the spatial concentration of gay men in a neighborhood could then be used to garner political power (Lauria and Knopp, 1985); for instance, California's first openly gay politician, Harvey Milk, garnered strong political support in San Francisco's notorious Castro district to bolster his campaign. While more subsequent work has since been done on the formation of lesbian neighborhood formation (see, for example, Bouthillette, 1997; Podmore, 2006), early work tended to focus on specifically gay male urban enclaves, arguing that these spaces were more distinctly visible due to inherent differences between the ways gay men and lesbians occupied space (as noted in Browne and Ferreira, 2015, p. 7). As Browne and Ferreira note, however, this argument was itself essentialist and failed to account for the different forms of lived oppression faced by women and men (2015, p. 7), and further work has since been done to

document these essentialisms and to better understand the ways lesbians form their own spaces (see, for example, Podmore, 2001).

Within this early geographical scholarship, the process by which gay men moved into run-down areas of cities that were at the time inhabited by lower income populations was categorized as a form of gentrification (Lauria and Knopp, 1985; Knopp, 1990; Knopp, 1992), though often without the negative connotations that the word at times takes on in contemporary debates (for works that examine the potentially negative effects of gentrification, see, for example, Hartman, 1979; Smith, 1996; Atkinson, 2000; Pattillo, 2007). Knopp (1990) described this process within the Marigny neighborhood of New Orleans, asserting that it was seen as a cheap and convenient place to live for gay men who wanted to access the city's French Quarter. This perception, he argues, ultimately led speculators to attract more gay men to the area by actively promoting the area's gay identity. At the turn of the millennium, discussion of the role of gay men and lesbians in the revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods were further spurred by economist and urban theorist Richard Florida (2002), whose concept of the urban "creative class" pushed cities to actively promote an image of tolerance that extended to urban LGBTQ populations. Ironically, Bouthillete (1997) notes that gay gentrification itself forces out certain gay populations who cannot afford to live in the village due to rising costs of living. This phenomenon certainly extends past the gay population to those who lived in an area before the forces of gay gentrifiers moved in, and is thought to displace many previous residents to open new space for wealthier gay renters and homeowners. While early literature on gay gentrification may have mentioned these exclusions, they were not central to the authors' investigations, focusing instead on the gay men who moved into low-income neighborhoods and the processes of gay place-making and revitalization.

Scholarship since the turn of the millennium has tended to focus more on these exclusions within LGBTQ villages. Taylor (2008), for instance, describes the ways in which many working-class lesbians in the UK feel excluded from an increasingly commercialized, apolitical queer scene dominated by gay men, highlighting both the class and gendered exclusions that gay male space has often engendered. Many theorists have also focused on the exclusions that occur within LGBTQ villages based on race, both within and beyond North America. As Brown notes, "the gayborhood is a space of whiteness, and queers of color have long noted this unacknowledged privilege" (2013, p. 3). Returning to New Orleans, Nero (2005) troubles Knopp's (1990) narrative of gay gentrification in the neighborhood of Marigny, pointing out that most of the pre-existing residents who were pushed out of the neighborhood were Black, provocatively nicknaming Marigny a "queer male Levittown" after the famous American suburb that excluded Black residents for decades. Visser (2003), in writing on an LGBTQ village in Cape Town, South Africa, notes the stark "whiteness" of the established spaces, even though 75% of the Cape Town's population is not white. Oswin also notes that even in scholarship that attempts to see gay space as more than sexed space, there is little recognition that this space is "implicitly white" (2008, p. 93), calling for greater consideration of how queer space is racialized. Geographic explorations of not only LGBTQ villages, but queer space more generally thus must take divisions within the queer community along lines such as gender, class, race, and gender identity into account; otherwise, scholars risk performing the same erasures that occur within the spaces they study.

The increasingly visible role that urban villages allowed LGBTQ populations to achieve in the urban mosaic has been essential to gay activist agendas for achieving legal rights for gay populations. However, visibility has presented gay populations with a paradox: while a clear, organized presence can legitimize gay populations in the public eye, it can also

lead to increased violence from those who do not wish to see gay behaviors or identities legitimized (Hanhardt, 2013). As gay visibility, largely in the form of LGBTQ villages, has given rise to more violence, this violence ironically becomes a justification for the continuation of LGBTQ territory as a space within the city where these populations can feel safe, and from which they can base defensive efforts. This violence, however, can therefore become a justification for increasing gentrification of low-income pre-existing communities, often coupled with a pathologizing of low-income neighborhoods around LGBTQ villages. Gayle Rubin, for instance, in her seminal essay "Thinking Sex," described that "Gay pioneers occupied neighborhoods that were centrally located but run down" and that bordered low-income neighborhoods with whom they would compete for housing, leading the gay men who frequented villages to become "numerous and obvious targets for urban frustration" (1984, p. 331). As Hanhardt (2013) notes, in the United States this narrative has often attributed this violence to low-income neighborhoods with high numbers of Black residents, using narratives that construct the Black community as homophobic, even while often utilizing a discourse that compares racism to homophobia in order to justify the need for gay space. In this way, anti-violence activism can become a justification for securing the boundaries of LGBTQ villages, at times at the expense of low-income populations on or within the village's borders.

While Lauria and Knopp (1985) noted three decades ago that gay residents of newly solidifying LGBTQ villages were "looking to the state to help them out," this development and its consequences has recently garnered increased attention in queer scholarship. Theorists have examined the ways in which gay homeowners, renters, and business owners in LGBTQ villages, with support from their straight neighbors, have themselves become the wielders of the state violence that once targeted them, aiming it towards other populations who inhabit LGBTQ villages (see, for example, Hanhard, 2013; Lamble, 2014). This ability to utilize the

state actors that once targeted them—namely the police—is predicated upon a normalizing of LGBTQ identities, especially gay men, as they have been folded into existing structures of power. This happens particularly through proving gay men's potential in the capitalist marketplace, leading the gay identity to become what Lisa Duggan has usefully termed "homonormative" to refer to "a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions, but upholds and sustains them" (2003, p. 155), and by bringing certain LGBTQ bodies (privileged along lines of class, race, etc.) under police protection. Lamble (2014) describes this shift in the relationship between certain queer communities and the police as just one expression of *queer investments in punishment*—an example of what Haritaworn, Kunstman, and Posocco (2014) term "queer necropolitics" due to its potentially fatal outcomes— and notes that "many LGBTQ communities now partly measure their citizenship status on whether the state is willing to imprison other people on their behalf" (2014, p. 151). Her mention of citizenship suggests that these processes rely on a gay and lesbian identity that is not only homonormative, but "homonationalist (Puar, 2007)," referring to Puar's term for nationalist homosexual practices that seek to achieve "recognition and inclusion" for some queers within the nation, but which "is contingent upon the segregation and disqualification of racial and sexual others from the national imaginary" (2007, p. 2). As such, it announces its position in the body politic through the its ability to call forth state violence against other bodies that are deemed unassimilable, a process which often plays out in urban spaces.

These unassimilable bodies are those that are racialized, classed, or sexualized in such a way that cannot be folded into the national body in many western nations like the United States and Canada in the same ways that white, middle-class gay men (and, to a lesser extent, lesbians) have been able to assimilate. Manalansan (2005) notes such a process in the New York neighborhoods of Jackson Heights and Greenwich Village (specifically the Christopher

Street piers) where racialized queer bodies have been forcefully surveilled since the World Trade Center attacks, a process that "private gay enterprise" (p. 49) has supported in the name of capital. Andersson (2015), also discussing the piers, echoes this observation, pointing out that while the marginalization of non-white people within LGBTQ communities has often been explained through class-based arguments that inflate race and class, racial biases within these communities operate both in conflation with *and separate from* class-based ones. These authors stress that narratives of exclusion therefore must take into account the way processes of exclusion function both separately and in tandem in order to better understand the ways in which they operate.

Hanhardt (2013), in her work on the US cities of San Francisco and New York, notes that the policing of unassimilable bodies is often justified through a discourse of anti-violence that has also been historically used by both activists as well as business and home owners in LGBTQ villages to construct other groups within the vicinity as homophobic and potentially dangerous to LGBTQ populations. This discourse functions to remove these bodies from the space of the village, particularly when these bodies—such as sex workers and homeless populations—are seen as deterring local business or lowering residents' quality of life through their very presence. Operating on the level of neighborhood, one sees how gentrification, even when proclaiming a queering of space, can thus lead the creation of "death worlds" (Haritaworn, Kuntsman, & Posocco, 2014, p. 2) in which capital and the state (in the form of gay business and home owners and the police) allow for the regulation, "destruction, erasure and death" of certain populations in the name of protecting others (Edelman, 2014, p. 177). Haritaworn, in discussing Berlin, terms these processes of gentrification *queer regenerations* (2015, p. 3), referring to the supposed improvement of space by LGBTQ bodies once considered degenerate who allow further degeneration in their shadow. Haritaworn associates this process not only with the formation of LGBTQ villages,

but also with contemporary queer neighborhoods in many cities. While both Hanhardt and Haritaworn construct their narratives historically, they note the ways in which past processes of exclusion through gentrification are perpetuated in the present; making studying these processes relevant for understanding struggles in their contemporary forms.

A recent collection edited by Dryden and Lenon entitled *Disrupting Queer Inclusion* (2015) seeks to understand the way homonationalism—originally theorized by Puar in the American context—plays out in Canada. It thus asks what exclusions become clear as certain queer bodies are folded into dominant images of Canadian nationhood. Trevenen and Degagne, in an essay from the collection, look specifically at how the processes associated with homonationalism have produced improved police-queer relations in Canada over the past decades, arguing that while

> "policies and laws aimed at protecting LGBTQ citizens, namely anti-discrimination and hate crime legislation, have certainly offered some people important and necessary protections around employment, pay, housing rights, harassment and violence… these laws and policies are also tools that are frequently used to target and punish queers who are sex workers, activists, people of colour, Indigenous people, and street-identified people" (2015, p. 108).

This increased policing comes with the increased legitimacy of certain LGBTQ bodies in the eyes of the Canadian state, and plays out especially in sites like LGBTQ villages that market themselves around an active claim to LGBTQ friendliness.

Arguably the most significant work on Toronto's LGBTQ village in recent years has come from Catherine Jean Nash, whose work interacts with the village's history over the past half century. Nash (2005; 2006) argues that, while many other writers have pointed to the importance of the LGBTQ village in Toronto's queer activism, the village did not always constitute this central space. Rather, activists from both sides of the political spectrum

denounced the village in the late 1960s through the mid 1970s for its depoliticized nature and the exploitative, often straight-owned businesses that catered to gay and lesbian clientele. However, in the late 1970s, in response to other development in police-minority relations within the city, activists adopted an ethnicity-based approach to activism, one tenet of which was a neighborhood heavily populated by a particular minority group, making the LGBTQ village a valuable political tool (Nash, 2005). As has been noted of other LGBTQ villages, Toronto's village has been, as Nash notes, home to "predominantly white, male and middle-class preserves despite the claim by some contemporary researchers that gay districts are far more diverse now in terms of age, gender, race and ethnicity than in the past" (Nash, 2005, p. 115-116), a trend that has reflected the gay movement in general. More recently, Nash (2013a) has noted that, while the LGBTQ village continues to be a central space for LGBTQ communities, many of those who have felt excluded in this space, including women and genderqueer individuals, have sought other spaces within Toronto to gather, mainly in bars and other venues in what has become known as "Queer West," a process that itself is fragmented along lines of race and class. As well, in discussing the theorized trend of the "death" of LGBTQ villages in many North American cities (see, for example, Ghaziani, 2014), she describes a generational divide occurring even between the white, gay male population that has found itself most at home in the village as an emerging "post-mo" generation finds less need for a concentrated gay space (Nash, 2013b, p. 243), nevertheless arguing that the village remains central to activism and gay and lesbian community within the city (Nash, 2015).

Much of the activism that emerged from and helped solidify Toronto's gay and lesbian community was organized around concerns over violence, which helped justify the need for a space for the community to gather and, later, for increased police protection within that space. Valverde and Cirak note that "evidence of safety and security concerns" (2003, p.

105) can still be seen everywhere throughout the village, from LGBTQ establishments housed primarily above ground level to avoid vandalism to more overt signs that warn explicitly of bashings. They also note that promoting and ensuring security has been central to the ways in which the city's LGBTQ communities that developed within the village (2003, p. 103). Mirroring issues mentioned surrounding both LGBTQ villages and the gay activism that has had a role in forming them, Faulkner (2001) examines activist responses to anti-LGBTQ violence within Toronto. She notes that while some organizations have made attempts to be inclusive in their anti-violence initiatives, ruptures can still be seen within this work along lines of race and gender, particularly within studies of violence that construct white, gay, middle-class men as the primary victim of violence (2001). Therefore, she argues that future advocacy must take these ruptures into account, both in the research used to justify it and in advocacy work itself (2001). Douglas Janoff, whose 2005 book *Pink Blood* constitutes one of the most significant studies of anti-queer violence in Canada, notes however that the 519's Anti-Violence Program (AVP)—with which Faulkner herself worked—is "Canada's leader in the delivery of services of queer victims" (p. 201), situating Toronto's anti-violence work at the lead of similar services within Canada. However, Janoff makes little mention of the ways in which experiences of both anti-violence activism and the policing that it often argues for differ within the LGBTQ community, focusing instead on violence that is identifiable as specifically homophobic, which, as Meyer (2015) notes, is most useful for those who do not experience oppression along other lines.

In this thesis, I return to the history of Toronto's LGBTQ village to view the ways in which discourses of anti-violence, which constructed a figure of a particular gay victim, were influenced by early LGBTQ, place-based activism. Additionally, I examine the ways in which this discourse was subsequently used by local residential and business interests in the city's village to exclude certain bodies through police intervention as relations between the

city's LGBTQ communities and the police improved, particularly when those bodies were bad for business or inhabiting spaces marked as family-friendly. Within this analysis, I aim to examine two organizations, the Toronto Gay Street Patrol and the Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee, which have until now received little attention in scholarly literature. The significance of the advisory committee in particular is often underplayed in existing accounts of Toronto's LGBTQ anti-violence initiatives (see, for instance, Warner, 2002, p. 293), and while my analysis does not seek to overestimate the committee's impact, it attempts to better understand the committee as both drawing from and adding to pre-existing discourses around anti-LGBTQ violence. Through this history, I aim to explore how the homonationalistic narrative of "queer inclusion" has played out in the city of Toronto, which has been a central space in the formation of LGBTQ identities in Canada, attempting to make sense of these exclusions to better understand contemporary relationships between the police and other groups within the LGBTQ village.

CHAPTER 4: AMIDST BASHINGS AND BATH RAIDS: THE TORONTO GAY STREET PATROL AND EARLY ATTEMPTS AT SAFE SPACE FORMATION

In the early 1980s, segments of Toronto's gay and lesbian communities obtained new levels of visibility by embracing the city's LGBTQ village (Nash, 2005). The space was one that demanded recognition as part of the city's diverse geography, just as the city's LGBTQ populations were carving out their role in the city's identity. As Nash (2005) notes, while gay men and lesbians across the political spectrum had for various reasons denounced what was commonly termed the "gay ghetto," by the late 1970s, they had largely embraced the village due to its potential for political organizing, a process which Nash also adds was dominated primarily by the interests of white gay men who lived and gathered in the space. At the same time, however, as the village achieved a more prominent public position, it also became an easy target for anti-LGBTQ violence carried out by those who continued to see the communities as illegitimate. Due to an especially distrustful relationship between Toronto's gay and lesbian communities and the Metro Toronto Police—a relationship which had historically been fraught but which had become especially strained after the 1981 "Operation Soap" raids on four downtown bath houses (Kinsman, 1987)—those organizing in the village soon realized that they would need to defend themselves in lieu of the police force's ongoing inaction. This realization eventually led to various community-based anti-violence initiatives all oriented towards community protection, with activists thereby taking the watchdog role commonly fulfilled by police into their own hands.

One such initiative was the Toronto Gay Street Patrol (TGP), a group made up of Toronto activists that formed in the summer of 1981 in response to a spike in bashings within the village. The patrol sought to both protect those gay men and lesbians who gathered in the village while also educating them on effective responses to anti-LGBTQ violence and utilizing anti-violence activism as an impetus for greater community-building. In doing so,

they articulated anti-LGBTQ violence in a more public fashion than previous activists had done. At the same time, while primarily focusing on strengthening the internal relations of the gay and lesbian communities, the patrol also made appeals to greater police accountability by framing the event of anti-LGBTQ violence as one to which the police were failing to respond. This chapter will analyze the ways in which the patrol's methods made visible a notion of violence that became an impetus for greater community building, while also considering of whom this community consisted and how it was tied to space. I examine how the TGP functioned both on patrol and in other capacities within the communities it sought to protect, in order to better understand its impact on these communities' notions of violence and the ways in which these notions became tied to the city's LGBTQ village just as the village became tied to a certain gay and lesbian identity, which would come to figure as the victim of violence in subsequent LGBTQ activism.

The visibility trade-off: Violence in Toronto's LGBTQ village in the early 1980s

Following the Second World War, a visible gay and lesbian enclave developed in downtown Toronto, "demarcated by quite porous boundaries to the east along Parliament Street, west to Spadina, south to Front Street, and north to Bloor Street" (Nash, 2015, p. 212). This enclave was most concentrated in the areas surrounding the bars and other establishments on and near Yonge Street that catered to a primarily gay, but also lesbian, clientele, many of whom lived within the area. Gay men especially rented rooms in the many one-bedroom apartment complexes built after the 1954 completion of the Wellesley Street Subway Station, which had made the area ripe for urban intensification.[1] Eventually, the nucleus of the bars shifted slightly from Wellesley and Yonge to Wellesley and Church

[1] Interview with Kyle Rae, Toronto, August 22, 2016.

Streets, where it lies today, and which has attained a significant symbolic role as a space of both LGBTQ leisure and activism within the city. While the village has never had one fixed meaning, and historically both liberationist and assimilationist LGBTQ activists have loudly voiced their disdain for what was often called the "gay ghetto" (Nash, 2006), by the late 1970s most activists had embraced the village for its usefulness in pursuing what Nash terms an "ethnic minority" approach (Nash, 2005, p. 119) to gay and lesbian activism, which relied upon the image of minority groups condensed into an urban enclave. What was once termed the ghetto thus came "to delineate a legitimate space […] that was necessary for the formation and wellbeing of a distinct and cohesive gay and lesbian minority group" (Nash, 2005, p. 129), a role that it maintains in various forms today. In reviewing this history of Toronto's village, it is also important to note that while this space and the activists who have utilized it for organizing have been associated with LGBTQ communities in general, it was "largely white, middle-class and gay interests" (Nash, 2005, p. 116) that have dominated both the commercial and residential spaces as well as their politics. As such, these men would become the most visible representatives of the space.

As a symbolic beacon of nonnormative sexuality within the city, the LGBTQ village has greatly increased gay and lesbian visibility, and has been a useful space out of which activists and politicians have campaigned for greater legal rights. This visibility has not come without a price, however. While the city's village has remained a space to which gay men and lesbians from both within and outside the city have flocked, it has also made LGBTQ bodies clearer targets for violence geared specifically towards them, which has been most commonly enacted within the space of the village. As was noted in one article from *The Body Politic* (*TBP*), an influential gay liberationist newspaper in the city, "The more visible and assertive we become, the more we are subject to the threat of physical attack" (Bearchell & Cockerline, 1983, p. 9). This statement points out the contradiction of visibility's

simultaneous potentials for legitimizing gay and lesbian communities while also providing a space in which those who have actively fought against this legitimization could react. A central goal of rights-based activism has thus been balancing this inherent contradiction, pushing visibility while attempting to curtail violent responses, and using instances of violence to reciprocally fuel the call for legal equality (Hanhardt, 2013).

In the early 1980s, Toronto's gay and lesbian communities perceived violence as coming from a variety of sources, though most perceived the main threat as coming from other civilians—particularly (though certainly not limited to) straight, white male youth from Toronto's suburbs who drove into the city on the weekends to gaybash (Kinsman, 1987, p. 203). Groups of youth often drove around the village looking for lesbians or gay men walking alone on the streets late at night after leaving the bars, or waited in cruising parks for gay men to emerge (see, for example, Kinsman, 1985/1986). Bashers also targeted gay men and lesbian events like the annual Pride celebrations, which visibly announced the communities' presence to the rest of the city (Valverde & Cirak, 2003, p. 106). It should also be noted that while partner abuse has been a major source of violence in lesbian and gay relationships, it rarely received the attention within the community during the 1980s garnered by public bashings at the hands of non-LGBTQ civilians and the police. Therefore it rarely factored into the community concepts of violence that I examine here (for more on LGBTQ partner abuse, see, or instance, Island & Letellier, 1991; Munster, 1993; Hamberger & Renzetti, 1996; Ristock, 2002).

While gay men and lesbians primarily feared violence perpetrated by other civilians on the street, the Metro Toronto Police Force was also known to enact violence against these communities of various forms (Kinsman, 1987, p. 206; Warner, 2002). As in many other North American cities, Toronto's LGBTQ populations have historically faced persecution at the hands of police officers, ranging from raids on gay establishments like bathhouses and

bars to more direct street violence (Kinsman, 1987; Janoff, 2005). Officers at times even drove people to remote locations and preceded to bash them in what was framed as an almost "recreational" activity, events which were virtually impossible to report to other officers and which at times even resulted in criminal charges against the victims (Janoff, 2005, p. 165). Even when police were not the primary source of anti-LGBTQ, they were often indifferent about preventing violence within the village, and would fail to recognize violence as motivated by anti-LGBTQ sentiments (see, for example, Bartley 1982a). When violence occurred while police were nearby, they were often slow to respond, and if they did increase policing in areas like cruising parks where bashings were likely to occur, they often simultaneously stepped up policing of those who partook in gay and lesbian culture, thus deterring bashers while still persecuting forms of gay and lesbian community.

In response to this long history of injustice, Toronto's gay and lesbian communities reacted in various ways. Some conservative segments were not particularly concerned with the targeting of the communities, ignoring violence at the hands of both other civilians and the police, and even seeing the targets of violence as bringing it upon themselves. However, many others responded more proactively. One major organized response was the offering of self-defense classes by groups such as Toronto's Gay Self-Defense Group (GSDG), which aimed to teach community members the skills and confidence needed to defend both themselves as well as others. Dean Haynes, one of the central organizers of GSDG, endorsed the need to protect not only oneself but also other members of the gay and lesbian communities who were targeted by bashings, therefore positing one tenet of community-building as an active investment in the safety of others (Bartley, 1982a). Haynes spoke openly about his frustration towards the "apathy and self-oppression of many members of his community" who refused to see anti-LGBTQ violence as an issue (Bartley, 1982b, p. 13), and claimed that this apathy was based upon prejudices within LGBTQ communities against

"those who frequent the parks or who 'act gay' on the street" (as cited in Bartley, 1982b, p. 13). He saw this as a mentality that both wrongfully framed these events as *individual* concerns, rather than ones to which the entire community should be responding, and thus worked within a notion of safety that was meant to be encompassing to many gay men and lesbians rather than exclusive.

As well, although the police were widely perceived by Toronto's gay men and lesbians to be a threat, it should be noted that the negative effects of policing were not evenly distributed. An article in *TBP* commented on the increased police harassment of those "most vulnerable and least visible" segments of the gay and lesbian community, namely hustlers, street kids, [and] park and washrooms cruisers" whose "less 'polite'" and more noticeable presentations of their sexuality made them easier targets for police violence (Bartley, 1983, p. 9). However, police activity targeted not only the "less polite" members of the gay and lesbian community, but also both LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ sex workers and homeless populations who also congregated in the village, which presented a gathering space for various forms of nonnormative sociality. As has occurred elsewhere, such as in cities in the United States, shared experience of violence at times even became the basis for solidarity across group lines. As Hanhardt notes on early American LGBTQ activism,

> "although efforts were made in various documents to connect the oppression of gays to that of women through the rigid function of the family or to that of people of color through discrimination, the most effective umbrella category was structural violence, and how the judicial system, military, and police functioned as overarching institutions of state control." (2013, p. 86)

One *TBP* article even directly compared the plight of gay cruisers at the hands of police officers to sex workers, describing the police as going back and forth between cruising parks and the corner of Jarvis and Gerrard in the village where sex workers worked (Cockerline,

1984, p. 7). However, many in the gay and lesbian communities also saw the most effective way to counter violence as focusing specifically on those instances of violence carried out against gay men and lesbians, undermining the potential for finding safety through a shared recognition of violence.

While police harassment had been consistent up until the 1980s and local gay establishments had been increasingly targeted as the village became more prominent, tensions between the gay and lesbian communities and the police reached new heights in February 1981, when the Toronto police simultaneously carried out raids on four gay bathhouses in the downtown area (Kinsman, 1987, p. 207; Warner, 2002). In what was termed "Operation Soap" by the police, over three hundred men were arrested, and the incident remains one of the largest mass arrests in Canada's history (McKenna, 1981). The raids allowed the city's conservative forces to flex their muscles in opposition to the increasing visibility gay men and lesbians had gained in previous decades. In what was one of the largest showings of support for gay and lesbians in the city up until that point, over a thousand people took to the street the day after the raids to condemn the actions of the Toronto police's 52 Division which had carried the raids out, chanting "Fuck you, 52" up and down Yonge Street (McKenna, 1981; Kinsman, 1987). Even after these protests, the raids proved to be a profound turning point in LGBTQ activism in Toronto and in Canada more broadly, with many new organizations and a stronger sense of community emerging in the raids' wake. One such organization would soon take to the village streets to directly counter the anti-LGBTQ violence occurring within the neighborhood.

The Toronto Gay Street Patrol

Following the 1981 bath house raids, the Toronto Gay Street Patrol (also known as the "Toronto Gay Patrol" and here abbreviated as the "TGP") was one of many organizations

that formed from the energy and anger that the raids had inspired.[2] While various LGBTQ street patrols had formed in American cities in the 1970s as organized responses to anti-LGBTQ violence (Hanhardt 2013), the TGP appears to be one of the only such patrols to have formed in Canada. It emerged in the summer of 1981 due to particular forces at work within Toronto at that time, responding to the spike in bashings against gay men and lesbians in the city's LGBTQ village. Dennis Findlay, a community activist and founding member of the patrol, said in an interview with *The Toronto Star* that "police action [in the bath house raids] ha[d] set a tone in the city of Toronto that gay people are fair game," with the police then ignoring the violence of which the raids had symbolically approved (as cited in Rickwood, 1981). The bathhouse raids, however, were only one factor among many that had incited the patrol's creation. Valverde and Cirak, who mention the patrol as possibly the earliest example of organizational gay and lesbian self-security in Toronto, adds that the patrol also "developed…to protect drag queens" who took part in a large LGBTQ Halloween festival that took place on Yonge Street, which was commonly targeted by bashings (2003, p. 105). As well, in a 1981 article, *TBP* also referenced as important factors:

> The unsolved, brutal murders of seven gay men, the death last year of a gay man in police custody, last fall's intervention by the police against gay and gay-supportive candidates in the municipal elections […] the conspiracy charges laid against gay critics of the police force, [and] the harassment of gay-owned bars for petty violations of antiquated liquor laws. (Popert, 1981, p. 11)

The TGP thus responded not only to anti-LGBTQ violence in Toronto, but to the atmosphere which had made such violence possible. With improved community-police relations

[2] Much of the following background information on the patrol, if not cited to a particular document, came from interviews with three former members: Dennis Findlay (Toronto, August 24, 2016), Gerry Hunt (Skype, September 7, 2016), and Liz Devine (Toronto, October 12, 2016).

seemingly impossible to accomplish, the patrol sought out to protect the communities to which its constituents belonged, refusing to allow the violence against them go unnoticed.

The TGP consolidated out of a set of self-defense classes being offered within Toronto's gay and lesbian communities, some members of which decided that the violence previously noted warranted an organized response. Many of the group's original members were also involved in some of the various other organizations that had blossomed following the bathhouse raids. In particular, Findlay and others were closely tied to the Right to Privacy Committee (RTPC), a group that had initially organized to legally defend men charged in numerous bathhouse raids in the late 1970s and that had risen to prominence following the 1981 raids. The TGP became one of multiple off-shoot organizations under the "Right to Privacy Committee" umbrella, while operating largely independently of committee management. Even with this affiliation to a well-known gay and lesbian group, the patrol was a fairly informal gathering until articles printed in the gay press—primarily *TBP*—alerted Toronto's gay and lesbian communities to their presence, after which the group quickly became known throughout the village.

Collaboratively formulating a plan of action, the group decided that the most effective response would be to patrol certain areas within the LGBTQ village around times when bashings occurred most frequently. Using the colder half of the year to train, the patrol thus primarily operated between May and October when the village was most animated, and when violence on the street was most likely to occur.[3] Members were required to sign up for one shift per month, with each shift requiring twelve members who then split into three groups of four. While on patrol, volunteers, dressed in uniform TGP shirts and buttons, concentrated their efforts near those bars in the village most frequented by gay men, walking along Yonge

[3] Toronto Gay Street Patrol, [Recruitment flyer], Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada.

and Church streets and their off-shooting alleys on Saturday nights from 11 PM until 1 AM, at which time the bars would close and their patrons would spill out onto the streets. If the patrol came upon an aggressive encounter, volunteers were trained to intervene using the techniques they had learned in the self-defense classes: members carried whistles to alert other volunteers of an encounter, while no member of the patrol ever carried a weapon, instead ready to rely upon hand-to-hand combat and sheer numbers if needed. However, the goal was always to de-escalate an event before it became violent. As well, in addition to self-defense, members were trained in first aid and legal advocacy, responsibilities that volunteers split amongst themselves while shifting to be able to assist a victim both during and after an event. However, although they patrolled for three summers between 1981 and 1983, the TGP never had to intervene in a violent encounter—an observation which may attest to the group's effectiveness more than any overestimation of violence on the part of its members.

Members of the TGP also stressed that the patrol operated not simply on a basis of anti-violence, but with the objective of greater community building. Towards this goal within the patrol itself, various social commitments were tied to membership: the group held monthly pot-lucks and barbecues at members' houses, and even planned a weekend trip to a cabin outside Toronto.[4] During patrols, members would sometimes take breaks to visit the bars outside of which they were patrolling, aware that shifts were meant to be fun even if their purpose was necessarily serious. Joining the patrol thus became a way to get involved with the community on a Saturday night in a less sexualized context than those offered at the bars, an offer that, along with a dedication to countering violence, drew many members to join. As well, building off the experience that members brought to the group from previous organizations, the TGP often served as the de facto marshals and security at local gay and

[4] Streetwise…News 1(2), [Newsletter of the Toronto Gay Street Patrol], 1982, p. 4, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada.

lesbian events where bashings were most anticipated, a responsibility which allowed members to attend in an activist capacity events that they would likely have been at anyways. At a time when Toronto's gay and lesbian communities were so characterized by activist efforts, the patrol thus offered a way to stay involved within the communities it was itself seeking to protect, with activism becoming essentially interchangeable in this regard with community participation.

This notion of community was also one in which individual members were made to feel empowered to defend themselves from violence, a goal that patrol members sought to extend beyond its membership to other gay men and lesbians. Towards this goal, the patrol carried out various other activism-based tasks outside of patrolling. Many of these efforts, including the distribution of a series of pamphlets that instructed community members on how to be "Streetwise"—a word meant to signify knowing how to handle oneself on city streets—as well as various flyers and posters were aimed at greater community education concerning violence and the ways in which the community could counter it.[5] The self-defense courses that members completed before joining the patrol were also offered to the public, presented as both a way to protect yourself but also a way to stay in shape and socialize (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). These courses were eventually held at the 519 Community Centre conveniently located within the village, and provided even those community members outside of the patrol with tips and skills for countering violence. Understanding that it could not prevent every bashing, the TGP stated that their long-term goal was "to educate the gay and lesbian communities about unexpected violence: how to avoid it wherever possible and how to deal with it nonviolently when it occurs" (1981, p. 11). However, similarly to GSDG, the patrol also constructed a sense of community in which members could not only take care

[5] Toronto Gay Street Patrol, Get Streetwise, [Pamphlet distributed by the Toronto Gay Street Patrol], Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada.

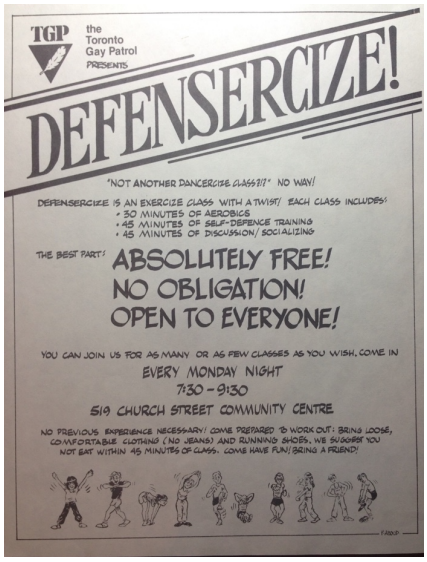


Figure 4.1: Defensersize poster from the Toronto Gay Street Patrol. Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada.

Figure 4.2: Photo of a Toronto Gay Street Patrol Defensersize / Self-Defense Class. Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada.

of themselves, but in which the security of other members became the responsibility of everyone. Encapsulating this, TGP executives stressed that, while security whistles could be used to call for help, they could also alert someone that you were coming; in this way, "Those whistles can make the whole community one big street patrol" (Popert, 1981, p. 11). This also meant that even those members who were most susceptible to street violence should be protected, rather than blamed for bringing violence upon themselves.

This community worthy of safety, however, while inclusive to those gay men who were more often targeted by street violence for, for instance, taking part in cruising culture, and while claiming to protect anyone targeted by violence in the downtown core, also enabled its own exclusions, regardless of patrol intentions. Rather than aiming to defend against violence in general, for instance, the patrol vocally focused on anti-LGBTQ street violence, which served to make this type of violence more visible than others, such as police harassment of both LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ sex workers who also gathered within the space. As well, exclusions existed within the very image of the gay and lesbian communities that the patrol sought to protect, which were mirrored in the patrol's own membership. Most

if not all members were young and white, a characteristic common in the larger contemporary gay and lesbian movements, and particularly in those organizations that concentrated their activities in the village. As well, while the "Gay" in the patrol's title was intended to encompass both men and women—with "lesbian" still not widely used in Toronto to name LGBT liberation efforts in the early 1980s—members were predominantly male. One founding member of the patrol, Liz Devine, described herself and another lesbian member as the group's "token lesbians," and the two constantly tried to get more women involved both within the general patrol and on the group's executive, with mixed results. Though likely due to the already-existing male dominance of the patrol, Devine also attributed the lack of women to the simultaneous rise in lesbian feminist politics during this time, with many lesbians more drawn to joining women's organizations rather than have to make space for themselves in "Gay" groups like the street patrol. Regardless of reason, the patrol's membership thus largely reflected a particular segment of the city's gay and lesbian populations—a segment which would come to be seen as the primary victim of anti-LGBTQ violence within the city.

The notion of community that the TGP helped construct was also distinctly spatial, in that it focused on those gay men and lesbians who lived and/or gathered within the LGBTQ village. At a time when these communities were still working through the ways in which the village would be used, the patrol demonstrated that condensed efforts within the village could effectively respond to community needs, particularly the need for safety that was simultaneously becoming central to gay and lesbian community building. This further incentivized efforts at place-making within the village as a space belonging to the gay and lesbian communities, finding in the notion of "safety" an effective platform to base place-making efforts. This spatial logic, however, also served to suggest that all violence within the village could be read as anti-LGBTQ, rather than occurring against other groups, solidifying

a particular image of victimhood within the neighborhood. As well, within the gay and lesbian communities, this violence would be associated most clearly with the figure of the predominately gay, white men whose identities were already most visibly tied to the village and who would come to dominate its political and business interests, an observation supported by the TGP's decision to patrol specifically around those bars attended by these men. While the patrol planned to expand its route to cover more lesbian bars, low recruitment numbers made this unfeasible, and the very decision not to include these bars originally has implications for the figure of victimhood that the patrol constructed.

It should also be noted that, while the TGP sought to build community through anti-violence efforts that a lack of LGBTQ-friendly policing within the village had made necessary, the patrol did not disallow the possibility of police intervention, and in some ways may have laid the groundwork for later efforts at accountability. Patrol members always carried pens and a notepad to record details of an incident that might be used later for filing a police report and were trained in advocating to the police on a victim's behalf, making the event of violence visible in such a way that police would have found more difficult to ignore.[6] In her study of street patrols in San Francisco and New York, Hanhardt notes that, through efforts by street patrols to make violence within their communities legible, "gay vulnerability […] slowly became, in effect and for the first time, the experience of being a crime victim" (Hanhardt, 2013, p. 83); this process played out similarly in Toronto, producing a victim which, to reiterate, was most associated with the particular white, gay male identity who was most associated with the LGBTQ village. As well, although the TGP served a function both on patrol and as marshals at local events that many community members likened to policing, the patrol actively rejected this comparison, worried that if

[6] Toronto Gay Street Patrol, [Recruitment flyer], Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada; Interview with Dennis Findlay, Toronto, August 24, 2016.

people began to see them as taking this role, they would demand more than the patrol could offer while developing a sense of security that TGP members felt was false. By bringing attention to violence within the community in such a way that highlighted police indifference, the patrol may have actually served to stress this void in community protection in such a way that, however unintentionally, also reaffirmed the possibility of later police intervention, a possibility that would be acted upon in within the LGBTQ village in coming decades.

Conclusion

Ultimately, unable to replace its older members who were moving on to new organizations and feeling as if it thus could not fulfil its original mandate, the TGP disbanded before the summer of 1984.[7] By the beginning of 1983, patrol executives had already been considering radically restructuring how the patrol functioned, planning to continue providing "Streetwise" training to the community as well as actively maintaining a role as marshals at gay and lesbian events while only patrolling occasionally.[8] This restructuring, however, never occurred. By the beginning of 1984, the trials from the bathhouse raids had also come to an end, and the energy that the raids had inspired seemed to be dwindling, or channeling into new forms. However, although the TGP never intervened in a violent encounter, its work would prove lasting, having introduced a mode of community-building to gay men and lesbians in which the violence that many saw as rampant within the LGBTQ village was made undeniably visible. An article from *Rites*, another popular LGBTQ Toronto newspaper, summed up the experience in their final article on the patrol:

[7] Members of the TGP did not remember the exact point at which the patrol disbanded, suggesting that over time it simply ran out of energy and stopped meeting. June 1984, however, is the last date that *TBP* lists the organization under its "Community" section—a date which is corroborated by B.'s article in *Rites* from that year.

[8] StreetWise…News 1(3), [Newsletter of the Toronto Gay Street Patrol], 1983, p. 3. Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada.

> It was a time to get involved, to get close to each other, to walk the streets with confidence, to learn to care for each other and the community-at-large. For the gay and lesbian community, it was an education. We learned that we could and can do things to make the streets safe for us. (B., 1984)

As well, the victim of violence made most visible through efforts like the patrol's would remain in the community's conscience for years to come.

After the TGP disbanded, Toronto would not see glimpses of another gay and lesbian street patrol until almost a decade later, when the city's chapter of Queer Nation attempted to form a similar patrol in the early 1990s. But by that time, several other advancements were occurring within the city's LGBTQ community that would drastically reshape the community's relationship to violence, as well as the ways in which community-police relations would function within the village.

CHAPTER 5: THE LIMITS OF LIAISON: SAFE SPACE THROUGH POLICE INTERVENTION

Although the Toronto Gay Street Patrol ceased operations in 1984, the city's LGBTQ communities continued to face severe violence throughout the remainder of the decade, just as the police force's accompanying response continued to be characteristically indifferent. Though some attempts were made to appeal to the police for increased protection during this time, such as a public community forum called by members of Lesbian and Gay Youth Toronto with local community members and the Metro police (Natale & Nero, 1987), these appeals appear to have gone largely ignored, and relations between the LGBTQ communities and the police showed little signs of improvement. As well, by the mid-1980s, the attention of LGBTQ activism in the city had largely turned towards responding to the growing issue of HIV/AIDS, focusing less on how to hold police accountable for persistently ignoring violence and more on demanding better government health services and fighting social stigmatization (Warner, 2002, p. 163; Tremblay, 2015, p. 19), leaving less room for public discussions of violence.

A spike in anti-LGBTQ violence in the early 1990s, however, refocused Toronto's LGBTQ activism towards violence and ultimately led to attempts to improve the relationship between LGBTQ communities and the police to improve community safety. Numerous new initiatives within the village—which many LGBTQ groups still utilized as a central space for both leisure and activism—would make appeals to greater police involvement in responding to violence as well as attempts to better educate the police generally on the communities' needs, in which the police had previously taken limited interest. These improvements coincided with a resurgence of the popularity of community policing in Toronto that aimed to empower individual street-level officers to become a more reliable and familiar presence in the neighborhoods they patrolled. This strategy was one that many residents and business

owners in the village were eager to test in response to both anti-LGBTQ violence and other types of crime, and one that would work to bring a greater police presence to the area. Towards the goal of community policing, which also encouraged greater liaison between the police and local communities, Toronto also saw its first community-appointed police advisory committee elected in the village, a committee which was meant to guide the implementation of community policing. However, while an increase in police commitment was meant to serve certain inhabitants of the LGBTQ, issues also arose as police attention turned towards other types of neighborhood crime and new tensions emerged between the police and groups such as sex workers, homeless youth, and drug users, some (though not all) of whom were also LGBTQ.

In this chapter, I examine several LGBTQ anti-violence initiatives that emerged in the early 1990s. I focus on those organizations that sought to improve community-police relations within Toronto's LGBTQ village, centered around the intersections of Church and Wellesley streets in the city's downtown core. In doing so, this chapter aims to further explore how the concept of "safe space" has been used to justify claims for territory in Toronto's most notorious LGBTQ space, as well as the potential risks that arise when notions of space as "safe" come to rely upon police protection. I argue that as fears of anti-LGBTQ violence were used to justify efforts to improve LGBTQ community-police relations, formal liaison simultaneously provided an outlet for local residents and business owners to express their disdain for other groups within the neighborhood, who were thus marked as criminal. These criminally-marked bodies were constructed as a threat to neighborhood safety in a way that resonated with pre-existing discourses which conflated anti-LGBTQ violence with other types of crime, and ultimately justified these group's removal from the village by framing this removal as a prerequisite for LGBTQ safety.

Violence and activism in the early 1990s: A new role for the police?

Though the LGBTQ communities' attention had largely turned towards responding to HIV/AIDS in the late 1980s and early 1990s, problems with anti-LGBTQ violence persisted. Spikes in violence were often correlated to increased public discussions around LGBTQ rights, around which activists had made major gains in the late 1980s with accomplishments such as the inclusion of "sexual orientation" as a protected category in the Ontario Bill of Rights in 1985. As well, violence perpetrated by other groups within the city appeared to respond to perceived threats from the LGBTQ communities, such as the sexual assault and murder of twelve-year-old Emanuel Jaques by three gay men in 1977, which the media used to vilify the city's gay communities (Kinsman, 1987; Warner, 2002, p. 135). Public discourse around HIV/AIDS also caused a great deal of fear within other groups throughout Toronto (Kinsman, 1987, p. 211), further othering the city's LGBTQ communities and likely inciting greater physical violence. Still, the police—primarily the 52 Division of the Toronto Police Force, whose jurisdiction covered the Church/Wellesley neighborhood—commonly refused to intervene. While violence tended to surge and decline, however, a spike in early 1990 sparked various responses from within the LGBTQ communities who again felt the call to organize in lieu of police indifference.

Still distrustful of the police in general, many responses to anti-LGBTQ violence focused more on how to empower the community and support victims of violence rather than turn to police support. One such response was the formation in September 1990 of a Toronto chapter of Queer Nation (QN), which formed at a meeting of over 200 members of the city's queer communities who came together to discuss street violence, harassment by the Toronto Police Force, and attacks against queers in the media (Michaud 1990). Like other QN chapters in the United States, QN Toronto took an in-your-face approach to the fight for LGBTQ recognition, characterized by highly visible demonstrations in rapid succession as

well as radical and intersectional stances on LGBTQ political issues. In addition to protesting, QN also handed out brochures that, like the Toronto Gay Street Patrol (TGP), aimed to teach community members how to be "Streetwise."[9] The organization even attempted to start a new street patrol modelled after a similar group in New York, though this effort never materialized.[10] In 1991, the 519 Church Street Community Centre also created the Victim Assistance Program (VAP, later known as the Anti-Violence Program) to further assist local victims of violence. This program focused largely though not exclusively on responding to the anti-LGBTQ violence that occurred most often within the Church/Wellesley village, seeking to empower the communities whom they were serving. Continuing a longstanding tradition in LGBTQ activism, the VAP offered self-defense classes to community members and handed out educational material on how best to avoid anti-LGBTQ violence, meant to provide confidence and skills to the LGBTQ communities.[11]

While the organization sought to empower the community to respond to violence on its own, the 519 also introduced numerous initiatives that aimed to hold the Toronto police accountable and to improve community-police relations. This allowed for a definition of community empowerment that included access to police intervention. One major response was the formation of a "Gaybashing" hotline in 1990, set up under the center's then-executive-director Kyle Rae to encourage the LGBTQ communities to report the violence that they were experiencing.[12] Rae had taken notice of the perceived spike in bashings against

[9] Queer Nation, Blow the Whistle on Violence, [Brochure distributed by Queer Nation Toronto], Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada.

[10] Interview with Howard Shulman, Toronto, October 12, 2016.

[11] The 519's Victim Assistance Program, and later the Anti-Violence Program, offered numerous classes to Toronto's different LGBTQ groups, such as "Dyke Defence" and "Self defence for gay men." They also distributed brochures such as the "Stop the Bashing" brochure designed to give the reader practical tips for avoiding violence and resources that could be used when violence occurred.

[12] Much of the information included here on the Gaybashing hotline and on programs at the 519 to educate police officers comes from an interview with Kyle Rae (Toronto, August 22, 2016).

the community after having been personally involved in two instances himself. He then contacted the 52 Division to learn if they had any statistics on these attacks, only to learn that the police were not collecting data on the issue. Understanding both that distrust of the police within the community was leading victims of violence to underreport and that the police commonly refused to acknowledge anti-LGBTQ motives even when reported, Rae set up the hotline as a way to begin collecting the information that the city's police department was lacking. Operators would ask callers if they would like to report an incident by filling out a form which, once recorded, would then be faxed to the police. The logic behind this was that the police would be more likely to respond if they were presented with a detailed report that both provided information and served as evidence that a crime had occurred. As mentioned in the previous chapter, faster reporting rates also increased the chances that the police would be able to intervene, and the hotline—open numerous nights of the week—allowed for a relatively quick channel through which people could report, and often successfully led the police to take action against perpetrators. As more reports were made, it also became clearer that individual incidents were related to larger trends of anti-LGBTQ violence, further encouraging victims to report by demonstrating that their individual experiences of violence were linked to a larger community issue that activists were addressing.

The VAP, which formed at the 519 a year after the hotline was started, also expanded upon the framework that the hotline set up by accompanying victims to the police department to report incidences of violence, understanding the potential trauma caused in the process of reporting.[13] Gathering information from the hotline, the VAP also organized statistics on violence within the neighborhood that it then presented to the police, who were more likely to respond to documented statistical evidence than individual reports. In doing so, the

[13] Much of the background information included here on the VAP comes from an interview with Karen Baldwin (Skype, September 27, 2016), unless otherwise cited.

gaybashing hotline and the statistics gathered by the VAP attempted to remedy the gap in the numbers gathered by the police and the actual prevalence of anti-LGBTQ violence in the city. This focus on statistics became especially relevant in the late 1980s as the language around anti-LGBTQ violence increasingly became cast as "hate crimes," a shift which positioned anti-LGBTQ violence in relation to violence committed on the basis on the victim's religion, race, nationality, or ethnic origin, and which was often made legible to the police through statistics.[14] Also, as Hanhardt notes, efforts to counter anti-LGBTQ hate crimes have tended to focus primarily within notoriously LGBTQ spaces like the village, producing "an understanding of gay victimization with a distinctly spatial character" (Hanhardt, 2013, p. 158, 169) that may incentivize more state and activist responses condensed within that area. While the hotline did receive calls about violence in other parts of the city, much of the data it gathered reinforced notions that anti-LGBTQ violence occurred most often within the village, inciting the police to respond primarily within the area.

However, even while seeking to involve the police in community responses to violence, those organizing at the 519 remained critical of police involvement, a skepticism which was vocally reinforced by many other community organizations. 519 organizers especially took issue with what was known as the Toronto Police Force's "morality squad," which was responsible for much of the targeted policing of LGBTQ establishments (Bartley, 1983). The morality squad enforced laws such as liquor violations and bawdy house charges in LGBTQ establishments that were commonly ignored elsewhere. As well, organizers were wary of the prejudices within the police force itself. To help counter these prejudices, Rae and others launched an initiative to directly educate groups of officers through a series of sensitivity training classes held at the community center, designed to enable officers to better

[14] Crimes motivated by hate, [Appendix to a police order.] December 22, 1992, Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada.

respond to victims of anti-LGBTQ violence and to the communities' needs in general. During these classes, representatives from the 519 would teach officers about specific local issues while also discussing broader problems of homophobia, heterosexism, and misogyny—all three of which were notoriously rampant within the department. Along with presenting the police with reports of community violence to incite them to respond, the 519 saw this training as essential for changing the very structure of the department itself, laying the groundwork for future work that would aim to directly include more LGBTQ officers.

In addition to efforts by activist leaders, appealing to the police was also a tactic commonly favored by many of the village's business owners. Though, as mentioned, many activists had long urged Toronto's LGBTQ communities not to frequent LGBTQ-friendly establishments in the village due to fears of both mistreatment and of a resulting depoliticized LGBTQ community (Nash, 2006), the popularity of local businesses grew as the village was embraced by local activists in the late 1970s and as more LGBTQ-owned business opened, which helped solidify and make visible notions of LGBTQ community (Kinsman, 1987, p. 182). However, these notions of community were notably centered around the primarily "white, middle-class" (Kinsman, 1987, p. 184) gay men who were imagined as the perfect consumers with few children and high levels of disposable income, and thus these men have become the figures most welcomed to the village by business owners. Anti-LGBTQ violence, therefore, has been a major concern for these business owners, who have feared not only its traumatic effects but also its ability to deter pedestrians from coming to the area. But whereas other LGBTQ anti-violence organizations commonly viewed straight youth from the suburbs as the primary threat of violence, business owners appear to have been most concerned with potential violence from drug users and homeless individuals who collected money on the sidewalks, as well as sex workers who worked in the area, who are often portrayed as threatening not only safety but also local quality of life. Along with LGBTQ communities,

many homeless people have also been historically drawn to the Church/Wellesley village for several reasons, including access to services provided at the 519.[15] This fact has at times caused tense relations between business owners and these groups, and has been exacerbated by the fact that the demands of local business owners for a greater police presence in LGBTQ space have often been echoed by certain residents who have associated homeless populations with higher levels of crime that threaten to impede upon their peaceful neighborhood, fueling the debate over to whom the space belongs.

While work was being done at the community level between community leaders at the 519 and the 52 Division of the Toronto Metropolitan Police, the spike in 1990 in anti-LGBTQ violence was also noted at the municipal level. In September of that year, the Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations (which dealt with issues related to the LGBTQ communities) met to discuss the spike in queerbashings and the lack of attention paid to it by the police (Iding, 1990), and many in attendance called for improved liaison between the city's LGBTQ communities and the police. These recommendations, some pointed out, echoed those put forth by Arnold Bruner almost a decade earlier in a well-known report in Toronto entitled *Out of the Closet: Study of Relations Between Homosexuals and Police* (known more commonly as the "Bruner Report"), which Bruner had written in response to the 1981 bathhouse raids. Bruner had made liaison between the police and the gay community one of his main recommendations for improving community-police relations (Bruner, 1981), since communication was seen as a fundamental way to break down perception of the gay and lesbian communities as criminal and the police as necessarily hostile—a recommendation that had yet to be heeded nine years later. As well, throughout the meeting, many also requested increased police presence in the Church/Wellesley neighborhood to protect local communities from violence, openly pointing a finger at the 52

[15] Interview with Liz Devine, Toronto, October 12, 2016.

Division for their indifference (Iding, 1990). While police budget cuts announced days later suggested that any form of liaison or increased police presence was unlikely, the communities' cries of anger would be heard more clearly than anticipated.

A return to community policing: The Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee

Through running the gaybashing hotline and teaching sensitivity training to local officers, Rae and others realized that little would change between the police and Toronto's LGBTQ communities while the police continued to feel unwelcome within the Church/Wellesley neighborhood.[16] Taking note of the open meeting that had been held by the Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations, Rae (who by that time had been elected a city councilor) and others in his office, working in tandem with local business leaders who hoped to see a greater police presence within the village, received approval to start the city's first community-elected police advisory committee. To form the committee, a meeting was held in January of 1992 with hundreds of members of the Church/Wellesley neighbourhood who voted for members of a what would be known as the Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee (CWNPAC), an initiative which was put into place to improve communication between the LGBTQ communities and the police. The committee was positioned as a central part of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force's strategic plan titled *Beyond 2000* which followed the tenets of community policing, focusing on the decentralization of police services, the empowerment of street-level officers, and the establishment of officers as a familiar presence within city neighborhoods.[17] The strategy had

[16] Background information on Rae's involvement with the Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee come from the aforementioned interview on August 22, 2016. Much of the other information on the committee comes from an interview with James Dubro (Skype, September 27, 2016), unless otherwise noted.

[17] Policing in our community, [Informational pamphlet on police-community partnerships for the Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee], Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada; The

been tried in Toronto in the past and had again become popular in the early 1990s, as the police attempted to improve police-community relations throughout the city. Ultimately, eight representatives were chosen to serve on the committee, all of whom were local residents or worked within the Church/Wellesley village (and some of whom were also involved in the various initiatives mentioned at the 519), who were joined on the committee by a representative from Rae's office and members of the police. Although members of the committee held a variety of views towards the police—with some in favor of increased police intervention and others still distrustful of the organization who was responsible for the bath house raids—and came from a variety of activist and non-activist backgrounds, all members agreed that something had to be done concerning crime within the community, and sought to enact this change through the new advisory body.

The committee's main objectives were to identify citizen concerns with policing, provide direction to the police, and to deal generally with issues of police accountability within a space delineated by Carlton and Bloor Streets to the north and south and Jarvis and Yonge to the east and west (Figure 5.1), to which ends they held regular meetings and forums at which community members could express their views on local issues.[18] As part of the *Beyond 2000* plan, one of the main tasks of the CWNPAC was also overseeing a pilot project for a police foot patrol whose main duty would be to walk or bike within the LGBTQ village, to make police presence more visible within the neighbourhood. The patrol was one of two such patrols being tested within the city in the LGBTQ village and Chinatown, both of which were urban communities with whom the police had been unable to develop trusting

Metropolitan Toronto Police's Community based (neighbourhood) policing philosophy, Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada.

[18] Ibid.

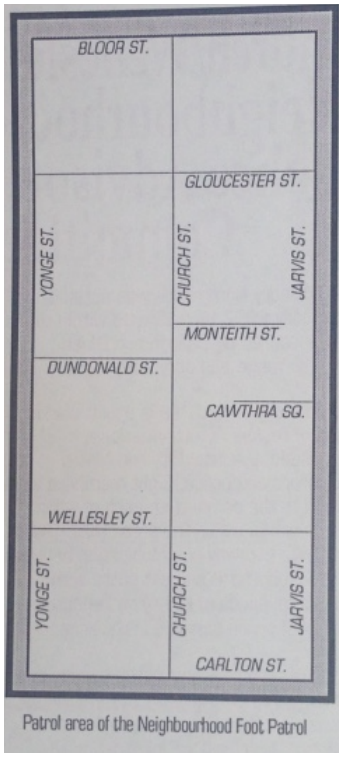


Figure 5.1: The area in the Church/Wellesley Neighborhood where the foot patrol worked, and in which the Church/Wellesley Neighborhood Police Advisory Committee was most focused.

community-police relations. To end this distrust, patrol members were meant to actively try to be a positive presence within the neighborhood, greeting local business owners and other members of the community and stressing that community needs were their utmost priority.

In the Church/Wellesley neighborhood, the impetus for the committee's formation was primarily the need to respond to violence, particularly the anti-LGBTQ violence perceived as occurring most frequently within the area. At one of the committee's first meetings, members identified the following issues as those most pertinent within the neighbourhood:

> gaybashing; prostitution; assaults of lesbians, women and the elderly; safety of women; street youth and the homeless; hate motivated assaults; breaking and entering; destruction of personal property; gay sex in the park; safety for tenants and homeowners; panhandling outside the beer store; indigents urinating publicly; business safety, bicycle theft and police response time.[19]

[19] Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee, Meeting minutes for meeting on March 11, 1992, Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada.

Violence was clearly central to the committee from its early stages of operation, with "gaybashing" listed first and "assaults on lesbians, women and the elderly" following shortly after. At the following meeting, the committee put the above-listed items in a more organized order of priority, with responding to "Hate Motivated Crimes"—consisting of "lesbian and gay bashing," "violence against women," "racially motivated crime," "crimes against the elderly," and "violence against prostitutes"—as the most urgent concern, which again reinforced the committee's focus on violence. Outside of advising the foot patrol, the committee also organized several initiatives to directly counter violence within the neighborhood, including a forum on assaults and bashings and a safety audit of the area, and a member of the VAP, Karen Baldwin, even joined the CWNPAC in 1994 specifically to advise on matters of violence.[20] These responses in turn helped justify the committee's formation to the LGBTQ communities which it was envisioned to be serving, many members of which remained wary of any attempt at police liaison.

Concerns over violence also extended to beyond the LGBTQ communities. As a neighborhood-based liaison committee for the Church/Wellesley neighborhood rather than a specifically LGBTQ community-based one, the CWNPAC also represented the interests of the many straight residents and business owners who lived and worked within the village. Some straight residents were even elected to the committee, though most of its members were openly lesbian or gay. According to early reporting on the committee, for straight residents in the area, "bashing within their neighbourhood ha[d] been taken as indirect bashing upon many of their own, non-gay neighbours" (Cody, 1992, p. 6), which suggests that even straight residents felt fear for their safety. However, as the neighborhood in which the patrol

[20] Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee, Meeting minutes for meeting on August 27, 1992.,Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada; Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee, Meeting minutes for meeting on November 17, 1994, Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada.

functioned notoriously symbolized the city's LGBTQ communities, the concerns of straight residents over violence were still often subsumed under dominant concerns of anti-LGBTQ violence within the village. Hanhardt notes a similar process at work in New York's Greenwich Village during the early 2000s, when the village's neighborhood-based community board—some members of which were straight—was able to frame street disturbances caused by LGBTQ youth of color and trans women as a threat to LGBTQ space by identifying with local residential and business interests, even though those blamed for the disturbances were themselves LGBTQ (Hanhardt, 2013, p. 7). In both instances, the historical identities of the spaces worked to frame violence within the neighborhood as inherently anti-LGBTQ, while actually favoring local property owners regardless of their sexual or gender identity.

However, while violence was certainly high on the committee's priorities, local residents and business owners also heavily used the community as a forum to discuss other types of crime that occurred within the neighborhood. Many complained in meetings of drug users, sex workers, and homeless youth, even pinpointing certain street corners and requesting increased police presence in those areas.[21] Realizing this, many early critics of the committee expressed concern that their focus was not so much on curbing violence as it was on pushing out groups whose presence was seen as threatening the "quality of life" of other residents. These concerns were even expressed by some of the committee's own members, some of whom worried that property crimes would end up receiving more attention than violence.[22] What little early media coverage was written on the CWNPAC echoed this wariness that the committee would focus overly on "bicycle thefts, break-ins, 'vagrants,' and

[21] For examples of these complaints, see the Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee meeting minutes for May 28, 1992, November 26, 1992, April 5, 1993, July 22, 1993, July 28, 1994, September 22, 1994, July 27, 1995, November 23, 1995, April 24, 1997, June 12, 1997, June 6, 1998, February 25, 1999, March 17, 1999, August 26, 1999, September 23, 1999, and February 24, 2000, among others.

[22] Interview with James Dubro, Skype, September 27, 2016.

cruising-in-the-parks" (Cody, 1992, p. 6). While some outlets remained hopeful that the committee's activist members were well-enough versed in the importance of anti-violence activism to not allow the committee to become caught up in these issues, others, such as *Xtra!*—a newspaper that had started as an addition to *The Body Politic* and became one of the main gay news sources in Toronto—barely reported on the committee or reported negatively. Uneasiness also came from local community organizations like the VAP: although Baldwin sat on the CWNPAC, the VAP's steering committee expressed mixed feelings towards the advisory committee since it believed that it was more focused on home and business owners than the community as a whole.[23] Even while claiming to focus on violence, then, the committee had to balance other local concerns over police intervention, many of whom viewed the committee's focus on petty crime as pre-determined.

Even when focusing on violence, the CWNPAC failed to account for the ways in which different groups may be made differentially vulnerable to anti-LGBTQ violence, or the different relationship that these groups may have with the police. As Lamble notes, while community-police partnerships like the committee may reduce the violent targeting of certain LGBTQ subjects,

> such…partnerships have tended to focus on formal targeting of LGBT people (such as arrests for sexual acts in public places and inadequate police responses to anti-gay violence) and often neglect systemic forms of homophobic violence that are linked to socioeconomic, racial and mental health status (such as violence and criminalization associated with homelessness, unemployment, street level sex work, drug trade and addiction). (2014, p. 159)

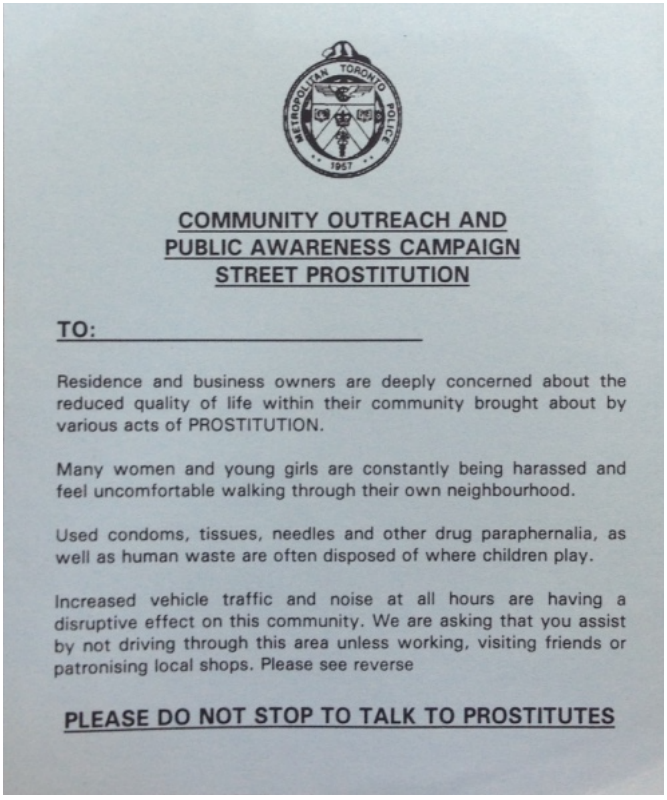
[23] Community Response to Bashing Committee, Meeting minutes for meeting on October 9, 1996, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Canada.

While not all those targeted by the increased police presence that community policing had brought to the Church/Wellesley neighborhood were LGBTQ, many, such as numerous sex workers and homeless queer youth, were. Rather than increase their safety, increased police presence worked rather to make these groups more vulnerable for the benefit of those local and largely (though not exclusively) LGBTQ home and business owners "deemed respectable sexual citizens" (Lamble 2014, p. 159), and thus who the police were most inclined to protect. These groups were also not provided with a forum where they could adequately express this violence, as their businesses or lifestyles were not seen as "legitimate" by the CWNPAC (Faulkner, 2001, p. 130). As well, even those groups targeted by police who were not LGBTQ were denied any claim to the space (and, by extension, any claim to safety in it) due to their lack of property ownership within the neighborhood—a denial that was ultimately justified by constructing these groups as a threat to LGBTQ communities.

Early issues with sex workers in the Church/Wellesley village exemplified this tension in the types of the issues that the committee made central to their work. Complaints from both home and business owners expressed concern over the prevalence of sex workers in the neighborhood near the corners of Maitland and Jarvis, many of whom were trans women.[24] Local residents complained that the women were loud and at times aggressive, and saw them as harbingers of other types of crime. These negative sentiments are hard to understate: one flyer distributed within the neighborhood went so far as to request that local residents avoid talking to sex workers at all costs to show them that they were unwelcome, since they were a threat to local quality of life (Figure 5.2). While these views were by no means universal, they fueled many of the complaints brought forward to the CWNPAC, who soon made it their goal to open communication between local sex workers and the police

[24] For specific examples of complaints against sex workers in the neighborhood, see the Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee meeting minutes for May 28, 1992, July 22, 1993, September 22, 1994, June 12, 1997, February 25, 1999, and August 26, 1999.

through formal meetings, and even formed a specific "Prostitution Subcommittee" on the matter.[25] These meetings were (expectedly) met with mixed reactions: while some sex workers were open to the possible positive outcomes of community policing, such as decreased violence against sex workers themselves, others were reluctant to enter meetings due to distrust of the police and the negative sentiments harbored by local residents. Ultimately, arguably beyond the control of the committee's members, whose roles as advisors to the police still had their limitations, the police decided to more stringently enforce existing laws on drug and noise violations commonly used to deter sex work. In doing so, they pushed the problem from Maitland Street to Homewood and out of the Church/Wellesley neighborhood—a shift that also moved them outside of the 52 Division's jurisdiction.[26]



COMMUNITY OUTREACH AND
PUBLIC AWARENESS CAMPAIGN
STREET PROSTITUTION

TO: _____

Residence and business owners are deeply concerned about the reduced quality of life within their community brought about by various acts of PROSTITUTION.

Many women and young girls are constantly being harassed and feel uncomfortable walking through their own neighbourhood.

Used condoms, tissues, needles and other drug paraphernalia, as well as human waste are often disposed of where children play.

Increased vehicle traffic and noise at all hours are having a disruptive effect on this community. We are asking that you assist by not driving through this area unless working, visiting friends or patronising local shops. Please see reverse

PLEASE DO NOT STOP TO TALK TO PROSTITUTES

Figure 5.2: Community Outreach and Public Awareness Campaign—Street Prostitution. [Flyer distributed in the Church/Wellesley neighborhood.] Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada.

[25] Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee, Meeting minutes for meeting on July 23, 1992, Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada.

[26] Interview with Kyle Rae, Toronto, August 22, 2016.

The shift from Maitland to Homewood, however, was also one from a fairly intimate street to one lined by high-rises, the tenants of which tend to complain less frequently about the crime occurring outside of their buildings.[27] Here, sex workers also tended to be more spread out, making them easier targets for violence, and within a few years two sex workers were killed in the area where they had been pushed. These murders caused backlash from sex workers and others against the police who had pushed them out, as well as against segments of the gay community and the CWNPAC itself whom they saw as having provided a major impetus for the push. Against this backlash, James Dubro, an original member of the committee, vehemently defended the committee's work, arguing that the police had acted beyond the committee's control, but also that the murders just as easily could have occurred on Maitland (Dubro, 1996). As well, he added that sex workers did not "have any right to encroach on the quiet enjoyment of their neighbourhood by residents of Maitland Street of Homewood Avenue" (1996), appealing to a particular notion of to whom the neighborhood belonged. This incident, like several others during the committee's tenure, became proof to certain observers of where the committee's priorities were focused, less on violence and more on neighborhood tranquility.

This is not to suggest that the CWNPAC did not care about sex workers; the committee as a whole agreed that sex work should not be criminalized under the Criminal Code, and violence against sex workers was one of the issues identified in early committee brainstorming sessions, and thus the incident may speak to the constraints placed on the committee as much as their actions. Nor is the purpose of this chapter to assess the validity of their constituents' choices of which types of crime were most important, nor to disallow the fear felt by residents and business owners in the Church/Wellesley neighborhood concerning criminal activity just outside their doors. Rather, this example shows that the CWNPAC,

[27] Interview with James Dubro, Skype, September 27, 2016.

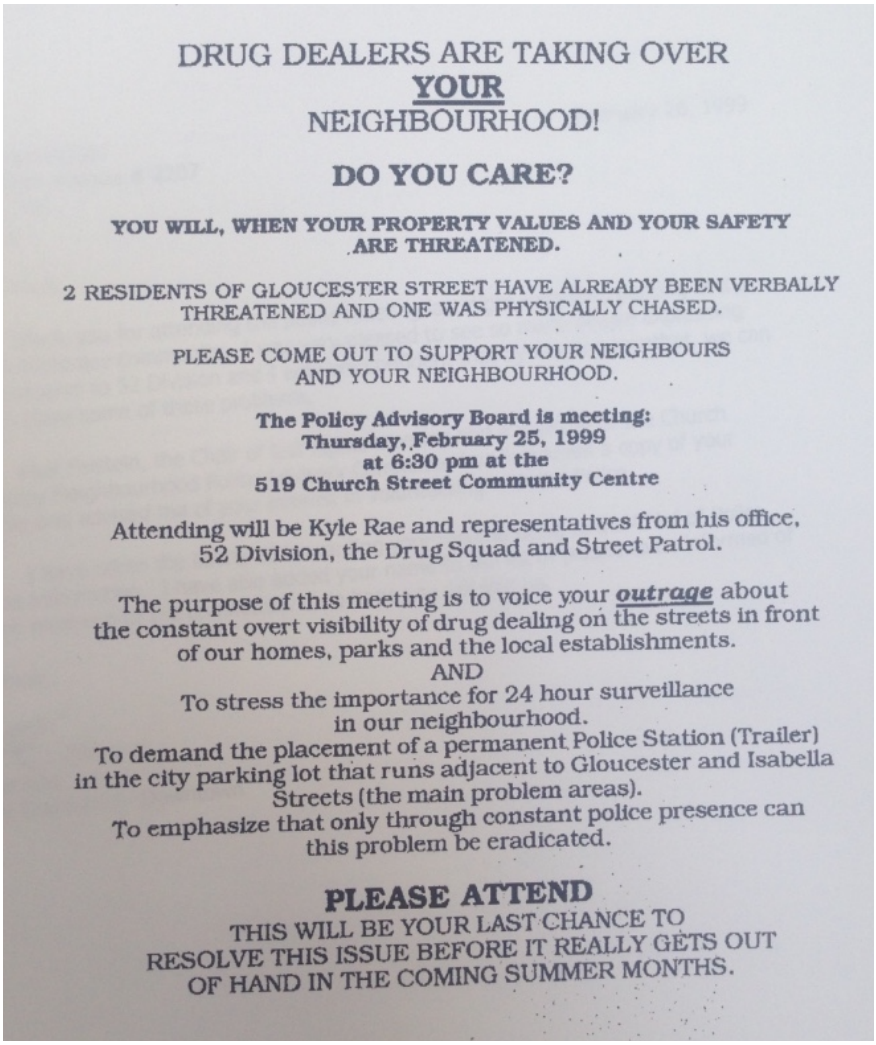
while initially intending to focus on the anti-LGBTQ violence that largely justified its creation, was also utilized by residents to seek police intervention against quality of life crimes that often called for the removal of criminal elements from the neighborhood. As well, the intention with which the committee was envisioned as a pathway for creating safe space in a characteristically LGBTQ neighborhood allowed for the conflation of other criminal activity with anti-LGBTQ violence and thus constructed criminal elements as not only a nuisance but as inherently dangerous, formulating their removal from the neighborhood as a precondition for LGBTQ safety and thus as a right of LGBTQ communities within the city, even when only serving certain members of those communities. In this way, it constructed a notion of to whom the space most belonged that encompassed home and business owners over groups with less propertied interests, and therefore indicating which LGBTQ inhabitants have been most welcomed into the city's image.

Conclusion

During the second half of the committee's tenure, with the association of criminal groups and violence established in the neighborhood, complaints shifted to consist almost exclusively of problems with homeless youth, sex workers, and drug users (see, for example, Figure 5.3), while concerns over general trends in anti-LGBTQ violence received increasingly less attention even as the VAP reported that community fears of violence were on the rise (Suhanic, 1998). One survey conducted in 1998 listed "panhandlings, prostitution, [and] squeegee [kids (youth who clean cars and ask for money)]" as the biggest issues facing people who worked, lived, or spent time in the neighborhood.[28] "Gaybashing," alternatively, appeared near the bottom of the list for each of these respondent categories—a major shift

[28] Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee, [Survey given to local community members about local violence,] 1998, Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada.

from the initial priorities envisioned in 1992. However, even with new priorities laid out, people in the neighborhood eventually seemed to lose faith in the committee's efficacy. The street patrol was downsized from twenty members to ten in 1995 due to funding cuts throughout the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service, and though the committee operated for five more years, the noticed removal of police presence in the neighborhood led many local residents to feel that the police were not following through on their promises to serve the community (di Matteo). The patrol's reduced numbers also kept it from operating into the later hours of the night, which, as the TGP's methodology had attested to, were the hours when anti-LGBTQ violence was most likely to occur. As local community members lost interest in the committee's initiatives,



DRUG DEALERS ARE TAKING OVER
YOUR
NEIGHBOURHOOD!

DO YOU CARE?

YOU WILL, WHEN YOUR PROPERTY VALUES AND YOUR SAFETY ARE THREATENED.

2 RESIDENTS OF GLOUCESTER STREET HAVE ALREADY BEEN VERBALLY THREATENED AND ONE WAS PHYSICALLY CHASED.

PLEASE COME OUT TO SUPPORT YOUR NEIGHBOURS AND YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD.

The Policy Advisory Board is meeting:
Thursday, February 25, 1999
at 6:30 pm at the
519 Church Street Community Centre

Attending will be Kyle Rae and representatives from his office, 52 Division, the Drug Squad and Street Patrol.

The purpose of this meeting is to voice your ***outrage*** about the constant overt visibility of drug dealing on the streets in front of our homes, parks and the local establishments.
AND
To stress the importance for 24 hour surveillance in our neighbourhood.
To demand the placement of a permanent Police Station (Trailer) in the city parking lot that runs adjacent to Gloucester and Isabella Streets (the main problem areas).
To emphasize that only through constant police presence can this problem be eradicated.

PLEASE ATTEND
THIS WILL BE YOUR LAST CHANCE TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE BEFORE IT REALLY GETS OUT OF HAND IN THE COMING SUMMER MONTHS.

Figure 5.3: "Drug dealers are taking over **your** neighbourhood!" [Poster distributed in the Church/Wellesley Neighborhood. 1999. Toronto Archives, Toronto, Canada.

it also affected the trust placed in the committee by the police to act as liaison, especially as numerous raids on gay establishments during the 1990s—most notably those on Remington's strip club in 1996 and the Bijou in 1999—soured the very police-community relations that the CWNPAC was simultaneously working to improve.

In the early 2000s, the committee was restructured to have four members instead of ten and a large overhaul of its membership occurred, producing a smaller committee that tended to be more pro-police in its approach. However, this new structure did not last long, as Toronto's incoming Chief of Police, Julian Fantino, initiated a new advisory committee between the police and the entire gay, lesbian and trans communities, rather than with the Church/Wellesley neighborhood. This new committee was one of several initiatives to improve again-deteriorating relations between LGBTQ communities and the police, the former of which had expressed widespread disapproval of his appointment.[29] This would once again change the ways in which the city's LGBTQ communities interacted with the police, in this case shifting from a geographical basis for representation in the Church/Wellesley neighborhood to an identity-based mode—though one still necessarily tied to the LGBTQ village.

[29] Interview with Howard Shulman, Toronto, October 12, 2016.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUDING: QUEER STUDIES AND A RIGHT TO THE CITY

In this study of the years between 1981 and 2000, I have hoped to show how anti-violence activism in Toronto's LGBTQ village marked the space as belonging to a particular type of LGBTQ inhabitant who could claim a right to safety, while at times marking other groups as "criminally" dangerous. By doing so, appeals to safety worked to justify state efforts to push these "criminal" groups out of the village as police presence increased, denying them the same right to safety in the village, even when some members of these groups were themselves LGBTQ. In doing so, I have hoped to highlight how activist efforts at increased state protection and recognition have at times come at the expense of certain "undesirable" queer bodies like sex workers and LGBTQ homeless youth who are drawn to the village for its historic role as a beacon of tolerance and acceptance, as well as other non-queer groups who are made unwanted and even illegal to legitimize a particular LGBTQ citizen. More broadly, this shows possible consequences that arise when LGBTQ communities fully embrace access to increased police protection as part of their ascendance into the nation (Lamble 2015), as well as concerns of a territorial approach to LGBTQ activism more generally, ultimately suggesting that queer inclusion (Lenon & Dryden, 2015) is at times founded on an exclusion that can leave those excluded susceptible to violence.

While I have only discussed this specific twenty-year period, it is important to note that the organizations and processes that I study here were not isolated. As mentioned in the conclusion of Chapter 5, towards the end of the Church/Wellesley Neighbourhood Police Advisory Committee's tenure, Julian Fantino was appointed the Chief of Toronto's Police, much to the dismay of the city's LGBTQ communities who feared Fantino's history of homophobic policing. To ease these tensions, Fantino oversaw the appointment of the first ever liaison officer between the Toronto police and the city's LGBTQ populations, as well as the creation of a new liaison body, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Transsexual

Police Liaison Committee, which was made up of representatives from various LGBTT activist organizations throughout the city. Envisioned as inclusive of a wider variety of concerns from those all grouped under the category "LGBTT," the committee, which held its meetings at the police headquarters, also faced issues of exclusion: to join the committee, potential participants had to undergo criminal background checks, which, if they revealed a history of criminal charges, made one ineligible for membership.[30] This created a barrier that primarily affected groups such as homeless queer youth who were more likely to have been arrested, and thus left them out of discussions with the police. As many of these discussions were centered around how to increase safety within the neighborhood, this also kept these groups from being able to articulate their own sources of fear. While this blatant exclusion damaged the committee's reputation with many activists in the village, the committee does still exist even today, though it garners very little attention from the communities it claims to be serving. As well, as incidences like the Toronto police raids on the Club Toronto bathhouse in 2000 during an all-women event called the *Pussy Palace* and persistent anti-LGBTQ attitudes amongst Toronto police officers indicate (Warner, 2002), community-police partnerships do not guarantee an end to police mistreatment.

The processes of exclusion through police activity are also relevant to current discussions in Toronto around both police racism and racism internal to LGBTQ communities, especially after the Toronto chapter of the activist group Black Lives Matter halted the 2016 Toronto Pride Parade and further fueled ongoing conversations around the police's role in LGBTQ spaces. The group, who were the parade's "Honoured Guests" for the year, agreed to begin marching only after Pride's executive committee committed to a list of requests, including (most controversially) the removal of police floats and booths from all future marches and parades. The request has since sparked considerable debate in Toronto

[30] Interview with Howard Shulman, Toronto, October 12, 2016.

and in Canada more broadly over the role of the police in LGBTQ organizing: many feel that the decision was a much needed one in an event that has come to symbolize a depoliticized LGBTQ identity in Toronto, while others have felt that the removal of police floats itself qualifies a type of exclusion and thus is a move in the wrong direction. This is intimately tied to larger questions around the place of LGBTQ politics within a Canadian society that increasingly sees itself as post-homophobic (and in this case post-racist), as well as questions about which LGBTQ individuals have access to a privileged positions within the nation. As Toronto's communities remain divided over the incident and a similar request has since been made of Pride Vancouver, the issue as of yet shows no signs of resolution.

As always, we are left with a question: Where do we go from here? It seems worth it here to reiterate the importance stressed by many queer theorists (ie. Duggan, 2003; Manalansan, 2005) of coalition-based activism that finds solidarity across lines of division against shared oppression, violence, and disenfranchisement. This activism would be informed by its history but would also "learn from and act alongside those individuals against whom the mainstream LGBT movement has so systematically defined itself" (Hanhardt, 2013, p. 226), imagining for those individuals an equal right to safety. To do so, LGBTQ activism based out of notorious LGBTQ spaces like urban villages will have to be "sufficiently intersectional to transcend both the narrow interests of property owners and the singular identity politics" (Andersson, 2015, p. 279) with which these spaces have been most associated, and think of the other groups, both LGBTQ and straight, who may seek safety in the village. In creating partnerships across groups, coalition-based activism not only makes visible shared circumstances, but also helps prevent the success of some at creating spaces safe from violence from coming at the expense of the safety of others. In the face of uneven police targeting amongst groups divided by lines such as class and race, this strategy may thus also mean rethinking any embrace of legal protection as the end goal of activism without

critiquing the inequalities that exist within that legal system. As Haritaworn, Kuntsman, and Posocco. note, this may require refusing "the call to become what we may call 'happy queers'" (2014, p. 20) who are uncritical of the nation that has accepted them, remembering through our own histories the very oppression that the modern punitive state may engender and stepping up to it when it again occurs. While forfeiting a happiness that has taken so much work to reach may be an unreasonable request, this refusal to be a "happy queer" may not mean a forfeiting of happiness, but rather an expansion of it to new subjects, albeit possibly not a happiness engendered through ascending to national belonging.

To understand how best to make cities safer for all LGBTQ citizens, queer theorists should also continue to consider the city as a complex site of analysis, taking insight produced by critical urban theory. The concept of the "right to the city," for instance, first discussed by Lefevre in an essay of the same name from 1968, is still useful for thinking through ways to make cities more equitable, including spaces like LGBTQ villages. An equal right to safety, after all, requires an equal right to urban space. Lefebvre offers several strategies for undertaking a utopian mode of imagining the city that allows the possibility that urban space and access could be radically different tomorrow than it is today, which does not allow the "current infeasibility" of a project to necessarily deny its possibility. This mode of utopian thinking may usefully be used in tandem with utopian works of queer theory. Muñoz's *Cruising Utopia* (2009), for instance, also argues for the use of utopia as a mode of thinking to better "imagine a space outside of heteronormativity" (2009, p. 35) and thus imagine "ultimately new worlds" (p. 1), a mission that may usefully draw from right to the city literature to place this struggle in the urban space. However, while detailed works describing how urban space affects LGBTQ lives and community is already being done by many queer theorists, urban theorists, including those who argue for a right to the city, have been slower to consider sexuality as a complex process rather than as a simple attribute

(Seitz, 2015). Thus we also need an urban theory that critically considers sexuality not just in its relation to classically LGBTQ bodies, but also as a process that is regulated by various actors, and which asks how queering plays out on non-LGBTQ bodies as well (Seitz, 2015, p. 251). This queer understanding of sexual regulation and the ways in which it is connected to larger urban processes must also continue to be taken up in activism and advocacy across global cities like Toronto where both social marginalization is still ongoing and plays out geographically, in the interest of making cities safer for as many inhabitants as possible.

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Appendix A: Sample interview recruitment email

Hi XX,

My name is Benjamin Demers, and I am currently conducting a research project that aims to archive and analyze community responses to anti-LGBTQ violence in Toronto, in order to produce a final report. As you (are/were) a member of XX (specific group of this participant) with unique insight into the city's history of anti-violence organizing, I am emailing to ask if you would be willing to participate in a one-hour semi-structured interview about your background and views on this history, conducted by me. The interview could be in a public space, such as a café or university, or any space where you would feel comfortable talking, and could also be conducted over Skype or in writing.

If so, I am in Toronto for the last two weeks of August, and will be back in the Fall as needed to conduct more interviews. If a time within either of these time-frames would work for you, please let me know.

If you have any other questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to ask either myself or my supervisor, Professor Natalie Oswin, at natalie.oswin@mcgill.ca.

Thank you,
Benjamin Demers

Appendix B: Written consent form

Project title: An analysis of community responses to anti-LGBTQ violence in Toronto
Research Ethics Board (REB) File Number:

Thank you for meeting today. You are invited to take part in this study on community responses to anti-LGBTQ violence in Toronto being completed by Benjamin Demers at McGill University's Department of Geography. If you choose to continue, you will be interviewed about your knowledge of anti-violence organizing in Toronto and your experience with particular organizations you have worked with. The project is primarily concerned with examining the ways in which LGBTQ groups have obtained legal protection from violence, specifically the ways in which certain groups under the LGBTQ umbrella have obtained legal protection while other marginalized groups have been less successful at obtaining protection. The results of this interview will be analyzed and included in an article for honors credit, will be shared with faculty and students in the department and more widely at McGill, and may potentially result in publication. This project is under the supervision of Professor Natalie Oswin, who may be contacted with any questions concerning project details at natalie.oswin@mcgill.ca.

During this approximately one-hour interview (the only one of which you will be asked to complete), you will be asked about your experience and views on the history of anti-violence organizing in Toronto. Your participation in this interview is entirely voluntary and you are free to not answer any question or to end the interview at any time. Furthermore, you may also withdraw from this study even after completion of this interview. In this case, I will not use all or part of the material from this interview, as per your wishes.

All data from this interview will be stored securely, accessible only to the interviewer, the thesis supervisor (Natalie Oswin), and the thesis reader (Benjamin Forest).

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or Lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.

May I audio-record our conversation? Any recording will be used to aid in transcription, and will be stored securely on a password-protected external hard drive that is only directly accessible to the Principal Investigator, and will only be shared with the thesis supervisor and thesis reader. (Circle one)
Yes No

-(Removed section asking for consent to donate the interview to the CLGA, since this plan has been removed from my project.)

How may I identify you in reports or publications resulting from this research? Mark all that apply:

- Organization/Initiative with which you are affiliated:

- Job/Position:
- Preferred pronoun:

Otherwise, you will simply be referred to as “an anti-violence organizer in Toronto.”

I, _____(print name), have read the above information and consent to participate in this study.

Participant Signature: Date:

Appendix C: Sample interview questions

*Note: These interviews will be semi-structured and will follow the general direction outlined below. However, they will conform to the experience of the particular anti-violence organizer.

Question 1: Can you describe your background in anti-violence organizing?

Q2: How did you become involved with this particular organization?

Q3: What was the atmosphere in Toronto like when you worked with this initiative, both towards anti-violence initiatives and towards LGBTQ communities? More specifically, can you describe the attitudes of the police towards LGBTQ communities at this time?

Q4: How did this initiative operate? For how long? What major changes did it undergo?

Q5: From what other initiatives did it take inspiration? Or were there initiatives that it saw as failing to adequately protect LGBTQ communities, and thus it filled in a gap?

Q6: What initiatives came in afterwards to take its place, or grew out of it?

Q7: In what ways do you feel the initiative was successful? And in what ways could it have been organized differently?

Q8: Do you feel that certain LGBTQ groups were able to successfully combat violence, while others were not included in the initiative's success?

Q9: What do you think the major problems are facing Toronto's contemporary anti-violence initiatives? How do they relate to the larger problems in LGBTQ communities?

Q10: In your opinion, do the police continue to be a major source of violence against LGBTQ communities in Toronto?

Q11: What role has Toronto's gay village played in LGBTQ anti-violence organizing? Have there been other important areas of the city as well?

Q12: Do you feel that most anti-violence organizing in Toronto has tried to account for class, gender, ethnic, and racial difference, to better include those who face multiple systems of oppression?

Q13: In what ways have groups been marginalized even within LGBTQ anti-violence activism, specifically along lines of class, gender, ethnicity, and race? In what ways has this exclusion manifested spatially?

Q14: Do you have anything else you would like to add?

Appendix D: Ethics approval certificate

(Attached below)

McGill

Research Ethics Board Office
James Administration Bldg.
845 Sherbrooke Street West. Rm 325
Montreal, QC H3A 0G4

Tel: (514) 398-6831
Fax: (514) 398-4644
Website: www.mcgill.ca/research/researchers/compliance/human/

Research Ethics Board I
Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

REB File #: 30-0616

Project Title: An analysis of community responses to anti-LGBTQ violence in Toronto

Principal Investigator: Benjamin Demers

Department: Geography

Status: Undergraduate Student

Supervisor: Prof. Natalie Oswin

Co-researchers: Benjamin Forest

Approval Period: July 21, 2016 to July 20, 2017

The REB-I reviewed and approved this project by delegated review in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Participants and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct For Research Involving Humans.

Deanna Collin
Ethics Review Administrator, REB I & II

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* All research involving human participants requires review on at least an annual basis. A Request for Renewal form should be submitted 2-3 weeks before the above expiry date. Research cannot be conducted without a current ethics approval.
* When a project has been completed or terminated, a Study Closure form must be submitted.
* Unanticipated issues that may increase the risk level to participants or that may have other ethical implications must be promptly reported to the REB. Serious adverse events experienced by a participant in conjunction with the research must be reported to the REB without delay.
* Modifications must be reviewed and approved by the REB before they can be implemented.
* The REB must be promptly notified of any new information that may affect the welfare or consent of participants.
* The REB must be notified of any suspension or cancellation imposed by a funding agency or regulatory body that is related to this project.
* The REB must be notified of any findings that may have ethical implications or may affect the decision of the REB.