Sexuality, sport, and the city: Sporting mega-events and the spatial politics of Canadian sexual citizenship

Abbey-Leigh Heilig
Department of Geography
McGill University

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Abstract

In an increasingly globalized world, the changing faces of sexual and national politics deserve interrogation. My thesis research uses the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montréal, and the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver as case studies to illuminate moments of nationalist spectacle. Studying mega-sporting-events can be a way to understand issues of sexual citizenship, spectacle, and identity. These must be considered together to understand how the global locus of settler homonationalism is only liberatory for a privileged few. My goal is to interrogate why the national body politic incorporates some identities and marginalizes others, as well as how neoliberal queer politics operate to fortify Canadian nationalism and sexual exceptionalism. I achieve this goal by examining how discourses around these events generate particular sexualized, raced, and classed power structures. I explore how Canadian nationalism has changed over time, especially in relation to the inclusion of LGBTQ people, as well as in relation to the construction of “queered” Others. A critical discourse analysis method is used to make visible new formations of nationalisms compelled by neoliberal queer politics. My research corroborates and extends a crucial body of literature which challenges homonationalist Canadian queer politics.

Resumé

Dans un monde de plus en plus globalisé, les visages changeants de la politique sexuelle et nationale méritent d'être interrogés. Ma recherche de thèse utilise les Jeux olympiques d'été de 1976 à Montréal et les Jeux olympiques d'hiver de 2010 à Vancouver comme études de cas pour éclairer les moments de spectacle nationaliste. L'étude des méga-événements sportifs peut être un moyen de comprendre les questions de citoyenneté sexuelle, de spectacle et d'identité. Il faut les considérer ensemble pour comprendre comment le lieu mondial de l'homonationalisme des colons n'est libérateur que pour quelques privilégiés. Mon objectif était d'interroger les raisons pour lesquelles le corps politique national incorpore certaines identités et en marginalise d'autres, ainsi que la manière dont les politiques queer néolibérales opèrent pour fortifier le nationalisme canadien et l'exceptionnalisme sexuel. J'atteins cet objectif en examinant comment les discours autour de ces événements génèrent des structures de pouvoir sexuées, raciales et de classe particulières. J'explore l'évolution du nationalisme canadien au fil du temps, en particulier en ce qui concerne l'inclusion des personnes LGBTQ, ainsi que la construction d'Autres "queered". Une méthode d'analyse critique du discours est utilisée pour rendre visible les nouvelles formations de nationalismes contraintes par la politique néolibérale queer. Ma recherche corrobore et étend un ensemble crucial de littérature qui remet en question la politique homonationaliste queer canadienne.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

> Last week my grandmother died. She raised me, if you can call it that - from the confusion of infancy to the plush closet of Polite Society. Of her three generations of satellites, I am the only person known to be gay. The others all did more or less The Right Thing: marriage, children, alcoholism, success, etc. She told me that good citizenship began with producing at least two children - if we didn't Do Our Duty by issuing decent replicas of ourselves, it wouldn't be long before They took over completely. They are terribly promiscuous. They seemed to be almost everyone except Us, but most particularly those that were, well - how can one put it? - off-white.
>
> Riordon, M. (1976 May) Roots and Heroes: Gay Survival in Polite Society. *the Body Politic*, issue 24, p.11

Heteronormativity[1] refers to beliefs, practices, and social and political structures that frame heterosexuality and its corresponding gender roles as the only natural orientations for human beings. Scholars and activists have long made powerful interventions into heteronormativity (Rich, 1980; Butler, 1990, 2004; Rubin, 1993; Oswald, 2005). Many have proven that the categories of race, class, and nation are always "already constitutive of these systems" (Battle and Ashley, 2008, p.1), and are therefore essential to any conceptual understanding of heteronormativity (Crenshaw, 1990; Hutchinson, 1999; Ferguson, 2000; Ward & Schneider, 2009; Smith, 2015). In fact, it is impossible to fully conceptualize heteronormativity without acknowledging that it is rooted in the *intersectionality*[2] of sexuality: heteronormativity is built

[1] Michael Warner popularized the term in *Fear of a Queer Planet* (1991). Adrienne Rich also significantly contributed to its conceptualization, through her similar concept of 'compulsory heterosexuality, described in her 1980 essay, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence".

[2] Intersectionality, or intersectional theory, was coined by Black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 to describe how multiple forms of oppression can compound and create particular experiences of discrimination that cannot be understood through single-issue theorizing or politics. She coined the term as a key part of her "efforts to

with particular ideals which span the categories of race, gender, ability, class, and many other social locations and identities. Geographies of sexuality have been used by scholars to effectually dig into intersectionality, spanning topics such as Black queer women's scene space in Washington D.C, (Lane, 2016) to the production of differentiated care geographies in Vancouver of HIV/AIDS "that resulted from the racialised, classed and gendered politics and urban imaginations enacted by gay and allied HIV/AIDS organising" (Catungal, Kalssen, Ablenas, Lambert, Chown & Lachowsky, 2021, p.1346). Intersectionality itself has been described as a mode of mapping, reiterating the connection between geographies of sexuality and intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991; Valentine 2007; Hopkins 2019, as cited in Sircar, 2021). Geographers of sexuality have additionally stressed that "space, place, and sex are inextricably linked" (Johnson & Longhurst 2010, p.2), and that the city both constrains and empowers sexualities (Hubbard, 2013).

To be queer in a Canadian city today is to stand at the point of convergence of countless negotiations of sexualized space. For Montréalers', Calgarians, and Vancouverites, it is also to be surrounded by the legacies and infrastructures of a historical Olympic host city. After reading an article in *Body Politic* magazine about the 'Olympic Clean-up' in Montréal, when hundreds of queer people were removed from the streets en masse in anticipation of the 1976 Olympic Games, I became curious about the entanglements of the Games and Canadian sexual citizenship more broadly. The article from *Body Politic* magazine reported that:

> For a lot of men in Montréal, their first experience of the Olympic 'clean-up' was the sight of a policeman's axe crashing through the door of their room at the baths. (Olympic Crackdown, *The Body Politic*, 1976, p.1)

develop a Black feminist criticism… (to address) the problematic consequences of the tendency to treat race and gender as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis" (Crenshaw, p.139).

As I read more about Canadian mega-sporting events and queer history, I found a transcript of a speech given at the opening of the 2006 World Outgames, designed as a quasi-Olympics for queer athletes. Mr. Mark Tewksbury, the Co-President of the organizing committee, and a celebrated, openly gay Olympic medalist, spoke at the opening. Tewksbury said in his address:

> It is with great pleasure and heartfelt emotion that we launch the 1st World Outgames today. I am convinced that this unique and ground-breaking event will deliver its promise to advance human rights and will showcase Montréal, the host city, as an inclusive and progressive metropolis
> (Tewksbury, M, 2006, July 29, [speech transcript] The Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan Montréal, 2006 August 4).

We could understand these two statements as simply exemplifying the progress of liberal human rights, but I suggest that their dissonance pinpoints a complicated historical web in which we are all entangled, including myself. While I have certainly experienced homophobic discrimination, the Canadian government had legalized same-sex marriage in Canada by the end of my adolescence, specifically in July 2005. I also come from a family involved in the Olympic Games in both an organizational and athletic capacity. As queerness and Olympism shaped my sense of Canadian-ness profoundly as a young person, and also knowing that the nation-state once commonly framed queer sexualities as a threat to be neutralized, I find myself in this very web. During my research, I saw parallels between my experiences and those of my queer elders, and, of course, saw substantial differences from my reality. This politic has worked increasingly to police the boundaries of national sexual citizenship.

1.2 Aim and research questions

For queer people such as myself, who access various arenas of privilege, there can sometimes be little in our immediate spheres of experience to disrupt the understanding of reality that Tewksbury refers to in his address at the OutGames. However, normative national identity and acceptance, while providing significant material and social benefits for many queers, continue to be weaponized against those deemed undesirable by the nation-state (Awwad, 1976; Dryden, 1965; Hubbard & Wilkinson, 2014; Lenon, S, 1966; Kouri-Towe, 2017; Morgensen, 2010; Puar & Cervulle2013; Sykes 2016).

Queers who are who are white, monogamous, able-bodied, cisgender, upper-class and male can most easily access mainstream acceptance, but acceptance at the expense of others fortifies hegemonic Canadian nationalism. Hegemonic nationalism can be understood as a phenomenon in which powerful groups, institutions, and/or state apparatuses legitimize a particular nationalist ideology until it gains the status of 'common-sense', and is therefore hegemonic (Böhm, 2018). Hegemony, as forwarded by Gramsci, is Hegemony, to Gramsci, is the cultural, moral and ideological leadership of a group over allied and subaltern groups (as detailed in Mouffe, 2014). While multiple nationalisms exist in any country or state, usually only a single version is discursively produced as the legitimate. Any nationalist ideology is imbued with notions of belonging, identity, inclusion and exclusion criteria, a particular envisioning of history, a model of a proper family, a particular understanding of the nation in relation to other nations, and a modus operandi for 'protecting' the national body from threats, both internally and externally (Bozóki, 2017; Miley, 2018; Lee, 1998). Hegemonic nationalism also has the tendency "to develop ever more aggressive imperialistic claims and aspirations" over time (Wirth, 1936, p.729). We are also endangered by nationalisms due to the emotional fervor they

are meant to invoke, to the effect that it makes it possible "for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (Anderson, 2006, p.7).

For this reason, *my aim in this thesis is to contribute to scholarship which protests the complicity of queer Canadian residents in the violences of dominant Canadian nationalism, and imagines possibilities for a truly liberatory queer politic*.

To achieve this aim, I explore constructions of proper Canadian sexual citizenship as they coincided with the Montreal 1976 and the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games. I collect further evidence and gain knowledge of the variegated manifestations of sexuality as a technique of control in Canada. I substantiate the urgency of interventions into Canadian homonationalism by providing evidence of the historical costs of such a politic. In my aim to intercede in ongoing processes of national exclusion, I am guided by these research questions:

1) What can two world-class sporting events (the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montréal, and the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver) tell us about Canadian sexual citizenship and its place in hegemonic Canadian nationalism at specific historical moments?

2) How do discourses around these events interact with axes of power such as sexuality, race and gender—what kinds of identity-based exclusions do they create?

3) How did neoliberal queer politics operate to fortify Canadian nationalism and sexual exceptionalism during these Games, and what is the legacy of this politics in the present?

The first question delves deeper into the specific focus of the thesis and identifies the two events I analyzed. It also makes the historical element of this research explicit. Understanding nationalisms as inherently exclusive, through the second question I interrogate how exclusions based on sexuality have shifted- and who these new borders could benefit or eject. The final

question focuses on the connections between neoliberalism (as I detailed later on) and capitalist queer politics to sexual exceptionalism, to understand how the uptick in neoliberal policy and discourse in Canada has affected queer politics and national inclusion.

1.3 Thesis outline

The second chapter presents pertinent literature that provides foundational grounding for this research. I contextualize and situate my research within literature on nationalisms, multiculturalism and neoliberalism, sport studies, feminist theories, queer histories, and critical geographies. I outline my conceptual framework, engaging homonationalism as the essential analytical modality for understanding the complicated gendered, colonial and racial logics at play in hegemonic Canadian nationalisms. In Chapter Three, I detail my overall methodological strategy and rationale based on critical discourse analysis. I also describe the methods I employed to analyze archival materials, specifically periodicals, through a larger critical discourse analysis framework. I also detail the process of data collection and analysis, as well as consider the ethics of the research process.

In Chapter Four, I outline both mega-events and go through a brief historical timeline of LGBTQ+ rights in Canada, to familiarize or refresh the reader with the context in which the events transpired. In Chapter Five, 'The Individual Won't Save Us', I begin the analysis portion of the thesis. Throughout the chapter, I interrogate the alliances between neoliberalism and Olympism. I highlight connections between the neoliberal individual, neoliberal governmentality, and homonationalism. I present the boycott of the Montréal 1976 Olympics as a case study to connect the neoliberal individual to nation, sport, and colonialism. This leads into an analysis of representations of celebrated gay athletes of the sporting world who the media

deemed respectable. I next address the intersections between fear of communism and homophobic discrimination, as well as the capitalist co-option of queerness via pinkwashing.

In Chapter Six, 'Objects of Public Concern', I introduce the chapter by revisiting the role of gender and the family in nationalisms, reifying the connections between social discipline and cultural anxiety around upholding the nuclear family. I then grapple with types of biopolitical control which were enacted upon those located outside the realms of proper sexual citizenship during these 1976 and 2010 Olympic periods. I focus on the management of urban space and species regulation.

In Chapter Seven, 'The Border and the Beyond', I delve into questions of security and mobility, presenting data on increasing militarization, as well as changing refugee and immigration legislation. I complicate a vision of Canada as a queer haven, via the political and social framing and management of migrants visible in the media sources during the 2010 Games. In the chapter, I also broach the violence of the institution of Canadian peacekeeping. I then locate the homonationalist characteristics of neo-imperialist projects.

I conclude the thesis by considering the concept of 'failure', which I interpret as unwillingness or inability to access normative sexual citizenship as a productive site of intervention. I consider the differences between 'queer time' and 'national time' and engage the potential of queer utopianisms for re-envisioning a transformed collective future.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

> Every border implies the violence of its maintenance.
>
> (A. Siddiqi, 2022)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I contextualize and situate my research within literature on nationalisms, multiculturalism and neoliberalism, sport studies, feminist theories, queer histories, and critical geographies. I engage heavily with work that is grounded in queer, decolonial, and anti-racist thinking. These fields help me create a conceptual framework and interdisciplinary perspective that traces queer histories and their interactions with sport and nationhood in Canada, while explicitly addressing issues of inequality and social change.

2.2 Nationalism studies

Nations are constructed phenomena, with often violent material effects (McClintock 1993). They are not autonomously self-reproducing, but require energy, power, and investments in discourses to be upheld and to reproduce. Because discursive reinforcement is essential to a nation's survival, there is a clear opportunity to intervene in the mechanisms of nationalisms, which is why I find so much value in this field of literature. Nationhood, in its essence, is a project for establishing regional power for elites, and "has become the most prevalent source of political conflict and violence in the world" (Hetcher, 2000, p.4). We are always already enmeshed in nationalisms, but they resist critique because they are often implicit. The state invests in and legitimizes only one official nationalism, through official policy and discourse. The resulting hegemonic idea of a nation is imagined as limited and sovereign, with clear boundaries (Anderson, 1983).

While nationalisms scholarship traditionally focused on larger-scale displays such as religious events, sporting events, festivals, and national holiday celebrations or ceremonies, significant scholarship now exists which focuses specifically on 'every day' or 'banal' nationalism (Billig, 1995). We can understand banal nationalism as a type of flagging- where "the citizenry are reminded daily of their national place in a world of nations" (Billig, 1995, p.8), a backdrop in front of which cultural products and political discourses are played out. An example might be the construction of newspapers of any ilk, which almost always address readers as part of a nation, as well as the uses of language therewith. (ibid, p.11). Often, without conscious awareness, we digest particular nationalist messages, showing that banal nationalism is anything but benign. In this thesis, I recognize and detail both nationalism's hyper-visible and subtle workings, highlighting the level to which nationalism permeates all aspects of hegemonic Canadian culture.

2.3 Nation, gender, race

While recent scholarship that grapples with nation, gender and race abounds in the field of critical nationalism studies, several key concepts remain the primary guideposts of inquiry into the field; scholars published the bulk of these between 1990-2010, during what was also called the 'cultural turn' in Geography (Jackson, 1997). Thompson's 2019 state of the field article on Gender and Nationalisms reinforces the primacy of these sources, despite newer scholarship existing. I similarly find that these core concepts, detailed below, are the most essential for framing my own inquiry into nationalisms in this thesis.

Gender, race, class, language, and other differences demarcate the boundaries of the national body, and they create and enforce a clear social stratification, a clear 'us' and 'them'.

Kim-Puri writes that "the fault lines of nationalism(s) are also starkly evident… the flawed promises of nationalism as an all-inclusive, horizontal community are especially visible from the positions of women and marginalized groups" (2005, p.137). Nationalisms both "invent and perform social difference" (McClintock, 1991, p. 104), by painting the nation as a family; a trope which naturalizes unequal access to power. These (physical and symbolic) borderlines may shift, but the core binary of the boundary stays static.

Race has always been a crucial boundary marker for the Canadian nation-state. Mackey has long written on how intrinsic white supremacy was to this construction of the Canadian nation-state. Mackey explains that the nation building project in Canada depends upon "managing the diverse populations of the country and also doing the symbolic work of imagining and creating a national identity" (2000, p.125) and that these two projects are deeply intertwined. Mukherjee writes that racist and exclusionary nationalist discourses have created a specific Canadian identity "with explanations ranging from the pure Viking blood of northern races and the salutary effect on the same pure Viking blood of Canada's harsh winters...to Canada's geography" (1995, p.3-4) for what would now be more than a century-and-a-half.

The Canadian landscape itself has been used as a racial and gendered motif (Berger, 1996) to naturalize social difference and inequality (Kobayashi and Peake, 1994). The distinct characteristics of Canada that were asserted by members of the Canada First movement exemplify the interconnectedness of race, gender, and geography in creating a hegemonic national identity. Canada First (established in 1868) was a movement and eventual political party that quickly gained support from influential figures such as Edward Blake (the second premier of Ontario). The group asserted Canada was and should be occupied by members or descendants of the 'Northern nations'; who were coded as white, masculine, strong, civilized, and pure. This

dualistic idea of national identity set up the South as 'other'- as racialized, weak, feminine, even queer. They associated the South with decay, disease, and immorality, and so it was to be prevented from tainting the freedom, liberty, and rationality of the North. Canada was a young man who was destined to be a world power and leader if his blood was not 'diluted' by Southerners (Mackey, 2000). The group's expression of a popular Canadian ideal had enduring significance (Careless, 1954). We can see the same logic of protecting Canada's purity in how many Canadians supported eugenic policies, which aimed to decrease the procreation of 'undesirable' populations, while protecting the dominant classes (Grekul, Krahn & Odynak 2004). Scientific racism and white supremacy informed these logics, and white supremacy continues to be protected in policy and practice. We continue to be inundated in a national, racial fantasy, inextricable from hierarchy and violence (Bannerji, 1996; Peake and Kobayashi, 2000; Peake, 2001; Baldwin, Cameron & Kobayashi, 2011), despite the equalizing promise of Canadian multiculturalism, which Kobayashi calls "a profoundly depoliticizing ideal" (2011, p.8). Black (2007, p. 269) attests that "this narrative of harmonious multiculturalism is now a well-worn trope in Canadian public discourse but also one that, because of the strains this socio-linguistic diversity places on Canadian society, requires continuous repetition and reinforcement". Himani Bannerji also discusses Canadian nationalism's primary inscriptions of "French" or "English", focusing on the experiences of visible minorities in relation to this aspect of Canadian nationalism. Bannerji (2000, p.95), calls these "its colonialist and essentialist identity markers; its imagined political geography simplifies into two primary and confrontational cultural typologies and dominant ideologies…" creating yet another boundary via language. Although hard-won change has occurred, these structures cannot be fully transformed if the elites of the nation do not fully disavow these origins.

Feminist scholars have long interrogated nationalisms, and identify the gendered constructions that support them. McClintock recognizes women are configured as national boundary markers and emotive symbols. She writes women are "subsumed symbolically into the national body politic as its boundary and limit…" (1993, p.62), as bearers of the nation. Women are associated with history, tradition, and moral responsibility (Cohen,1996; Pettman, 1996). The representation of women -as-nation relies on an image of women as chaste, dutiful, virtuous and motherly (Parker, 1992). This is also an imperialist imagining- white women were constructed as inherently more virtuous and as essential tools in 'civilizing' colonized women and lower-class women. The goal was to integrate them into their proper role and to fortify the nation (Cooke, 1998).

Nagel asks why so many men are desperate to defend "masculine, monoracial, and heterosexual institutional preserves, such as military organizations and academies" (2001, p.242). She finds a key to the puzzle about how these institutions create a particular sense of manhood and self, which is idealized and privileged within the hegemonic nation-state. In European and North American nationalisms, men are the active subjects of the nation (particularly white, middle-class men), and the embodiment of the forward-thrusting agency of national progress (Forth, 2010). The Olympic movement similarly celebrates and promotes the 'forward-thrust' of humanity, which is gendered as male/neutral by default. The Olympic motto itself is *Citius Altius Fortius* (Faster, higher, stronger') (Douglas, 2004). Scholars such as Banerjee (2012), who coined the term 'muscular nationalism', further explore how these gendered dynamics become militarized. Banerjee writes that "muscular nationalism is the intersection of a specific vision of masculinity with the political doctrine of nationalism… examples of muscular nationalism center an adult male body poised to sacrifice and kill for the

nation" (2012, p.76). Even in nationalisms aligned with less militaristic nation-states, the trope of virile, rational, muscular masculinity is still expressed, often through sport (McDevitt, 2004). Robidoux writes specifically on militarism, masculinity, nationalism and sport in Canada, focusing on ice hockey and lacrosse in the development of Canada's national body (2002). Sykes's work speaks to Banerjee, McDevitt and Robidoux's texts, writing that "The nexus between sport–industry–militarism… has become an important part of colonial matrices of power, especially when considering sport mega-events" (2017, p.18).

2.4 Nation-building and spectacle

Anderson (1983) forwarded the idea that the rise of print-capitalism and the invention of the printing press, and publishing in local vernaculars, spread the concept of the modern nation. In this way, a group became a nation though a shared national discourse grounded in language. McClintock (1991) believes that Anderson over-emphasizes the role of print-capitalism in nation building. She agrees we experience and transmit nationalism through print capitalism, as Anderson suggests, but her analysis differs in that she thinks 'spectacle' and 'fetishism' had a greater effect on disseminating national ideas and in projects of nation building, because people who were illiterate could also take part in spectacles and fetishization of objects that fostered a sense of national collectivity. In "No longer in a future heaven": Women and nationalism in South Africa', McClintock writes that:

> Nations are elaborate social practices enacted through time, laboriously fabricated through the media and the printing press, in schools, churches, the myriad forms of popular culture, in trade unions and funerals, protest marches and uprisings… enacting it ritualistically in Olympic extravaganzas, mass rallies and military displays, flag waving and costumery, and becoming thereby constitutive of people's identities. (1991, p. 104)

Spectacles involve large groups of people taking part in national rituals or viewing them, solidifying a sense of connectedness and camaraderie with a larger national community. This provides a clear lens for analyzing the Olympics and World Outgames as types of nationalist spectacle. In fact, "the Olympic Games are globally recognized as the grandest media spectacle in the world, televised in more countries than any other 'mega-event'… and receiving the largest cumulative television audience in all of sport…" (Giardina Metz & Bunds, 2012, p. 341). For example, the 2008 Beijing Summer Games attracted the largest global TV audience of all time. Over 50 million unique users tuned in, watching 75 million video streams (Tang and Cooper, 2008; 2012).

A cultural force of this size has the potential to be deeply impactful. The Games provide a chance for the host nation to play symbolic politics, and legitimize narratives about the nation They present a golden opportunity to "signal important changes of direction, 'reframe' dominant narratives about the host, and/or reinforce key messages about what the host has become/is becoming" (Black, 2007, p.263). The spectacles which took place during the Montréal, Calgary and Vancouver Games fortified discourses about the demographics and official values of Canada (McCallum, Spencer, & Wyly, 2005), Indigenous-settler relations (Adese, 2012; Devitt, 2010; Fresco, 2012; Harris, 2009), and Canada's actions and role on the world stage, including in war and peacekeeping (McDermott & Scherer, 2017; 2019) and humanitarianism (Lenskyj, 2008). Jennifer Adese asks how indigenizing projects operate in the celebrations and promotions of these events:

> Why are we (Indigenous peoples) so popular? The 1976 Montréal Summer Olympic closing ceremony, the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympic opening ceremony, and the 2010 Winter Olympic opening ceremony in Vancouver each placed Indigenous peoples at the heart of its expressions of regional, provincial, and Canadian national identity in one form or another. (2012, p. 480)

Adese questions why organizing committees view Indigenous peoples as central to Olympic ceremonies and as so central to the narratives of national identity produced during them, "when in so many other spaces in Canadian society we are purposefully invisibilized?" (2012, p. 480). Agreeing with scholars such as Bannerji (1986) and Baldwin, Cameron & Kobayashi (2011), Adese contends that unlike earlier national narratives, it has become unfashionable to allude to the racial superiority of 'white' Canadians. The Canadian nation-state invokes a discourse of multiculturalism to reframe settler-Indigenous relations. To explain the frequent invitations for Indigenous groups to participate in nationalist spectacles, Coulthard argues that:

> in situations where colonial rule does not depend solely on the exercise of state violence, its reproduction instead rests on the ability to entice Indigenous peoples to identify, either implicitly or explicitly, with the profoundly asymmetrical and nonreciprocal forms of recognition either imposed on or granted to them by the settler state and society. (Coulthard, 2014, p.260)

Material benefits are often promised to entire groups into participating in these asymmetrical recognition practices.

Estee Fresco's (2012) work similarly considers the representation of the Four Host Nations in the opening and closing ceremonies of Vancouver 2010. She argues that the spectacle of the opening or closing ceremony gave the Canadian nation a chance to rewrite violent colonial histories as stories about diverse peoples coming together, to weave a story about multiculturalism, reconciliation, and inclusion (Fresco, 2012). Fresco and Adese both identify a transition from more overt discrimination and oppression to surface level inclusion, but assert that marketing Canada as 'multicultural' is a neoliberal tactic which obscures the social realities of its residents.

Adese details the origins of the Canadian government's official adoption of a multiculturalism policy in 1971, which emerged in response to tensions between the white, Anglo-British national base, French Canadians, and other immigrants, designed to relieve tensions between these groups. They also intended it to brand the state as open, progressive, and tolerant towards difference. However, regardless of Canada's branding as progressive and diverse, all nationalisms have ideas about their 'ethnic genus'. She says that with Canada these ideas are "explicitly linked to notions of Britishness (eventually revised to give some acknowledgment to French Canadian-ness)" (2012, p.482), a British-ness that is "also reliant on its ongoing invisibilizing of Indigenous sovereignties" (ibid).

2.5 Sport in construction of global cities, sexual cosmopolitanism, the creative city

While the scale of an Olympic spectacle makes it an effective tool in constructing and promoting a national identity, other large-scale sporting events have been used to further this project. Hargreves (2002) contends that for some considerable time, political elites in many nation-states have promoted sport as an important instrument not only in manufacturing a sense of national identity but also as a way of enhancing their state-nation's prestige and influence internationally.

Large-scale sporting events have also been extremely valuable to the neoliberal process of building and marketing 'global cities'. Paul (2004) discusses becoming a 'world city' or 'global city', and how this notion has dominated urban politics. Paul writes that:

> while the economic aspect of a project to build a world city emphasizes capital accumulation, its political–cultural aspect stresses a cosmopolitan ethos and identity in the city… through the built environment, spectacle and cosmopolitan culture, global capital 'sells' a vision of the world city to local political constituencies towards the end of building a class alliance behind the banner of neoliberalism and free trade. (Paul, 2004, p.571)

In Vancouver, popular discourse and media widely portrayed the 2010 Games as a moment where Vancouver could 'enter the ranks of the world's great cities' (Black, 2007). Hubbard and Wilkinson (2015) also connect neoliberal cosmopolitanism with large-scale sporting events, and describe the London 2012 Olympics as a project of city marketing with a gay-friendly twist. They discuss how, in an era of intense urban entrepreneurialism, there have now been serious attempts to appeal to and court LGBTQ consumers and investors. This has not only been done through specialized cultural events, but also through mainstream mega-events, such as the London Games, which organizers proclaimed was distinctly LGBTQ-friendly for both spectators and participants (2015, p. 598). Yet how did a nationalism that was once certainly antagonistic and exclusionary towards queer people move to advertising based on being LGBT friendly? Hubbard and Wilkinson similarly argue that:

> Marketing of London as sexually diverse relied on the effacement of certain sexual practices and spaces not easily accommodated within normative, Western models of sexual citizenship, tolerance and equality… in the Olympics represented a moment when particular ideas of sexual cosmopolitanism were deployed to regulate, order and normalize the variegated sexual landscapes of a world city. (Hubbard and Wilkinson, 2015, p. 598)

These new boundaries of sexual cosmopolitanism allowed for London to be presented as LGTBTQ-friendly, but this acceptance required the disavowal of those who would or could not conform to particular respectability standards.

Another theory that overlaps significantly with the concept of contemporary 'global' or 'world cities' is Richard Florida's creative city thesis (2003), which, while problematized by cultural commentators and academics, is still widely used in urban policy (Leslie & Catungal, 2012; Romein & Trip, 2012). Florida first identifies an emerging economic class which he titles the 'creative class'- he cites this new economic force as the major driver of urban economic

growth in our era. He explains that the creative class is made up of workers who work with intellectual/creative material, and therefore may live and work from a wider variety of locales than other workers. Fittingly, he argues that we can no longer trace potential economic growth to people going 'where the jobs are' (Florida, 2003; 2005; 2013). Florida claims that the members of this class, untethered from having to live in cities where particular types of industry exist, are more likely to choose their home cities based on factors such as perceived diversity of the city, street life, and availability of their preferred leisure activities.

The identity of the creative class worker is expressed through participation in a variety of experiential activities (Florida, 2003; Hospers & Van Dalm, 2005). Florida uses the term "Street Level Culture" to define this experience. Street Level Culture encapsulates a "teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros, where it is hard to draw the line between participant and observer, or between creativity and its creators" (Florida, 2003, p. 166). However, the focus on living in lively, street-life oriented spaces can obfuscate processes of gentrification which may create this type of culture- Florida himself was recently called the 'ultimate champion of gentrification' (Wainwright, 2017). Catungal and Leslie write that the adoption of Florida's thesis by many municipal governments as a key urban development policy has continued and even deepened class inequality. Their paper goes on to argue that "gender and racial equality is also at stake in the creative city" (2014, p. 111). The overlap between the creative city thesis and its resulting economic policies bleed into other larger neoliberal urban economic policies and ideologies, such as the 'global city' thesis and sexual cosmopolitanism outlined in section 2.5 of this thesis.

2.6 Citizenship, homonationalism, settler-homonationalism

Bell and Binnie's writing on sexual citizenship speaks to the problems of a gay-rights discourse that implicitly accepts the "twinning of rights with responsibilities" (2000, p.3), noting that the "responsibilities" given to LGBT subjects for rights are often onerous. They write:

> In our reading of sexual politics, rights claims articulated through appeals to citizenship carry the burden of compromise in particular ways: this demands the "circumscription" of acceptable modes of being a sexual citizen. This is, of course, an age-old compromise that sexual dissidents have long had to negotiate; the current problem is its cementing into rights-based political strategies, which forecloses or denies aspects of sexuality written off as "unacceptable." In particular… this tends to demand a modality of sexual citizenship that is privatized, deradicalized, de-eroticized, and confined in all senses of the word: kept in place, policed, limited. (ibid)

Sexual citizenship is an analytic which informs Puar's (2007) groundbreaking work on homonationalism; the key conceptual framework that scaffolds this thesis. Puar (2007, p.2). writes that "national recognition and inclusion… is contingent upon the segregation and disqualification of racial and sexual others from the national imaginary. At work in this dynamic is a form of sexual exceptionalism—the emergence of national homosexuality, what I term homonationalism". Puar explains that a new brand of homosexuality operates as a regulatory script and as the new boundaries of sexual citizenship. Not only does it set the standard of normative gayness, queerness, or homosexuality, but also of the "racial and national norms that reinforce these sexual subjects" (ibid). This new regulatory script of acceptable homosexuality could only be made possible by its erasure of the denigration of certain heterosexuals who were always already queered. Cohen (1997) argues that Black women's heterosexualities could not possibly be seen as heteronormative, as they were already so denigrated in public discourse.

The national sexuality created by these exclusions: homonationalism, is dangerously invoked to justify interventions into the sovereignty of other nation-states. In fact, neoliberal acceptance and tolerance for LGBTQ subjects "has become a barometer by which the right to and capacity for national sovereignty is evaluated" (Puar, 2013, p. 336). In this way, LGBTQ subjects are used as shields to conceal the often-imperialist motivations of the 'tolerant West', and to frame it as the most highly civilized, and therefore deserving of the role of judge, jury, and executioner. Morgensen extends Puar's concept of homonationalism to 'settler homonationalism', writing that "settler colonialism is a key condition of the formation of modern queer subjects, cultures, and politics" (2010, p.106). While Puar focuses on how othered places and othered people at home are imagined as a threat to the homonationalist state, Morgensen focuses on how Indigenous sexualities are regulated from within the state, and the consequences of this for developing a normative settler sexuality.

These conceptual frameworks set the stage for scholars to interrogate Pride House, a space delegated for LGBTQ athletes and allies to congregate during the Vancouver 2010 Games, through a lens of homonationalism. Dryden and Lennon (2012, p. 3) explain how the inauguration of Pride House "took part in the figuration of Canada as a 'gay haven'. It showcased Canadian (sexual) exceptionalism on a world stage, and simultaneously invisibilized continuing practices of colonization and dispossession. Political elites' new investment in homonationalism aided in recolonizing unceded land in BC, while ignoring colonial violence in favour of focusing on making these games "appear as a project of emancipation and inclusion, allowing the Canadian nation-state to appear progressive" (Dhoot, 2012, p.49). While they turned attention towards the Games, colonial violence continued, taking the form of "imprisonment of Indigenous activists, continued land theft, and irreversible ecological and

cultural destruction of Indigenous territories" (ibid). Sykes also importantly contributes to homonationalism and sport scholarship. Her 2017 book, *the Sexual and Gender Politics of Sporting Mega-Events,* aims to expose hidden racist and colonial underpinnings of mega-sports. She draws on Mbembe's (2003) concept of necropolitics to examine the hosting of sport mega-events for national prestige and neoliberal profit, maintaining that:

> Sport mega-events proclaim to manage the biopolitics of elite sport and urban space, but in so doing rely on the necropolitics of bare life and profitable killing... the deaths, displacement and repression of poor, racialized and indigenous people required for a sport mega-event to take place creates an urgent need to question the involvement and complicity of gay and lesbian groups in this type of sport. (Sykes, 2017, p.1)

In this chapter we have spanned a wide variety of literature from different disciplines that provides scaffolding for my inquiry into questions about queer inclusion and belonging in Canada, particularly as it relates to sport and mega-events, and how urban politics come into play. The literature firmly establishes that sexuality works as a technology of power, enmeshed with other identities such as race, citizenship, or gender, both inside the nation, at the site of its physical and metaphorical boundaries, and as a function or justification of imperialist relations abroad. With this theoretical grounding in place, I will now move into the specifics of my research design and method, as well as provide some historical framing for this work.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction: What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

For this thesis, I conducted a critical discourse analysis of archived newspaper sources. Discourse analysis is "the close study of language and language use as evidence of aspects of society and social life" (Taylor, 2013, p.7). Discourse can be understood as written text, talk and other types of materials, all of which represent phenomena beyond the individual person, as discursive constructions. Over the past 25 years, discourse analysis has provided a tool for human geographers through which to interrogate the "situatedness of knowledge, the contextuality of discourses and the active role which spatial images play in political life" (Dittmer, 2010, p. 274). In political geography, the discursive turn allowed scholars to show alternative geopolitical imaginations lived by marginalized persons (Adams, 2004; Dalby, 1993; Megoran, 2006). Human geographers have also used discourse analysis to look at representations of poverty and place (Paterson and Gregory, 2019), gentrification in a multi-ethnic multi-class Washington D.C community, (Gahila-Modan, 2007), and the geography of racism evident in the 'slum clearance' of Halifax's Africville in the 1960s (Nelson, 2008), for example. All of this work recognizes the crucial role of language and discourse in enabling virtually all social activities. Discourse analysis is useful to geographers because of how it takes the power of language into account more than many other methods.

While anti-hegemonic discourses abound, actors with the most societal power have the highest ability to influence and uphold discourses (Luke, 1997; Reyes, 2011). In this way, social power and discourse are intimately connected in a feedback loop (Graham, 2011; Luke, 1997; Nonhoff, 2017). The particular type of discourse analysis I use in this research is poststructural

discourse analysis, a type of Critical discourse analysis (CDA). It is used frequently in Human Geography, and draws on feminist, post-colonial, and cultural studies (McGregor, 2003; Müller, 2011). Van Dijk defines CDA as a type of discourse analytical research that takes as its explicit focus the way "social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (2004, p. 352). Dittmer agrees, writing that CDA is "critical social research aimed at better understanding how societies work and produce both beneficial and detrimental effects, and particularly how to end or mitigate detrimental effects" (Dittmer, 2010, p.4). Other prolific scholars in the field provide similar definitions (Chilton, 2004; Fairclough,1994; Lucke, 1996; Wodak and Meyer, 2012). CDA work is unique in that there is a clear political motivation ultimately to challenge structures of domination. Poststructural discourse analysis is Foucauldian because it contends that language, knowledge, and power are interconnected through discourse (Foucault 1977). Only certain discourses are legitimized through powerful institutions and official channels, often granting these the status of 'truth' (Alonso, 1988; Reyes, 2011). The nation-state is at the head of almost all these institutions, which means discourse analysis can be a way to denaturalize injustices which have been legitimized by the state (Jenkins & Sofos, 2003; Sutherland, 2005).

3.2 Research design and sampling approach

The fruitful employment of the method in research similar to my own influenced my choice to employ CDA to analyze periodicals. For example, Markula (2009) successfully employed CDA to examine the representation of women athletes in international media coverage during the 2004 Olympics. Reitmanova, Gustafson & Ahmed (2015) also completed a CDA of racialization of immigrant health in the Canadian press, and Mustafa & Pilus (2020) applied the method to examine the representation of the Refugee Resettlement Initiative in Canadian News. Zottola

(2021) applied the method to representations of transgender people in the Canadian press, Harding (2006) to examine historical representations of indigenous people in Canadian newspapers and Gorman-Murray & Nash (2017) to theorize discourses around recent transformations in leisure spaces in inner-city LGBT neighborhoods in Sydney, Australia and Toronto, Canada. Other applications include an analysis of the Montréal Olympic Games and the Soviet Union as reported in the *Montréal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* (Archer, 2013), as well as a probe for ideological construction of racism imbricated within the structure of newspaper reporting in Australia (Teo, 2000), and an investigation of the bitter clash of nationalisms and the deep-rooted debate about the purposes of sport that took place during the Montréal Games (Kidd, 1992).

In my research, I employ a text-based, qualitative critical discourse analysis investigation on the discursive strategies related to my research area, which were employed by various newspapers during the Olympic period of the Montréal 1976 Games and the Vancouver 2010 Games. I defined the 'Olympic period' as the year preceding each Games, the year of the Games, and the following year. While an 'Olympic period' could be argued to include a much more significant amount of time leading up to the Games, I limit my scope in this thesis to three years due to time and space constraints. I chose newspapers as a source because:

> Since the early days of 1970s gay liberation, print media has been central to the politicization of sexuality… newspapers played a key role in inciting, communicating, and memorializing various clashes between queers and the state. (McGarry et al., 2015, p. xxi)

Indeed, in the early days of 1970s gay liberation, print media was central to the politicization of sexuality (Jackman & Upadhyay, 2014), and has long played a crucial role in influencing beliefs about Canadian and Quebecois identity (Antecol & Endersby 1999). The six

periodicals I selected were *Le Devoir*, *The Body Politic* and *The Toronto Star* for the Montréal Olympic period, and *the Vancouver Sun*, *Xtra Magazine* and *the Globe and Mail* for the Vancouver Olympic period. I chose each periodical based on subscription counts and popularity, as well as intentionally selected a national English-language newspaper, a queer publication, and a French-language newspaper for each time period. I wanted to be sure to include newspapers with a range of political leanings, as to create more balanced and rigorous research. This choice was also because of my particular interest in relationships between different periodicals, such as the historic tensions between *The Toronto Star* and *The Body Politic*, and the intertextuality these relationships engendered in the articles themselves.

Le Devoir, one of the few large-circulation independent newspapers in Québec, was historically considered Canada's francophone newspaper of record, although in the 21st century it has been challenged for that title by *La Presse* ("Les parlementaires québécois et Le Devoir" 2012). Founded by politician Henri Bourassa as a pan-Canadian-nationalist, pro-French-Canadian, pro-Catholic, anti-British newspaper, the periodical is still considered being one of the most left-leaning outlets in Canada, "with respect to its coverage of both economic and social issues" (Thibault et al., 2020, p. 647). A study found that the public also considered Le Devoir is also to be the least influenced by its ownership, in opposition to *the Toronto Star*, considered to be highly influenced by its owners (Thibault et al., 2020).

During the 1970s, *the Toronto Star* was a centrist or centre-right paper. *The Star* editorial team grudgingly stated that human rights protection showed the tolerance a reasonable society should exhibit towards its less appealing but nonetheless legitimate citizens (Toronto Star, November 1975, January 1976, as cited in Nash, 2006, p.8). However, in a statement about the periodical's political stance, the editors write they did not want to encourage the spread of

homosexuality: “We have no wish to aid the aggressive recruitment propaganda in which certain homosexual groups are engaged, and we strongly oppose those who seek to justify and legitimize homosexual relations between adults and children” (The Toronto *Star*, 1974, October 19). Because of the paper’s stances, the relationship between *The Star* and *The Body Politic* was fraught and frosty. In the beginning of 1973, *The Star* refused to run an advertisement for *The Body Politic*, supposedly because of its policy of refusing to print ads related to homosexual activity. *The Body Politic* filed a complaint with the Ontario Press Council, which ruled that the *Star* had been discriminatory (Pyryeskina, 2018). In retaliation, *TBP*’s printer, Newsweb Enterprise, which was 80 percent owned by *the Star*, refused to print further issues (Bradburn, 2015). *The Body Politic*, an influential queer magazine, was decidedly leftist. The magazine established Pink Triangle Press in 1975, as a non-profit, which in future published *Xtra Magazine*, *The Body Politic*’s fluffier descendant: a queer bi-weekly news and entertainment tabloid. I chose *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Globe and Mail* as the second and third periodicals included in my scope for the Vancouver 2010 Olympic period. I chose *The Globe and Mail* because of its high circulation numbers (it is the most-read Canadian newspaper on weekdays and Saturdays) and its right-centrist political leanings, evidenced by the paper’s endorsement of Stephen Harper’s Conservative Party in the 2006, 2008, and 2011 elections ("Circulation Report: Daily Newspapers 2015", 2016; “Federal election: Globe editorial endorsements”, 2015).

Finally, I selected *The Vancouver Sun* due to it being Vancouver-based, which is appropriate for studying an event that took place in the city, as well as due to its high circulation numbers and centrist political stance. Through archive searches, I constructed a database of these newspaper articles with the final aim to uncover the discourses that the writers of the articles invested in, how the discourses interacted, and which discourses they legitimized.

3.3 Data scope and collection

I accessed the issues of *The Body Politic* through the ArQives physical collection in Toronto, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights online archival collection, and in a book titled *Flaunting it: A Decade of Gay Journalism from the Body Politic* (1982), an anthology of articles edited by Ed Jackson and Stan Persky. I searched the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationale du Québec (BANQ) archives to locate issues of *Le Devoir*, as well as used Google's historic newspaper database. I used the Toronto Public Library's online newspaper archival collection to access the issues of *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star*. I found the Vancouver Sun articles on newspapers.com and used *Xtra* magazine's online archives to collect data from the publication.

To select the newspaper articles, I used particular exclusion and inclusion criteria. I used a set of keywords, listed in the table in section 3.5, which relate to my avenues of inquiry. I then performed online archival database searches using the keywords. I included any newspaper issue that contained at least two keywords in the scope to limit the sample size. I then looked at the individual articles in each issue which contained keywords. I excluded articles in the entertainment section, photographs, advertisements, letters to the editor and sport articles, which only relayed results with no discussion. I also excluded issues published outside of the years 1975, 1976 and 1977 for *Le Devoir, The Body Politic,* and *The Toronto Star*, and outside of the years 2009, 2010 and 2011 for *the Vancouver Sun, Xtra Magazine*, and *the Globe and Mail*.

As *Le Devoir, the Toronto Star, the Vancouver Sun* and *The Globe and Mail* are daily periodicals, I capped the amount of issues in my scope for each periodical at thirty issues. I chose the 30 issues with the most relevant content (which contained the greatest number of keywords).

From these thirty issues I pulled out of each of these daily periodicals, I ended up with 59 articles from *Le Devoir*, 67 from *The Toronto Star*, 63 from *The Globe and Mail*, and 57 from *The Vancouver Sun*. As *the Body Politic* was published monthly or bi-monthly, I did not cap the number of issues. Out of the 24 *Body Politic* issues published in 1975-1977, 79 articles contained keywords and were included in the scope. I could not find a database of print articles from *Xtra Magazine*, and so I looked at the digital editions of the magazine only. *Xtra Magazine* published in print bi-weekly, but published two articles each week in the digital magazine. I selected 56 articles which were the most relevant, meaning they included at least one keyword. I stopped when I reached saturation: the same articles were repeatedly shown up in my search, and no new articles contained keywords.

3.4 Coding and analysis

After selecting the articles within my scope for each periodical, I read each individual article. My coding process involved assigning different colours to my original keywords, and while going through each article, highlighting phrases which related to each keyword in its assigned colour. I also noted other keywords and concepts which were present across different articles. These keywords and concepts became my 'codes'. In this way, I developed a corpus of codes, constructed from the original keywords I used to select my sources, as well as new keywords and concepts that were present in multiple articles. Mayring (2002, p. 120) calls this approach to textual analysis 'evolutionary coding'. My keywords then developed from theoretical considerations into an operational list based on the newspaper data. While colour-coding information in the articles, I created a list of the statements made on each particular code, and a brief description of the tone of the article, word choice of the author and any political leanings. I

also noted when multiple codes appeared in the same article. This aided me in uncovering what 'truths' the text established on each topic (Luke, 1997).

After this coding step, I had a corpus of work organized by content, as performing an in-depth discourse analysis on such a large number of articles was not possible given the time constraints of this research. Discourse analysis involves close attention to context and the social setting or medium in which actors employ language (Bailey & Shaw, 2009; Bhatia, Flowerdew & Jones, 2008; Willig, 2003). It also involves careful consideration of the text itself- its rhetorical stance, its claims to authority, as well as the particular words used and their associations (Van Dijk, 1997). Regarding data sampling and size, discourse analyses often rely on relatively small numbers of texts, in part because analysis is very labor-intensive and large amounts of data would be prohibitive Wildemuth & Perryman, 2009). It produces theoretical trends instead of statistical generalizations for this reason.

From the corpus of statements I compiled, I pulled out excerpts which spoke to particular discourses contained in multiple articles. I did an in-depth discourse analysis of the articles these excerpts were in, looking at context, grammar features, word choice, positionality of the writer, eventualities ('common sense' statements, rhetorical methods, and references to other articles (intertextuality). I was guided by Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three-dimensional model in Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough's model involves three processes of analysis tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse (Janks,1997, p.329). These three dimensions are: the object of analysis (the text, verbal or visual), the processes through which the object is produced and received by people (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) and the socio-historical conditions which inform these processes. Fairclough then outlines a particular type of analysis to be used in each of these dimensions: text analysis (description), processing analysis

(interpretation), and social analysis (explanation). This multi-layered approach stresses the interconnectedness of these dimensions. I also kept Amer's eight aspects of CDA research in mind. These are:

1. CDA addresses social problems;
2. Power relations are discursive;
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture;
4. Discourse does ideological work;
5. Discourse is historical;
6. The link between text and society is mediated;
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory;
8. Discourse is a form of social action (Amer, 2017, p.3).

I focused on the framing of queerness and also of national identity, as well as on the socio-political contexts of each Games. After completing this step, I connected the related final codes into larger themes, which I organized logically into three discussion chapters. I broadly organized the chapters around three themes: economic systems and neoliberal ideology, biopolitical and spatial control, and protection of borders and construction of Canada on the world stage. I was not only interested in which discourses were dominant or upheld by the nation, the press, or public opinion, but which were being contested, ceded to, and negotiated. I also wanted to avoid over-generalizing hegemonic Canadian nationalism to apply to Québec, as Québec nationalism is stunningly distinct. For this reason, I touch on Québec nationalism briefly, as it is visible in Montréal news sources, but do not delve into it extensively to avoid providing a shallow analysis.

In recognizing the limitations of my analysis, I am highlighting how the positioning, prioritization and the ideological underpinnings of a researcher's perspective have a huge impact on how they analyze texts in discourse analysis. This means that it is crucial for a practitioner to use critical reflexivity to make sure that they are not projecting their own ideologies onto the text. This is a commitment to a self-critical ethical conduct, which requires constant attention (Israel and Hay, 2006). Critical reflexivity is an attempt to mitigate the effects of these forces, however, it can never

fully extract the researcher from their relationship with the data. Because of this relationship, I feel it is important to discuss my positionality.

3.5 Positionality

Situating oneself as a researcher is a key aspect of conducting ethical research (Corlett & Mavin, 2018; Milner, 2007). I am a white Canadian citizen who is a descendant of settlers. I grew up in both Tsuut'ina territories in Alberta and in Squamish territories in B.C., and I currently live in Kanien'kehá: ka territories in Montreal. I am a lesbian, and I am researching historical events involving queer people, whom I consider my queer elders. However, my engagement with issues of racialization and indigeneity is always through a lens of whiteness and of settler status. I recognize how I benefit from and am implicated in systems of white supremacy and settler colonialism, and commit myself to engaging in critical reflexivity in my work, to avoid presenting myself as all-seeing, all-knowing, or truly objective. As important as it is to commit to self-reflection and critical reflexivity which accounts for your social positioning, as Rose (1997) has argued, it is much more complicated to understand the how and in which ways they matter for a particular project. Rose critiques claims by authors that acknowledging positionality resolves ethical issues, writing that this assertion rests on mistaken understandings of the researcher as someone in possession of perfect self-knowledge. So, while my recognition can help to mitigate the effects of my biases and impact of the social realms I access, I can't help but to 'fail' to an extent (Rose, 1997, p.305). I hope I can fail 'forwards', in a direction that reaches towards my ethical commitments.

3.6 A note to athletes and their supporters

In this section I would like to acknowledge the value of sport, and the cross-cultural connections that the Olympics has fostered in the sporting community and beyond. I want to be exceedingly clear that in my work I do not demean or devalue efforts of athletes and others involved in elite sport. The only

individual athletes I discuss in this thesis specifically are those who have come to represent a relationship between queerness and elite sport, or queerness and nation.

I also have a very personal connection to the world of elite sport. My thesis writing process was interrupted by the death of my father, John Heilig, who was a champion of ski-jumping and Nordic combined in Canada, and Nordic sport more broadly. He began as a Nordic combined and ski jumping athlete on Canada's national team, and after an injury, worked as a coach for the national team. He also worked in and for the Olympic Games and elite sport in a variety of roles- as a venue manager, a TV commentator, and a technical delegate. His ultimate joy was training young athletes and introducing kids to the sport disciplines that he loved so deeply. My father was passionate about sport, but also about making it accessible. He fought to get women's ski jumping included in the Olympics, and developed programs for young athletes to reduce financial barriers to entry to the sport.

While being so immersed in the global Olympic community, my father was simultaneously critical of the IOC, as well as of the political uses and environmental impact of the Games. I often discussed this research with him. My father thought, and I agree, that the nationalistic political uses of elite sporting events disservice many athletes themselves. In this thesis, I do not devalue or undermine my father's legacy. My work is in line with some interventions he would have made himself.

I also want to acknowledge that I do not know a person among us who is not entangled in an institution which has had complicated or negative effects. As a person writing from a university named after someone who enslaved people, and which, like most universities, still upholds extremely discriminatory barriers, I intend to move us toward a more ethical world. However, I am still within a system that perpetuates violence. Both my father and I have complicated relationships

with things that we are passionate about. But I believe that to be critical can be a deep form of love. Criticism, at its core, can be a hopefulness. And it is in that spirit of hopefulness that we share that I dedicate this work to him.

Chapter 4: Context

4.1 Introduction

In the thirty-four-year period spanning the Montréal 1976 and Vancouver 2010 Games, the legal standing of LGBTQ Canadians changed dramatically (Warner, 2002). Some scholars and much public discourse contend that, since the mid-2000s in Canada, "LGBTQ people (and, more precisely, lesbians and gays) have enjoyed (almost) equal rights under the law" (Tremblay, 2009, p.3; Baldino 2018; Reid 2017). Researchers have also shown judicial and legislative activity to have had a direct and persuasive impact on Canadians' opinions of LGBTQ rights issues (Matthews, 2002, p.843), moving public opinion towards tolerance of LGBTQ Canadians over time (Druckman, 2001; Sniderman, 1991). Nonetheless, a wealth of scholarship problematizes the perceived successes of LGBTQ rights activism in Canada and other countries in the Global North (Brown, 2012; Duggan 2002; McDermott 2011; Richardson 2004; Weeks 2007). Scholars caution that even in places where 'we have won' (Brown & Nash 2014), social and legal movement towards equality has been uneven, contested and often problematic. In fact, the concept of 'progress' in the gay rights movement, as well as in broader movements for social change, is partial, contradictory, and deceptively nonlinear (Engel 2016; Hull 2018). However, providing background knowledge of the major judicial changes that have taken place in Canada regarding LGBTQ rights is crucial in framing my research, and for ease of comprehension, I use Waaldijk's (2000) wave model.

Waaldijk describes the history of LGBTQ rights in the Global North (Waaldjik gives the examples of Denmark, Sweden, England and Wales, and Canada) through a three-wave metaphor. Waaldijk's first wave is decriminalization; the second, anti-discrimination legislation; and the third wave is equal rights under the law. While simplistic, I use the concept of the three

waves to give a brief description of changes in Canadian LGBTQ rights legislation, to provide context to scaffold my analysis in the subsequent chapters. To set the stage for a discussion of changes in legislation, I begin by discussing how sexual normalization and criminalization came to be in Canada in the first place.

4.1 Sexual Normalization and Criminalization

The place now known by many as 'Canada' has been a hotbed of sexual normalization and regulation since the beginnings of French and English colonization efforts. Indigenous groups recognized and celebrated gender and sexual diversity before the arrival of European colonizers, and in fact, "sexual diversity has historically been the norm, not the exception among Indigenous peoples" (Picq & Tikuna, 2019, p. 57). European colonizers did not have the language to understand Indigenous sexualities and imported a heteropatriarchal Judeo-Christian worldview employed to "sexualise Indigenous lands and peoples as violable, subjugate indigenous kin ties as perverse and attack familial ties and traditional gender roles" (Morgensen, 2012, p.4). Colonial powers saw fit to also regulate the sexualities and family structures of white colonizers. Early European colonizers in Canada were largely unmarried men, and an intense concern arose in public discourse in the metropoles about these men "living side by side with various representatives of all of the evils of heathendom" as Bishop of Oxford Samuel Wilberforce articulated at a meeting of the Columbia Mission in 1861 in London (as quoted in Perry, 1997, p. 501). There was a concern that large groups of unmarried men would develop sexual relationships and produce offspring with Indigenous women, and also that their moral degradation could result in homosexual behaviors (Aldrich, 2002). The solution in many colonial contexts was to send white women to marry these men, and in doing so, quell metropole fears of miscegenation and 'moral degradation'. European women were seen as representatives of

middle-class morality, proper (read: white) motherhood, and racial stratification, and were essential to the colonial enterprise and to the "solidification of racial boundaries in ways that repeatedly tied their supportive and subordinate posture to community cohesion and colonial peace" (Stoler, 1989, p.343). Regulation of sexuality and family structures was, and always has been, an extremely effective tool of colonial regimes and white-supremacist projects (Stoler, 1989).

In the early colonial period, before Britain allowed its Canadian colonies to establish their own parliaments, colonies were legally under British law, and so British legal categories were applied to this colonial context. British sodomy laws were enforced in Canada, a crime considered so terrible that it was punishable by death until 1869 (Levy, 2019). While still largely influenced by Britain, late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canadian parliament was "was increasingly interested in bodies, sexuality, and the regulation of public behavior" (Ingram, 2003, p.85). In 1890, the House of Commons introduced "gross indecency', a new offence which facilitated the conviction suspected homosexuals. This was because the charge covered a wider range of behaviors, and a charge of gross indecency also did not require an eye-witness account, unlike the earlier sodomy laws. The gross indecency law as amended in 1953 to remove the specific refence to men so that women could also be charged under the criminal code (Levy, 2019).

Importantly, these laws were always unevenly enacted on people living in 'Canada'. In fact, "government efforts at preserving heterosexuality often took on particular racial contours, with certain migrant and Indigenous communities being framed in law, policy and broader public discourse as racial-sexual threats to the national project of white hetero-futurity" (Catungal, 2017, p.104). For example, through a study of transcripts of hearings and trials for consensual

homosexuality from twentieth-century British Columbia, it was found that South Asian men were disproportionately targeted by police, partially due to the fact that "large populations of non-European males asserted their own sexual cultures and proprieties, partly because they were living and working in their native languages, without specific knowledge of or respect for the initially Anglo-Saxon–dominated state's fledgling attempts to regulate consensual homosexuality" (Ingram, 2003, p.88). Legal restrictions such as the expensive head tax prevented family reunification for Chinese male workers in Canada, forcing these men into "compulsory deviance" as bachelors "restricted from state sanctioned heterosexual institutions of marriage and family formation" (Catungal, 2017, p.104). Legal restrictions on interracial marriage also reinforced the heteropatriarchal and white-supremacist values of the colonial nation-state. As I will argue later in the thesis, this "early Canadian anxiousness around white reproductive futurity and miscegenation, which constructed migrant and Indigenous communities as queer" (Catungal, 2017, p.105) has carried forth in a myriad of ways.

4.2 Decriminalization

A proliferation of new forms of knowledge creation about sexuality in medicine, science, schools, psychiatry and psychology in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century resulted in the creation of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-1) in the United States in 1952, which was, and still is, widely used as a psychiatric diagnostic tool across Canada (Kimmel & Robinson, 2014). The first edition of the DSM classified homosexuality as a mental disorder, designated as a 'sociopathic personality disturbance' (Drescher, 2015). As a type of 'sexual deviation' homosexuality was listed alongside 'transvestism, pedophilia, fetishism and sexual sadism' In 1968 the category of 'sexual deviation' was expanded to include exhibitionism

and voyeurism (Cain, 1991). I do not focus specifically on medicalization in this thesis, but some background is necessary to understanding some of the legal changes occurring in Canada.

It was in this context that after a new amendment to Criminal Code the 1961, those who had been charged with the crime of 'gross indecency' could now also be charged via the new categories of 'criminal sexual psychopath' and 'dangerous sexual offender' (Rau, 2021; Warner, 2002). These new categories highlight the emergence and integration into law of a medicalization-based framework for understanding queer sexuality in addition to the underlying Judeo-Christian understanding of queer sexuality as sin or moral weakness.

In May 1969, after much public discourse and impassioned queer activism, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his government passed Bill C-150. It decriminalized gay sex between two adults over age 21 for the first time in Canada's history (Rau 2021). After introducing Bill C-150 in the House of Commons, Trudeau is famously quoted telling reporters "there's no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation" (CBC, 1967, Dec 21). Some scholars argue that it was not, de-facto decriminalized: "the reform added an exception clause to the crimes of buggery and gross indecency that allowed queer sex in private between only two adults. This merely recognized the obvious; the state could not access the bedrooms of the nation using these provisions" (Hooper, 2019, p. 257). It is also interesting to note how Trudeau's phrasing of "the bedrooms of the nation" gestures to Duggan's homonormativity (2002), and the depoliticised, domesticated, and contained queer subject.

That same year, south of the border, New York City police raided the Stonewall Inn, and the resulting riot fanned the flames of the burgeoning gay liberation movement in the United

States, also invigorating the organization of Canadian LGBTQ rights organizing (Bullough, 2002).

4.3 Anti-discrimination legislation

The late 1970s brought two major legislative changes in terms of anti-discrimination legislation, the second wave in Waaljkik's model. In 1977, Québec become the first province or territory to amend its Human Rights Code to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation (Herman, 1994). Later that year, under Canada's new Immigration Act, they removed homosexuals from the list of inadmissible immigrant classes (Herman, 1994; Rau, 2021). Shortly after, in 1979, the Canadian Human Rights Commission recommended the addition of 'sexual orientation' to the Canadian Human Rights Act (Korinek, 2003) in its annual report. Bill C-242 prohibited discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, by including 'sexual orientation' in the Act. The bill got its first reading in the House of Commons in 1981, but did not pass (Herman,1994, Smith, 2007; Rau, 2021). Finally, in 1995, the Supreme Court ruled that Section 15 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which guarantees the "right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination" included sexual orientation as a prohibited basis of discrimination (Smith, 2007; 2013; Wintemute, 1996).

4.4 Equal rights under law

The threshold of being fully equal under the law is difficult to discern, but public discourse largely understands the legalization of same-sex marriage as the third wave of LGBTQ rights, signaling 'equality' with the heterosexual majority (Boyd & Young, 2003; Osterlund, 2009). The Ontario Superior Court ruled that prohibiting same-sex marriage violated Charter rights in 2002, signaling the beginning of legalization legislation (Boyd & Young, 2003; Johnson & Tremblay, 2018). A similar ruling in British Columbia supported the ruling the following year. In 2003, the

Ontario Court of Appeal upheld the ruling, and Michael Leshner and Michael Stark became the first same-sex couple to marry in Canada (Macintosh et al., 2010). By 2005, Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, Alberta and PEI, were the only jurisdictions that did not permit same-sex marriage. On 20 July 2005, Bill C-38 became federal law, making Canada the fourth country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage (Glass & Kubasek. 2008).

4.5 Complications

While the changing legal situation transformed the material realities of queer people in Canada, every step towards ensuring rights was met with political and social backlash (Smith, 2016; Vanhala, 2011). Many scholars and activists also argue that true decriminalization of homosexuality did not occur in 1969, because of a rigid age of consent law that disproportionately targeted queer people. The improving legal status of queer people also did not always reflect in public attitudes about homosexuality, with anti-queer discrimination, and violence still commonplace (Redburn & Tin, 2008; Warner, 2002). Discourses of queer people's criminality and proselytizing of youth (see Chapter 6, section 6.3) were still circulating broadly. For instance, just months prior to including sexual orientation in Québec's Human Rights Code, the Service de Police de la Ville de Montréal (SVPM) began a massive street clean-up campaign to prepare for the Montréal Games (DeGagne, 2018) resulting in many queer bar and bathhouse raids (Hooper, 2019; Warner, 2002). Subsequently, in 1981, in what policed termed 'Operation Soap' (Hooper, 2019; Podmore, 2015) four gay bathhouses in Toronto were raided. The raids resulted in the arrests of 122 people, many who were accused of the vague charge of 'gross indecency', despite the supposed decriminalization of consensual same-sex activity (Adam, 1999). It was the largest mass arrest in Canada since the War Measures Act was invoked during the October Crisis (Valverde & Cirak, 2003). The raids provoked a large march and protest in

retaliation. Despite the changes in legislation and swift protests, raids continued sporadically until at least the year 2000, when police raided a women's bathhouse event in Toronto (Nash & Bain, 2007). Also of note is that Operation Soap took place against the backdrop of the burgeoning HIV/AIDS crisis.

In 1981, the US Center for Disease Control received reports of unusually high rates of a rare disease in young gay men, and shortly after, these rates spiked among gay men in Canada (Smith, 2018). The illness was initially referred to as Gay-Related Immune Deficiency (GRID), but a scientist renamed it as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in 1986 (Altman, 1996). Medical professionals initially believed the virus targeted the 'four H's'- Haitians, homosexuals, hemophiliacs, and heroin addicts (Altman, 1996; Adrien, Cayemittes & Bergevin, 1993). The sustained and deepening stigma of homosexuality during the AIDS crisis is articluted in a common joke of the era: "what's the worst thing about AIDS?" Trying to convince your parents you're Haitian" (Dundes 1987). Owing in large part to this stigma, survivors claim that the government's response to the crisis was so minimal as to be criminally negligent (Rayside & Lindquist, 1992; Rose, 1993).

For better and also for worse, queerness was more politically visible than ever before. Recent rights legislation and discourses provided avenues through which activist could argue for government funding and government collaboration in fighting the epidemic, but the epidemic also provided a justification for those who already perceived these groups as undesirables, creating a significant challenge to queer groups seeking mainstream respectability (Hewa, 1992). HIV/AIDS "brought issues of central concern to the gay movement onto the mainstream political agenda: at an enormous price the gay movement had become a recognized actor in the politics of health policymaking" (Altman, 1987, p. 313)

4.6 Imbricated queer and Olympic histories

The histories of Queer Rights and the Olympic Games in Canada are also deeply entwined. In the years between the 1976 and 2010 Games, while the beginning of the HIV/AIDS crisis rocked the queer community, other happenings of momentous cultural importance were also taking place. The impact of these happenings continues to reverberate within Canadian popular culture and political discourse, and contextualizes the complex social milieu in which discourses about queer people were/are embroiled.

In 1969, just as homosexuality was decriminalized in the *Charter*, the government implemented the Official Languages Act: a bilingual policy that was to form the "basis for survival of Canada as a country" (Bouchard, 2016, p. 92). The purpose of the Official Languages Act was primarily to "manage fragmentations between English Canada and Québec by equally recognizing both as the two founding [white settler colonial] nations" (Bannerji, 1996; Goma, 2020, p. 88). Two years later, the policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework (1971) was conceptualized by the Canadian government (Caldwell et al., 2013; Kernerman, 2005). This policy, and other legislation enacted in the early 1970s had a central aim: to manage the demands of Canadian settler society (English and French), Indigenous populations, queer populations, and racialized immigrants (Goma, 2020; Thobani, 2018; Winter, 2014). Activists did not easily win these legislative changes: they resulted from increasing civil rights, particularly anti-racist struggles (Stasiulis, 1989). Similarly, the years between 1973 and 1976 saw twice as many Indigenous protest actions and legal challenges each year than any year between 1960 and 1969 (Rutherford, 2010). The particular rights-based activism that became dominant in this era, and the desire for democratic forms of representation "provided a key link between the aims of the anti-racist movement and those of other (feminist, gay, working-class) struggles" (Stasiulis, 1989, p. 65).

Activism and extremist political dissent also contributed to changes in security and policing. The 1976 Games took place in the shadow of the October Crisis, when Québec nationalist extremists of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) kidnapped and murdered British diplomat James Cross (Gomá, p. 87, 2020). The event also took place in the shadow of the Munich Massacre during the 1972 Munich Olympics, when Palestinian extremist group Black September attacked and held hostage members of the Israeli Olympic Team, resulting in the deaths of 17 people. These drastically increased the militarization and security planned for the Montréal 1976 Olympic period (Clément, 2015). In fact, the 1976 Montréal Summer Games were a turning point in Olympic history, as the first highly visible Olympic security operation and Canada's largest military exercise since the Second World War (Spaaji, 2016). The organisers of the 2010 Games followed suit and instigated a massive security plan. This was partially to deter protestors, who contested the Games in light of Vancouver's longstanding land-claim disputes with Indigenous populations. Activists rallied under the cry of 'No Olympics on stolen land' (Adese, 2012, O'Bonsawin, 2010; Shaw, 2008).

Prime Minister Stephen Harper's conservative government's new focus on law and order in the 2000s and 2010s also influenced heightened Olympic security for Vancouver 2010. The Harper government also championed the military (Paris, 2014; Sjolander, 2014). Notably, Harper's government was under political pressure to release documents about the torture of Afghan detainees by Canadian military forces just prior to the Games (Sykes, 2017). Harper's response was to prorogue parliament. He encouraged Canadians to 'focus on the games' instead. Complicated discourses in the political and social landscape of Canada were particularly visible during Games times, in part because the country asserted a national identity on a world stage. The narrative of a Canadian crisis of national identity, which I think of as reality, myth and

literary trope simultaneously (Jackson 1998), positions moments of global attention as moments of deciding who we are. The Games have been a concept, a space, a metaphor, on which we have negotiated these identity crises (Black, 1995; Story, 2003; Soderlund et. al.,1980) particularly in terms of social belonging and exclusion in the national body. It is within this context that I begin my discussion of the results of my research.

Chapter 5: The Marriage of neoliberalism and olympism: 'The Individual' won't save us

5.1 Introduction

Sexuality is a channel of class relations, inseparable from capitalism's inherent unequal labour value assignments, and "mediated through the state's formal machineries and practices of citizenship" (Evans p.35, 1993). Fittingly, through my data, I identified capitalism and neoliberalism as key players in creating an acceptable national (homo) sexuality. One of my main inquiries in this work was to understand how we construct proper sexual citizenship, and a discussion of these ideologies and economic systems is critical to this understanding. This discussion sheds light on the influence of neoliberalism in historical tensions between assimilationist and radical queer politics, understanding that these do not exist in a binary, but underlie a spectrum of strategies for surviving as queer people. I delve into various sticky sites of contestation to understand the differences in these ideologies and political strategies. One of the contested grounds of these discourses and ideologies is 'the individual', as it is constructed in neoliberal capitalism.

I set the stage for this chapter by defining the neoliberal individual and neoliberal governmentality and identifying their connections to homonationalism. Afterwards, I present my findings, highlighting moments where the neoliberal individual interacted with nation, sport, and colonialism. I discuss the boycott of the Montreal 1976 Olympics, and inspect media representations of two celebrated gay men in the sporting world. I substantiate the claims put forward by scholars (Bell and Binnie, 2002; Evans, 1993; Walcott; 2015) that discourses of queerness, capital and nation together produce a homosexual version of acceptable sexual citizenship. Next, I underline discursive interactions between queer identities and capitalism in my findings, and evidence of their contradictory and changing relationship. I pay particular

attention to how the fear of communism infused anti-gay discourse in the post-cold war era (Gallagher-Cohoon, 2013, Kinsman, 2002; Reilly, 2016), which was still of significant cultural significance during the 1976 Games. I conclude the chapter by connecting these ideas to the queer as consumer, and the rising neoliberal inclination to commodify and capitalize off of queer identities (Rushbrook, 2002; Kirsch, 2013, Sears, 2005; Guidotto, 2006). I highlight discursive constructions which work to frame the Vancouver 2010 Olympics as an arena of Canadian queer sexual exceptionalism, and connect this exceptionalism with pinkwashing, gay tourism, and the establishment of Pride House.

5.2 Neoliberalism and homonationalism

Regardless of its uneven manifestations and contested tenets, neoliberal societal organization has become a deeply entrenched logic of current capitalist configurations in many parts of the world (Silk and Andrews, 2012). Its constitution entails a "reformulation of the relationship between the individual, the market, the state, and the intermediary organizations" (Smith, 2005, p.76), which has had a "devastating impacts on the quality of life for the vast majority of people around the world" (Aberndroth and Porfilio, 2015, p. xii). For Giroux, the defining essence of neoliberalism is a deep cynicism towards all things public and collective, enacted through policy and public discourse. Neoliberal ideology invests in an "individualizing culture of surveillance, accountability, and resentment" (Giroux, 2001, p.7). Scholars have thoroughly established connections between neoliberalism and conceptual categories, such as race and gender (Brown, 2004; Cornwall, Gideon, & Wilson, 2008; Goldberg, 2009; Hohle, 2015; Roberts & Mahtani, 2010; Wilson, 2011), sexualities (Elia & Yep, 2012; Ludwig, 2016; Richardson, 2004), cities (Harvey, 2007; Lipman, 2001; Mele, 2013; Oswin, 2015), citizenship (Hayes, 2009; Mitchell,

2016; Ong, 2006), and neo-imperialism (Milić, 2021;Valencia, 2017; Zh, 2015), among others (Springer, Birch & MacLeavy, 2016).

Canada as a nation-state has been increasingly neoliberal in policy and ideology since the 1970s (Blad, 2011; Smith & Evans, 2014; Swartz, 2013). In fact, "national politics increasingly reflect the influences of free–market ideology, the language and practices of global capitalism, and the resurgence of robust law and order rhetoric" (Ferris, 2015, p. 41). Neoliberal ideologies prioritize free-market capitalism and reduction of government expenditure, and value private property rights and the individual's freedom of choice (Harvey, 2009; McKenzie, 2012; Navarro, 2002). The neoliberal subject is "an individual who is morally responsible for navigating the social realm using rational choice and cost-benefit calculations grounded on market-based principles, to the exclusion of all other ethical values and social interests" (Hamann, 2009, p.37). Hamann clarifies that although prioritizing individual choice may brand neoliberalism as socially progressive compared to older forms of economic domination and exploitation, this is a veneer. The underlying logics of the impersonal machinery of consumption, and of capitalist alienation, are ever-present. Inequalities become banal, a matter of poor choices instead of essential configurations in fueling the neoliberal machine (Mascarenhas, 2012). Foucault's 1991 analysis of neoliberal governance is useful to us here, as expressed in his lectures at the Collège de France. He conceptualizes neoliberal governmentality as the strategic creation of social realities that make necessary the specific subjectivity that is the neoliberal individual. A saturation of neoliberal ideology in national and governmental organizational discourse crafts this brand of subjectivity.

Neoliberal restructuring has profoundly affected queer identities and interactions with the nation-state (Smith, 2005), and LGBTQ organizing and social movements have both disputed

and reinforced neoliberal policies, discourses and practices (Bernstein, 2002). Canada's neoliberal shift has resulted in a homonationalist discourse of sexual exceptionalism (Puar, 2,007) that in fact "commodified human rights discourses and instrumentalised sexualities to serve the interests of hegemonic power…and obfuscate state violence" (Kouri-Towe, 2017, p.185). I put forward that the discursive web surrounding the boycott of the Montreal Olympics in 1976 provides a compelling view of how neoliberal ideologies may inadvertently sanction state violence through focus on individual achievement and national pride.

5.3 Olympism and the 1976 boycott

The news sources I analyzed well documented the boycott of the Montreal 1976 Summer Games. The boycott was in response to the decision of New Zealand's national rugby team to tour apartheid South Africa, even after the United Nations had called for a sporting embargo on the country (Brittain, 2018; Llewellyn, 2015). Tanzania instigated the Olympic boycott, in protest of New Zealand's inclusion, arguing that the choice to continue to tour in South Africa condoned apartheid. Twenty-nine countries joined Tanzania, the majority being African nations. The political situation in South Africa continued to worsen: in June 1976, a month before the Games, over 350 student anti-apartheid protesters were massacred in the Soweto uprising. The event fueled the anger of supporters globally (Loland & Selliaas, 2009).

Three July 1976 articles that appeared in *Le Devoir* written by Claude Ryan, who at the time was one of Quebec's leading public intellectuals, discuss the IOC (International Olympic Committee)'s failure to exclude New Zealand from the Games, even after substantial protest. Ryan was the director of *Le Devoi*r from 1964 to 1978 and the leader of the Quebec Liberal Party from 1978 to 1982, and would serve as a National Assembly of Quebec member for Argenteuil from 1979 to 1994, and as the Minister of Education from 1985 to 1989. Ryan was highly

rewarded and recognized over his career for his defense of inter-faith and human rights issues. He was a white, heterosexual man, and a Catholic. His faith was very important to him, as well as his lifelong work with a group called Catholic Action. He received the Human Relations Award of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews (1966) and wrote a book on Canadian federalism, arguing that it was the best option for Canada (the Canadian Encyclopedia, 2008). Ryan's first article presents the commentary of British Minister of Sport, Denis Howell, on the subject. The article is fairly neutral in tone and mostly focuses on repeating facts. Howell, also a white heterosexual man, was a Labour party center-left politician, and the very first British Minister of Sport. He helped to establish The British Sports Council, and throughout his life, his influence on the sporting scene was enormous (Sports Leisure Legacy Project, 2018). The article quoted Howell, saying that the gesture of the countries protesting the games « ne servait à rien » (wouldn't do anything) because South Africa was already excluded from the International Olympic Committee (IOC). He stated that "le mouvement Olympique est totalement multi-racial" (The Olympic Movement is totally-multi-racial) and that the individual African athletes who could not take part were the victims in this situation (July 12 1976, p. A9). A focus on individual achievement, and an insistence that the Olympic movement exists in a post-racial world of meritocracy are clear. The attitude of Howell is decidedly neoliberal. It is clear he believes the individual freedoms of the athletes of boycotting nations are being impeded, and that personal freedom is the highest virtue.

Howell's comment mirrors the Olympic movement's official philosophy: 'Olympism'. In the current version of the Olympic Charter, in effect since 1983, Olympism is expressed as:

> A philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good

examples, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.

Olympism contends that sport should aid in the harmonious development of humankind, and work to promote human dignity and peace. How can the collaboration and solidarity of these twenty-nine countries, making a statement not only against New Zealand's tour, but against the atrocities of South African apartheid, be seen as clearly detrimental to these nations and their athletes? Neoliberalism's focus on the individual is thus enmeshed with historical amnesia, and refusal to address complications in creating systemic inequality on a national and global scale.

Ryan's second article on the subject from July 17, 1976, is more of an opinion piece, and was decidedly more critical of neoliberal discourses of individualism. He writes that:

> *La légende olympique, alimentée par la littérature officielle du comité international olympique, veut que l'organisation des Jeux soit «complètement indépendante de toute pression politique, religieuse ou commerciale». …Mais la réalité est tout autre. Qu'on le veuille ou non, les Jeux, par l'ampleur qu'ils revêtent désormais, sont de plus en plus un instrument, parmi bien d'autres, de la politique des princes et des États…ils servent d'ailleurs à édifier le prestige de régimes qui aiment mieux être jugés suivant la performance de leurs athlètes que d'après le sort qu'ils font aux droits humains. Le commerce est de même censé être exclu des Jeux: allez demander à ceux qui ont fait fortune avec les jeux de Montréal s'il fut question de cette règle d'airain dans leur manière de dresser leurs états de compte.*
>
> The Olympic legend, fed by the official literature of the international Olympic committee, says that the organization of the Games is "completely independent of any political, religious or commercial pressure"... but the reality is quite different. Whether we like it, the Games, by the magnitude that they now take on, are more and more an instrument, among many others, of the politics of rulers and states. They work in service of building the prestige of regimes which prefer to be judged according to the performance of their athletes, instead of the state of human rights in their country. Commerce is also supposedly excluded from the Games: but go ask those who made a fortune off of the Montréal Games if this 'golden rule' ever impeded filling up their accounts" (my translation).

Ryan acknowledges that what is at stake is also the use and development of the territory, the structures and the ever-changing spatial composition of the city. Ryan continues the

discussion in a third article in a month, unpacking the discourse of the Olympics as apolitical. He asserts again that the IOC's failure to acknowledge the Games' political dimensions is a serious mistake that they must remedy (July 23, 1973, p. A12).

Writer Wanadi-Mboyo Ea Booto expresses another viewpoint on the 1976 boycott in the same edition of *Le Devoir*, on July 23, 76. There is no publicly available information about Ea Mbooto, and so I cannot refer to their positionality, except that they self-locate as African in the article by use of the word 'us'. Ea Booto critiqued the lack of support of the boycott from the Western world, writing:

> Le geste posé par ces pays est surprenant pour le monde dit libre. Ce monde dit libre considère l'Afrique comme un pays alors que c'est tout un continent; il considère les peuples africains comme des travailleurs alors que ce sont les citoyens et des compatriotes de leurs pays respectifs; il considère nos présidents comme des petits fonctionnaires alors qu'ils sont les Chefs d'État; il considère nos indépendances comme des cadeaux alors que nous les avons arrachées aux colonialistes venant du monde libre; il nous considère comme des peuples sans culture alors que nous avons des cultures hautement développées. Hier, les peuples de la plupart des pays africains avaient dit non à la domination coloniale. (p.A5)
>
> [The gesture made by these countries is surprising for the so-called free world. This so-called free world considers Africa as a country when it is a whole continent; considers the African peoples as workers while they are the citizens and compatriots of their respective countries; regards our presidents as small civil servants when they are the Heads of State; considers our independence as gifts while we have wrested them from the colonialists from the free world; considers us as people without culture while we have highly developed cultures. Yesterday, the people of the majority of these African countries have said no to colonial domination].

Here, EaBooto clearly connects the lack of support for the boycott and the enactment of continued colonial power matrices. They make a direct intervention into the discourse of the neoliberal individual in favour of considering larger global power dynamics and affirm the agency of African nations to refuse colonial domination and violent regimes.

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau took a strong position against apartheid sport policies, a stance that, according to Griffiths (2015) left a positive legacy that is often overlooked.

However, Griffiths cites other scholars (Macintosh et al., 1992; Macintosh and Hawes, 1994) who attest that the policies put in place to eliminate any sporting contact with South Africa were actually fairly unimpactful, and that the main purpose they served was to "make Canada appear tougher on apartheid than most other white, senior Commonwealth nations" (Griffiths, 2015, p. 302), while maintaining trade and economic relations with the country. Freeman (1997) similarly argues that despite framing itself as the champion of non-white nations of the Commonwealth, because Canada had very little sporting ties with South Africa, the gesture to cut said ties was hollow. She also argues that, in fact, Canadian business was implicit in supporting apartheid. Engler (2013) also evidenced that while the Trudeau government officially supported an arms embargo against South Africa, the embargo went unenforced. Weapons made in Canada with government financing were sold to South African governmental buyers until at least 1978. The Montréal gazette had also exposed that, despite the very public anti-apartheid stance, the Canadian RCMP had trained South African police in intelligence gathering (Engler, 2013). DeVilliers agrees that Freeman and Engler's positions have merit, but also reflects on the power of symbolism in itself, writing that:

> All this is correct, no doubt. And yet ... it doesn't do to devalue the currency of symbolism. True enough, a reality of inaction and deviousness underlay Canada's fine political rhetoric. And yet for those of us who were there, the symbolism alone had its own reality. (DeVilliers, 1998, p.2)

5.4 Acceptable heroes, respectability politics

Particular queer athletes themselves also served a symbolic role in asserting Canada as tolerant, as well as crafting an image of the acceptable queer citizen, during both Olympic periods in this study. During the 1970s, the 'gay liberation movement' was increasingly using 'rights talk' and inclusion seeking as a politic strategy (Nash, 2006; Smith, 1998). This occurred after decriminalization of homosexuality in 1969, and ramped up significantly throughout the 1970s,

finally resulting in Canada's adoption of equality rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 (Gutierrez, 2004). The changes to the Charter "enhanced the chances of legal success for lesbian and gay rights claims because it expanded legal rights without having any broader transitive vision or strategy" (Smith, 1998, p.290). Much queer organising during this time shifted towards more moderate politics, aimed at tolerance and legal reform, (Sears, 2005, p. 99) but overall queer liberation movements remained dynamic and vast (Fitzgerald & Rayter, 2012; Shepard, 1996). Sears explains how capitalist restructuring and increased policing guided the inclination towards inclusion-seeking politics in the 1970s. Sears (2005) writes that the period of economic decline in the mid-1970s also caused the welfare state to decline. Governments significantly cut budgets for social spending as a strategy to minimize government expenditure.

The welfare state had also served as a moral guideline, enforcing nuclear family structures (Smith, 1998). Its decline thus led to limited moral deregulation, which can appear to be a type of freedom. However, "while the state had withdrawn from certain areas of regulatory control, it had turned them over to the amoral market" (Sears, 2005, p. 103). In fact, "the intensified market orientation associated with contemporary capitalist restructuring and the development of the neoliberal state requires new coercive mechanisms to suppress alternatives and to establish norms for market-selves" (ibid.).

In short, changes in state policies have created certain openings for queer civil rights, yet they have caught queers up in new forms of coercive policing. This has caused a deepening divide between different queer groups and identities. While legal rights have had a huge impact on quality of life for many queer people, the greatest benefit has been to those who are in closer proximity to whiteness, have higher class status, are in monogamous committed relationships, and who are cisgender men (Sears, 2005).

An article in the April/May 1976 edition of *the Body Politic* challenges a discourse of respectability politics within the queer community. On page 11, an article with no specified author eviscerates a then-recently published article in the American gay magazine, *The Advocate*, written by David Goodstein. A white Jewish man, Goodstein was an activist, journalist, and criminal defense attorney. He was also the owner of *The Advocate*, which he catapulted to new heights of popularity after he took over in 1975 (Folkart, 1985). Goodstein was a prolific yet notorious figure in public life and in queer organizing, and "could alienate at least as many people as he inspired" (Rapp, 2004, p.2). Goodstein grew up in a wealthy family, and completed degrees in economics and law. Wells Fargo bank recruited him to work as an investor, but promptly dismissed him from his position after his sexual orientation was revealed. Outraged, Goodstein used his considerable wealth to create the Whitman-Radyclyffe Organization to further gay rights and purchased *The Advocate* shortly after. He immediately fired all staff, and changed the magazine significantly so that there was a greater focus on lifestyle, fashion, books, and leisure (Rapp, 2004). To push the magazine towards mainstream respectability, Goodstein wanted to stop running advertisements for sexually oriented products. He was eventually successful in procuring an advertisement from a major national company, Absolut Vodka, which had never happened in a gay magazine before (Darsey, 1991). *The Body Politic* column highlights what the authors considered especially heinous quotes from Goodstein's column "Opening Space " in the January 1946 issue of the Advocate. These include:

> Almost everything of any significance (in the gay movement) is being done behind the scenes by people who do not wish to be known or exposed to harassment by other gay people, especially by self-appointed gay leaders
>
> The straight media pay attention to them (gay spokespeople) because they confirm the stereotypes they're looking for. Our people resent them for the same reason. They appear unemployable, unkempt, and neurotic to the point of megalomania.

> Gay men and women are enraged by gay contingents in leftist and 'Third World' demonstrations.
>
> (Goodstein,1976, p.5)

The article heavily critiques Goodstein of ‘pandering to the establishment’ and throwing his weight and the weight of his publication behind the most politically conservative elements within the gay community.

In my sources, there were a few queer individuals in the sporting world who mainstream media constructed as sympathetic, acceptable, even heroic in a couple of instances. These actors were those who could be representatives of the values of neoliberalism, and who could come closer to accessing normative citizenship via their social capital, and their access to privileged groups through other identities. Two gay sportspeople (both white, cis men) who gained the status of public figures and were framed most positively in the press were John Damien in 1975-77 and Mark Tewksbury in 2009-2011. While Damien was not involved with Olympic Sport, as a gay sportsman in the public eye during the Olympic period, his case was included in my study.

The Ontario Racing Commission dismissed Damien from his position as a racing judge and trainer in 1976. Damien and his lawyers maintained that the dismissal directly resulted from his superiors becoming aware of his homosexuality. The Racing Commission cited Damien’s romantic involvement with a jockey as a cause for termination, which Damien and the jockey in question denied outright. This case was a media obsession, reported on frequently in all media sources in my scope period. Undoubtedly other news outlets of this time painted a much different picture, but it is notable that in the two-year period examined, across all three of the news sources I analyzed, Damien’s case was discussed with at least some level of outrage. Damien died twenty-two days before protection from discrimination because of sexual orientation was

added to the Human Rights Code of Ontario, a cause that Damien had been active in fighting for. His death only heightened public outrage around his case (Scott, 2019).

While Damien became an unintentional advocate for legal change, this advocacy was limited and based on these same neoliberal discourses of choice/ identity politics/ 'rights talk'. He framed his fight very much as his own. His conservatism, whiteness, maleness, and traditional masculinity gave Damien a proximity to heteronormativity that allowed him to be an acceptable mascot for the gay assimilationist discourse, and to heteronormative society. This brief interview quote highlights Damien's positionality and political perspective.

> Interviewer:
> You have said that before you were fired; you were basically apolitical as far as the gay liberation movement goes. How has your attitude toward what the movement is doing changed since then?
>
> Damien:
> While I'm appreciative of what GATE (Gay Alliance Towards Equality) is doing, I'm not an activist, nor do I want to be. I want my case handled in a business-like manner… you can't solve the whole country's problem with gayness at one time.
>
> (Body Politic, May/June 1975, p. 13).

One year later, Gerald Hannon, a prolific and *Body Politic* staff writer, wrote a scathing op-ed titled "The Marketing of John Damien". Hannon himself was a controversial character, who was the subject of two media debacles (*Xtra*, 2019). The first was regarding an article he authored about sex with youth that resulted in a lawsuit (as discussed in Chapter 6, section 2), and the second was an exposé about Hannon's occasional participation in sex work while employed as a journalism instructor at Ryerson University. Hannon was most certainly not a palatable queer person to the public, despite being able to access some arenas of privilege as a white man, and he makes his views on respectability politics abundantly clear in his article.

Hannon's article is in response to a profile of John Damien that was published in *Weekend* magazine, entitled "Damien's Exile" (Feb 21, 1976). Hannon pulls out the draw line from *Weekend*'s article; "What John Damien represents and defends is not homosexuality but human dignity". Here we can see how rights-talk can be appropriated to create "a view of homosexual liberation in which homosexuals are unnecessary" (Hannon, 1976, p. 15). The *Weekend* article is also clear to identify Damien as a person with social and economic capital who "fits nicely with his $400-a-month penthouse and his $1100 gold watch and his diamond rings" (ibid). The article explicitly distances Damien from less acceptable queers and even from unpalatable sexual practices. Writing that in John Damien's house, having sex is called 'making love'- which he and his monogamous partner, Brian, engage in, abstaining from anything "especially kinky or far out'. This connects to themes I discuss in the proceeding chapter, in section 6.3.

Another iteration of this acceptable homosexual hero can be found in the coverage of Mark Tewksbury, who also benefitted from his proximity to normative identities. Tewksbury is mentioned various times in the *Vancouver Sun*, *Xtra Magazine*, and the *Globe and Mail* during the 2010 Olympic period and the preceding year. Tewksbury was quoted several times discussing how he never identified as political, but he was labelled as an activist after becoming one of the first athletes in professional sport in Canada to publicly 'come out' as gay. Tewksbury was a speaker at the inauguration of Whistler's Pride House for queer Olympic athletes on February 24, 2010, as well as spoke as a representative of Pride House in several articles. In a 2010 article, he discusses his experience as a gay Canadian athlete in the 1990s. "It's hard to compare that time and now," he said about his time at the 1992 and 1996 Olympic Games. "I

don't think (Pride House) will be that pivotal breakthrough moment, but I do think it's an important next step that will lead to the breakthrough" (Woo, 2010, p. A12).

In the Sun article that profiled Tewksbury, he is quoted as saying that he is excited to speak at the inauguration, but in the next stage of his life he will focus less on gay issues, and 'return to humanity'. The phrase 'return to humanity' is reminiscent of the marketing of John Damien, who the media sources also categorized as being in search of 'humanity'/ 'human dignity', not queer liberation. Tewksbury also discussed homophobia in sport, giving an example of always hearing gay slurs in the locker room. The article presents Tewksbury's journey; after winning gold and then coming out, he worked as a speaker and television host, and also authored a biography, titled *Inside Out: Straight Talk from a Gay Jock.* While I do not wish to undermine Tewksbury's experiences of homophobia or his undeniable impact on professional sport, his 'return to humanity' and presentation of himself as a 'gay jock giving straight talk' aligns himself with hegemonic ideas of masculinity, and with a politics of inclusion rather than transformation.

Damien and Tewksbury were both discursively constructed as representing Canadian sexual exceptionalism and acceptable gay masculinity in their behavior. Each of these men was white, male, traditionally masculine presenting, middle to upper class, and did not have political opinions that fully rejected heteronormative society. While both Damien and Tewksbury most certainly contributed to advancing 'gay rights', it is accurate to say neither was engaged in broader projects in of social transformation that instead of creating a seat at the table for queer people, would instead flip the table. The outcry and media obsession with these two men is emblematic of how privilege insulated them. The treatment of these men in the media speaks deeply to larger respectability politics.

5.5 The cold war specter, leftist and queer coalitions and exclusions

As the Olympics were supposed to shine a light on the glory of capitalist democracy and individual success, they heightened suspicion of leftist politics around the time of the Games. The deep suspicion and paranoia around communism and socialism was mixed with a queering of these political ideologies. Even queer people who did not align themselves with any type of leftist politics were seen as more likely to be communist sympathizers (Colwell, 2018; Kinsman, 2018).

The fear of queerness and of communism were both partially informed by the fear of the breakdown of the nuclear family as the basic unit of the nation, and the deep mistrust and fear of these types of politics during the Cold War. Immigrants from communist countries and defectors from behind the Iron curtain were regarded with suspicion (Miller, 2016), and were queered in a way not unlike how Islamophobia has worked to 'queer' Muslim immigrants post 9/11 (Chávez, 2015; DasGupta, D., & Dasgupta, R. K., 2018). Kinsman and Gentile write that, "In the Cold War, a particular social construction of gay men and lesbians as a 'threat' emerged" (2010, p.143). Homosexuality had largely been constructed as sexually, socially, and politically dangerous -this is not unique to the Cold War period- (Lee, 2011, p.27) but the Cold War period and afterwards was unique because was homosexuality was increasingly seen as a national security concern (Gallagher-Cohoon, 2013), and an increased risk to national self-presentation (Cavell, 2000).

Kinsman and Gentile's 2010 book *The Canadian war on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation*, explores the history of the government ousting of queer Canadians from government and public jobs, because of suspicions of communist sympathies. While this phenomenon was at its peak in the 1950s and 60s, it continued to some extent for the length of

the Cold War, into the early 90s (Kinsman and Gentile, 2010; Robinson & Kimmell, 1994). A parallel discourse used to justify the removal of queer people en masse from these positions was that they were more vulnerable to blackmail, in the form of outing, making them prime targets to be manipulated into communist collaboration (Kagedan, 2020; Kinsman 1995). Another discourse in circulation was that gay men were also especially suspect, because they would have more 'cross-class' sexual encounters because of their supposed promiscuity, leading to a higher chance of sympathy for anti-bourgeoisie politics. This discourse justified employment termination and RCMP surveillance (Shibusawa, 2012). The tactics used by the RCMP included compiling lists of suspected homosexuals, collecting photographs, and staking out humoured cruising spots (Kinsman and Gentile, 2000).

Police raided and surveilled leftist organizations alongside queer organizations during and leading up to the 1976 Games, and several key figures were fired or questioned because of involvement in both causes, including Stuart Russell. The organizing body for the Olympics in Montréal dismissed Russel because he was a part of the Gay Coalition Against Repression, and also a leader of the Young Socialists. An official RCMP brief about Olympic security from 1973 specifically lays out a mandate for raids and arrests:

> Increased penetration of groups or organizations in Canada which are prone to violent protest; establishment and maintenance of penetration of subversive groups with revolutionary aims; increase of resource personnel to dialogue with groups likely to demonstrate or cause other security problems as part of a continuing ''diffusing'' program (as quoted in Clément, 2017, p.35)

The overlap between leftist organizing and queer groups was visible in several articles in *The Body Politic*. Several *Body Politic* columnists themselves were involved in both causes, such as Chris Bearchell, a lesbian activist and member of the League for Socialist Action. The New National Homosexual Conference in Australia was reported to have been a hotbed of debate over

integrating Marxist analysis in the homosexual movement. In the 1976 April/May issue of the *Body Politic*, the RCMP investigated foreign students at McGill, as well as Marxist campus groups, in a bid to uncover both communist sympathies and queer or socialist organizers who could prove disruptive during the games.

Several worker's movements and unions, such as the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) were notably pro-gay and were making statements in support of the gay liberation movement. An article in the April/May 1976 issue includes a column by journalist Ken Popert on the union's stance.

Popert joined the Body Politic in the mid-seventies, and would become Executive Director of Pink Triangle Press (The Body Politic's parent company) from 1986 to 2017. He was a member of the 1970s Gay Alliance Toward Equality and has remained an active participant in queer activism for over forty years (Parker, 2017) Popert attended a CUPE negotiation meeting with the Toronto Public Metropolitan Libraries administration, which was especially of interest because the union demands included protection from discrimination based on sexuality. Popert was relieved that there were three women on the twelve-person executive board of the union, as he had not expected there to be any, as was often the case. He saw increased representation of women as a good sign for queer people in the union, writing that "after all, women and gays suffer from the same types of oppression" (1976, p.11). Popert went on to relate the gay liberation struggle between labour struggles more broadly, arguing that "like us, these people (the labour movement) know what it was like to be engaged in a ceaseless struggle against powerful and antagonistic forces" (ibid).

Renee Rowan also discussed gender issues in unions in Le Devoir in 1975.

Labour, gender, and sexuality were connected in an article titled "Keeping house; the politics of housekeeping" (pg. 19) In the August 1976 issue of *the Body Politic.* Another of the principal Body Politic journalists and long-time activist, Ed Jackson, wrote the article. Originally from Fredericton, New Brunswick, Jackson was the editor of the Body Politic during this time, and was also later made a director of Pink Triangle Press. The article raised the division of domestic labour. Jackson wonders, if more and more queer people (in couples or groups) were cohabiting, how would household labour be dispersed? The article historicizes the gendered division of labour:

> We all know where it started; there is this remarkable little institution called heterosexual marriage. It was devised so that there would be an uneven division of labour between the husband and wife. One of the things the woman does, without any pay, is all the housework and care of children… even if the woman is employed, she may be expected to do both jobs herself. (Jackson, 1976, p. 19)

The article continues on to contemplate the burgeoning 'wages for housework' movement, and other feminist labour causes du jour. Besides the Wages for Housework campaign, a Wages due Lesbians campaign was gaining momentum. In a 1976 article for *the Body Politic*, Jane Rule explains and contextualizes the motivations of the group. Rule was a celebrated author and columnist, and key figure in the Queer Liberation Movement in Canada throughout her life. Politically, Rule was staunchly anti-censorship, and also opposed the legalization of gay marriage, writing that:

> To be forced back into the heterosexual cage of coupledom is not a step forward but a step back into state-imposed definitions of relationship… with all that we have learned, we should be helping our heterosexual brothers and sisters out of their state-defined prisons, not volunteering to join them there. (Wilson & Thomas, 2016, para. 12).

Her anti-assimilationist political stances come through in Rule's article. She explains that the Wages Due Lesbians movement campaigned to have housework recognized as a crucial part of the economy and also demanded the right to have relationships with other women. They wanted

to enable women's financial independence, allowing them to leave marriages to men, and keep custody of their children. They also made demands to the government for paid daycare, so that lesbian women could work and keep their children. Rule eloquently connects the family, gender, sexuality and labour:

> From the time we are children, our personalities, and therefore our sexuality, are molded to fit the unwaged work that capitalist society forces on women. We are trained to service others - men, children, the sick, the old- by denying our own needs and performing a free "service of love" This servitude is organized through the nuclear family and enforced on us by men. Because they have higher wages, men have the power to command our work, including our sexuality. (Rule, 1978, p. 8)

While coalitions between gay liberation, leftist, and feminist groups may have been fraught despite the number of people with feet in multiple worlds, the political undercurrent of these coalitions, as described in *The Body Politic*, was decidedly anti-assimilationist. However, in almost all the articles surveyed, authors paid devastatingly little attention to race and how racialization shapes experiences of sexuality, labour, and gender. Even if the groups in question may have been more economically radical or anti-capitalist, the voices of gay white men were by far the loudest, as by the scant number of queer women writers and total lack of writers of colour evidences. While there were examples of coalitions between various social justice focused identarian groups, it is important to assert that *the Body Politic* had also been criticized for excluding women and people of colour, and in fact acted against the interests of these groups.

Ken Popert was embroiled in a couple of scandals, one of which was centered on an article he wrote in 1983 that defended the use of racial categorizations on personal ads, contending that our sexual desires and our attraction is composed of unknowable drives, and "and as a result, a person should not feel guilty if their desire was infected by preferences, for or

against, an individual of one or another racial group "(Churchill, 2003, p.116). The neoliberal of individual choice divorced from systemic factors is clear here.

5.6 Pinkwashing, gay tourism, pride house

Queer people's engagement with capitalism and free market economy continues to be a part of what makes us acceptable or allowable in the mainstream Canadian national body. The Canadian nation and Canadian cities now even use queer inclusion as global currency to prove their cosmopolitanism. This is visible in the discourse of the 'World City', as discussed in my conceptual framework (Section 2.5).

My research provided information on the city marketing, which promoted Montréal for the 1976 Games, and Vancouver for the 2010 Games, as 'Global Cities'. The marketing of Vancouver 2010 differed significantly from that of Montréal because of the new incorporation of sexual inclusion, of being a 'gay-friendly destination' into the promotional discourse, similar to London 2012. This inclusion makes clear how city marketing projects like that of Vancouver 2010 directly invest in homonationalism, and how this entire process is unquestionably neoliberal. I found that the idea of the queer community as a viable and relatively untapped travel market (particularly for those with access to capital/disposable income) resurfaced frequently in the data. As discussed in previous chapters, during the Olympic Games, twenty-thousand people visited the three Pride House venues (Pride House International, 2010) and the media sources made countless references to Pride House. The legacy report on Pride House included suggestions for future projects, and was focused on revenue generation through entertainment, community contact and event hosting, and gay tourism (Birch-Jones, 2010). The Olympics and Pride House are shown here to operate as connected tools of neoliberal marketing of the nation, and the promotion of Vancouver as a progressive metropolis. An article from *the*

Vancouver Sun from 2009 discusses tourism for Pride. Ken Coolen, the then-president of the Vancouver Pride Society, which organized the parade and related events, was quoted in the article. Coolen won a second term as president, but more than half of the board resigned because of his re-election. According to an *Xtra* article, several people had expressed doubts about Coolen's leadership and behavior and refused to work under him (Lewis, 2012), and the board officially ousted him in March 2012, because of voting irregularities and transparency concerns. Coolen boasted tourists come from Toronto, Washington, Oregon, Seattle, other parts of British Columbia, and even Europe to take part in pride in Vancouver. He explained that most come for a four-day weekend and stay in the West End. Despite not having an official statistical count of how many tourists were visiting for Gay Pride, tourism Vancouver travel media relations specialist Amber Sessions (p. A9) was quoted saying that the American gay and lesbian community alone represented a 65-billion-dollar travel market and "We recognize the value of it". Coolen also recognized the economic value of Pride, retaining TD Bank as a co-sponsor of the event for several years (Lewis, 2012).

Many articles from this period evidence the existence of a gay market and Vancouver's attempts to appeal to that market. However, while there is an attempt to highlight the city and the nation's celebration of sexual minorities, often this did not play out in actuality. An article from *the Vancouver Sun* in 2010 reports that the International Olympic Committee (IOC), as well as the Vancouver Organizing Committee (VANOC) distanced themselves from Pride House, while benefiting and capitalizing on the existence of it. These organizations insisted on informing Pride House sponsors that their marketing rights would be displayed only within the Pride House venue itself, and not in other Olympic venues or other Olympic marketing, highlighting how queer inclusion can be misappropriated as a marketing tool without signaling systemic change.

Xtra Magazine in 2010 reported on a large celebration hosted by the BC government at the Vancouver Winter Olympics to celebrate Pride House. The Games Secretariat CEO Phillip Steenkamp said "creating gay spaces at the Olympics sets an example" (Iowen, p.12). Using the word 'example' connotes a knowledge of the global visibility of these displays, and interpreting neoliberal western nations as being exemplary and socially advanced.

While queer inclusion through Pride House and was being used to market the Olympics, and Canada itself as an inclusive and progressive, only particular queer people and bodies were being upheld as exemplary, and as examples of national sexual exceptionalism. The discourse that because LGBT people who can fit within the limits of hegemonic respectability are included in the way the nation is imagined implies that the struggle for gay rights has mostly achieved its goals, and neutralizes dissent and disempowers queer groups in the present.

5.7 Conclusion

In my research, I identified that discourses around queer identity and national belonging as deeply entangled with neoliberal capitalism. I frequently encountered themes of pinkwashing, gay tourism, city marketing, among other configurations of queerness, sexual exceptionalism, and the market. In the 1970s, the discussion of the Olympic boycott, as well as the level of outrage at John Damien's dismissal, came together to narrate the changing relationships between sport and individualism, sexuality, individual rights, and oppression. The plight of an individual queer person who was acceptable in most other respects was treated significantly differently from mainstream media discourse than the collective refusal to compete alongside a nation that had condoned South African apartheid through its touring decisions.

The realities of LGBTQ people in the sporting world in the 2010s had changed dramatically since the 1970s. However, the mainstream acceptability of an LGBTQ athlete is

still heavily influenced by their social class, proximity to whiteness, traditional gender expression, and centrist depoliticization of sexual identity. Divorcing LGBTQ activism and politics from leftist political ideologies, figuring sexuality as an identity based on individual choice and not as a political standpoint situated in solidarity with others is useful in securing this acceptability.

Chapter 6: Objects of Public Concern: Biopolitics, Spatial and Social Management

6.1 Introduction

Although the Montréal and Vancouver Games were held thirty-four years apart, both cities anticipated a spike in global attention in time for the games, and acted to manipulate urban space in preparation (Chan, 2014; Giardina, Metz & Bunds, 2012; Podmore, 2015; Sykes & Hamzeh, 2018). A key facet of this manipulation was managing city populations, particularly those that the dominant culture deemed 'undesirable'. In this chapter, I evidence that during these times, the biopolitical, spatial, and social management of undesirable others in the city rose to epidemic proportions. I argue that regulation of sexuality was key to these efforts, through both discursive and institutional means. I corroborate and bolster existing scholarship which focuses specifically on particular techniques of biopolitical control related to sporting mega-events, such as the International Olympic Committee's regulation of gender and sex categories (Schweinbenz & Cronk, 2010), sexual exceptionalism in the international lesbian and gay sports movement (Davidson, 2013), and the impact of sporting mega-events and their spatial repercussions on economies of sex work (De Lisio, Hubbard & Silk, 2019). Parallel to these scholars, I illustrate that regulating sexuality as a technique of control but was not limited to queer people. My results map how overlapping discourses were weaponized to bar disparate groups from accessing normative sexual citizenship and to facilitate the access of others. In doing so, I highlight the connections and intersections between these experiences, without investing in a totalizing discourse which equates them.

This chapter begins by reiterating connections between the discipline of sexualities and a deep cultural anxiety about threats to the western nuclear family, motherhood, and children and youth. I draw on nationalisms literature detailed in my conceptual framework (section 2.2). I

then provide examples from my research of how the periodicals and magazines within my scope expressed these anxieties, justifying regulatory controls of population through biopolitics. This emphasizes how policing, surveillance, criminalization, and social enforcement enacted this control during Games times. I conclude the chapter by calling into question notions of security, including the categorization of particular people as a 'threat', and problematizing queer coalitions with the police state.

6.2 Children, the family, reproduction

The word *nation* came from the Old French word *nacion*–meaning "birth" (*naissance*), "place of origin" -, which originates from the Latin word *natio* (*nātĭō*) literally meaning "birth" (Zernatto, 1994). Nationalisms are dangerous in that they frame those who make up the 'core nation' as the rightful owners of the state and occupants of the place (Brubaker, 1996), and in doing so, safeguard "(unequal) relations to power and to the technologies of violence" (McClintock, 1991, p.105) Nationalisms are therefore constantly contested (ibid).To not lose its privileged footing, the dominating class and the institutions which serve it must continually distort historical memory, and evoke core symbols imbued with ideological meaning (James, 1996). In this way, protecting the dominant nationalism is a long-term project (Webster, 2005). National memory is fragile (Finney, 2010) and therefore "subject to.. alteration, vulnerable to authority, (and) sensitive to real-time anxieties and ambitions" (Young 2011, p.1025). The ruling class uses the symbol of the family and the promotion of a distorted national memory to justify attempts to regulate the social body (Hamilton, 1995; King, 1998).

I reiterate that Canadian hegemonic nationalist ideology understands the nuclear family as the building block of the nation. In this familial configuration, men lead as active subjects

connected through a 'horizontal fraternity' (Anderson, 1983). It represents women as the means of reproduction of the nation and as guardians of its moral boundary. Children and youth symbolize the future, to be shaped and protected (McClintock, 1993; Webster, 2005). In addition, powerful institutions often invoke children and youth as emblems of the future (Durham, 2008; Edelman, 2004), who ultimately symbolize what is at stake in national identity strategies (Stephens, 1997). Strategies that the Canadian government used to interrupt the family continuation of Indigenous people, and prevent the family reunification of Asian migrants included Residential Schools (Kingston, 2015) and the Chinese Immigration Act (Hsu & Wu, 2015). These were two of dozens of strategies which show that only a specific (white) type of nuclear family was protected and valorized by the nation-state.

A deep preoccupation with the nuclear family continues to be articulated in national identity discourses in Canada (Brodie, 2008; Mayer, 2012; Smith, 1991). A consequence of imagining the nation as a family and its history as a genealogy is that gendered differences are naturalized, and historical violence is reconfigured as youthful troublemaking in a nation's development (Alonso, 1994; McClintock, 1993). The motif of the family and of the nation's youthful development distorts history to establish belief in a collective historical origin, a moment of man-making and creation of national unity in war, and an illustrious national future (Finney 2010; McClintock, 1993). Symbols of family, gender, and youth are therefore of critical importance to upholding hegemonic nationalisms.

While a state only legitimizes one official nation, multiple nationalisms can be in operation (Anderson,1983; Coller, (2006). Québec nationalism is one such ideology. Developed primarily by Canada's French minority in Québec, Québécois nationalism has gone through drastic changes over time, but continues to "use its provincial state to strengthen its economic

and political status within the federation" (Rocher, 2002, p.1). My sources discussed Québécois nationalism, especially in relation to struggles for language rights and political autonomy (Raboy, 1997). The 1976 Olympics were discursively produced as a moment when Québec youth would assert Québec's sub-hegemonic national identity within Canada and on a global stage. The beginning of the quote refers to Expo 67 held in Montreal- another mega-event that shaped Montréal and Canadian histories and identities. Expo provided an opportunity for Québec to reiterate a distinct identity and to promote that identity on a global scale. The Olympics were expected to continue in this project. High hopes for youth in the Games were expressed in the inaugural message of the 4th session of the 30th legislature of Québec. The quote is as follows:

> *En mil neuf cent soixante-sept, le Québec s'est fait la terre des hommes, a maintenant rendez-vous avec la jeunesse du monde. Pour la jeunesse du Québec, le prochain rendez-vous de juillet a une valeur morale exceptionnelle. La décision prise d'assurer la relève de la ville de Montréal et l'invitation faite et renouvelée au gouvernement fédéral d'apporter une aide additionnelle ont comme raison première celle de permettre aux Québécois et aux Canadiens d'enrichir leur expérience individuelle et collective des enseignements de l'idéal olympique.*
>
> In 1967 Québec made itself the land of men, and it now has an appointment with the youth of the world. For the youth of Québec, the meeting (Olympics) in July has exceptional moral value. The primary reason for the decision (to host the Games) is to ensure the succession of the city of Montreal, and to renew an invitation to the federal government to provide additional help, so that Quebecois and Canadians can enrich their individual and collective experiences of the lessons of the Olympic ideal (My translation).
> (Texte intégral du message inaugural à Québec, *Le Devoir*, 17 Mars 1976 p.5-6)

The inaugural address refers to the games as a moment of exceptional moral value, meaning the moral boundaries of a nation can be fortified through the ideological principles of the games themselves. Quebec is visualised as a family, revealing an underlying ideology of Québec youth continuing the forward thrust of the nation. Using the words youth, succession and morals in the inaugural message justifies my reading of the excerpt. The differentiation of 'Québécois and Canadians' expresses a specific Québécois nationalism, but the wording is also

careful to manage the many tensions between Québécois identity and larger Canadian nationalism (Kidd, 2013).

Alongside a focus on youth and succession, the changing face of the heterosexual nuclear family was a much-discussed topic during the period of the Montréal games. A *Toronto Star* article by Ron Lowman, titled 'Family life; is it becoming obsolete? Big problem for society; how to change' (July 10 1976, A12) focuses on feminist challenges to the traditional Judeo-Christian family structure. The article is part of the *Star*'s Saturday series about new values and quality of life. The reporter, Ron Lowman (1921-2007) worked in the newsroom of the *Star* for 44 years. Prior to working for the *Star*, Lowman had been a flying officer for Great Britain in World War II, moving to Toronto after the war. According to a *Star* article from 2007 which commemorates Lowman, he prominently covered military affairs, drawing on his military background and love of the institution.

In Lowman's introductory paragraph (1976, A12), he writes: "there was a time when motherhood and the family were sacred topics, and to some extent they still are. But while the family continues as the basic unit of Canadian society, other ideas are being tried, discarded, melted, or revised". An interview with self-identified feminist Laura Sabia takes up much of the full-page column space. In the interview, Sabia explains that "(woman) has been socialized over thousands of years to believe her worth is as a reproducer in the home" (ibid). She debates the benefits of the Wages for Housework campaign and suggests that there may be merit in 'trial marriages' and taxing families with over two children. Her own four children are grown, and she has a husband, facts that Lowman uses to preface the article. Structuring the article as such, these facts work as a disclaimer, perhaps to distance Sabia from stereotypes of angry spinster feminists. After introducing Sabia as a 'normal' woman via her status as a married mother,

Lowman also describes Sabia as "a Roman Catholic who wants abortion removed from the Criminal Code, and wouldn't mind being pope" (ibid). Through phrasing this as bewildering, Lowman locates her ideas as incompatible, and Sabia herself as irrational. Intentionally or otherwise, his choice of language assigns merit to gendered discourses, which contend that feminist concern, and feminists themselves, should not be taken too seriously. Lowman himself was known as a 'charmer' for kissing the hand of every woman he met (Henry, 2007), which signals to me a more conservative view of gender roles. His description of Sabia's incompatible ideas could also be interpreted differently as a challenge to the reader to unpack their assumptions. Many readers may have interacted with the text in this way. However, because of Loman's own positionality and political leanings, I am partial to believing that this second reading is against-the-grain. The first reading would also be more consistent with the general political stance of the periodical in this era.

Throughout the 1970s, complicated debates about family structure, child-rearing and parenthood were ongoing, including a discussion of queer parenting (Smith, 2011). Queer women journalists, as well as news articles about queer women's political organizing, often referenced motherhood as a key site of struggle. As discussed in Chapter Five (section 5.6), the articles also frequently mentioned financial struggle and gendered class divisions, especially as they related to childcare. *The Body Politic* columnist Chris Bearchell frequently wrote about queer women's struggles for representation in the gay liberation movement, as well as the particular difficulties queer mothers were facing. Bearchell was one of the few long-term members of The Body Politic Collective who was a woman, and was "one of the most listened-to

voices in the magazine, the most pro-sex, anti-censorship feminist in Toronto" ("Chris Bearchell", n.d.), often referred to as a 'dyke dynamo' (Kornelia, 2003, para. 1).

Bearchell reported on a conference put on by the Queen's Homophile Association of Kingston; 'The Not- So- Invisible Woman Lesbian Perspectives in The Gay Movement'. Fifty men and forty-five women from Ontario, Québec, and Nova Scotia attended the conference (Bearchell, 1976). Queer women participants in the conference pointed out their frequent exclusion from larger gay liberation movements, and the sidelining of issues that primarily affected women. As Marie Robertson of Ottawa put it; "When 'sexual orientation' is put in Human Rights Code, I'll still be a woman with no time and no money" (As quoted in Bearchell, 1976, p.7). Queer women participants expressed the desire for an autonomous political movement, but also to have their voices heard within a larger movement for sexual justice. Boo Watson, lesbian musician and composer and co-founder of Wages Due Lesbians also commented on gendered power differential within the gay movement at the conference: "We are refusing to wait for the Left to construct its new world before we put ourselves and our own needs on the agenda. A society not based on our interests is based on someone else's interest in exploiting us" (ibid). Conference participants also discussed marriage and parenthood, asserting that, for queer women, leaving a marriage usually meant leaving behind their children or the possibility of having children. I shore this up in additional articles which detail particular custody cases ("Lesbians Fight to Keep Kids" December 1976 - January 1977).

Despite the 1969 Criminal Code amendments, in the 1970s, the courts often continued to frame homosexuality as unnatural, perverse, and contagious, justifying punitive action against queer parents. "Like a contagious disease, homosexuality was still often understood to imperil the health of society" (MacDougall, 2016, p. 87). Warner details two 1975 court cases which

illustrate the deployment of these discourses. In the first case, a lesbian mother in Alberta fought to retain custody of her children after divorce. While she was successful, the judge admitted he was more partial to granting her custody because she was ‘quiet’ about her sexuality, and was unlikely to “flaunt it or become militant” (2002 p. 101). In a second custody case, the judge established in court that, if the mother was bisexual as her husband claimed, her sexuality would negatively affect her children and put them at risk of moral degradation. They granted her temporary custody, but the precedent that a person could be deemed an unfit parent due to their queerness had still been set (Warner, 2002).

Robert Nielsen, celebrated Toronto Star columnist, foreign correspondent, and eventual chief editorial writer, broached the topic of queer parenting in August 1976. Former *Star* publisher John Honderich recalled Nielsen as "an acerbic contrarian who forced you to think things through" (Miller, 2009, n.p.). He loved a good argument and had a passion for winning (Miller, 2009). Nielsen worked freelance for magazines other than the Toronto Star, including New Brunswick’s *Telegraph Journal*. His conservative views often invited controversy.

Nielsen (*Toronto Star*, 1976, August 11, p. B4) writes that the New Democratic Party’s proposed platform supporting queer people becoming eligible to adopt children horrified him. Nielsen deems this ‘social lunacy. This idea shocks him, and he writes homosexuals are clearly unfit to work as ‘private supervisors of young boys’ or marriage counsellors, much less to

properly parent. His column presents his opinions on the social acceptance of homosexuality as well-considered and moderate. This is clear in his introduction, where he writes:

> Homosexuality is a fact of life in all human cultures… a civilized society will tolerate homosexuality, and will do so sincerely, not only refraining from harassment… but also avoiding any unnecessary discrimination. (ibid)

However, Nielsen cites reproductive capacity as a logical justification for necessary discrimination. He argues homosexuals cannot be on the 'same footing' as heterosexuals, as they 'cannot reproduce'. He claims that regarding homosexuals as equal in value (to heterosexual people) "implies that ceasing procreation is as desirable as perpetuating human race" (ibid). Nielsen then turned his criticism from the New Democratic Party to Toronto's Humber College. The college had recently created a sociological course which included a discussion of homosexuality. Nielsen laments that "Humber College appears to be ignoring that distinction (between tolerating homosexuality and promoting it) by making homosexuality a classroom subject this fall. It will be presented not as an aberration but as a way of life..." (ibid) He is further enraged by the college's choice of instructor: an openly gay man. He concludes by warning that: "Humber has increased the promotional possibility by choosing a homosexual to give the course. He (the instructor) would be superhuman if he didn't use the occasion to do a little proselytizing for the cause. (ibid). Words like *promotional* and *proselytizing* frame queer people as predators waiting for an opportunity to recruit. Nielsen clearly views queer people as immoral, perverted and criminal, despite his assurances that he believes in 'tolerance.' He speaks to these same discourses, which assert the paramountcy of protecting young people and the normative western family unit, justifying the economic and social repression of queer people.

Nielsen made related comments about the December 1977 'morality squad' raid of the *Body Politic* offices in Toronto, and the subsequent court case. Nielsen thought the raid was

justified, but questioned the morality squad's conduct in doing so. He wrote on the *Star* editorial page that "the homosexual rights movement seems to have a strong suicidal impulse, which is perhaps appropriate to the non-procreative sex it fosters, but that's no reason the authorities should throw away the rule book in attempting to hasten its demise." He presents himself once again as logical, objective, and focused on proper conduct, despite the intensity of his fixation on reproduction as the most essential metric of value. Even in death, Nielsen expressed a strong political standpoint. He requested that in lieu of flowers for his funeral, donations be made in his honour to a socially conservative organization called REAL Women of Canada. REAL stands for "Realistic, Equal, Active, for Life". The group believes that the destruction of the nuclear family is the most imminent threat to Canadian society, and its fragmentation is at the root of much social disorder (Abu-Laban, 2009; Erwin, 1988). They are against equal pay for women (they believe it could lead to more women joining the workforce, thus destroying the family), abortion, no-fault divorce, programs to reduce domestic violence, and human rights protections for LGBTQ people (Herman, 1994). To this day, their values remain much the same (Warner, 2020).

6.3 Sex, youth, biopolitics

The state and its institutional powers justify violence and social control in the name of protecting children, 'the family' and the futurity of the nation (Bracke, Manuel & Aguilar, 2020; Stephens, 1997). In Canada, reproductive control, particularly forced sterilization, was used to manage Indigenous, poor, disabled and immigrant people, among other minoritarian groups (Akbari, 2021; Emberly, 2017; Pegoraro, 2015; Rasmussen, 2019). The removal of children is a different type of reproductive control that has been exerted over Indigenous peoples as a colonial strategy. The existence of residential schools, the 'Sixties Scoop', and the drastic overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the child welfare system attests to this (Johnston,

1981; Landertinger, 2011; Spencer & Sinclair, 2017). The concepts of biopolitics and biopower[3] provide an architecture for interpreting these particular forms of discipline (Zake, 2002). Foucault's oft-cited work explains biopower as a "power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death" (1976, p.138). Biopower exercises dominion over all that can be associated with health, and therefore the health of the population, or as Foucault calls it, the 'species-body".[4] Management of reproduction, family structure, sexuality, and disease are subject to this power. Biopower informs the political rationality of biopolitics: a mode of governance and subjectification wherein human life processes of large groups are managed. In this way, biopolitics work as a nation-building tool which marks certain practices and lifestyles as undesirable, incorrect, and even dangerous to the population as a whole. Mbembe's (2003) necropolitics follow from biopolitics, but he places a greater emphasis on the politics of death, insofar that "life is not so much being governed, as much as death itself is being sanctioned" (Davies, Isakjee, & Dhesi, 2017, p.1267). Necropolitics are a particularly apt frame for understanding racial and colonial biopolitical strategies, including the Canadian management of Indigenous populations, which has been culturally and existentially genocidal. While Indigenous youth and children were subject to programs of removal and genocide, efforts were also made to protect settler youth in the name of biopolitics.

Foucault (1976) prominently situated the development of hysteria about protection of youth sexuality in the late 19th / early 20th C. This was following the rise of modern nationalisms,

[3] The term 'biopolitics' was first coined by Rudolf Kjellén, (*Die politische Probleme des Weltkrieges*, 1916) and was then taken up by Michel Foucault, who coined the term 'biopower' (*The History of Sexuality* Vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge, 1978) to refer to similar mechanisms of discipline.

[4] The species body is "the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and *regulatory controls: a biopolitics of the population*."(*The History of Sexuality* Vol. 1, 1976, p.139)

and corresponded to the newer modes of biopolitcal management. Women and children's sexuality were pathologized, and the 'the homosexual' came into existence as a category/ 'species', alongside other perverse species such as the 'criminal' and the 'mentally ill'. In this way, protection of youth from sexuality was a prominent discourse in the 1970s, but not a new one. Gayle Rubin's controversial piece, "Thinking Sex" (1984), speaks to the history of deployment of this scare tactic, writing that "the notion that sex per se is harmful to the young has been chiseled into extensive social and legal structures designed to insulate minors from sexual knowledge and experience" (p.138). She asserts that "for over a century, no tactic for stirring up erotic hysteria has been as reliable as the appeal to protect children" (p.141).

In the couple of years around the Montréal Games, a significant proportion of the news stories related to queer people in the mainstream media sources I accessed were about corruption of young people through queer sex. In "Police and press lies end in death", in the May/June 1975 issue of *the Body Politic*, Ron Dayman notably speaks back to the sensationalizing and exploitative articles in several mainstream news sources. Dayman, an early *Body Politic* writer, also co-established the Canadian Gay and Lesbian Archives, which has been renamed as ArQuives. I accessed these archives to undertake my research. Little information is available about Dayman online, but from photographs and his self-identification in articles, he appears to be a white cis gay man. Dayman discusses the Ottawa police force's 'Morality Squad', which arrested eighteen gay men, many without cause, and laid charges over a three-week period, in connection with a nude modelling agency that was allegedly a front for a gay prostitution business. Many Canadian media sources, including both Le *Devoir* and the *Star*, picked the story up, sensationalizing the issue as a 'homosexual vice ring', where 'ten- and eleven-year-old boys were being sold into sex slavery'. The first person to be arrested was 21-year-old Mark Gravel.

Police arrested Gravel alongside twelve other men, all of whom they charged with gross indecency and buggery. This means that they had had sex with a male youth between the ages of 16 and 21. They arrested no one with indecent assault, showing that there was no sex with youths under 14. Most of the men arrested were clients, and not involved in running the business, or necessarily aware of the ages of the youth working there. Dayman points out that in heterosexual prostitution arrests, most clients are charged with being a found-in in a bawdy house, and receive light sentencing, while these fourteen men faced serious charges with potential jail times of five to fourteen years (Dayman, 1975). The sensationalized news coverage and his concurrent outing, lead to the suicide of 34-year-old Warren Zufelt, a public servant. Dayman's report on the case highlights how harmful these discourses can be.

Another article in *The Body Politic* took the criticism of criminalization of sex with youths much farther. The article "men loving boys loving men" (November 1977) written by Gerald Hannon, who I described in section 5.4, argued that Bill-C150, which decriminalized homosexual acts, was insufficient. Hannon pointed out that the age of consent of 21 for homosexual acts was a full seven years above that for heterosexual acts. Hannon argued for abolition of age of consent laws, and used phrases such as "Boy-love is not child molestation" (Warner, 2002). The backlash against the article was swift and severe. Police upheld charges against Hannon and *The Body Politic* itself for using the mail to distribute immoral material, and police confiscated the subscription list during a raid of the periodical offices (Warner, 2002). *Toronto Sun* columnist Claire Hoy was one of the most outspoken opponents against abolition, and regularly attacked *The Body Politic*. As a famed homophobe, Hoy's perspective is not surprising (Fitzgerald & Rayter, 2012). Within a two-month period (Oct 30-Dec 25 1977), six of Hoy's scathing anti-gay articles appeared in the *Sun*. Titles included, "Our taxes help

homosexuals promote abuse of children" (December 22, 1977); and "The limp wrist lobby" (November 2, 1977). In an article titled "Kids not rights, is their craving" (Dec 25, 1977) Hoy contended that getting queer people into schools so that they could corrupt and pervert children, not securing human rights, was the hidden intention of the gay liberation movement (Graydon, 2011).

Acceptability of sex with youths was not only rejected by homophobes but also hotly debated within the queer community. Outspoken opponents of the abolition of age-of-consent laws included various women's, feminist, and lesbian groups. Their chief concerns were that abolitionists did not take into consideration sexual abuse and child exploitation and the gendered dynamics of such, and that abolitionists had not articulated a plan for assuring informed consent (Warner, 2002; Ross, 1990). *Body Politic* columnists Andrew Hodges and Chris Bearchell describe some tensions between these groups:

> Feminists are aware of gay men's sexual freedom and sometimes attack gay men for objectifying each other… a nearby lesbian-feminist group attacks a Syracuse gay newsletter for defending those arrested for washroom sex. They say that the arrests are no worse than the "mutually exploitative and sexist nature of bathroom trysts," and that anyone who makes sexual contact in a toilet is being oppressed by someone who doesn't see them as fully human… and sexist tradition carries on. (Hodges, 1977, p.22)

Chris Bearchell responded two months later, in an article titled "Gay men and lesbians can work together" (April 1977, p. 184 -5). She disagrees with Hodges, saying that as a lesbian, it is not a given that she stands against public sexuality. Bearchell attests that some women actively want to create bathhouses for women, such as lesbian feminist writer Rita Mae Brown. She says that many gay men also find gay bars and baths objectifying, denouncing the polarization of these two groups. Canadian lesbian author Jane Rule expressed similar sentiments in later issues of the magazine. Regardless of differing stances across groups on public sexuality, and sexualized

spaces such as bathhouses, the 1976 fight against the Olympic Clean Up was a defining moment in lesbian and gay collective activism in Montréal (Higgins, 1999; McLeod, 2017; Warner, 2002). As Podmore and Chamberland posit:

> The clean-up campaign sparked strong resistance among activists and mobilized a linguistically divided gay and lesbian community… It also appears to be the first time that gays and lesbians described themselves as a "community" to the mainstream press. (Podmore and Chamberland, 2015, p. 200)

6.4 Clean ups- bathhouse raids and West End

In this section, I emphasize the connections between mega-events and spatial politics of the city, focusing specifically on the policing, social control, surveillance, and risk management of marginalized populations who were to be hidden during the Games. I reintroduce urban image construction as a politics of erasure, and I exemplify this through happenings such as the 'Olympic Cleanup' bathhouse raids in Montréal, and concurrent raids of lesbian establishments.

The February 1975 raid of the Sauna Aquarius bathhouse, where police arrested thirty-five men and charged them with being found in a bawdyhouse, signals the beginning of a heightened period of police repression (Body Politic editors, 1975; Kinsman & Gentile, 2009). Police also hacked down the doors at the Club Baths with axes, even after being given a master key. They arrested thirteen men. While queer women were not the primary target of the Olympic Clean-Up campaign, the presence of two lesbian bars in the 'gay downtown' (Orchard, 1974), meant that "their spaces were implicated in the program to rid the area of 'undesirables'" (Podmore, 2015, p.200). A raid at lesbian bar Chez Jilly's during the Olympic clean-up was especially intimidating; The armed police arrived with machine guns and carried cameras. Police also raided a second lesbian bar, named Baby Face. Police held women unless they could prove their identities or show identification as proof of age. (Body Politic editors 1976; Podmore,

2015). Forcing queer patrons to identify themselves meant their identities could be and often were exposed to devastating effect. Two months after the first raid on the venue, a devastating firebomb attack took place at Sauna Aquarius. Three people died during the attack, two of whom they buried in unmarked graves, because their families did not claim their bodies (Body Politic, April/May1975). A year later, police also raided Sauna Neptune. Henri Labelle, who was working at the sauna as a cashier the night of the raid, attests that "they yanked off people's towels and threw everybody together and took pictures and charged them all with being in a common bawdy house" (Labelle, as quoted in Montréal Gazette, 2011). The discourse of bathhouses as 'dens of sin' justified the dehumanizing and often violent treatment of patrons.

Alongside policing, my research reaffirms how social and legal regulation affected the movement of queers and other sexual or gender outsiders throughout the city. Queer women often could not escape social policing and harassment even in spaces designed for queer people; an article in the October 1976 issue of *the Body Politic* presents evidence of inter-community discrimination against queer women. Owners of a gay disco called Jojo's allegedly did not want lesbian patrons in their establishment, particularly those who did not conform to a more traditionally feminine style of clothing. Dress regulations specifically targeted these women. The owners called police multiple times on such women, who police arrested indiscriminately. Police dislocated one woman's shoulder from forcibly removing her from Jojo's. The same week, yet another woman suffered injuries after being ejected from the establishment, where she encountered an aggressive and intoxicated man who the bar had also ejected, who punched and kicked the woman (p.7).

Violent biopolitical policing of gender expression and sexuality was notably enacted on sex workers in Vancouver in the mid-1970s, around the time of the Montréal Games. Ross' work

(2012) traces the evacuation of sex workers from downtown Vancouver to the West End, prompted by a series of police raids of downtown nightclubs where these (mostly trans and racialized) women were working.

About 200 street-based workers migrated to a small stroll in the West End to avoid police repression. The West End was a burgeoning 'gayborhood', in the process of gentrification by upwardly mobile, predominantly white, gay men. They clearly demarcated these workers as outside of proper sexual citizenship, as they could not cash in on whiteness or respectability politics to negate their status as unwelcome strangers in the neighborhood. A group called the Concerned Residents of the West End was formed, comprising respectable queers and heterosexuals, with the desire to cleanse the streets of the neighborhood of sex workers. Often this looked like "displaying contempt for those visibly defined by sex" (Ross, 2012, p.136). Ross writes that "highly visible on the stroll, trans prostitutes of colour became objects of desire and repulsion… in a nation bent on 'solving the social problem' of prostitution" (ibid, p.128).

Non-normative gender expression contributed to the inability of these people to access proper sexual citizenship, and to cement their impermissibility to a developing heteronormative community. Even as some queers were becoming somewhat insulated from oppression by being granted proximity to normative Canadian sexual citizenship, others, perceived as failures of gender and sexuality, were swiftly punished. The 'street activities' bylaw was one such punishment, which resulted in the almost complete expulsion of the workers from the West End by 1983 (Lowman,1992; O'Doherty, 2011).

6.5 Clean Ups- Downtown Eastside, Cruising

As established in the literature (section 2.5), Games host cities go to great lengths to "manipulate urban reality" (Broudehoux, 2016, p.114). These manipulations are

> based on an elitist conceptualization of what is deemed desirable, respectable or attractive… the resulting image embodies the desires and aspirations of those who have the power to shape the urban environment, and becomes the material concretization of their cultural imaginings and visual fantasies. (Broudehoux, 2016, p.114)

A 2009 *Xtra* article with no named author forwards the perspective that, echoing the 1976 Montréal Games, there were forceful attempts made to hide queer populations and manipulate urban reality to prepare for Vancouver 2010 (Xtra, Dec 9, 2009). The article presented an example of this manipulation; when Vancouver was bidding for the Olympics, the city officials took the Olympic host city evaluation team on a tour- but instead of taking the direct route from Canada Place to the Olympic Colosseum, the bus route detoured significantly to keep away from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. The Downtown Eastside is one of the poorest postal codes in Canada (Burnett, 2014). It is home to half of Vancouver's homeless population, and most of the city's street-based sex workers work in the area (Culhane,2003; Sommers, 2002). It would certainly have presented a challenge to the image of a socially conscious, world-class city that city officials were trying to promote. In 2009, the City of Vancouver implemented the 'Assistance to Shelter' act, which critics said was specifically designed to aid in hiding the 'undesirable' populations of the area. The Assistance to Shelter act gave permission for police to forcibly remove persons from the streets who appeared to be homeless, and take them into shelters during serious weather events. The act also stipulated that "as a last resort… the individual may be taken to police cells, voluntarily or involuntarily, where they will be held until the extreme weather declaration is no longer in effect" (Xtra, Dec 9, 2009, n.p.). Activists were skeptical, calling the ASA the "Olympic Kidnapping Act'. They feared it would allow police to

remove people from the streets with very little accountability, and would increase criminalization of homeless people, drug users and sex workers. The act was clothed in biopolitical language about the protection of life- but in reality, the "ASA was not so much about protecting the health and safety of homeless individuals in Vancouver, but a tool which, under the premise of health and safety, allowed police to clear the homeless off the streets" (Chan, 2014, p.43).

Long-time *Xtra* reporter Jeremy Hainsworth also reported on the new act in 2009. Hainsworth questioned why the city had not tried to fund new shelters in anticipation of the shelters filling up because of the act (Dec 3 2009). Hainsworth's article also brings up a similar street clean-up in Atlanta, prior to the 1996 Olympics hosted there, when police arrested and physically removed 9000 homeless people from the streets. An article by Lia Harper presented a similar skepticism, quoting Laura Track, Pivot Legal Society's housing campaign lawyer. Track said that "this legislation represents a return to the vagrancy laws of the 10th century, which saw people criminalized simply for being poor and having no place to go" (Lia Harper, Xtra Jan 5 2009, n.p.). She writes that the return to what are essentially vagrancy laws is reminiscent of the reuptake of "common bawdy house" laws in Montreal just prior to the 76 Games. A "common bawdy house" was defined as any place that was being used for acts of indecency, mostly for the purpose of prostitution. The vagueness of this legislation allowed the law to be broadly applied according to whatever was deemed morally offensive or indecent and so it was most frequently used as a way of punishing non-normative sexuality or sexual behaviors. Critics of the Assistance to Shelter Act saw the act similarly being applied as a catchall to remove 'undesirables' from the streets in anticipation of the 2010 Games.

I argue that biopolitical control was enacted in the mid-seventies when bawdyhouse laws, and the charges of 'gross indecency' and 'buggery' were heavily used to criminalize queer

sexuality, as well as when a 'Street Activities' bylaw in Vancouver simultaneously displaced 200 sex workers. In 2010, laws were still being created such as the 'Assistance to Shelter' act, which could remove 'undesirables' from the streets, to promote a particular vision of the city to market to the world. These happenings can be firmly located in discourses of the criminality of homeless and transient people, street-based sex workers, and queers having semi-public or public sex, which through a nationalist biopolitical lens is constructed as a risk to the health of the national body.

While some queers may now be exempt from 'dangerous' or 'high risk' categories, policing and surveillance have expanded and diversified to crack down on others who are still located outside of accepted sexual subjecthood. In 2010, there were reports of a crackdown on gay sex in public in Ottawa, where we can see how RCMP expanded surveillance to manage sexuality in urban space. Noreen Fagan, another long-time *Xtra* contributor, who writes predominantly on social justice issues, reported that the Ottawa police released a statement alleging that they had collected significant evidence that identified several popular gay public-sex and cruising spots, such as Place Bell, Esplanade Laurier, and the bathroom of the Sears at the Rideau Centre (Xtra, Oct 20, 2009). Staff sergeant Chris Rheaume was in charge of complaints. He showed *Xtra* a video of men having sex in a stairwell taken from a security camera. According to Rheaume, police had arrested one man who was facing charges of mischief, public indecency and trespassing, legal terms here used to control both movement through and access to space. The article quotes Rheaume sensationalizing the act; "these men are meeting together and having sex-public sex… we are talking in washrooms, and we are not

talking in stalls- we are talking right on the floor, beside the urinals" (p.6). Queer sex in public has long been sensationalized, effectively deployed to stir up hysteria, similar to sex work.

6.6 Sex work discourses, colonial sexualization

The Canadian nation-state has long disavowed sex workers from the realm of proper sexual citizenship. The state discursively constructs this non-normative sexual and labour practice as high risk, disease-laden, and dangerous to the Canadian national body (Benoit et al., 2020; Claggett, 2021, Ferris, 2015). The media have long played a major role in perpetuating stigma against sex workers, through social control and surveillance (Ferris, 2015). Jeffrey and MacDonald (2011, p.137) argue that the media accomplishes this in three main ways; by presenting simplified and stereotypical images of sex work and sex workers, making sex workers the objects of negative attention, and silencing sex workers as speakers in their own right. This proved to be true in the articles I surveyed. Specific discourses painted an interesting story about sex workers during the 2010 Olympic period. The news articles presented a discourse of sex work in relation to protection of public health during the Games that was mostly focused on HIV/AIDS, and preventing its transmission from sex workers to visitors to the city who may act as clients.

A *Vancouver Sun* article from March 5, 2009 by Pamela Fairman (no public information available about her), discusses HIV and sex work in relation to Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. She stated that in Vancouver, two-thirds of sex workers were Indigenous, despite making up only 2% of the population, according to a study by researchers at the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS. Out of the reported 20,000 sex workers in Vancouver, there was an estimated HIV prevalence rate of 15%. The high prevalence of HIV among female sex-trade workers was called an emerging trend, given that in the 1980s most infections were among gay

men. Results of the study posited that in face 25% of female sex-trade workers in the city were infected. The author addressed the public rhetoric that the HIV prevalence among prostitutes should trigger warnings to visitors during the 2010 Olympics with Dr. Patricia Daly, chief medical health officer for Vancouver Coastal Health. Daly said that their message has always been that 'you should assume sex workers are HIV positive', and that Vancouver Coastal Health planned to distribute one-hundred-thousand condoms to athletes and hotels during the Olympics.

While providing safer-sex supplies is essential, Michael Goodyear critiqued the BC Center for Excellence in HIV/AIDS' study itself, calling into question the research methods. He writes that the study took existing data and fit it into a computer model which ignored the geography of Vancouver, and how HIV is mappable to discrete areas (Goodyear, 2009, para.4). He contends the numbers are inaccurate, and that the likely outcome of this oversight would be "moral panic, stigmatization of a disadvantaged group, likely escalation of violence against a population already subject to extremely high levels, and a destruction of trust" (2009, para.10). They paid no attention to HIV rates among sex-work clients, further stigmatizing sex workers as vectors of disease (Goodyear, 2009), and shoring up the polarization of sex workers and ordinary citizens (Van Brunschot et al., 2008). I also located various articles linking large-scare sporting events to upticks in human trafficking (Armstrong, 2009; Dueck, 2010). The Salvation Army Christian church and social services agency was also a key player in influencing public discourse on sex trafficking and the Games, launching an aggressive awareness campaign which featured "graphic photos of young women being abused and degraded" (Armstrong, 2009). The campaign

received significant criticism for sex worker groups such as FIRST and PACE for being a 'shock and awe' campaign that did little demonstrable good.

Concurrently, sex worker coalitions were trying to appeal bawdyhouse laws which made them less safe- specifically sections 210, 212, 21 of the Canadian criminal code. These provisions endangered workers in several ways. The bawdy house law made it illegal to work in a brothel, making regular in-call situations illegal. It was illegal to live off the avails of prostitution, a stipulation which prevented workers from hiring security personnel, drivers, and other safety supports. Communicating about transactional sex was also criminalized, impeding workers in vetting clients. Law also prohibited public solicitation of prostitution (public areas which including streets, parks and the inside of cars). Critics contended that this was to keep sex workers hidden and off the streets, but as it removed them from spaces where they may have had support from other workers, this led to higher-risk situations (Beniot & Shumka, 2015, O'Doherty, 2011; Ontario Women's Rights Network, 2017).

As Fairman's 2009 article comments on, a disproportionately large number of street-based sex workers in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside were Indigenous women. These women were victims of violence at hugely disproportionate levels compared to other workers (Bingham et al., 2014, Hunt, 2015). The sexualized nature of this violence points to a long history of the state, as well as by individuals, weaponizing sexualized violence as a tool of biopolitical control against Indigenous peoples (Brodie, 2012; Morgensen, 2011). Residential schools were spaces of horrifying sexual violence (Niezen, 2016; Walker,2009; Woolford & Gacek, 2016), and sexualized stereotypes of Indigenous women have had extremely damaging and far-reaching consequences (Cervantes-Altamirano, 2016; Smith, 2015), as well as helped maintain spatial and symbolic boundaries between settlers and Indigenous peoples (Heaman, 2013; Stoler, 1989).

After 1885 in Canada, the government created a pass system that required people living on reserve to get approved for a pass to leave. Indian Agents and RCMP officers who controlled the pass system would often withhold permission, as well as food rations, unless women living on reserves made themselves sexually available to them (Palmater, 2016).

The delegation of the Downtown Eastside as a racialized space where poor urban Indigenous populations are often confined also shaped this violence (Fast & Cunningham, 2018). Razack reflects on the positioning of the inner city in Canada's colonial geographical imagination:

> The inner city is a racialized space, the zone which contains all that is not respectable is contained. Canada's colonial geographies exhibit this same pattern of violent expulsions and the spatial containment of Aboriginal peoples to marginalized areas of the city, processes consolidated over three hundred years of colonization. Here, however, both colonial and slum administration persist. Reserves remain lands administered by the Indian Act, while city slums are regulated through a variety of municipal laws. (Razack, 2000, p.130)

Whether in rural or urban environments, Indigenous populations in Canada are "over-policed and incarcerated at one of the highest rates in the world… their encounters with white settlers have principally remained encounters in prostitution, policing, and the criminal justice system" (Samuelson & Strelioff, 2001, p. 127). During times of heightened policing and regulation of sex work, Indigenous workers were especially impacted.

6.7 Police, Homonationalism, Security, 2010

A focus on Games times provides a snapshot of the changing relationships between queers and police. In the periodicals from 1975 to 1977, I could not find any documentation of positive relationships between queer people and police. When articles mentioned police and queer people

together, it was almost always a story about repression, raids, and criminality. Sources from 2009 to 2011 represent a markedly different relationship between queer people and police.

An August 2009 article in the *Vancouver Sun*, by Richard Dalton Jr (no information publicly available), titled "Parade is all about fun, celebration, and remembering the struggle that it took to get here" discusses the evolution of Pride parades in Vancouver and in North America more broadly. Dalton quoted city councillor Tim Stevenson in the article, saying that "Vancouver City agencies traditionally have participated (in the parade) separately, but this year the mayor, council, police, fire department and park board will march together. The city manager will be driving a flatbed truck covered in pink; a symbol of opposition to anti-gay bullying" (p. A12).

The language of 'bullying' rebrands homophobic violence as individual disagreement, an interesting discursive moment that is in line with the new neoliberal focus on the individual and not on the systemic. This logic flows through most discourses of police/ military/queer coalitions. Lamble theorizes this political trajectory:

> LGBT groups are increasingly eager to sit on police liaison boards, collaborate with police projects, accept sponsorships from police and participate in gay police recruitment projects. While these partnerships are often fraught with tensions and complexities on the whole, they are viewed as some signs of progress. The celebratory approach to such partnerships is particularly visible in the annual gay pride marches and events that take place in major cities… where police, prison and military recruitment drives now feature prominently within mainstream festivities. (Lamble, 2014, p.159)

My research shores up Lamble's assessment. A January 2010 article with no listed author, "Increased Patrols for Vancouver's Gay Village During Olympics" is an example of such. The article discusses the increased police presence and patrols that were approved for the Vancouver Gay Village during the Olympics, which Inspector John DeHaas of the VPD says is for 'safeguarding the queer community against potential homophobic incidents' during a time

when an influx of foreigners would descend upon the city. Jim Deva, a member of the Queer Advisory Committee for the Games, and celebrated Vancouver gay activist and public figure, was quoted saying that "(VPD officers) need to be aware that perhaps someone will come from a country where the openness which we have in our society is foreign to them… and may not behave in a way that is acceptable here" (*Xtra*, 2010, n.p). He continues, saying that "the police assured us that they would deal with it in a really progressive way".

The Vancouver Police Department (VPD) also asserted that they would continue to have increased police presence in the West End after the games. The journalist quoted inspector DeHaas, who says "I think everybody would agree it would be good to have those officers there (in future)" (*Xtra,* 2010, n.p.). Subtle framing of 'foreigners' as homophobic begets homophobia in Canada and reifies the racialized and colonial discourses of certain places being backwards and uncivilized. A homonationalist discourse emerges. This newer, 'progressive' Canadian sexual citizenship has shifted, but also fortified the border between the developed 'us' and backwards 'them'. The neoliberal citizenship norms and practices that Lamble identifies integrate not only a punitive logic into sexual politics at home, but inform conceptions of 'Others' at home and abroad. This developing neoliberal carceral logic exemplifies the changing relationship between sexual citizenship, queer politics and the state. Lamble argues that the changing boundaries of neoliberal sexual citizenship are not a simple story of assimilation and homonormativity, but that "this shift reflects a deeper reconfiguration of sexual politics, where

citizenship norms and practices are increasingly infused with a chillingly punitive and deathly logic" (2014, p.151).

6.8 Conclusion

I argue that the hegemonic nation-state protects its borders through regulation of sexuality, reproduction and womanhood; maintaining its structure and assuring its future. Sporting mega-events are a time when the nation-state increasingly invests in creating spectacles that promote and maintain these boundaries. Biopolitical control connects the different discourses identified in this research that shore up hegemonic Canadian sexual citizenship. The maintenance of national health justifies the control and maintenance of the public body through the promotion of sport and youth as a symbol of national health, and as a symbol of individual neoliberal achievement. It also justifies the fear of moral disintegration and fears of disease and contagion. Biopolitics control and maintain national reproductive, kinship, and sexual norms, often connected to implicit notions of 'racial hygiene'. Scandal, sensationalization and spectacle help to enforce the boundaries of sexual citizenship, as is documented in the archival news sources.

Makarychev and Yatsyk write that biopolitics may make nationalisms visible in ways that other research perspectives do not. They assert that "what biopolitics can tell us, is that national identity making necessarily implies disciplinary practices of controlling and regulating human lives, as a precondition for aggregating a population into a single collective body" (2017, p.3). The newer Canadian national ideology of liberal individualism may seem at odds with the aggregation of population into a single social body, but there is much evidence in my research to corroborate scholars' assertions that the state's deployment of biopolitical control has not faltered, and resembles the tactics of the past (Brodie, 2012; Foth & Holmes, 2018). However, Clough writes that while today's neoliberal manifestation of government is grounded in

biopolitics, there has been a transit into "expansive modalities of risk management, militarism, and policing" (2011, p.3). Statistical information makes it possible to calculate risk "that underwrites the comparison of populations and their life capacities or lack thereof, thereby value-coding an expectation while producing a fear of probabilistically marked populations often distinguished as dangerous "(ibid, p.5). In fact, these expanded modalities, which include surveillance and policing, are necessary to understand how sexuality is used to mark certain populations as undesirable, dangerous, and high-risk (Bell, 2006; Hunter, 2004).

Public spaces where agents perform 'improper' sexuality are often the most fraught and contested city spaces. Other identity categories such as gender, race, and class layer to create particular rejections from the borders of proper national sexual citizenship. Bodies that represent 'decline' or 'excess' are out of place. Under new legislation created in time for the Olympics, police physically removed people experiencing homelessness, as well as other people who occupy the Downtown Eastside. Just as bathhouses and queer bars were raided and patrons were criminalized and removed, and police cracked down and surveilled public sex, legal categories were weaponized to spatially confine or expel undesirable populations. The desirability of these populations and their location in relation to proper sexual citizenship may have changed over time, but these spatial processes are longstanding.

Chapter 7: The border and the beyond: security, migrants, military

7.1 Introduction

The Canadian nation-state and its institutional apparatuses used the rhetoric of protection I identified in Chapter Six to legitimize a biopolitical agenda, resulting in the management of marginalized populations within the borders of the nation-state. In this chapter, I extend my analysis to consider how this rhetoric, interlaced with homonationalism, affects how the dominant culture imagines Canada's relationship to other countries. Canada's roots its self-image in its claims to benevolence (Gross, 2017), but critical race and feminist thinking brings attention to the fact that 'benevolence' "can be a tool of both settler colonialism and border violence in itself" (Goma, 2002. p.84). I found that the nation-state used metaphors of protection, security, and saviorism as floating signifiers, creating knowledge that coloured the treatment of immigrant and refugee claimants. The myth of benevolence also protected Canada's overseas interests, while obscuring their imperialist undertones.

In this chapter, I begin by surveying some of how the media sources presented immigration and refugees during the Montréal Games, focusing on representations of queer refugees. I then address the Canadian nation-state's advertised progressive politics and openness to queer refugees during the 2010 Olympics, as I illustrate through the case study of Pride House. I present evidence to complicate this vision of Canada via the textual framing of migrants visible in the media sources during the 2010 Games. The assertions of community initiatives to support migrants also highlight the inadequacies of actual migrant legislation. The periodicals also report on new migrant laws being introduced, which were created in tandem with the Conservative government's new focus on militarism and military propaganda (Paris, 2014; Sjolander, 2014).

In this historical moment, the government also relied on the Games to obfuscate incidents of 'peacekeeping' violence in Afghanistan (Sykes, 2017). I explore peacekeeping in greater depth, alongside the centrality of 'western' human rights discourse and the totalizing sexual identities pushed on to potential queer migrants. I conclude by mediating on the consequences of failure to comply with these identities, and the deathly mechanics of stripping human rights from populations who reject being 'saved'.

7.2 Prohibited classes, good/bad immigrants, 1976

Several issues of *the Body Politic* from 1976, most significantly the April/ May issue, reported on the new immigration green paper being developed. While this was the first Immigration Act to designate refugees as a specific class of immigrants, it also broadened the definition of inadmissible immigrants. This caveat allowed immigration officials significant leeway in their decision-making. The act designated queer people as a prohibited class preventing immigration, and so despite their eventual removal as a prohibited class in the final Immigration Act of 1978, queer people continued to be discursively produced as 'undesirable immigrants'.

During the 1976 Games, immigration and refugee discourse was deeply shaped by fears of queerness, but also of communist infiltration (see Chapter Five, Section 5). Immigration and refugee legislation and discourse also invoked ideas of race and ethnicity to create an image of 'immigrant' that was decidedly non-white. New multiculturalism legislation was being used as a tool to imagine a coherent national identity, "which required the conditional inclusion of "Other" ethnic groups into "a narrative that reiterates settler myths of origin" (Caldwell et al., 2013, p. 9). In this way, the presence of racialized Canadians here was denaturalized, even as Canada's 'diversity' was celebrated. As had been the case since Canada's inception, the whiteness of an

immigrant or refugee overdetermined the perception of that person as ‘safe’, and facilitated their migration process (Wayland, 1997, p.35). This is further evidenced even today as we see in the case of refugees of the Ukraine war who face fewer barriers and shorter wait times than refugees of colour (Cénat et al., 2022)

I evidence this phenomenon in my work through the discursive construction of Australian swimmer Stephen Badger, who was expedited as a landed immigrant so that he could participate as a Canadian in the 1976 games. Conservative MP Jake Epp argued his immigration status should be expedited (1976, May 21). Ebb, raised in a Mennonite family in Manitoba, is a white heterosexual man. He is widely known for his homophobic views (Benoit, 2019). In 1997, after a gay man murdered a young boy, Epp wrote to the National Gay Rights Coalition: "What is needed is not protection for homosexuals, but for Canadians who are not deviant” (Clèment, 2012, p.42). During the HIV/AIDS crisis, an activist organization burned an effigy of Epp, who was current Health Minister, Toronto City Hall to protest his homophobic neglect of the AIDS epidemic (CTV"AIDS 1988” 2020).

Epp (1976 May 21, C3) frames his support of Badger’s expedition as common-sense. His rhetorical stance is that since the Immigration Minister had given special permission to 468 people to immigrate the previous year, many of whom were undesirables, Badger, a desirable immigrant, should be expedited. These undesirables included “several people with criminal charges, and several who were accused of being prostitutes or homosexuals”. Grouping homosexuals, criminals and sex workers together is in line with biopolitical discourses of protection of the species-body, as discussed in Chapter Six. Badger’s value to Canada as an athlete, his ‘western’ country of origin and his race and gender made him a ‘low-risk’ and

worthy applicant in Ebb's eyes, and certainly the eyes of others, as immigration officials did in fact expedite Badger's status prior to the Games.

In the year preceding the Vancouver Games, *The Globe and Mail* reported on white South African asylum seeker Brandon Huntley, who claimed Black South Africans had persecuted him because of his race during a time of land reparations and changing political structures in South Africa (York, 2009). The government granted Huntley refugee status, a decision which spurred intense media attention. The quick response of the government and the generally sympathetic portrayal of Huntley in the media struck me as ironic- a benefactor of the horrors of colonization and Apartheid in South Africa felt that he was a victim of 'reverse-racism' when those dispossessed were finally having their voices heard on a larger scale. Geoffrey York, a veteran war correspondent, a white Canadian citizen and the African Bureau Chief for *The Globe,* covered the story. York authored two books that took indigenous dispossession in Canada and the hazards of medical politics to patients as their subjects ("Geoffrey York", *Globe and Mai*l). York's framing of the subject trivializes Huntley's claims of persecution because of his race using the word 'complaining', a term often used to connote annoying or disproportionate negativity (Kowalski, 2008). The journalist also includes statistics which discredit Huntley's account, and places quotes from respected organizations such as The African National Congress in conversation with quotes of Huntley's, painting his complaint as unserious and illegitimate in comparison.

7.3 Changes and legacies

While in 2010 queer people were legally eligible to seek asylum in Canada, the nation-state took this inclusion up as evidence of Canadian saviorism and moral superiority (Sykes, 2016; Walcott, 2015). A 2009 *Globe and Mail* article, 'first Gay Pride house during 2010 games' (n.a) ,

(p. A8) quotes a statement by the Lesbian Sport Association. The organization stated that their hope (for Pride House) was not solely to help queer refugees seek asylum in Canada, but also to ignite conversations about LGBTQ rights around the world. The article quotes Dean Nelson, CEO of GayWhistler, who contends that "the value internationally (of Pride House) is that young athlete leaders and coaches can see a different paradigm. And that can work, and it does work". He continues, "I don't think that (creating Pride House) is a political statement. I think it's a statement of human rights" (ibid). Nelson's word choice corresponds to language used in the rights-based activism which became dominant in Canada, beginning in the early 1960s (see section 4:2). Similar to Mark Tewksbury and John Damien (chapter 2.4), Nelson rejects the term 'political'. While it has proven fruitful, the language of 'human rights' depoliticizes LGBTQ causes (Lewis, 2010; Stychn, 2003).

In a 2011 *Globe and Mail* article by Jennifer Van Evra, Ken Coolen, then president of Vancouver Pride Society, mused on the Pride celebrations that would take place in the summer of 2011. Coolen is one of two white, gay businessmen who had the idea for Pride House, (alongside Dean Nelson, discussed above). The Vancouver Pride Society ejected Coolen as the president of the organization in 2012 (see Chapter Five, section 7).

Coolen monologues Pride would be an opportunity to further reflect on the state of LGBTQ rights globally, and to consider that some athletes, trainers, and media who had been in Canada for the Games, would go home to queerantagonistic countries (Van Evra, 2011, July 29, n. p). Cooling brings up an Amnesty International report which recorded situations of corrective rape, and forced removal of children from queer parents' custody, among other horrific violations. Cooling omits where or when these events took place and gives no information about the people involved or the political situation. There is an implied sense that a general 'out there'

is where these unimaginable things happen, extremely displaced from experiences of queers in Canada. As Coolen says, "With rights come responsibilities, and we are living in a utopia when it comes to living LGBT" (ibid) While devastating violence against queer people is enacted in many places throughout the world in ways that are uncommon in Canada (Flores, 2019), the framing of these articles presents Pride House, and exposure to Canada more broadly, as an educational opportunity offering prescriptive advice to 'third world' and 'developing' nations.

This ideological slip is reminiscent of the 'family of Nations' discussed in critical nationalisms literature (see Chapter Two, section 3), where a global hierarchy is naturalized based on problematic metrics of development (Banerjee,1987; Sylvester, 2006). It becomes especially dangerous when used to justify imperial ventures, which happens in new forms during the Games era. The immigration and refugee 'resources' (pamphlets) available in Pride House, and the public conversations around queer refugees during the time, illustrated a hegemonic ideology of global saviours, but also alluded to an ease of access to asylum in Canada for queer refugees that my results refute.

7.4 Irregular means and safe countries of origin

Articles detailing immigration and refugee legal reform complicated the Olympic marketing of Canada as friendly and accessible to queer migrants. A *Globe and Mail* from March 2010 (n. a) discussed the Tory agenda Stephen Harper had recently put forward. The article reported on the controversial proposal to reform Canada's Refugee determination system, a process which began the year prior, when visitor's visas were imposed on Mexicans and Czechs (Carver, 2016). Although Harper did not go into detail in a speech about the new immigration reforms, then-immigration Minister Jason Kenney had recently suggested that he would cut layers of appeals,

hoping a quick decision will discourage false claimants from trying to stay in Canada (Macklin, 2013).

To provide some background information about Jason Kenney, while serving as Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Kenney "likened the detention facilities used to house an increasing number of asylum seekers and non-status migrants to hotels… and yet, when addressing the responsibilities of citizenship, he repeatedly argued that "Canada is not a hotel" (Dawson, 2014, p.826). In this way Kenney referred to the idea of Canadian hospitality and Canada as a safe haven, while simultaneously painting Canada as vulnerable to being taken advantage of by "migrants who construe themselves as hotel guests with privileges rather than citizens with responsibilities" (Dawson, 2014, p.826). The misguided and actively harmful behavior of Kenney and Harper continued. In 2010, Harper also made a promise to crack down on human smuggling, but his proposed bill, Bill C49, was going to do anything but, according to activists. An article from *Xtra Magazine*, titled 'human smuggling Bill won't help refugees' explored activists' concerns:

> The bill has been called mean-spirited and Draconian by queer and refugee activist groups, because it largely goes after refugee claimants themselves... it would allow the Minister of Immigration to designate any claimant or group of claimants as irregular and to put them in detention for periods of up to a year without a proper hearing… It would also allow them to deny these refugees the option of sponsoring family members to come as refugees themselves, for five years. Within the five years, refugee claimants would not be allowed to apply for permanent residency, by any means. (Smith, 2018, n.p)

Smith is a regular *Xtra* contributor and member of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery. He authored a book about Canadian democracy, and describes his knowledge about Canadian politics as 'fairly excessive' ("about dale smith"). The article exemplifies his broad understanding of particular state apparatuses and institutions. Smith boosts queer and refugee activist groups' concern that queer refugees are more likely to be deemed 'irregular', because

many have had to travel by irregular means from their countries of origin because of safety concerns. These irregular means could include "being smuggled out of places like Iran, then passing through Turkey, and then arriving in Canada" (Smith, 2010), as a recent queer refugee explained. Indirect and irregular pathways to seeking refugee status in Canada often were necessary to avoid detainment (Carver, 2016; Ellis, 2015).

The bill also included the 'safe country of origin' clause, which as it was drafted in 2010, would see that those refugees who come from 'safe places' would be denied access to the Refugee Appeals Division if their claims were rejected, to speed up the claims process. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada would designate countries as 'safe' or 'unsafe' based primarily on how democratic the country's political system was, as well as based on official policy and laws, instead of on accounts of persecution. This clause would work similarly to the designation of certain groups or people as 'irregular', in effect, not considering experiences of queer, trans, and other minorities who may be protected in law, but persecuted in reality (Smith, 2010). The clause also stated that if the laws in the country of origin change to become more lgbtq-friendly in the five-year period in which claimants may not apply for permanent residency (Soennecken & Anderson, 2018), they could be refused refugee status and deported.

7.5 Picking up the slack

A second article by Dale Smith published on July 21, 2010 in *Xtra* reported on a statement released by then-Immigration Minister Jason Kenney, asking Canada's community to 'step up', and sponsor more queer refugees. Smith asserted, not that simple. He explained that a recent bill on reforming Canadian refugee systems included a provision to increase the number of spaces for refugee resettlement, but they designated only a minuscule portion for government-sponsored

refugees. The rest had to be resettled through private sponsorship. This put the responsibility on private groups, most with very limited resources, to resettle refugees.

Smith of *Xtra* also spoke with queer groups that intended to sponsor queer refugees, but did not have the infrastructure or special supports in place to support these migrants. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada created the resettlement system with the nuclear family in mind, and so there is very little infrastructure at all in place to support those with nonexistent or non-normative kinship systems (Smith, 2010; Jordan & Morrissey, 2013). He argued that bringing queer refugees to Canada and being unable to provide any meaningful support was unethical. Smith holds that the bulk of responsibility for providing these supports should reside with government, and not with community groups that were already stretched thin (ibid). Many community groups who were not run by people with a deeper understanding of the experience and legal processes of migrancy were unable to adequately assist new arrivals, financially or otherwise.

Noreen Fagan (2010, March 3), senior *Xtra* writer, interviewed the director of the Iranian Railroad for Queer Refugees, dedicated to helping Iranian refugees through the legal process, and providing them with resources and support upon arrival in Canada. The director of the organization himself, Arsham Parsi, spent thirteen months as a refugee in Turkey before being granted asylum in Canada. Fagan cites the large number of refugees assisted effectively by the organization in comparison with other organizations of this size as evidence of the necessity of competent, sensitive, informed support.

Smith described another complication of the refugee system in a second *Xtra* article. There was a new option for refugee claimants to apply based on persecution because of sexual orientation, but they had to disclose their orientation at the beginning of the interview and

assessment process (Murray, 2014; Jordan & Morrissey, 2013). Smith (*Xtra*, Nov 18, 2010) reports that activist groups such as the Lesbian and Gay Immigration Taskforce and the Rainbow Refugee Committee problematize this. The group explains that the stress of outing yourself, or describing sexualized or homophobic violence to someone you just met, might deter refugees from applying due to queer-antagonistic persecution. Refugee claims had been denied because claimants told officials about their sexuality or gender diversity later on, and officials believed that this made their claims categorically false. Queer asylum seekers also bear the responsibility of 'proving' their queer or trans-ness, but for many people who may have had to be extremely closeted in their country of origin, and would have made sure to hide any evidence (Fobear, 2014; Jordan & Morrissey 2013). For many, there was no possibility of a same-sex relationship or of presenting in a way that was in line with their felt gender, without opening themselves up to persecution (Kahn & Alessi, 2018).

7.6 Military and conservative reforms

Despite the promises of Pride House, and other pinkwashed promotion of Canada during the Games, a heightened suspicion of asylum seekers informed the new immigration and refugee reforms (Murray, 2018). This was in line with reinforcing the nation's moral and physical borders- and was coupled with an increase in military spending and military propaganda (Robinson, 2011), which was conveniently obfuscated by the spectacle of the Games. The new immigration reforms were part of a larger conservative political agenda being pushed by Harper's government during Vancouver 2010 (Shadwick, 2016). Clark Campbell's *Globe* article reports on this. Little information about Campbell is publicly available, but from surveying his other articles, he appears to be politically centrist; critiquing both the liberal and conservative parties and politics. Campbell titles the article "Stephen Harper's government returns to parliament with

an aggressively conservative agenda, designed to shape the national agenda in the months before the next election" (2010, March 4, p. A1). Campbell reported that public servants who 'refused to fall in line' during implementing the new agenda were being forced out. One of these people was Peter Tinsley, the then-chair of the Military Police Commission. Campbell suspected that this was because Tinsley initiated the Afghan prison abuse probe, to the goal of investigating Canadian Forces' knowledge of and implication in the torture of Afghan detainees by Afghan National Army (ibid). They denied Tinsley a second term.

Paul Kennedy, the chair of the Complaints Commission for the RMCP, was also refused a second term, the author implying that this had to do with his objection to the frequent use of tasers by police. Campbell's article criticizes the Harper government for "consolidating executive power, eviscerating the legislative branch, and operating under extreme secrecy, by keeping an iron grip on information through endless court challenges and redacting or censoring documents…"(2010, p. A1), as well as riding the coattails of the military and questioning the patriotism of political opponents.

An article in *the Vancouver Sun* also reports on the centrality of themes of law-and-order and patriotism to the new conservative agenda, promising tougher sentences for sex crimes against children and a new generation of war memorials. The new agenda of the conservative government drew deeply on patriotism, attempting to strengthen national military pride not only through memorials but through spectacle. We can see the continued effects of Harper's 2010 political agenda years afterwards, for example, in the 30-million-dollar celebration of the bicentennial of the declaration of the War of 1812, held in June 2012. Weeks (2015) understands this as a distinctly political strategy; in the War of 1812, Canada did not exist as a sovereign state, much less a unified nation. Harper presented the celebrations as a moment to celebrate 'the

collection in Indigenous nations, local militia, and English and French settlers, all fighting together to save Canada from American invasion.' In this way Harper was finding the roots of what unites Canadians from a time when there was no Canada, and folding multiculturalism discourse into war nostalgia (Simpson A11, CBC News, 29 August 2012). Harper kept his other promises, updating the National War Museum and even erecting a Memorial to the Victims of Communism (Weeks, 2015).

During a time of supposed opening up to the world, when a particular cosmopolitan, neoliberal nation was being globally marketed, the nation's boundaries were also being enforced through the trope of the family referred to in Chapter 5, and by reiterating stories about the birth of Canada. Attempts to heighten patriotism and fortify nationalisms through memorializing wars are strategic (Weeks, 2015), and very effective at re-establishing a sense of national community.

Alongside trying to create a sense of patriotic pride (Gravelle et al., 2014) in the public about Canada's military history, there was also a discourse propagated by the conservative government which drew away attention from some current realities of Canada's international presence. Harper prorogued parliament for five weeks during the Vancouver Games, a wildly controversial move which was repeatedly reported on in the press. In an article from January 15th, 2010, published in the digital edition of *the Globe and Mail,* Jane Taber (2010) writes that many political commenters believe this was certainly a strategy to deflect attention from the impending investigation of Canadian Forces' knowledge and role in prisoner torture in Afghanistan, which would be a war crime if proven true. The benefits of orienting Canada's attention towards to the Games was twofold–Taber wrote the conservative hope was not only to obfuscate Canada's war crimes, but that "a successful Olympics Games for Canada (gold medals

galore) will create good feelings toward the Conservative government, which could then use this as a springboard for an election and majority government" (Taber, 2010, p.1).

7.7 War crimes and Lady Gaga

Other tactics were used to increase national military pride, including homonationalist displays of queer inclusion in the military (Smith,2020; Walcott, 2015). Lina Harper (no publicly available information online) shows a clear example of this in an article from August 19, 2010. Harper reported on Canadian Idol winner and white gay man, Theo Tams, who travelled to Afghanistan to perform a selection of Lady Gaga songs for Canadian soldiers on Canada Day (Harper, 2010, online). Alongside the Lady Gaga medley, Tams also sang the national anthem. The photograph included in the article shows the performer surrounded by smiling soldiers with Canadian flags on their uniforms.

The article invests in a discourse on Canadian sexual exceptionalism, contrasting the progressive and inclusive Canadian military in opposition to homophobic Afghan culture, as well as sets up a distinction between Canadian and American military and nationalisms. The framing of the article locates Canada as more progressive and socially just, the author contending that she 'just can't imagine Adam Lambert (a gay American Idol winner) going to Afghanistan to perform for American troops' (ibid). Theo Tams singing to soldiers is a poignant image to lead us into a larger discussion of homonationalism and queer complicity.

The homonationalist logic of sexual exceptionalism was used to justify Canadian military presence in Afghanistan. It was also employed to refortify a key belief of Canadian nationalism; that we are deeply distinct from the U.S (Grant & Potter, 2005; Smith; 1997). Hegemonic national discourses often distill this difference to a key ideology- our niceness and our role as peacekeepers (Wagner, 2006; Razack, 2000; 2004), who can exert significant military power, yet

act as global benefactors (Härting & Kamboureli, 2009). This ideology locates Canada's beginnings in various moments of war (as Harper endeavored to reiterate with the extravagant bicentennial celebrations of the War of 1812) (Sjolander, 2014). Scholars argue that Stephen Harper's nationalist vision (Raphaël, 2021) was to create an image of Canada as a "Warrior Nation". Indeed, the commemoration of the bicentennial of the War of 1812:

> relied upon discourses of diversity, multiculturalism, inclusion, and reconciliation at the same time that it reinforced settler-colonial whiteness… A new monument was erected to present the War of 1812 as a moment of 'Triumph through Diversity',' illustrating that attempts to produce a more 'diverse' commemoration do not necessarily challenge settler colonialism. (Raphaël, 2021, p. 92)

The war was reimagined as being fought by a multicultural Canada, joined to protest American Invasion, despite the steeply uneven racial divide of Canada. Another military moment commonly referred to as the 'Birth of the Canadian Nation', most notably by former Governor General David Johnson (2012), is of course, the Battle of Vimy Ridge during the First World War, when Canadian soldiers fought together as a separate national army, not as a subordinate unit of the British Army (Hayes, Iarocci & Bechthold, 2009).

A complete erasure of Canada's genocidal colonial history (Regan, 2010), Harper himself, in the year prior to the Olympics, where Indigenous nations were included in ceremonies and used symbolically to represent Canadian-ness, made the declaration that "We also have no history of colonialism..." (Simpson, 2016), during a press conference in Pittsburgh. The statement was part of a press conference that was covered in the Sun, September 28, online) about Canada holding the G10.

7.8 'Kill them with kindness'

The official nationalism legitimized by the Canadian state includes a deep emotional attachment to niceness/kindness, which, upon deeper inspection, boils down to themes of saviorhood and

innocence. These moves to innocence (Tuck & Yang, 2012) and avoidance of accountability manifest at a multiplicity of sites, some more visible than others.

An example from my research, comes from an article in *Xtra Magazine* by Cate Simpson, (Jan 14 2011), which details an assembly in which Ugandan witnesses were speaking to Parliament about anti LGBTQ laws in Uganda, to secure blanket visas for queer Ugandans. Simpson, a freelance author, has written about Uganda before, with a similar leftist political framing. Simpson describes the meeting: the witnesses testified that the Ugandan government's criminalization of homosexuality, and proposed bill to sentence queer people to the death penalty, caused the urgent evacuation of queer Ugandans from the country. The witnesses also connected the Ugandan government's harsh stance on homosexuality to the long-standing presence and activity of American and Canadian Evangelical Christian groups in the country, a statement backed up by critical scholarship (Makukula, 2018; Yu, 2021). The Ugandan witnesses claimed that these Evangelical groups were using the Ugandan legal treatment of homosexuality as a successful mission strategy to implement in other African countries that they were doing missionary work in, including South Sudan, Namibia and Tanzania (Parodi, 2019). Conservative MP Dave Sweet responded to the witnesses' testimony, saying that "not all Christians think this (treatment of queer people) is okay… even if we don't agree with this lifestyle choice" (Simpson, 2011). Sweet also went on record in 2002 saying homosexuality was a sin, and voted to reopen the discussion of same-sex marriage in the Commons in 2006 (Ditchburn, 2011, October 27). While Sweet's comment was a defense of his religious affiliation, his clear defensiveness, and use of 'not-all' statements can be understood in the context of the political backlash Sweet faced after appearing in a RCMP anti-bullying video released after the suicide of a 15-year-old gay person. Sweet uses the slogan 'it gets better', while his publicly expressed opinions stood in

sharp contrast to these views (Ditchburn, 2011, October 27). According to Simpson (ibid.), the deep discomfort that Sweet voiced through his comment seemed to be shared by some degree to others in the group. This discomfort stems from a challenge made by the Witnesses to 'Canada as savior', & 'Canada as innocent', by contextualizing homophobic violence in Uganda and neighboring countries and tracing its origins to imperialist western missionaries.

The concept of Canada's benevolence and kindness as a global actor, manifested in the vision of 'Canada as peacekeeper, is in stark opposition to what we can glean from actual reports of Canadian military activity abroad (Whitworth, 2005). Various scholars have detailed the nation-state's refusal to acknowledge Canadian peacekeeping's involvement in neo-imperial violence abroad (Agathangelou & Ling, 2003; Härting & Kamboureli,2009), significantly, Sherene Razack (2004). The Somalia affair was an instance of Canadian forces being anything but peaceful. Canadian peacekeepers enacted extreme violence on civilians- in this case, assaulting and brutally murdering a Somali boy (Razack, 2004). Razack's book, *Dark threats and white knights: The Somalia affair, peacekeeping, and the new imperialism* looks into the court records that detail the events that transpired, as well as at the discourse in Canada surrounding these events, to illustrate the ongoing racist and imperial logics. These logics continue to inform peacekeeping and other military intervention, particularly when enacted upon the 'third world' by the 'first world'. Razack writes that "for the better part of the 1990s,

Canadian peacekeepers have described their activities in Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Croatia as encounters with 'absolute evil" (2004, p.15). This quote draws on an imagined geography of the world discussed at length in this thesis. Razack explains that the white western self sees his role as the harbinger of justice and democracy, meaning that those in his path must be enemies of all that is good. It is not a logical leap to move from thinking,

‘Cambodians are naturally and intrinsically violent’; to thinking ‘peacekeeping in Somalia is an encounter with pure evil’. This created the myth of the innocent and corruptible western self, on a civilizing mission. Once invested in this myth, ‘those who witness the evil’ are blameless no matter what they have done, because encounters with the dangerous Other (Mzali, 2018) corrupted and traumatized them (Razack, 2004). We can see how niceness and innocence, key tenets of hegemonic nationalism, are not benign, but insidious. Canada’s presence in Afghanistan, while also being a circumstance of peacekeepers inflicting violence and abuse, was complicated by the newer discourse of LGBTQ human rights (Mayers, 2018), used to justify military intervention.

7.9 Human rights, protected to death

Mayers’ article is an interrogation of global ‘LGBT Rights as Human Rights’ discourse through a legal perspective. It sheds light on how the legal system in Canada employs these discourses, resulting in the problematic Canadian refugee system as surfaced in my research, as well as provides scaffolding for understanding co-option of queerness to justify invasion and imperialism. Mayers begins by commenting on the discourses invested in by Barack Obama in a 2011 speech on the new global LGBT rights campaign, writing that:

> the enunciation of the ‘gay rights as human rights’ campaign can be read as both an inclusionary move by which gays and lesbians are folded into the human rights paradigm and an exclamation of the U.S. state’s moral superiority… The political significance of this campaign inheres in not only its explicit reinforcement of the ‘race to the top’ human rights model, whereby progress is measured through the addition of anti-discrimination laws and subtraction of reported violence and laws that criminalize same-sex sexual acts, but also its formal suturing of development economics, international human rights, and domestic civil rights. (Mayers, 2018, p.141)

She discusses the US legal system’s asylum and equal protection jurisprudence, which is based on the presumption of sexuality as biologically innate. She problematizes this, writing that

the jurisprudence "reflects the structural violence of a system that lifts up institutionally valid forms of intimacy…while narrowing the field of recognition for asylum seekers in accordance with visions of culturally othered violence and stereotyped gay (male) victims" (Mayers, 2018, p.147).

As reaffirmed in the media sources I examined, queer refugees not only had to immediately divulge their sexual or gender identity which was to be subject to scrutiny during their assessment, but also needed to denounce their home countries, and to adhere to queer identity categories constructed and maintained by the 'first world'.

These constructions of queerness also invest in the legitimacy of a singular western queer identity (Berg & Millbank, 2009; Murray, 2015; Kahn & Alessi, 2018). These constructions mirror the discourses forwarded by queer refugee resettlement and activist groups in the periodicals in this research. The creation of Islamic 'terror' as a foil to North American 'values' uses queer sexuality as a mobilizing concept (Omar, 2011). Liberal 'human rights' discourses are intimately connected with the concept of the individual, the modern subject, in need of protection via military events. Here 'Canada as Savior' and 'Canada as innocent' work together to select those who are to be protected, who are only allowed subjecthood, or indeed life itself, if they accept the restrictive boundaries of western sexual identities, and condemn their country or culture of origin (Mayers, 2018). This condemnation and the discourse of western saviourhood allows certain populations to live in order to justify the death of others (Mbembe, 2006). However, the allotment of rights to life, ('rightfulness') is not immediate, and so as Shakhsari writes, queer and trans refugees can be seen to "stand between life and death, seemingly moving in the progressive time of rights towards the future time and space of freedom in the 'first world,'

where the forward-looking and right-seeking desiring bodies are fixed into timeless and immutable identities that legitimate their claims for refuge" (2014, p. 998).

Shakhsari draws on Foucauldian biopolitics and Mbembe's necropolitics to visualize this form of power operating within "the liminal space between a death and a life" (2006, p.95). She suggests a conception of power, which she calls 'the politics of rightful killing'. Shakhsari asks: how does the governing of the life of one population connect to the techniques of the killing of another population?" (ibid), while asserting that not all populations are marked for death or bio politically managed in the same ways or to the same degrees. She calls this the politics of the unstable life, which is:

> simultaneously imbued with and stripped of liberal universal rights, the politics of rightful killing… explains the contemporary political situation in the 'war on terror' where those whose rights and protection are presented as the raison d'être of war, are sanctioned to death and therefore live a pending death exactly because of those rights. (Shakhsari, 2006, p.103)

7.10 Conclusion

I began this chapter by highlighting discourses of queerness and immigration in Canada during these two Games periods. The promise of Canada as a global queer sanctuary was challenged by evidence of the actual difficulties and effects of Canada's refugee system, especially as they were experienced by queer refugees. I provided examples of the changing relationships of queers to militarism and neo-imperialism, providing further evidence that homonationalism (Puar, 2004), as a type of homonormativity (Duggan, 2002), generates and describes neo-colonial occupation and violence in 'third world' states, justified by presumptions of anti-queer culture or policy. This discourse has been weaponized, making acceptance of sexual minorities a barometer for right to national sovereignty (Puar, 2004), and also a justification for necropolitical violence (Mbembe, 2003). Shakhsari calls this 'a politics of rightful killing', meaning that Canada enacts

violence through its self-conception as a benevolent savior, its totalizing ‘western’ sexual identity categories and its self-designation as an authority who can allow or deny the right to live.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The issue is not that everything is bad,
but that everything is dangerous

Michel Foucault, 1982, p. 232

8.1 Summary of key findings

In this thesis, I underlined the crucial importance of making constant interventions into Canadian nationalism as it works through sexuality. In my analysis of newspapers from both Olympic periods, I contextualized discourses in the texts within a larger narrative of the struggle for rights for LGBT+ Canadians. I pulled out themes which I then unpacked through established scholarship. I found that neoliberalism and 'the Individual', the appropriation and commodification of 'queer', as well as protection of the family, youth, and gendered and racialized constructions of nation were all upheld through sexualized techniques of control.

I noticed the heightened pervasiveness of biopolitical management of bodies in city space during Games time, and how particular legal discourses transcended the thirty-four years between each event, despite supposedly progressive changes in legislation. I identified discourses that reinforced the machinations of homonationalism, and queer coalitions with the police state. I also discussed the effects of totalizing western sexual identities on queer refugees. Finally, I identified examples of how liberal-rights politics produced identities which were then employed to justify Canadian military exploits abroad, and ultimately enabled a 'politics of rightful killing' (Shakhsari, 2014).

My findings were largely consistent with the assertions of scholars of nationalisms, multiculturalism and neoliberalism, sport studies, feminist theories, queer histories, and critical geographies, who together provide a critical literature of Canadian sexual citizenship. Through

my research I provide further evidence to substantiate these literatures and also put them in conversation. Mayers writes that:

> In order to disrupt the processes of valuation and devaluation that subtend uneven assemblages of sociolegal power, scholars, activists, and policymakers may look across these systems, to reveal the imbricated complicities of state-centered mechanisms of rights and inclusion. (2018, p.160)

Through my focus on historical moments where modes of social control were especially visible, I highlight the 'imbricated complicities' that Mayers speaks of, and strengthen theoretical connections between various, seemingly disparate experiences. Far from intending to equate experiences, I set out to remind queers who hold access to certain types of privilege (many of which I myself access) that it is crucial to align ourselves with all those who are excluded from sexual citizenship. To fail to do so is to allow the continued primacy of a nationalism based on violent exclusions. My most vital finding has been persistently articulated by a myriad of scholars and activists, but yet, still bears repeating: uncritical participation in respectable queerness assures the marginalization of 'others' inside and outside of our borders, and cannot lead to meaningful liberation.

8.2 Failure, identity, capitalism

Lamble discussed how, while the legal category of queer refugee was being cemented with 'Western' exclusion criteria in U.S law, new sanctions were also being applied to welfare recipients. These sanctions were enacted while many recipients were already unable to comply with increasingly strict regulations. She says, succinctly, that "basic entitlements are now being transformed into earned privileges" (Lamble, 2014, p. 152). Basic entitlements that should be inalienable, are becoming privileges granted by the nation-state, earned with more and more difficulty. This guarantees that many fail to comply with these regulations and identities.

I found that the concept of failure echoed throughout my findings. I am left with questions about the bodies and groups unable to access spaces of normative national sexual citizenship; bodies that fail. Refugee claimants who did not represent themselves as acceptably queer through rigid 'Western' sexual identities failed in convincing the state of their legitimacy. The city inhabitants in my research who failed to perform an approximation of normative sexual citizenship, such as street-based sex workers, queers cruising, and the queer patrons of bathhouses and bars, were biopolitically managed and policed. The lesbian patrons at Jojo's bar failed to perform normative femininity and the homeless and transient community of the Downtown Eastside failed to participate fully in the formal economy and current capitalist configuration. Heather Love asserts that same-sex desire itself "is marked by a long history of association with failure, impossibility and loss… homosexuality and homosexuals have served as scapegoats for the failures and impossibilities of desire itself" (2009, p. 21).

Sandage (2005) stresses that failure is inherent in capitalism. Capitalism requires a system that equates success with profit, and links failure to the inability to accumulate wealth. As profit for some means certain losses for others, this proves its essential role in capitalism. This logic is so ingrained that we often fail to recognize it as ideological; the expression 'I feel like a failure' "comes so naturally, that we forget it is a figure of speech: the language of business applied to the soul" (ibid, p. 5). Capitalism itself is the structure that "marks the homosexual as somehow failed, as the subject who fails to embody the connections between production and reproduction…it casts the homosexual as inauthentic and unreal…as unable to make the appropriate connections between sociality, relationality, family, sex, desire, and consumption" (Halberstam, p. 94). Sarah Ahmed (2000) talks about how 'nice' neighborhoods have failure at their very conception in order to exist. She draws on Dillon's work, which explains that the

constitution of a "people, a nation, a state, or a democracy necessarily specifies who is estranged from that identity, place, or regime" (Dillon, 1995, p.328). Therefore, imagining a nation, or a 'nice' neighborhood requires the creation of strangers who must be kept out to protect the community. In this way, then, the neighborhood is only made possible by its potential to fail due to a breach of its borders (Ahmed, 2000, p.2). The eviction of trans sex workers from Vancouver's West End was also prompted by their perceived failures of gender and sexual behavior. It was also prompted by the new upwardly-mobile residents' fear that their new neighborhood might fail to become homogeneous, sealed, and full of people they deem recognizable.

The Games themselves deal in failure; Halberstam's pivotal work, The Queer Politics of Failure draws attention to this simple but ignored fact. Halberstam writes that "the highs and lows of the Olympic games every four years showcase the business of winning and the inevitability, indeed the dignity of losing" (2011, p. 92). They posit that while individual athletes "practice plenty of failure" (ibid) at the Games, the extremely patriotic nature of the coverage of the Games in many countries, especially North American nations, prevents national audiences from witnessing it. By only being privy to the history of winners again and again, we miss the "larger drama of the games, ...and yes, messy and undignified failure" (ibid). Halberstam considers failure in a positive sense, asking what could happen if failure was thought of productively, and linked to "racial awareness, anticolonial struggle, gender variance, and different formulations of the temporality of success" (ibid.). They posit that "we can recognize failure as a way of refusing to acquiesce to dominant logics of power and discipline and as a form of critique…as a practice, failure recognizes that alternatives are embedded already in the dominant and that power is never total or consistent; indeed, failure can exploit the

unpredictability of ideology and its indeterminate qualities" (ibid, p. 88). I find immense value in Halberstam's text, as it provides a vehicle to reflect on the many perceived 'failures' reflected in my research, reconceptualizes allotments of power, and opens up possibilities for new transformational politics.

8.3 Queer time, national time

The dominant national culture assigns success through deeply heterosexist and capitalist metrics. The institutional standard of heterosexuality is rooted in a logic of achievement, fulfillment, and succession, which also privileges a specific construction and experience of time. This 'straight time' is in essence 'national time', or 'generational time', in which:

> Values, wealth, goods, and morals are passed through family ties from one generation to the next… it connects the family to the historical past of the nation, and glances ahead to connect the family to the future of both familial and national stability. (Halberstam, 2005, p.5)

The construction of the family which assures the nation's future is well established in nationalisms literature, as well as is substantiated by my research. The notion of queer time adds a further dimension to discussion of discourses of protecting youth from moral corruption. It offers a chance to destabilize this 'reproductive temporality' and therefore the 'trope of the family' (McClintock,1993), and the symbolic construction of gender and youth in nationalisms. Edelman furthers critique of the symbolic image of the Child, proposing a politics which rejects the futurity invoked by this emblem. He locates queerness as occupying the place of the 'death drive' via reproductive failure, and encourages queers to "choose, instead, not to choose the Child, as disciplinary image of the Imaginary past or as a site of a projective identification with an always impossible future" (2005, p.31). To 'choose to not choose the Child' is to reject the pathologization of modes of living which are not informed by desire for maturation or longevity.

The connection, then, between people from very different identity groups who are seen to choose to not choose the Child, may in fact prove more productive than identity politics. However, while Edelman's conceptualization of the Child rejects reproductive futurity in a way that hails queer subjects, it has also been criticized as reproducing a 'crypto-universal white gay subject that is weirdly atemporal (Muñoz, 2007, p.364)", particularly due to the fact that "racialized, queer kids are not the sovereign princes of futurity" (ibid) and often do not have the same chance to actually 'grow up'. Therefore, Muñoz argues that futurity in itself, should not be thrown out in its entirety, because in doing so it is handed to and equated with normative white reproductive futurity. (Muñoz, 2007, p. 365). I will expand on other ideas of futurity from queer of colour scholarship in the next section.

The concept of 'queer time' similarly allows for theorizing the lives of others excluded from proper national sexual citizenship, and finds a productive footing in the fact that "all kinds of people, especially in postmodernity, will and do opt to live outside of reproductive and familial time, as well as on the edges of logics of labor and production" (Halberstam, 2005, p.10). Queer time figures queerness as transcending identity or sexuality, as an outcome of "strange temporalities, imaginative life schedules and eccentric economic practices" (ibid, p.1). Unfixed from sexual identity, queerness as a mode of being made is possible through queer time- through a life unscripted by linear milestones of 'straight time' such as marriage and reproduction/child-rearing. Questions of space and privacy also figure in to creating 'queer subjects'- such as those who live in spaces that have been abandoned or are seen as uninhabitable, and those who have public, outdoor, and transactional sex, such as residents of Vancouver's downtown Eastside, and street-based sex workers. Halberstam, (ibid, p. 10) writes that many people could be deemed 'queer subjects' via this rejection of or failure to emulate

'straight time' and 'reproductive time', such as "HIV-positive barebackers, rent boys, sex workers, homeless people, drug dealers, and the unemployed". Queer time's distinct logics of movement, location, and identification open the door to productive politics based on failures, and also engender possibilities for new conceptualizations of futurity.

8.4 Queer futurity and utopia

My research presented multiple discourses which all stem back to the tensions around queer inclusion and respectability, and social asymmetries which necessitate a more radical queer politic. Jose Muñoz' beautiful conceptualizations of queer time, failure, futurity, and utopianism offer tools for revisioning queer existence and politics. Muñoz' futurity detours from the familiar optimistic notion of utopia. Queer utopianism's emphasis on negative affects, such as failure, grounds it in a critique of the here and now. In queer utopianisms, failure or refusal to "acquiesce to the hegemonic discourses that buttress the status quo… is to signal utopia" (Hsu, 2016, p.78). Berlant also prominently critiques the 'fantasy of the good life' which disguises the 'prison house of the present' with a utopian world. She implores us to abandon our obsession with:

> conventional good-life fantasies- of enduring reciprocity in couples, families, political systems, institutions, markets, and at work—when the evidence of their instability, fragility, and dear cost abounds… Fantasy is the means by which people hoard idealizing theories…about how they and the world 'add up to something' (Berlant, 2011 p.2)

Muñoz 'queers' conventional utopia by marrying a critique of the present, where we are forced to believe there is no possibility for another world), with a belief that the world can be different. Muñoz insists on the inseparability of utopian thinking and queerness, believing queerness is an "ideality that can be distilled from the past and used to imagine a future" (2009, p.1). He critiques queer political strategies of inclusion into a corrupt and bankrupt social order, citing the example of Evan Wilson, a lawyer who prominently fought for the legalization of gay

marriage. He expressed disappointment that Wilson could not critique the larger ideological regime that represents a marriage as something innately desirable, natural, and good. I feel the quote I began this chapter with resonates here- while seeking to legalize gay marriage isn't 'bad' by any means- it is dangerous to use the rhetoric of freedom to describe the "hollow nature of the present" (ibid, p.21). The conditions in which we exist and in which we fantasize utopia are "conditions of the attrition or the wearing out of the subject" (Berlant, p.28). Sourcing utopia in freedoms under our current social configuration is deeply ironic in that "the labor of reproducing life in the contemporary world is also the activity of being worn out by it…". Suffering is accepted as ordinary, violence as normative, and the concept of later, or a straight futurity, "suspends questions about the cruelty of the now" (ibid). The cruelty of the now, then, necessitates a queer futurity. Ultimately, Muñoz says, "we must insist on a queer futurity, because the present is so poisonous and insolvent" (2009, p.30). In invoking a future collectivity, succession and the nuclear family lose their dominion over linear, historical time. The collectivity includes the no longer conscious and the not yet here, illuminating a horizon of existence.

I believe I also made past idealities visible and helped to carry them forward in this research, while also highlighting knotted discourses, past and present. Muñoz presents queer utopianism as a conjuring process- of always becoming, of never arriving. He sees the 'not quite conscious' as a creative space, as a futurity, which far from shying away from the ugly of now, is achingly present. He writes that "it is the realm of potentiality that must be called on, and insisted on, if we were ever to look beyond the pragmatic fear of the here and now" (ibid, p.21). Becoming politically oriented to a realm of potentiality creates a spatial liminality, as it is impossible to fix in place those who have not arrived fully. In this way, to step away from or to fail utterly in

conforming to the boundaries of sexual citizenship set out by the nation, the hetero-patriarchal and the global colonial order, the future is addressed and evoked in the same moment.

8.5 Not every queer is your co-conspirator

Foucault's musings on the subject of a 'queer mode of being' provoke us to imagine a politic based on a queer ideality and utopianism: "how can a relational system be reached through sexual practices? . . . To be "gay," I think, is not to identify with the psychological traits and the visible masks of the homosexual, but to try to define and develop a way of life" (1981 Interview with Ceccaty, Danet & Piedin of *Gai Pied*). If we follow Foucault's line of thought further, we begin to question the boundaries of queerness itself, as Cohen does in her influential 1997 article which continues to speak to our current state of neoliberal sexual citizenship. She laments the notion of a clear binary between queers as a separate and closed identity with specific requirements, and political organizing based around this understanding. She is critical of queer activists in the 1990's, asking:

> how would they (queer activists) understand politically the lives of women-in particular, women of colour, on welfare, who may fit into the category of heterosexual, but whose sexual choices are not perceived as normal, moral, or worthy of state support? (Cohen, 1997, p.442)

While queer existence is a particular experience deserving of unique scholarship, politics that do not consider the complexity of relationships to dominant ideas of proper sexuality fail so many of us. A queer futurity then, would include all of those that were discursively constructed as outside of the proper national sexual body in my research- A politic organized around what bell hooks (1990) calls 'shared sensibilities', a connection through experience of oppression and not around a cohesive identity. These experiences should not be equated, but should instead point to a spatial stratification, a distance from, or an inability to reach normativity and its relative safety. Shared sensibilities could be "fertile ground for the construction of empathy--ties that

would promote recognition of common commitments and serve as a base for solidarity and coalition" (Hooks, 1990, p.8). As important as it is to understand our particularities, our failures provide a more productive space from which alternative worlds and methods of alliance, of embodiment, of kinship, can start to be imagined. This kinship can be based on a 'queer understanding' as Warner describes in his book, Fear of a Queer Planet:

> Every person who comes to a queer understanding, knows that her stigmatization is connected with gender, the family, notions of individual freedom, the state, public speech, consumption and desire, nature and culture, maturation, reproductive politics, racial and national fantasy, class identity, truth and trust, censorship, intimate life and social display, terror and violence, health care, and deep cultural norms about the bearing of the body. Being queer means fighting about these issues all the time, locally and piecemeal, but always with consequences. (Warner, 1991, p. iiix)

A kinship based on a queer understanding is grounded in pragmatism and the present, and sees alliances across fields of identities. It is a presence, a longing, and a rage which at once conjures the not-yet-here, and makes it possible.

Appendices:

Appendix A: Coding table

Original keywords	Keywords that emerged from evolutionary coding	Themes	Chapters
MONTRÉAL 1976 **VANCOUVER 2010** **NATION** **NATIONALISM** **CANADA** **GAY RIGHTS** **PRIDE** **PATRIOTISM** **RACISM** **SOCIAL** **CANADIAN MILITARY** **POLICE** **SECURITY** **DISPLACEMENT** **OLYMPICS** **ATHLETE** **IOC** **MILITARY** **BORDER** **IMMIGRATION** **REFUGEE** **HOMOSEXUAL** **BATHHOUSE** **PRIDE HOUSE** **SEXUALITY** **WAR** **CITY SPACE** **URBAN** **INDIGENOUS** **SPORT** **GAY ATHLETE** **TRANSGENDER** **LESBIAN** **GENDERED** **CIVIL RIGHTS** **CLEAN UP** **PROTEST**	COLD WAR, MARXIST, SOCIALISM, UNIONS, WORKER'S STRIKE SOVIETS, IRON CURTAIN, DEFECTORS WOMEN'S RIGHTS GROUPS, COALITIONS	1.FEAR OF COMMUNISM, MARXISM, COLD-WAR	The Marriage of Neoliberalism and Olympism: 'The Individual' won't save us Acceptable heroes, fear of communism, capitalist co-option, pinkwashing, economic systems-capitalism, neoliberal, individualist ideology Themes 1,2,3
		2. REPSECTABILITY POLICS, CO-OPTION OF QUEER, QUEER MARKETS, HOMONORMATIVE	
		3. INDIVIDUAL ACHIEVEMENT, SPORT, OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, POST-RACIAL, MULTICULTURALISM, OLYMPIC UNIVERSALISM, NEUTRALITY	
	BATHHOUSE, GAY BAR, SEX WORK, CRUISING, WEST END, HOMELESSNESS, HIV/AIDS, URBAN INDIGENOUS	4. POLICING, CITY SPACE, REMOVALS, LEGAL CATEGORIES	Objects of Public Concern: Biopolitics, Spatial and Social Management Children, family, women's changing roles/rights, youth scandal, corruption.
	FAMILY, HOME, HOUSEKEEPING, HETERO MARRIAGE GENDER ROLES, NUCLEAR FAMILY, CLOSET, MOTHERHOOD		

	SODOMY, VICE, MORALITY SQUAD, BAWDY HOUSE, GROSS INDECENCY SCAPEGOAT, WITCH HUNT HYSTERIA, SCANDAL, DISTURBANCE, OUTRAGE SEXUAL OFFENDER, JUVENILLE , OUTING, PUBLISH NAMES (DOXXING)	5. OUTRAGE, MORALS, PANIC, CENSORSHIP	Control of space, public sexuality and sex work, bathhouses, policing, legal categories Themes 4,5,6
	VICE RING PROSTITUTION CORRUPTION GAYS IN CLASSROOMS-CORRUPTION	6.THREAT TO YOUTH AND FAMILY	
	IMMIGRATION PAPER, PROHIBITED CLASSES WHITE REFUGEE TERROR BOYCOTT MULTICULTURALISM, BAD IMMIGRANTS HUMAN RIGHTS	7.SECURITY, MILITARY, IMMIGRATION, BORDERS	The Border and the Beyond: Security, Migrants, Military Immigration changes, refugees and sexuality, good and bad immigrants Others, foreigners, protection, security, borders, military, war, homonationalism, human rights discourses Theme 7
	ALSYLUM, QUEER IMMIGRANTS DESIRABLE/NON DESIRABLE		
	MILITARY, IRAQ, PEACEKEEPING, BIG MILITARY EXERCISES, NATIONALIST SYMBOLS		
	POLICING AND SECURITY LAW AND ORDER POLICE AND GAYS		

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