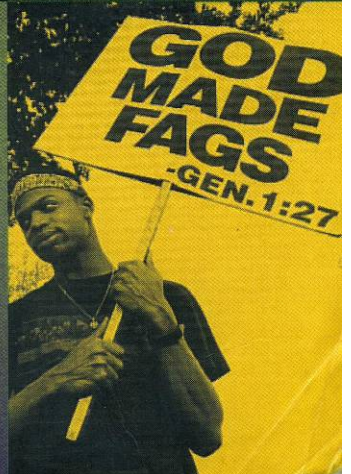
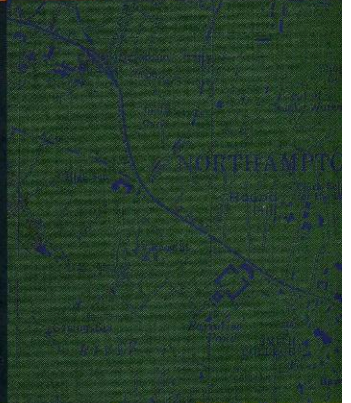


Queers in space

Communities | Public Places | Sites of Resistance

Edited by Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter



Queers in space:

Communities | Public Places | Sites of Resistance

Edited by Gordon Brent Ingram, Ph.D., Anne-Marie Bouthillette, M.A.,
and Yolanda Retter, Ph.D.

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Contents

vii **Acknowledgments**

3 **Lost In Space: Queer Theory and Community Activism at the Fin-de-Millénaire**

Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter

17 **Queer Space**

Jean-Ulrick Désert

27 **Marginality and the Landscapes of Erotic Alien(n)ations**

Gordon Brent Ingram

Part 1 — Experience | Place | Maps



55 **Narratives of Place: Subjective and Collective**

Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter

61 **Restriction and Reclamation: Lesbian Bars and Beaches of the 1950s**

Joan Nestle

69 **The Interim Photographs**

Bill Jacobson

77 **People and Their Streets, Places**

Sarah Schulman

81 **One-Handed Geographies: An Archaeology of Public Sex**

David Bell

Part 2 — Queerscapes



91 **Surveying Territories and Landscapes**

Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter

95 **“Open” Space as Strategic Queer Sites**

Gordon Brent Ingram

127 **“No More Shit”: The Struggle for Democratic Gay Space in Toronto**

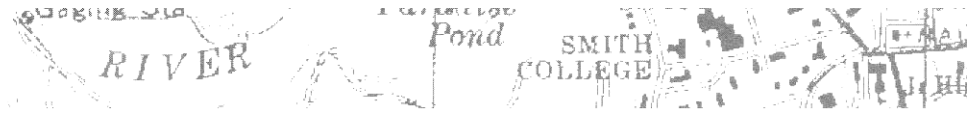
John Grube

147 **From Landmarks to Spaces: Mapping the Territory of a Bisexual Genealogy**

Clare Hemmings

163 **Domestic Dykes: The Politics of “In-difference”**

Elsie Jay



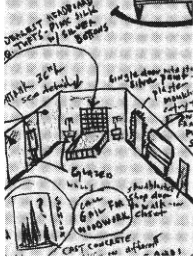
Part 3 — Regional Dynamics and Community Formation

- 171 Queer Zones and Enclaves: Political Economies of Community Formation**
Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter
- 177 San Francisco: Revisiting “The City of Desire”**
Pat Califia
- 197 Gay Male Places of Mexico City**
Alvaro Sanchez-Crispin and Alvaro Lopez-Lopez
- 213 Queer and Gendered Housing: A Tale of Two Neighbourhoods in Vancouver**
Anne-Marie Bouthillette
- 233 The Queer Nation Acts Up:
Health Care, Politics, and Sexual Diversity in the County of Angels, 1990–92**
Ty Geltmaker
- 275 Constructing Manchester’s “New Urban Village”:
Gay Space in the Entrepreneurial City**
Stephen Quilley



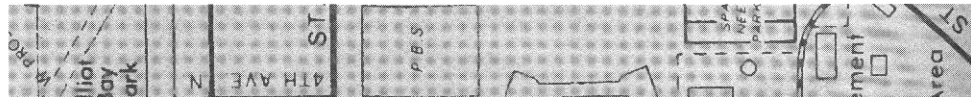
Part 4 — Queer Sites

- 295 Placemaking and the Dialectics of Public and Private**
Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter
- 301 Invisible Women in Invisible Places:
The Production of Social Space in Lesbian Bars**
Maxine Wolfe
- 325 Lesbian Spaces in Los Angeles, 1970–90**
Yolanda Retter
- 339 Leather Nights in the Woods: Locating
Male Homosexuality and Sadoomasochism in a Dutch Highway Rest Area**
Maurice van Lieshout
- 357 Queer Spaces in New York City: Places of Struggle/Places of Strength**
Betti-Sue Hertz, Ed Eisenberg, and Lisa Maya Knauer of the REPOhistory Collective



Part 5 — Queerscape Architectures

- 373 Making Room: Queerscape Architectures and the Spaces of Activism**
Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter
- 381 Having Something to Wear: The Landscape of Identity on Christopher Street**
James Polchin
- 391 The Meaning at the Wall: Tracing the Gay Bathhouse**
Ira Tattelman
- 407 This Is about People Dying:
The Tactics of Early ACT UP and Lesbian Avengers in New York City**
An interview with Maxine Wolfe by Laraine Sommella
- 439 Do You Love the Dyke in Your Face?**
Carrie Moyer and Dyke Action Machine!
- 447 Strategies for (Re)constructing Queer Communities**
Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter
- 459 Notes**
- 497 Bibliography**
- 523 Contributors**



"Open" Space as Strategic Queer Sites¹

Gordon Brent Ingram

... the demand for the "right to privacy" can transcend its liberal antecedents and become a radical demand for change in the relationship between private and public life. This is the real threat posed by so-called "public sex."

—Jeffrey Weeks, 1985²

For sexual minorities "open"³ space is often not so open, and communality does not always make for community. The unraveling of these riddles is becoming increasingly central to queer theory, activism, and civic politics. This essay expands the debates concerning use and requirements for outdoor space by various sexual minorities. My focus in this discussion is parks and "open space"⁴ in urban and suburban areas and, in particular, networks of public places that Christine Boyer has called "topoi."⁵ I am particularly interested in the role of public outdoor open spaces as nuclei for queer "enclaves" and "pockets,"⁶ sites that serve as "rupture points"⁷ in power structures. I explore the implications of the presence of queers in outdoor space, both in community formation and in the landscape planning and design decisions of communities and territorial units. My intent is to construct an analytical framework for expanding the queer use of open space; I pursue a queer environmental design instead of using highly fragmentary and site-specific information to support sociological or even historical hypotheses.

In many parts of the world, particularly where repression and violence persist, the prerequisites for communities of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transsexuals are not present, and only more modest kinds of social intercourse can take place. I construct a framework for identifying the various strategic relationships among outdoor sites, public space,⁸ and the broader cultural and political economic processes that may lead to relatively free use of open space by particular groups of sexual minorities.

I outline four kinds of overlapping relationships, referred to here as "alliances," around outdoor sites—relationships that are central to the formation of queer space, no matter how temporary. These social processes can lead to various forms of "queering" across landscapes—at least in terms of greater visibility, some increase in freedom of behaviour, and the lowering of perceived risk of assault or other forms of repression. Even these fragmentary types of social intercourse can lead to more cumulative processes of community formation. With the recognition of alliances within the

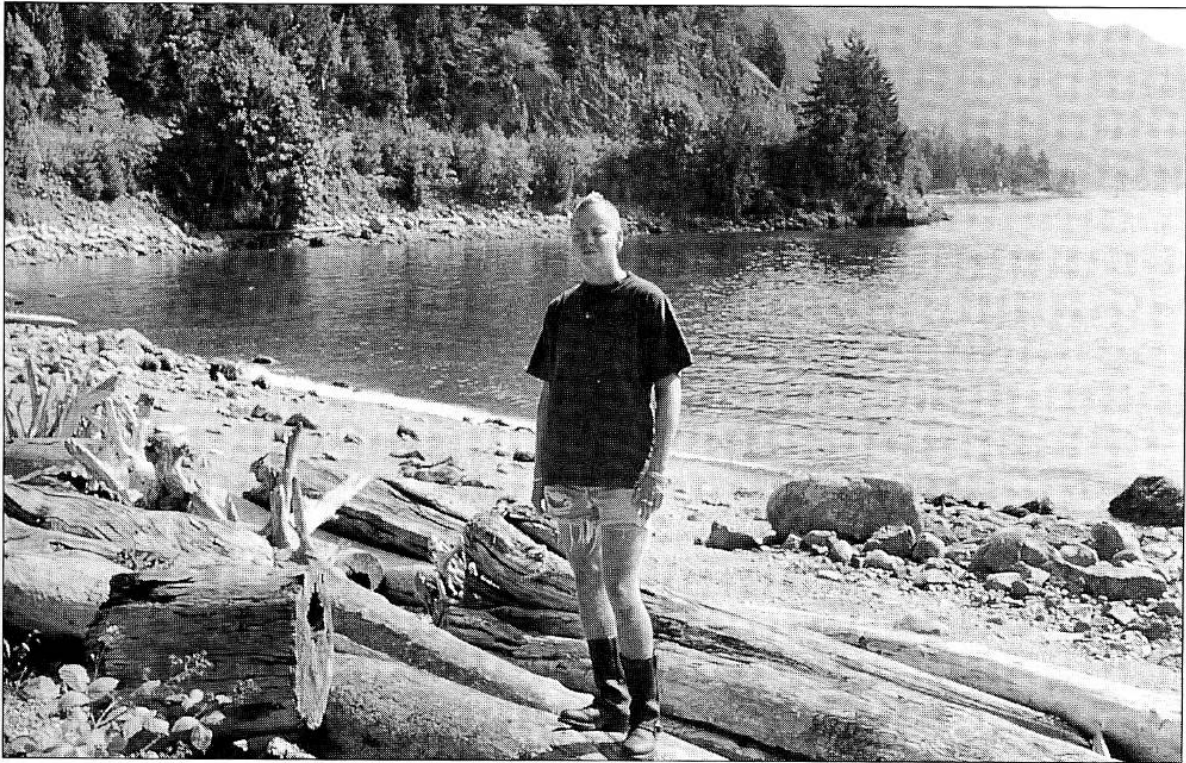
context of various fluid cultural and political movements, there is the beginning of an analytical framework for defending, assembling, constructing, and reconstructing strategic⁹ and public queer space. While not wanting to “essentialize”¹⁰ use of open space in terms of either gender or sexual acts and identities, I look for underlying relationships that have similar relevance for lesbians, gay men, bisexuals,¹¹ and transsexuals.¹²

The central argument in this essay is the potential in the notion of alliances, whether they are between sexual partners or between very different groups, in understanding how networks and more visible communities are formed. I connect these social processes to aspects of design and management. In response to closeting sexual minorities in the typical programming of landscape design and planning, I outline a matrix for identifying strategic sites and for uncovering homophobia—a sort of queerscape architecture. I use “architecture”¹³ in this term because social policy decisions can yield concrete changes to particular places and their associated social relationships.

In the following sections, I describe some competing notions of “public space”¹⁴ use by sexual minorities that are related to divergent interpretations of acts and identities.¹⁵ I sketch the central, but sometimes contradictory, role of gender in these landscape dynamics. I then examine the emerging notion of queer (public) space as a partial solution to several problems in identifying strategic sites, and I propose four basic kinds of potentially overlapping alliances that could provide more precise alternatives to the various notions of queer communities. Finally, I explore ways to consider more honestly the many activities, needs, and preferences of (queer) users of this often not-so-open space and to interrogate respective landscapes for homophobic and anti-erotic biases, involving decision-makers and their planners, designers, and managers.

Open and Obstructed Space

In virtually every urban area on the earth, there are public outdoor areas regularly frequented by members of sexual minorities. Many of these sites can be considered, as Barbara Weightman suggests, “zones of discard.”¹⁶ Regardless, most are becoming desirable to a range of social groups and are often contested by the state and heterosexuals. Today, the forces that are working to destroy these public queer spaces are growing in number as urban populations increase, natural areas dwindle, and social groups diversify. A disturbing consequence of this competition for space is the increase in violence against women and gay men in public areas. Less noticeable is the “homophobia by design” of many park agencies, municipalities, and governments, which effectively discourages visible queer presence. This effective loss of queer access is often maintained and initiated by local residents and bureaucrats at the expense of authentic programmes for public safety.¹⁷ For example, in western North America, there have been numerous conflicts over public beaches.

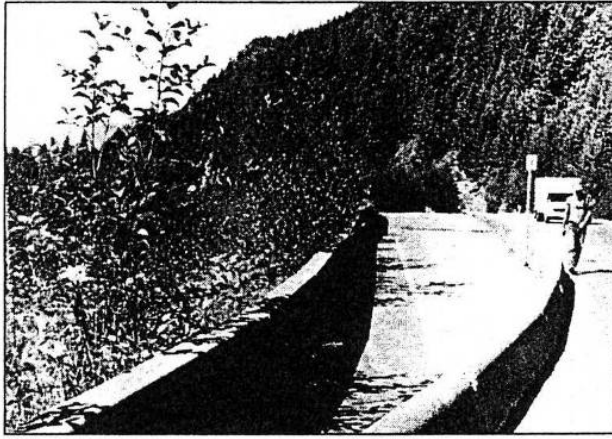


Jodie, a young lesbian activist, Lions Bay (north of Vancouver), 1994. In the late 1980s, this beach had a well-established lesbian scene, much of it topless or nude. In recent years, the presence of women who might possibly be lesbians has brought harassment from residents in the expensive beach homes and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The notion of open space, particularly its preservation, has been one of the cornerstones of North American urbanism and environmental advocacy in this century. Kevin Lynch's 1965 essay, "The openness of open space," exemplifies the links between the modernist ideals of universal access to outdoor areas and the contradictions in early- to mid-twentieth-century liberalism in stating,

We proceed directly from the meaning of "open": free to be entered or used, unobstructed, unrestricted, accessible, available, exposed, extended, candid, undetermined, loose, disengaged, responsive, ready to hear or see as in open heart, open eyes, open hand, open mind, open house, open city. Open spaces in this sense are open to freely chosen and spontaneous actions of people . . .¹⁸

It is difficult not to suspect allusions to erotic expression in this passage, even to marginalized or minority sexual identities. But Lynch wrote this passage in the midst of one of the most repressive and homophobic periods in the twentieth century in North America.¹⁹ "Progressive" urbanists, such as Jane Jacobs, were still talking publicly about "pervert parks"²⁰ only a few short years before the Stonewall riots.²¹ Jacobs, a great urban reformer of the 1960s who has gone on to write books on liberal ethics, also promulgated notions of "wholesome" public space and "wholesome surveillance,"²² which were used to justify homophobic repression under the guise of reform and equity. Her influence is still very much evident in environmental design. Such an



Homophobia by design, Lions Bay, 1994. The dividers were recently installed by the British Columbia Ministry of Highways, in response to lobbying by local homeowners to curtail parking in an effort to stop the influx of lesbians onto a public beach.

inherently hostile view of sexual minorities and the nonrecognition of access rights to public meeting places has left legacies of confusion in feminist and queer theory.²³ These homophobic and antisexual contradictions in urban activist movements persist to this day and are very much embedded in both academic and professional spheres of landscape architecture and urban design. It did not take poststructuralism or deconstructionist techniques to perceive, as Lynch did in 1979, that,

“Freedom of action in public spaces is defined and redefined in each shift of power and custom.”²⁴

In these times of nascent human-rights protection under the category of sexual orientation, homophobia often has gone underground in a growing number of jurisdictions. It is necessary to reexamine notions of “open” space, “pervert parks,” and the nature of the politics and programming that actively support not-so-subtle homophobia in landscape designs and subsequent management²⁵ decisions, which include police harassment. The central question of this essay, albeit a somewhat rhetorical one, is: Are public outdoor spaces strategically important to certain groups of sexual minorities? A second rhetorical question is: Do some planning and design decisions made by professionals and governments consciously limit or destroy queer access to and enjoyment of outdoor sites? I believe that both questions can be answered with a resounding “yes,” but that the extent of the importance of such outdoor sites and homophobic design and management responses vary greatly between specific networks of sexual minorities and across landscapes and jurisdictions.

The roles and nature of “community” for sexual minorities have been radically transformed over the last three decades. At various points, outdoor sites in or near certain gay enclaves²⁶ have had crucial roles in making social contact and in forming milieux into broader assemblages.²⁷ Since the 1969 Stonewall riots in New York, there has been a plethora of visions of lesbian, gay, and queer community and communities. One of the earliest descriptions of a homosexual community was written by Donald Webster Cory in 1951,²⁸ at the onslaught of McCarthy repressionism in the United States. Cory described a “submerged world,”²⁹ layering the analogy of an ethnic community with his use of “gay society,” and mentioning strategic public sites, as in the following case of sites for male “cruising,”³⁰ as a basic sort of unit of community.

Not long after Cory there was recognition of multiple communities. The first exhaustive study was of gay men in the mid-1950s in Montréal, funded by the Cana-

dian Social Science Research Council in a period of increasing state repression and a full decade and a half before partial decriminalization in Canada.³¹ This study found cliques and emerging tensions between secret and overt groups.³² The male homosexual community was framed in terms of “his dependence upon other deviants for the satisfaction of sexual needs . . .”;³³ and acknowledged that contentious and stigmatized forms of sexual contact, with all their inherent challenges to the lines between public and private, could provide a gradually expanded basis of community regardless of how limited. Edward Delph, in his 1978 *The Silent Community*, wrote “Public sex, when perceived as a threat to society, refers to sexual acts so situated as to result in the involuntary accessibility of others as sex objects or witnesses.”³⁴

But in the same post-Stonewall period there was an equally simplistic argument that anonymous and promiscuous contact was inherently the result of alienation and internalized oppression.³⁵ In his infamous study of toilet sex in a Chicago suburb, Laud Humphreys³⁶ was a nonparticipating “watch queen” who noted that “these men seem to acquire stronger sentimental attachments to the buildings in which they meet for sex than to the persons with whom they engage.”³⁷

Sense of (public) place and casual and playful sexual contact began to be linked with a kind of alienation that was supposedly absent in the formal introductions, parlours, and bedrooms of the sexual revolution. Moreover, the de facto designs of certain spaces, such as the dependence on automobiles in suburban areas,³⁸ have been a major factor in the queering of certain sites and adjacent neighbourhoods, especially as cultural scenes have diverged between urban cores and the expanding suburbs and edge cities.

Perhaps more significant to the analysis of the “strategicness” of open space than the symbolic claiming of public space in the Stonewall riots was the emergence of feminist interest in tracking disparities in gender, some involving space and resources. This perception that sexism is as relevant as sexual transactions has provided a clearer basis for recognizing community formation processes and obstacles to these processes. But recently there have been some well-founded challenges to the entire notion of communities and related concepts (such as the singular lesbian community) for a particular piece of territory, given inevitable contests over ideology and between what noted theorist Gill Valentine recently referred to as “cliques.”³⁹ My response to this crucial juncture in theory of queer relations, environments, and activism(s) is to not entirely abandon the notion of queer communities but to conclude that, given the extent of repression and hostility, few such areas have been very successful. But even without community, there is still a lot of scattered communality, no matter how unsustainable and vulnerable. To look more closely at communality without community, one needs a more precise geographical unit, larger than an individual, that can be tracked both in time and space. One solution is the notion of “constellations of strategic sites” for sexual minorities, with various associated behaviours, forms of contacts, and alliances

across the landscape. While it is difficult to chart the full extent of queer communality in various public spaces, the idea of strategic sites provides opportunities for identifying fluid groups through contemporary and “site-specific”⁴⁰ queer archaeologies. As Cindy Patton said, “We have deployed our secret ‘queer knowledges,’ in essence, have been the archaeologists (and architects) of our own marked desires.”⁴¹

In the term “archaeology,” I include the impacts that specific relationships between individuals and within groups of sexual minorities have on biophysical and cultural contexts. Such influences, no matter how subtle, can cumulatively affect the fabric of broader interactions—some of which make or break communities. Sites and associated queer space provide fragmentary evidence of and opportunities for drawing on local institutions for mutual support and satisfaction, no matter how secretive and elusive the broader communalities prove to be.

Mapping Communalities through Identification of Alliances Around Public Sites

Preceding the recognition of places, neighbourhoods, and regions, there are individual (queer) acts and personal relationships. Often rules and hierarchies are established, though—as in any society—there is much change over time. When transactions become relatively dense, rapid, and regular for particular sites, there is the basis for claiming and transforming territory. At the end of the twentieth century, in the west, these early communal processes are often reductively labelled “pre-Stonewall.” In fact, most of these relatively isolated acts occur today and, if examined carefully, can tell us much about how our more “sophisticated” networks and communities function or do not function.

To begin to explore any queerscape ecology,⁴² and any open space system for that matter, is to establish a range of subjectivities and then group experiences in terms of commonalities such as desire, activities, and constraints (such as from policing) against particular geographic locations, no matter how fine the scale. Thus we can look at regions, at small parks, even at the microgeographies of cafés and bars. It is in inventorying the particular nature of the connective power of subjectivity⁴³ in a landscape, as well as the social relationships that come to be associated with particular sites, that there is the basis for determining the more crucial and vulnerable queer space. The social transactions that take place on particular sites comprise the “matrices”⁴⁴ of a queerscape. There are various means to track types of relationships and exchanges, no matter how unique each transaction is, but it is usually necessary to start with a small number of functions of mutual benefit.

From my own limited experiences of queer open space, formed along with my own post-Stonewall identity, I know of at least four types of social-environmental alliances. Such ongoing interactions result in some greater communal awareness—in an increased “situating” of collective queer space. Underlying these types of alliances

are a host of transactions that, for the purpose of this introductory discussion of outdoor space, can be grouped under solidarity, entertainment, sex acts, and information. While these processes can be remarkably rudimentary and incomplete in terms of their potential for richer forms of social and cultural expression, they constitute the basic relationships, the building blocks, underlying much of today's queerscapes. I begin this discussion with four archetypical and mythologized examples taken from culture, though the descriptions are largely autobiographical.

Samuel R. Delany's Landscapes of Abjection

There are kinds of cooperation in the landscape formed between people who have nowhere else to go—or who engage in certain contact or activities that are not tolerated elsewhere. Homelessness is the most extreme form of this abjection, in that it forces people into public space. Delany's 1994 novel *The Mad Man*⁴⁵ is about a graduate student who has sex with homeless men. There are aspects of the book that echo some of Delany's rich personal history, including sex and relationships with indigent men and his formerly marginalized position in academia.⁴⁶ The novel's character bases his doctoral research around a long-dead gay male graduate student who was murdered in a bar frequented by hustlers. There are a number of long passages portraying sex in derelict public spaces⁴⁷ such as on the margins of city parks.

The landscapes of sexual abjection in *The Mad Man* illustrate one of the most basic of the community formation processes, that of forced proximity. The outdoor site becomes a strategic place, almost a home, because there are few other places to go. The bonds that form between these homeless people, including the "gay" men portrayed by Delany, may be partially from necessity but are remarkably viable. There is a comraderie that overcomes some of the hostility and threats from the urban core. One of the most poignant passages describes sex between a homeless man and the graduate student. It takes place in a cardboard box in a park because they have nowhere else to go and because it is a place where the homeless man feels relatively at home.

"Do it right here." He sat back, looking around the church-porch steps.

"It'll be okay. . . ."

"It's all right" he repeated. "I got my cardboard. We get under that, nobody'll see."⁴⁸

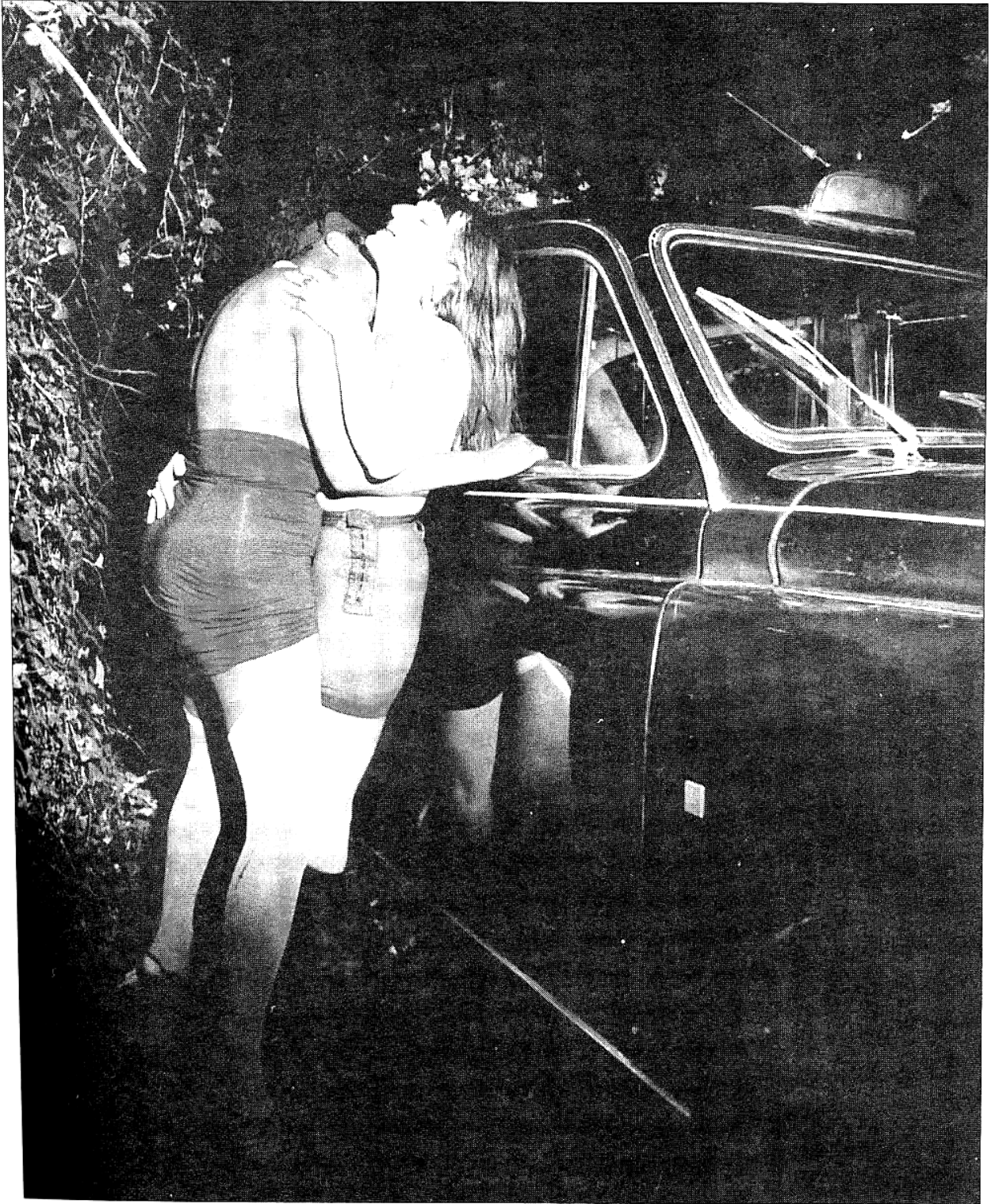
It would be a great mistake to suggest that these urban spaces of gay male sexual abjection, with their slightly cooperative and interracial dimensions, constitute sites of resistance for building and remaking a wide range of social relationships. The opposite is more often true. But these are definitely crucial alliances formed across space: They have environmental impacts, and they extend well beyond survival.

Della Grace's Site-Based Transgressions as Fetish

People sometimes *choose* to make contact in outdoor sites as part of a complex response to and appropriation of the patriarchal dynamics of the gaze and spectacle. Many of the city centre parks in North America and Europe were first established or were redesigned in the late nineteenth century with an emphasis on the public promenade, the male gaze, suppression of public sexual contact, and team sports as a means to lift up working-class morality. Such public parks have usually been programmed for what are sometimes conscious displays of androcentric heterosexual desire, courtship, and conquest. There is some caché in playing in these artifact landscapes. Recently, some of the trappings for making scenes in public spaces have been appropriated by women and artists. But for much of the last century, such pleasures in public areas have been pointedly denied or heavily constrained to sexual minorities. The acts of cultural resistance that turn private acts semipublic can be a kind of fetish, which recently has had increasing use by some lesbians.⁴⁹

Much has been said about *Love Bites*,⁵⁰ the controversial and sometimes-censored⁵¹ photographic collection of lesbian erotica accompanied by vague political implications,⁵² the work of London-based, California-born photographer Della Grace.⁵³ This celebration of relatively mild scenes of sadomasochism engendered a tremendous reaction from more conservative elements of British feminism, even though Grace only wanted to use her images “to create a space for the exploration and celebration of diversity and desire.”⁵⁴ While there was a great deal of hostility to the images of dog collars and chains as unabashed “fetishes,”⁵⁵ the greatest transgression was not the art marketing of overpriced fashion accessories for recession-bound British consumers. Rather, the transgression was taking consensual acts between women into what is normally male-dominated public space.⁵⁶ Cathy Griggers noted, “We see a lesbian body appropriating the codes of straight porn while assimilating S/M sexual practices arising specifically out of the situationality of gay male bar culture.”⁵⁷

Grace appropriated masculinized public spaces and turned aspects of the landscape into props for female pleasures, forming vague resistance to the controls of the state and associated ideologies. She creates, at least within the imagination, “hysterical zones.”⁵⁸ But to reduce Grace's imagery to simply a “fetishization” of landscape as sex prop would be to ignore some important possibilities for new forms of relationships and alliances. These women are engaged in consensual sexual acts in places where they are vulnerable but relatively well-prepared to defend their turf. These spaces and sites are, for a time, theirs and theirs alone. Problematically, these atomized sexual couples define a relatively clean line around reduced body space. And time will tell whether these “bad girls” become good consumers, even if their buying power continues to be limited due to their gender and marginalized erotic cultures.



Del LaGrace Volcano, from the *Nympho Cabbie* series, London, 1993.

Tom of Finland's Pleasure Park

There are alliances formed for heightened communal pleasure that may lead to sexual satisfaction through complex transactions involving various partners. Such use of public space is not limited to sex acts but is more often about space for complex group interactions, which can include women's softball and political demonstrations as well as anonymous orgies in a park. Public outdoor space becomes strategic because it is difficult to engage in such activities indoors and to find room for larger groups of people. These public spaces for groups, whether officially sanctioned or outlawed, are key sites for learning social skills, for exchange of information, for peer support, and for identity formation. The role of sites of public sex in inverting the standard homophobic proscriptions for social contact were described by Michael Immel for some parks in San Francisco: "It is a pathway, or a series of pathways, that narrow from the open area and allow for closer inspections of others. . . . Silence is maintained as cues and visual presentation excite interest."⁵⁹

Furtive sexual contact in public places is often limited and fetishized, but the opportunities for new social interaction allow for new kinds of alliances. The related notion of self-conscious promiscuity as a response to repression of homoeroticism, a driving force in the formation of geographies of communality, was illustrated somewhat uncritically in John Rechy's *The Sexual Outlaw*.⁶⁰ Rechy's Los Angeles queerscape was clearly automobile-oriented and was bounded by the beach farthest west⁶¹ and the public sex of Griffith Park to the east.⁶² The landscapes in between were structured around a highly eroticized and commodified landscape of constant sex and individual gratification. Today, even after a decade and a half of the ravages of AIDS, these types of queerscapes exist in every major city in the world, and the structures of these transactions have continued impacts on the textures of neighbourhoods.

The cartoon fantasies of the late Tom of Finland celebrate a wide diversity of hypermasculine⁶³ "(homo)sex."⁶⁴ Much has been said about Tom's exaggeration of masculinity,⁶⁵ with its supposed links to misogyny, though most of it has only been speculative.⁶⁶ He freely confirmed having had sex with Nazi soldiers in occupied Finland,⁶⁷ flirting with fascist aesthetics,⁶⁸ and to progressively exaggerating male bodies—particularly proportions, musculature, and genitalia to satisfy consumers and gain wider acceptance. But from the vantage point of the alienations in this *fin-de-siècle* work, the images of fetishized masculinity are less significant for their uniforms and props (which by now have already been heavily marketed) than for their rich nuances, intimations of comradeship, and the cooperation implied by the sexual acrobatics. Most importantly, Tom of Finland created space to conceive of an "erotics of lubricious power"⁶⁹ informed by and having relatively positive impacts on the outdoor environment and public space. In these cartoons of recollections and fantasies,



Gender-based entry to the Pleasure Park: part sexual fantasy and part chronic inequity. Tom of Finland, *Kake Pleasure Park*, c. 1969-1970. Drawing courtesy of the Tom of Finland Foundation, Los Angeles.

desire and its relatively equitable satisfaction—particularly that which is communal—makes and re-creates place.

In the 1984 *Take Pleasure Park*,⁷⁰ we are presented with a vision of an all-male public space based on mutual and somewhat expanding erotic satisfaction. Perhaps this vision is closest to Jacob's viciously constructed spectre of the "pervert park." Two forces create this gay male site. Exclusion is indicated by a "Men Only" sign at the entrance to the pleasure park.⁷¹ The second factor is the world of uniforms and the organizations and sectors that they represent, particularly for marginalized groups in need of employment and points of entry into hierarchies of social standing. It remains to be seen whether public sites of highly charged homoeroticism can generate the resources for their own protection and management, as relatively sustainable plateaus⁷² in communal life. Many such marginal places are only intermittently or diurnally queer, and the outskirts of such "pleasure parks" are often sites of homophobic assaults.

From Community to Communality in
Andrea Fatona and Cornelia Wyngaaden's *Hogan's Alley*

If we use the metaphor of the nineteenth-century train station, there are places for changing tracks and making connections that are particularly strategic for sexual minorities. Outdoor public spaces often support shifting alliances and communal identifications. *Hogan's Alley*⁷³ is a half-hour video about the first black neighbourhood in Vancouver. Hogan's Alley was a neighbourhood of flimsy wood-frame shacks, barely large enough for extended families, built on a filled salt marsh, at that time a block from the port. A neighbourhood identity emerged in the 1920s, and a strong black presence was established by the outbreak of World War II. By the time of the United States and Canadian civil rights movement, a new generation of Hogan's Alley residents was involved in the arts and the production of imagery—much of which exoticized African Americans for largely white audiences. The function of community for these Vancouverites of African heritage had changed, and given the lack of state-initiated ghettoization, people scattered. This community had been first defined by race, and it shifted from one that was tight-knit and functioned for survival, centred around church, businesses, and unions, to something that was more provisional and related to specific experiences and sensibilities with their underlying economic and cultural relationships. As the heart of the community was destroyed, new waves of black immigrants from the West Indies and farther afield settled in other parts of the city.

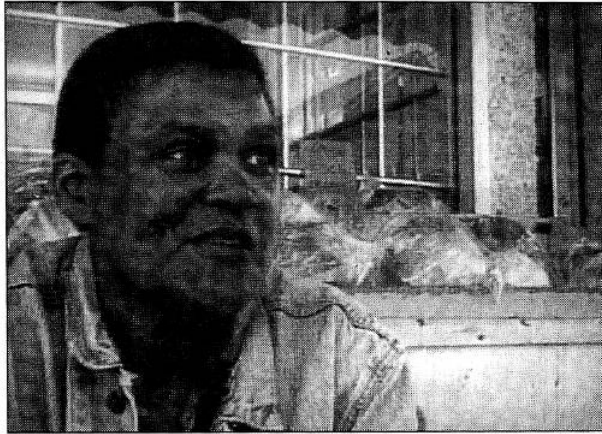
The narrative in *Hogan's Alley* is based on the reminiscences of three women who grew up in the neighbourhood. A major part of the second half of this video involves the contentious relationships between one of the three, Leah Curtis, and both the black community in which she grew up and Vancouver's lesbian community of the 1960s. Early on she confronted racism in the Vancouver lesbian community.



Main Street, Vancouver, 1922. Tracks near the West Coast terminus of the Canadian railways, the principal infrastructure behind the formation of the state and national culture. Courtesy of the City of Vancouver Archives.



Typical alley open space in the vicinity of Hogan's Alley and the Canadian Pacific Railway terminal, early 1960's. Photograph by Eric Lindsay. Courtesy of the City of Vancouver Archives.



Leah Curtis, from *Hogan's Alley*. Video by Andrea Fatona and Cornelia Wyngaarden. Courtesy of Video In, Vancouver.

going to fix you." . . . And then it was just like a western bar scene where two people start fighting then the whole club starts fighting. . . .

Curtis then described how difficult her life was as a teen taking care of children in her extended family. She chose to trade that traditional role of unmarried woman as caregiver for the surveillance (the "panoptic gaze of heterosexism"⁷⁴) of her racially and ethnically defined community and then to break with it for an only slightly multicultural lesbian network.



Hogan's Alley, Vancouver, 1954. Hogan's Alley was the first African or "coloured" enclave of the city, adjacent to the early lesbian enclave in the tough bars along Main Street (visible in the centre of the photograph). This marginal space was crammed between the railroad station to the south, Chinatown to the north, and the port to the west. Courtesy of Maps of British Columbia.

So I used to go back and forth from the New Fountain to the Vanport [lesbian bars] but I really didn't like the Vanport too much because it was mostly just white uppity people there. And I wasn't really accepted there because there was a lot of prejudiced women . . . There was an older dyke there that was callin' me names. I said, well, "You call me that name again and I'm

I wanted some freedom. . . . So how they dealt with my lesbianism was they just totally disowned, ostracized me, which suited me fine because the black community, was really tight. . . . After when I decided that I was not going to go home again, ever, that was my home, the gay community, and at that time, it was The New Fountain. . . .

What Curtis describes is a central experience for a majority of North American lesbians and other sexual minorities for whom redefinition of identity and "coming out" is linked to going from one minority community that is based around networks of heteronormative families defined by race, culture, lan-

guage, and class, to another that is often more narrowly conceived in terms of some increase in individual expression, erotic satisfaction, tolerance, and mutual support. The multiple dilemmas she confronted in that walk from Hogan's Alley to The New Fountain resonate in the not-so-open spaces along the way. Her dilemma was peculiar to small and chronically Eurocentric and neocolonial cities in the north of North America, where membership in the so-called "gay community" required a kind of faux assimilation in terms of race, because demographics and politics constrained the formation of networks, for example, of black lesbians.

*Vancouver Open Space as Queerscape*⁷⁵

Open space and other strategic queer sites do not exist as isolated points in the landscape. There always is a context with a horizontal plane, across which are points of key transactions—connecting lines such as paths, roads, and conduits—and territorialized polygons. Such open and queer space involves constellations of "traversable sites."⁷⁶ Within each of these environments are a series of dialectics, including those between expanding sexual expression and repression, between zones of public and private, and between sexual acts and various communal identities. Each queerscape is a matrix of desire and power with, as Deleuze and Guattari envisioned, the smooth spaces of the game Go and the striated niches of chess.⁷⁷ A queerscape also includes indoor and outdoor sites (some privately owned), but the open space, that which is outdoors and publicly owned, often forms the most strategic nodes. These sites of recreation, along with options for housing and work, determine the texture of a queerscape.

The following is an example of how to begin to describe the queerscape through linking cognitive maps: recognition of the full range of differences, inequities in access to landscape resources, repression, and various forms of alliances that can influence the formation of more extensive enclaves of sexual minorities. In this example, as in many around the world, colonialism, neocolonialism, and only partially successful efforts at decolonization have created broad templates that continue to dominate social, political, and economic relations.

Vancouver is a relatively new city,⁷⁸ built on the sites of Salish-speaking villages that date back over five thousand years. Vancouver was established as a city in 1886 as the Trans-Canada Railway was completed. Soon after its founding, Vancouver also became the northern terminus of the United States's Great Northern Railway. At the city's founding, the Crown Colony of British Columbia had already been in the Canadian confederation for fifteen years, but Vancouver remained, for much of its first century, a colonial landscape and way station in the British Empire—not particularly strategic in the economic hegemony of the United States.

Like nineteenth-century San Francisco, with its similar pattern of frontier town labour and immigration, Vancouver became a major site for "sexual, racial and gender

crossings”⁷⁹ and the institutionalization of racist policies. This contradiction was to dominate its social relations for a century. For example, as the Trans-Canada railroad was being completed by Chinese workers in 1885, an anti-Chinese “head tax” was enacted for the next thirty-eight years, followed by active exclusion until 1949. Vancouver was incorporated in the months following the criminalization of sodomy in Britain. This chill was soon felt in the margins of the Empire, particularly in emergent centres of sodomy such as Vancouver. In the first half of the twentieth century, Vancouver was a hard port and terminal city where vice, including male and female homosexuality, was often partially tolerated even when it was not flourishing.

Similar to more segregated cities in the British Empire, Vancouver has since its inception supported at least four very different homosexual subcultures and cultural discourses around marginalized sexualities: white gay male, primarily white lesbian, gay or lesbian Chinese, and Native/aboriginal. Other cultural groups have tended to be attached to the first three of these, inevitably overlapping social strata of the queerscape. In such a small city, there has been a remarkable amount of spatial segregation, especially in the lives of sexual minorities. Public parks were often sites where racial and cultural boundaries were blurred and where conflicts were played out. Soon after the city was established, the streets that were west of crowded, expanding, and repeatedly cordoned Chinatown and Main Street became the boundary between “whites” to the west and non-European communities to the east. The West End, often considered a gay ghetto, was remarkably white, Eurocentric, androcentric, and middle class well into the 1960s. The West End functioned far less like a ghetto than Chinatown. In contrast, lesbian bars, as part of a working-class port subculture, first emerged along and to the east of Main Street. As the lesbian feminist networks went aboveground and started involving more childrearing in non-male-centred households in the 1970s,⁸⁰ a scattered “enclave,” if the word is applicable here, expanded eastward toward Commercial Drive.

Within every homosexual underground are discordant and invisible networks that threaten to explode and become visible when broader political economic factors eventually permit it. In contrast to the primarily white gay male enclaves, a nineteenth-century homosexual Chinese subculture was established after the Trans-Canada railroad was completed, when more than ten thousand male workers were crowded into the Chinatowns of Vancouver and neighbouring Victoria. There were ongoing cultural links to the large homosexual enclaves in Chinese cities of the time. After World War I, south Asian enclaves began to take root, especially in the suburbs farther east in the slowly expanding metropolitan area. Even in a city with a history of state-sanctioned segregation less overt than many others in North America, the fractured and invisible nature of large networks, indeed of much of the queerscape, is remarkable. It is probably no coincidence that, as the *de facto* divisions described previously



The West End from the edge of Stanley Park, Vancouver, 1994.

finally began to break down over the past decade, there emerged finally a “queer” politics for sexual minorities that was somewhat less Eurocentric and antiracist and more sex-positive. Integration processes have barely begun and will remain appropriate only for particular forms of communality, exchange, and erotic contact where modicums of equitable power relationships can be assured.

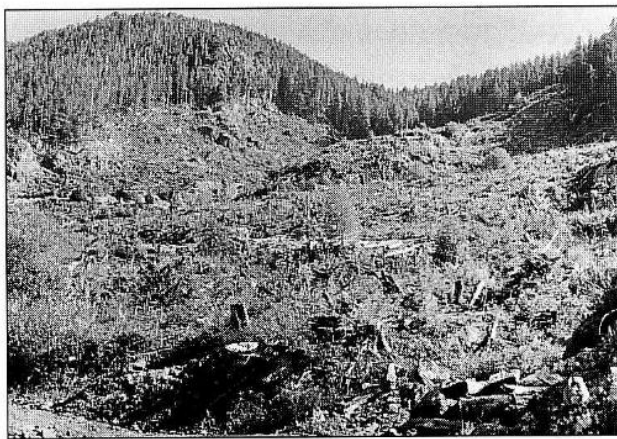
In less than half a century, Vancouver has evolved from a violent frontier town to a cosy outpost for the élite among the rapidly integrating economies of the Pacific Rim. But the ghosts of the initial struggles for gender equity and sexual expression linger. In recent decades Vancouver has spawned numerous global corporate institutions. In the past decade it also has emerged as a centre for film and television production, exporting queasy and often pretentiously “postmodern” mythologies with series such as *The X-Files*, *Outer Limits*, and *Millenium*.

The landscapes of North America often embody competing and overlapping neocolonial reiterations from its three major European sources: Spain, Great Britain, and France. Within this uneasy detente, the position of Vancouver in maintaining its part of this triad is increasingly insecure. The patina of Britishness is long gone. Like

Los Angeles, any pretense of solidly Anglo roots was largely a racist fabrication. Heritages primarily British were rarely a majority in the city, and this portion of the total population has been declining throughout much of this century. But within this contradiction of the growing “unBritishness” of British Columbia, constructions of sexual identities largely have remained rooted in anglophile frameworks. In this quiet cultural crisis, the land and the public spaces that have formed on it have remained under the control of the more neocolonial government agencies, notably the British Columbia Ministry of Forests, which still controls the majority of the province.

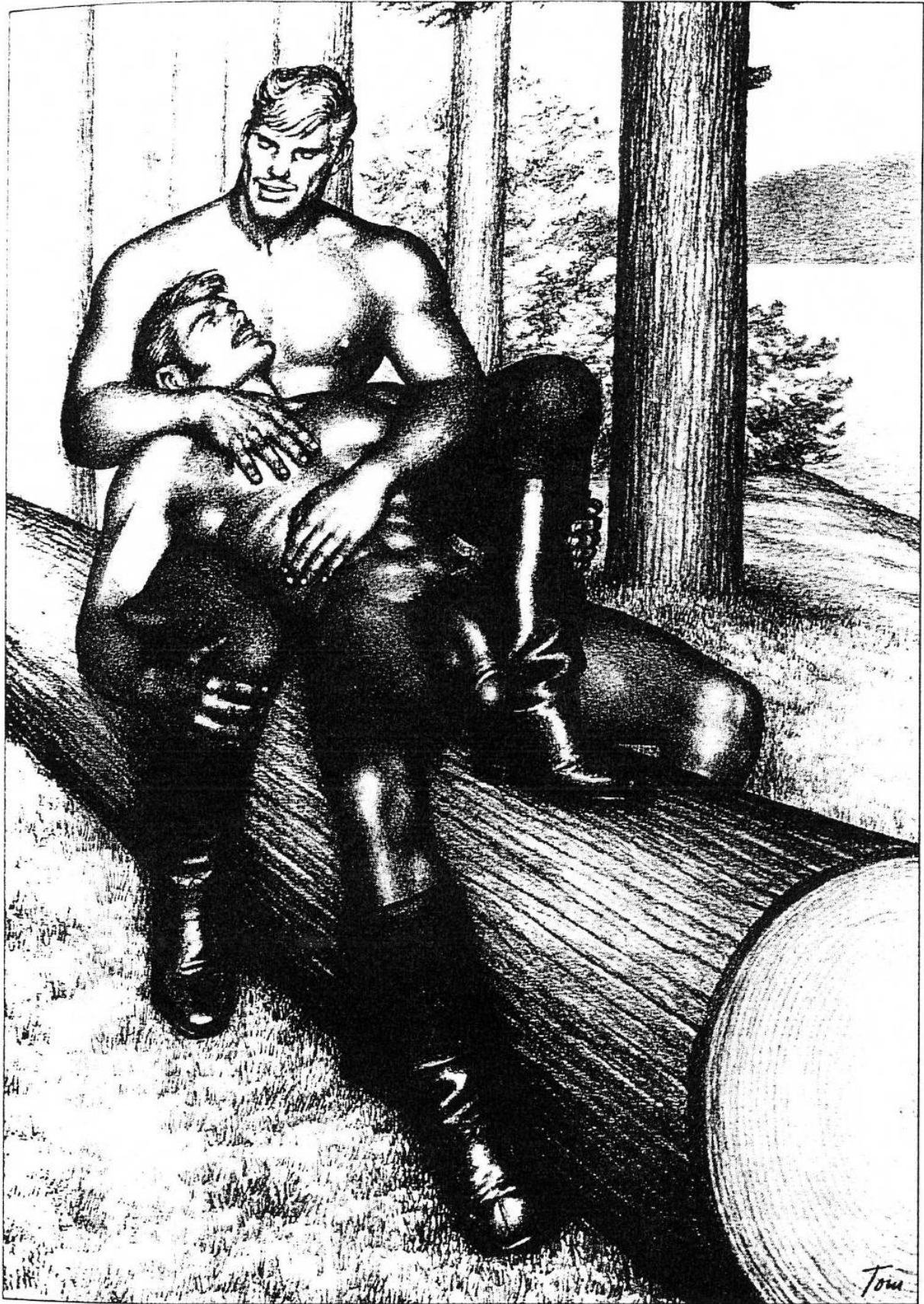
The development of this terminal city has paralleled the formation of modern notions of the homosexual and queer. In Vancouver, built through curious contradictions of colonial and corporate monopolies and the subsidies and interventions of a distant federal government, heterosexuality was solidly associated with the state.⁸¹ The construction of this colonial landscape was also simultaneous with systematic forms of homophobic repression and isolation of sexual minorities. The ambiguous potential of open space as an arena to control, hide, and tolerate minority sexualities became intrinsic to those Victorian and Edwardian landscapes. Perhaps more than most large North American cities, prostitution and reactions to it have been major factors in the formation of Vancouver’s neighbourhoods. Partially because of a chronic shortage of skilled labour, known homosexuals, especially those from more privileged European groups with command of English, tended to be better tolerated than in less-urbanized areas of the British North American frontier. In addition Pacific Canada has a heritage of sex radicalism associated with radical trade unionism and utopianism going back to the early socialist movements of the Victorian period.⁸² Though somewhat homophobic, the contradiction opened some more space for homosexuals.

The public spaces of this mercantile town were built on contradictory pressures for commodification of sex and creation of commons resilient to the vagaries of short-term market forces. But the government reserves and parks have also tended to obliterate prior ownerships and claims by “First Nations.” Multiple use, often the rhetoric for wholesale liquidation of ancient forests and open space, has been rooted



Clearcut, Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island, 1995.

in colonial strategies for control of land, resources, and labour. Notions of “nature” in these false commons are highly contentious.⁸³ Today in this port city, beaches such as Vancouver’s English Bay have become surrogates for more purposeful forms of public space⁸⁴ and the fulcra for social discourse ranging from cruising to political demonstrations that typically go on



Tom of Finland, *Finlandia*, 1974, from *The Men of Finland* (1984). Drawing courtesy of the Tom of Finland Foundation, Los Angeles.

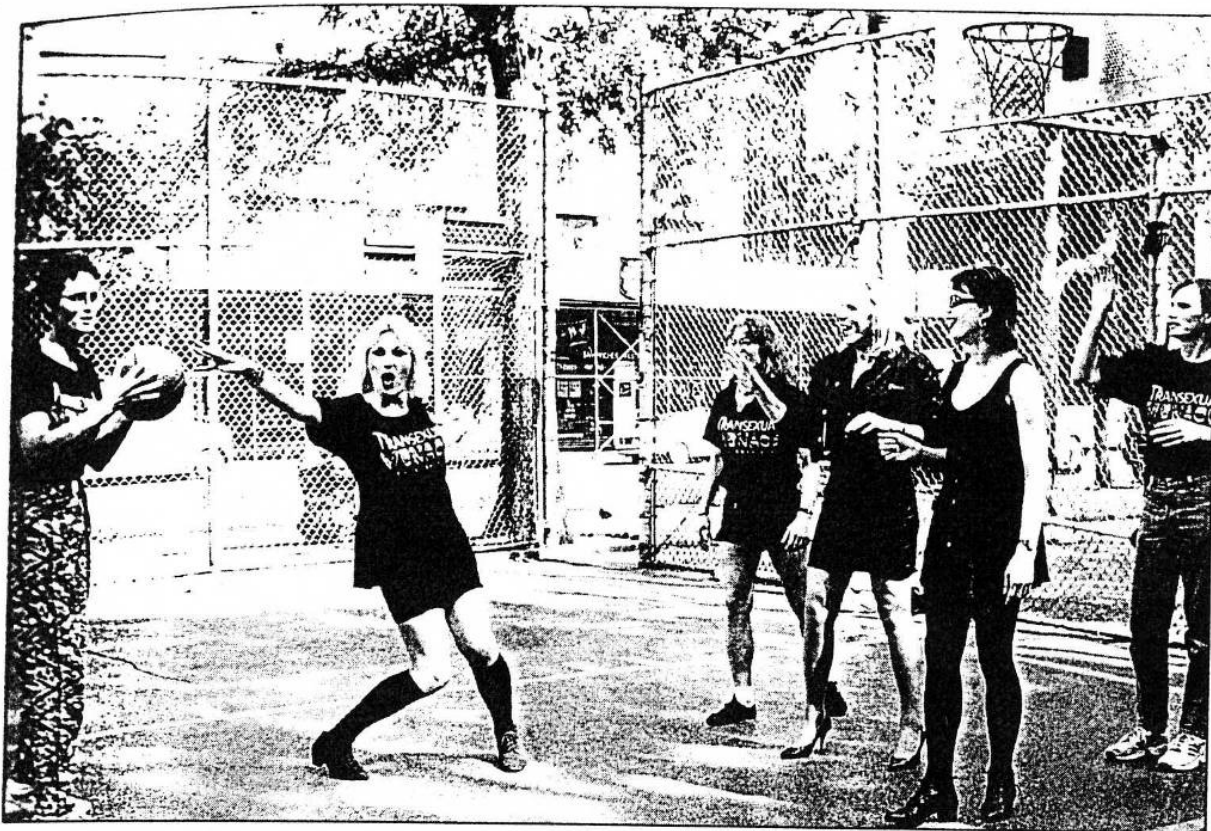


Gay men's softball team, San Francisco, 1975. Photograph by Emery Reiff. Courtesy of the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California.

in urban centres. Many of the urban parks in central cores of North American cities, including Vancouver's Stanley Park, are nineteenth-century artifacts with multiple layering of changing morals, ideologies, and activist movements. Urban parks in North America are derived from the nineteenth-century articulations of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted of a vague commitment to "parks for people." The contradictions within these notions can be read in today's networks of city parks and open space. In the late nineteenth century, there was a movement for greater presence of women in city parks, often involving team sports, leaving a legacy in lesbian and other queer sports groups. Just as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick

argued that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cultures functioned as something of a big closet for avoiding homoeroticism, there are parallels in Vancouver's open space. In this context lesbians and gay men of colour had few options, often with a "hypermarginalization" rather than "ghettoization," which limited contact to a few hazardous indoor establishments or a small number of risky outdoor sites. But the needs for outdoor space and the pressures to claim them if only for brief periods were constantly reiterated in contests between heterosexual user groups over space and buildings. The level of competition for the public spaces of Vancouver, between heterosexuals and sexual minorities, has varied over the decades. There were periods after World War II when there were contests for space between courting heterosexuals and cruising gay men—contests similar to those that led to, for example, the severe anti-homosexual repression in Atlanta⁸⁵ in the same period.

Vancouver has had substantial numbers of gay men and lesbians since a decade after its founding. There has been tolerance of the sexual activities of single men, in light of their status as badly needed workers, with disposable income and in need of entertainment. Historically male prostitution has been partially tolerated in the city, with corners on the margins of the city's core relegated to hustling. Vancouver's city police have been less violent and intolerant of sexual minorities than in other major Canadian cities, and though extensive harassment has continued well into the late 1980s, it has occurred without much of the violent and organized harassment of



Transexual Menace basketball team, New York City, 1995. Photograph © Morgan Gwenwald.

queer groups in Toronto and Montréal. At times, there has been considerable surveillance⁸⁶ of known homosexuals,⁸⁷ and this continued well after the partial decriminalization of homosexuality. After 1968 the emphasis on repression shifted to bars and clubs, political organizing, public sex, and child pornography. In Vancouver, police entrapment and harassment in response to cruising⁸⁸ and public sex intensified in the 1970s and did not decline until considerable monitoring and organized resistance by the gay community into the 1980s.⁸⁹ As late as 1976 there were regular incidences of city police viciously attacking openly gay men, to the point of their requiring hospitalization.⁹⁰ Compounding this checkered history of municipal repression, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP, the Mounties) were carefully inventorying, monitoring, and mapping sites of queer desire in public space into the late 1960s,⁹¹ and some of this surveillance extended to Vancouver. Until the 1960s federal government officials would denounce people as homosexuals and cause them to lose their jobs. Thus the dynamic of repression and resistance was a primary force, comprising another matrix in the ecology of this queerscape.

Rather than just a response to repression, gay male and lesbian presence in public space was driven by numbers, concentrations, and desire. By the end of the Depression, a period of major social displacement that brought many single men and women to the Pacific coast, there were well-known rooming houses and apartments inhabited by gay

men. By the 1960s Vancouver, like most large ports in North America, had developed a host of illicit commercial establishments and underground networks. For example, by 1967 there were roughly eight lesbian-only or lesbian-gay male commercial establishments in the city and a comparable number of relatively exclusive gay male spaces.⁹² For a metropolitan area of not much more than one million people, this was extraordinary. And these gay populations were highly mobile in terms of employment and residence, with particularly strong links to Seattle, San Francisco, and Toronto.

The first homophile organization in Canada, the Association for Social Knowledge (ASK), was formed in Vancouver in 1964,⁹³ a year of continual police presence and repression of activity in the city's gay bars.⁹⁴ Vancouver's first lesbian and gay centre opened in 1967.⁹⁵ The following year saw the partial decriminalization of homosexual acts by the Canadian Parliament, but the law had only limited day-to-day impact on these networks and respective neighborhoods,⁹⁶ particularly since police repression continued. For gay men—particularly white anglophiles—there were quasi-underground pre-gay liberation “courts,” such as the Dogwood Monarchist Society, which continued to play substantial social roles until well into the 1980s. In Canada lesbian feminism emerged as a movement and a community in 1968,⁹⁷ and political lesbian feminists tended to gravitate to Vancouver, particularly in the 1970–72 period.⁹⁸ In the same period, downtown Vancouver's representative in Canadian Parliament was a closeted gay man who rose, in the early Trudeau cabinets, to be Minister of Urban Affairs—a particularly short-lived portfolio⁹⁹ but one crucial to creation of the extensive public areas such as Granville Island, now central to the network of open space.

In 1970 the Vancouver Gay Liberation Front (GLF) was formed, but because it did not find a support base in the gay male ghetto in the city's West End, it was defunct a year later¹⁰⁰—soon succeeded by the more conservative Gay Activist Alliance and the slightly radical Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE). Vancouver's first resource centre exclusively for lesbians opened in 1972.¹⁰¹ Gay people first began organizing for a gay studies curriculum at The University of British Columbia in 1972, though so far they have been unsuccessful in developing comprehensive programmes.¹⁰² It was also in this period that gay liberation, in contrast to only decriminalization, was first championed by an elected Canadian official: black, human rights activist Rosemary Brown represented part of Vancouver in the Provincial Legislature.¹⁰³

In this same period of explosive growth of lesbian and gay movements and institutions, there was increased resistance to police entrapment and harassment as well as to other forms of discrimination. There was a wave of police harassment of gay clubs in 1973,¹⁰⁴ the same year that Gay Pride Week brought out a demonstration of about one hundred people.¹⁰⁵ Gay and lesbian service organizations had formed by 1974.¹⁰⁶ The first organization against gay harassment was the moderate Society for Education, Action, Research, and Counselling on Homosexuality (SEARCH). The group was

formed in 1974 with considerable antipathy to members of GATE. SEARCH initially limited its concerns to police harassment in and around private establishments and other gay institutions, not including open space such as Stanley Park. By the late 1970s a women's and lesbian enclave had formed in the eastern part of Vancouver, along Commercial Drive, an area that provided lower rents and more services to women and children.

As with many parts of the world where gay ghettos became more visible, homophobic violence intensified in the 1980s. The city's lesbian and gay bookstore, Little Sisters, was firebombed in 1988, with a second attempt months after the first. Over the last decade, there has been some gaybashing attributed to neo-Nazi groups,¹⁰⁷ some involving trainees from the Aryan Nation-associated camps in northern Idaho, in a remote rural area that borders on the British Columbia interior. As is the case with many other cities with gay ghettos, much of the violence, abuse, and lesser discrimination continues to occur in neighbourhoods with large numbers of lesbians and gay men, in places where people feel most secure.¹⁰⁸ Street crime in Vancouver is low in comparison to similarly sized North American cities, although violence against women, visible lesbians, and gay men remains a constant threat. This relative freedom from violent crime has allowed a greater presence of women in public spaces, sometimes alone and at night, though outdoor sites that are well-used at night—such as some parts of the West End's Seawall—remain exceptions. Repeated assaults in public areas, particularly parks, were a major concern for the short-lived cell, Queer Planet, in 1991.

In recent years the city has been particularly vulnerable to international capital, with linkages to Hong Kong, Japan, and China. This monetary flow has contributed to transforming Vancouver into what some, including Paul Delany, have argued is a quintessentially postmodern city.¹⁰⁹ Delany argues that formerly marginal cities that have been outside of colonial and modernist centres of power and generation of cultural icons, such as Vancouver has, hold more space for hybridity and new perspectives. Less optimistic Vancouverites are convinced that the power brokers are hell-bent on concocting "fictional histories" of the city.¹¹⁰ Today, Vancouver is relatively affluent and multicultural, with high levels of social services. The heritages of the metropolitan-area residents are between 30 and 40 percent non-European. But in this increasingly Disneyesque and hyped centre for the production of imagery, which once brought the world Greenpeace and the United Nations Habitat Conference and today specializes in macabre (and mediocre) television fantasies, a comfortable sort of alienation is the standard fare. And the rare engagement from spontaneous meetings in public outdoor spaces may be one of the most dependable forms of social intercourse.

Various forms of outdoor-space contact leading to acts of homosexuality, especially involving gay and bisexual men, have been occurring since the city's inception. Such communality has been regulated by the particular nature of the persistent "closet

colonialism,” the patterns of immigration,¹¹¹ and the distribution of housing, public transportation, and services across the city. The result is a highly fragmented and impermanent set of queer enclaves and personal networks of varying levels of invisibilities structured, in no small part, along lines of race, language, ethnicity, class, and sexual desire. In this context that is more neocolonial than postcolonial, most non-European groups have been either ignored or exoticized. There are few spaces to speak languages other than English, making silent-contact sites particularly strategic for some groups.

In the mild and rainy weather of Vancouver, with the same latitude as Paris, southwest-facing shores are the most comfortable year-round. In the central part of the city, the two largest beaches with this condition have relatively high presences of gay and bisexual men and, to a growing extent, lesbians and bisexual women. Nature aside, in comparison to other liberal North American cities, such as neighbouring Seattle (which is roughly the same population size), Vancouver has relatively underdeveloped organizations and institutions for lesbian, gay, and transsexual populations. With Vancouver’s queer communities somewhat scattered at the margins¹¹² of North American urban activism, certain outdoor sites remain strategic for exchange of information, socialization, and mutual support, if not for sex. Perhaps because of lower rates of violent crime, outdoor areas of gay male sex are large for a North American city and have grown rapidly in the last three decades.¹¹³ However Vancouver has seen continuing anti-gay violence, and there have been organized responses to this for nearly two decades¹¹⁴ including, in recent years, a queer street patrol.

The City of Vancouver banned discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual orientation in 1982.¹¹⁵ In the same decade, the Canadian Constitution finally enshrined protection against gender discrimination, and the Province of British Columbia amended its Human Rights Code to outlaw more blatant forms of homophobic discrimination in 1992. There were extended debates on whether the Canadian Constitution inferred protection on the basis of sexual orientation, and federal legislation to clarify limited protection was finally enacted in 1996. All of these changes have had tangible impacts on the queerscape. One of the most dominant regulating factors in this erotic landscape has been shifting legal notions of privacy,¹¹⁶ both through interpretations by the state in tolerating homoeroticism¹¹⁷ and in the fluid lines between public and private zones as related to the permissibility of sexual acts.¹¹⁸ Notions of privacy around sexual contact and information on sexuality, particularly for but not limited to gay men, was transformed greatly in the 1980s with the ravages of the AIDS epidemic. Pacific Canada has had particularly high rates of HIV infection.¹¹⁹ Over the last decade, various organizations have come and largely gone, including ACT UP, Queer Planet, and Lesbian Avengers.

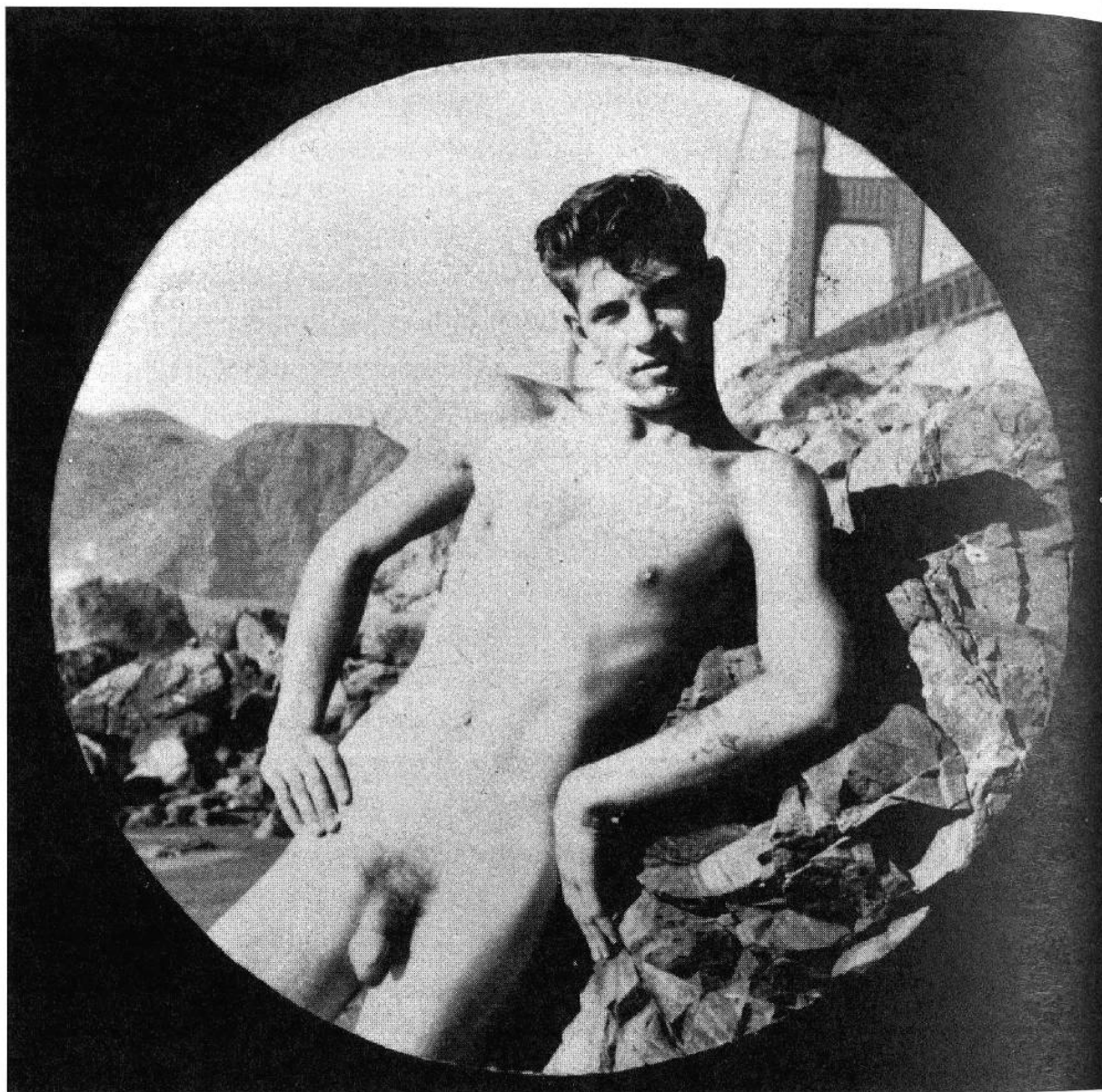
The open spaces of Vancouver were formed as part of an infrastructure to expand dominion by anglophile culture, the Canadian and British Columbian states.

and capitalism and modernist technological “development.” Yet today all three of these historical projects are in crisis, and only the third, in this city of railway terminals, is still on track. The queerscape as a regional tension between homoerotic desire and communality on one hand and the forces of heteronormative conformity on the other is rapidly giving way to a tension that is more directly structured for the benefits of discriminating “blind” capital that only faintly echoes the racism and cultural chauvinism of the past century. Increasingly the city is less a centre for dissemination of the English language and more for the multitude of languages from south China and Asia, as well as French, Italian, and other western European cultures. In these times of globalization of capital and neoconservatism, the Canadian state is in retreat, especially in providing both social repression and social entitlements. In the face of aboriginal sovereigntist movements and declarations, the validity of the Province of British Columbia, as the heir to the Crown Colony of British Columbia and as a means to concentrate resources and pay for the state is increasingly in doubt. And while indulging in the paranoias of impending United States domination is a major Canadian pastime, the influences of this particular city state, Vancouver, now extend south to below the border. Vancouver is slated to become the largest metropolitan area in the Pacific Northwest in the coming years. All of these dynamics are reflected in the textures of the public spaces of Vancouver—in expanding options, at least for now, for contact and communality, a major aspect of which is erotic.

If we look at the network of open space in Vancouver as the matrix of a queerscape, with shifting nodes and connections and with each supporting some or all of the following alliances, there is the beginning of a comprehensive analytical framework for inventorying the most important communal relationships and points of transaction. Some sites support a wide range of activities for gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transsexuals and include a wide range of cultural, age, and mobility groups. Most areas harbour a small number of uses and user groups, and for only brief periods. While this is still an elite and neocolonial queerscape that allows considerably more options for white gay men, the gendered and eurocentric aspects of these templates of relationships and transactions are being transformed.

Abjection

People are often forced out into outdoor areas because there are problems with their homes, such as crowding and lack of privacy and light, or because of homelessness. Outdoor nights become refuges for contact, privacy, and sex. Parks and parking lots have been crucial sites for erotic contact between individuals who cannot have guests at home and for people in heteronormative households who have needed somewhere “to get some space.” Solidarity in such disparaging settings as stifling morality, crowding, poverty, and homelessness can involve tracking police and spouses or looking after someone else’s children. Street prostitution, male and female, can be a form of



Photograph from the Tim Wood collection, San Francisco, 1950's. Courtesy of the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California.

abjection: Brothels are illegal and more lucrative forms of “sex work” involving arrangements by cellular telephone are unavailable. But in times of state repression and serial murders, the high degree of solidarity and mutual protection on the streets may be preferable.¹²⁰

The entertainment afforded by open space often involves more complex stimuli such as light, panoramas, and nature than is available from indoor queer sites. In contrast, sexual activity in parks, when there is nowhere else to go, is often limited and of a short duration. Exchange of information can be quite miscellaneous, but for the homeless or transient, for example, it can often be key for survival, shelter, and access to social services and economic opportunities. In recent years there have been programmes to provide information on safer sex practices to hustlers and people engaged in public sex.¹²¹

Transgression as Fetish

One of the greatest transgressions by sexual minorities in recent decades has been to conduct sex in public as some sort of performance or, in the case of the exhibitionistic hustlers of Yaletown, cheeky advertisements. The transgression is in moving sex from the private to the public realms and in “doing it under their noses.” This is a crude and very temporary form of appropriation of space. In the case of forested park lands, fetishizing nature in a political economy engaged in its increasing commodification and destruction has a particular appeal. Solidarity, in this case, involves watching and assisting actors in not getting caught. The transgression is half of the entertainment. Recently, women and transsexuals are moving into typically all-male and masculine areas as increasingly conscious forms of reappropriation. The education provided in such episodes is often fairly limited unless there is a specific message, as in the case of art performances or political demonstrations.

Communal Pleasures

In the case of the overworked, a park is a place to finally find some relaxation. Sexual expression in this context, no matter how anonymous, is less reduced and compartmentalized from the rest of a person’s tastes, desires, and aspirations. Outdoor areas provide opportunities for high levels of social contact and, when desired, numerous partners. But to reduce communal pleasures to Tom of Finland’s recollections and fantasies of group sex forgets the hundreds of lesbian softball and grass hockey teams that regularly “queer” the playing fields of North America as well as the many cultural events and festivals. Communal solidarity in the mild, cool seasonal shifts of Vancouver is punctuated by a Lesbian Visibility March in the chill of February, a Stonewall Festival in June, a Gay Pride March in early August, a charity AIDS Walk in late September, and long lines snaking outside queer films at the Vancouver International Film Festival soon after. Vancouver, as a link in the expanding circuit parties, has been weak. At dusk on warm nights when it is not raining, there are sometimes orgies on Wreck Beach and lines for sex in the Enchanted Forest of Stanley Park.¹²² But these remain furtive, ephemeral, and spontaneous, whereas less overtly erotic events are often more dependable. And along with films, pamphlets, posters, performances, and word of mouth, these pleasurable communalities often provide key information on health care, fighting bigotry and organizing, upcoming parties, and new consumer services.

Network Entry

“Coming out” for most people has a key function of “coming in” to new social networks with changes in habits and routes across landscapes. Use of public space can be part of the expansion of personal networks to include people who share perspectives,

sensibilities, and pleasures. In the rough and tumble frontier of Pacific Canada, before decriminalization of homosexuality, bars with furtive gay spaces and parks were the few places where a stranger had any hope of finding peers, allies, and friends. But in the past two decades, both institutions have become decidedly ancillary as sources of networks after support groups, clubs, political caucuses and other organizations, and increasingly spectacular “benefit” parties. Today, instead of the pub in the Vanport Hotel¹²³ of Leah Curtis’s youth being a destination and a refuge from the homophobic surveillance of heteronormative public space, similar bars are only minor stops with the less furtive public space along the way now holding more promise for a range of social contact and solidarity.

Queries and Hypotheses: The Not-So-Open Spaces of Queerscapes as Analytical Frameworks

The previous outline of Vancouver as queerscape is far from a conclusive inventory, description, or analysis. Certainly the notion of the queerscape is as constructed and shifting as is that of the landscape. But the framework of networks of outdoor public space as nodes of contact and activities for sexual minorities poses some increased opportunities for confirming the existence of and obstacles to various forms of queer communality. Given that invisibility and nonrecognition remain chronic obstacles to developing viable strategies for queer politics, the concept of the queerscape reappropriates some of the surveillance techniques of the malevolent and indifferent state. Whereas ACT UP queered militarily through actions that verged on guerilla tactics, and Queer Nation laid the basis for a cultural activism whose promise is largely unfulfilled, the vision of the queerscape could contribute to the reinvigoration of queer civic politics and a more prolonged focus on particular neighbourhood conditions, at a time when self-styled gay and lesbian leaders are increasingly careerist and technocratic.

The analytical framework that I have outlined begins with recognizing spatial subjectivities, moves to identification of functions and alliances, and focuses on strategic points—with transactions involving sex acts only a small portion. Space becomes a means for tracking such transactions rather than generating them. The relationships and connections between these points can then be assessed in biophysical and social contexts as part of broader scaled conditions, such as freedom and repression, across queerscapes. But perhaps all that can be achieved in the coming years for most cities is an expanded vocabulary and appreciation for diverse communalities across networks of open space. This alone could have a tremendous impact on civic policies. In a world of declining green space,¹²⁴ design questions for parks become political issues. In Vancouver, election to the City of Vancouver Parks Board is one of the least difficult entry points for ambitious lesbian and gay and environmentalist politicians. More than just a fetishization of the landscape, a political culture of the “opening” of public

space has taken root, one that will require expanded analytical frameworks employing sophisticated environmental conceptualizations.

Conclusions

The history of the city park in the twentieth century has been dominated by state-sanctioned neglect of the safety of women, partial exclusions and marginalizations of racial and cultural minorities, and often vicious attacks on the presence of sexual minorities. Paradoxically, the park has been one of the most strategic and poorly explored battlegrounds in the recent sexual, cultural, and political wars. Public space in the twentieth century, more than in any other time in history, has been dominated by the state's attempts to suppress, constrain, and otherwise regulate sexual desire and consensual activity—particularly for women and sexual minorities. The notion of the queerscape is one more analytical framework to track desires, marginalities, transactions, and communalities across landscapes and communities. Within such contradictory environments of hatred, risk, anxiety, empathy, and pleasure, queers have often subverted the state-constructed divisions between public and private, and for short periods they have appropriated intermediate zones as spaces for mutual support and satisfaction. The tactics¹²⁵ used to queer these not-so-open spaces have varied greatly over the years as state policies and social and economic options have fluctuated.

Community always has both site and territorial aspects, ones which function very differently as a result of the nature of the transactions and respective networks. For sexual minorities, there has often been exclusion and invisibility with only exceptional nodes and modest levels of regular presence. Transactions that are part of alliances associated with strategic sites may provide a more accurate basis for understanding territorialization for sexual minorities—at least in the context of repression, limited liberalization, and closeted patriarchy, and neocolonialism. The importance of such sites and their respective activities are radically different during periods of criminalization, partial decriminalization and rights advocacy, more comprehensive forms of women's/gay/lesbian/bisexual liberation, and today's more indefinite and provisional intersections of queer theory and activism. How outdoor sites are transformed by the configurations of queer alliances associated with them will be central determiners as sexual minorities set civic agendas for decades to come. I have initiated an argument that the importance of outdoor space and landscapes to sexual minorities is never totally by default nor is it from systematic marginalization. The landscape is never just a backdrop; it transforms and is in turn transformed through pleasure, danger, sacredness, and contentiousness in the process of its use as queer site. And such cultural processes are extending well beyond bedrooms, closets, and dark outdoor sites of anonymous sex.

As for simple definitions, there is a basis for more precise usage of the following terms. A (queer) “node” is a place that involves more than one strategic site, with respective transactions and alliances. A (queer) “enclave” constitutes a relatively dense set of nodes that includes homes and relatively permanent habitation. A (queer) “network” involves shared interests and desires, along with regular communication, but is not necessarily spatially specific. A (queer) “community” involves multiple and possibly divergent networks for a particular area that include various degrees of interdependence and mutual support along with respective organizations and institutions.

A queerscape intrinsically embodies contradictions involving various pressures for and constraints on erotic, familial, and communal desire—ones that have biophysical environmental impacts and others that are developmental, social, and cultural. The monitoring framework that can be created to understand the shifting nature of queerscapes and the extent of the refuge that is afforded to particular groups requires frank recognition of specific acts, identities, and alliances as well as their biophysical and political economic contexts and impacts. This environmental information can be integrated into decision-making frameworks for landscapes as part of the strategies for including more queer networks, for confronting homophobia and violence, for popular education, and for better stewardship of natural areas.

Even in the most severe forms of exclusion from space, such as homelessness, there are alliances between individuals that create the basic forms of queer space. There is protective interdependence between individuals as well as shared pleasures. There are opportunities for constructing more complex and representative identities that lead to life choices somewhere between heteronormative families and various queer possibilities. All of these dynamics are played out simultaneously across the landscape. Uncovering and reconstructing the social architecture of queerscapes, in terms of implications for physical design, public policy, and redefinition of cultural perspectives and functions, is a central political task for new queer activism, as well as environmental planning, urban design, and that massive closet called “landscape architecture.” If networks of open space are to be made increasingly safe, enjoyable, and inclusive, the homophobia that is consciously or inadvertently “programmed” into the landscape will have to be confronted in the academy, in the design and planning professions, and in civic politics.

In looking at Vancouver as a queerscape, remarkable amounts of residual colonialism and misogyny become apparent. For most minorities in this city, such a statement comes as no surprise. Queer sites nearly always have specific ethnic and cultural associations. Identifying strategic sites and recognizing the relationships that they support, and which in turn transform them, as part of more spontaneous forms of queerscape architecture becomes part of more advanced phases of decolonization. And establishing new and more accessible queer outdoor space can be linked to a host of

other prerequisites that contribute to deconstructing and eventually confronting and **destroying** gender and cultural hierarchies—at least for the inherently multicultural **but** increasingly problematic cultural landscapes of countries such as Canada.

Just as we experience sensoral aspects of the landscape that indicate a diversity of natural and social processes across space and time, so too are there indications of the social interactions that comprise queerscapes. Underlying these queerscapes are contradictions between desire and repression, heterosexuality and homosexuality, homosexuality and bisexuality, gender stability and transgendered fluxes, equality and elitism, communality and more individualized alliances, and separatism and assimilation. It is these unresolved social relationships that can determine the patterns of competition for resources, which are often made artificially scarce across the not-so-open spaces of cities, suburbs, towns, farmlands, and wildlands, and that often centre on social groups defined in terms of gender, race, class, language, culture, and age.

Like other forms of territory, queerscapes have shifting and unresolved relationships with various forms of state apparatus. Queerscapes are as natural and intrinsic to human environments as any other aspect of the cultural landscape. Learning better to read the queerscapes around us is the basis for discussing more precisely how to inhabit, use, and modify them. In pre-postmodern times, it would be easy to suggest, however naïvely, simply to liberate these spaces and to conceive of them as being truly opened. But by delving into and more consciously engaging the queerscape, a richer and more contradictory set of social processes become apparent—a set that creates more space for expression of desire, a set that is far more indefinite than the initial promises of gay liberation and queer nationalism.

something pierced in California, 51–68; Stanley, *Sins and passions*, 207–26.

22. See, for example, the many debates from the early and mid-1990s on “outing,” such as Johansson and Percy, *Out*, and Mohr, *Gay Ideas*.
23. This might be thought of as a central element of queer citizenship; see Cooper, *An engaged state*, in *Activating Theory*, 190–218.
24. Golding, *Sexual manners*, in *Pleasure Principles*, 80.
25. Jarman, *Modern Nature*, 83.
26. See Bell, *Perverse dynamics, sexual citizenship, and the transformation of intimacy*.
27. The notion of “sex talk” as used here comes from Cooper (note 24), p. 208; the phrase “creative and wild possibilities” I borrow from Sue Golding, *Quantum philosophy* (note 4), p. 217.
28. Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (note 13), is among the most inspirational texts to encourage such a task.
29. Jarman, *At Your Own Risk*, 80.

Surveying Territories and Landscapes, pages 91–94

1. For the more cultural and psychological aspects of the notion of the commons, see Thomashow, *Ecological Identity*, 67–102.
2. Francis, *The making of democratic streets*, in *Public Streets for Public Use*, 28–29.

“Open” Space as Strategic Queer Sites, pages 95–125

1. This research began in San Francisco in 1979 as an academic study, with nonvoyeuristic photographs, of gay male use of Buena Vista Park. I shared information and photographs, which a fellow Berkeley student and member of Gays and Lesbians of Wurster Hall worked into his own research (Immel, *Gay urban open space in San Francisco*, 33). Because of the hysteria around AIDS and gay male “promiscuity” in subsequent years, I did not publish on this topic and moved on to other questions of public space and lands, and “marginality.”
2. Weeks, *Sexuality and Its Discontents*, 223.
3. Wilson, *Public Bodies—Private States*, 9–10. In her 1984 essay, *Bodies in public and private*, Elizabeth Wilson noted that the notion of the “open city,” with its large component of relatively egalitarian public space, always involved a element of surveillance, particularly by the state.
4. Crouch, *The historical development of urban open space*, in *Urban Open Space*, 7–8.
5. Boyer, *City of Collective Memory*, 133. Also relevant is the eighteenth-century work of Abbé Laugier whom Bernard Tschumi quoted as stating “Whoever knows how to design a park well will have no difficulty in tracing the plan for the building of a city according to its given area and situation.” (Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, 85; and Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, 4.) Laugier was a central figure in the formation of modern design practice based on principles of eighteenth-century Enlightenment.
6. Boone, *Queer sites in modernism*, in *Geography of Identity*, 253.
7. Boyer, *City of Collective Memory*, 183–84. Boyer suggests the key relationship between open space and communal and neighbourhood identities.
8. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 1.
9. Kenney, *Strategic visibility*.
10. I use the term “essentialize” as a verb, derived from the school of essentialism that looks for fixed patterns of behaviour, relationships, and “nature”—particularly for social groups with some different biological manifestations as to gender, race, or interest in particular sex acts.
11. For three discussions on the positions of bisexuals in relationship to queer identities, see Evans, *Dual citizenship?*, in *Sexual Citizenship*; George, *Towards a definition of bisexuality*, in *Women and Bisexuality*; and Hemmings, *Locating bisexual identities*, in *Mapping Desire*, 41–55, as well as Hemmings’s discussion in *Queers in Space*.
12. Cream, *Re-solving riddles*, in *Mapping Desire*, 33–34.
13. Architectural theorist Henry Urbach, once outlined the activist nature of architecture and noted that “Architecture not only represents a stage of social relations but is also a politicized protagonist.” (Panel discussion “Queer Space 1,” *Storefront Art and Architecture/Cafe Architettura*, New York City, June 19, 1994).
14. In using this widely used phrase “open space,” one of the notions closest to my own is that of Iris Marion Young who said, “A public space is a place accessible to anyone, where people engage in activity as individuals or in small groups . . . The unoppressive city is thus defined as openness to unassimilated otherness.” See Nicholson, ed., *The ideal of community and the politics of difference*, in *Feminism/Postmodernism*, 319.
15. In this way I reject the argument that the notion of public space provides the basis for a new normative theory of politics harking back to modernism, no matter how supple a framework informed by space. See Howell, *Public space and the public sphere*, 303–22.
16. Weightman, *Gay bars as private places*, 10–13.
17. One of the few case studies of the “use” of landscape architecture to minimize homoerotic contact was the work of Michael Immel on Buena Vista Park. See Immel, *Gay urban open space in San Francisco*, 37–44.

18. Lynch, The openness of open space, in *City Sense and City Design*, 396.
19. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 9. In his recent book on the formation of gay male subcultures in New York, George Chauncey argues that "gay life in New York was less tolerated, less visible to outsiders, and more rigidly segregated in the second third of the century than the first, and that the very severity of the post-World War II reaction has tended to blind us to the relative tolerance of the prewar years." This pattern was similar to those in many other North American cities.
20. Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 92. See her use of the term "pervert park," where she states "Several decades ago Washington Square became Philadelphia's pervert park, to the point where it was shunned by office lunchers. . . ."
21. Golding, Quantum philosophy, impossible geographies and a few small points about life, liberty and the pursuit of sex (all in the name of democracy), in *Place and Politics*, 213–14.
22. Jacobs, *Death and Life*, 79.
23. Rubin, (interviewed by Judith Butler), Sexual traffic, 76 and 78.
24. Lynch, Open space, in *City Sense*, 413.
25. Heckscher, The management of open spaces, in *Urban Open Space*, 19–20.
26. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 2. While the record of sites of homosexual activity now extends back to the Renaissance (Giovanni Dall'Orto, 1994), this essay will only go as far back as eighteenth-century Europe.
27. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 503.
28. Cory, *The Homosexual in America*.
29. *Ibid.*, 114.
30. "Cruising" is a complex set of codes, alliances, and practices, which have varied greatly among sites, regions, and times. Cruising practices are often highly site-specific. For one portrayal of cruising by a white man in Washington, D.C., between World Wars I and II, see Russell, ed., *Jeb and Dash*. In those memories Jeb used the term in 1923 (66). Other descriptions of well-established cruising sites in the early 1920s in Washington are on pp. 31, 41, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, and 66. The emergence of cruising as part of a more "global" culture of sexual dissidence began after World War II. See Marshall, *Beginner's Guide to Cruising*.
31. Leznoff and Westley, The homosexual community, 257–263. The mention here of the timing of government support is because the resulting research was used by a federal government for RCMP surveillance that intensified in the late 1950s and 1960s.
32. *Ibid.*, 261–62.
33. *Ibid.*, 257.
34. Delph, *The Silent Community*, 159.
35. Sex-negative attitudes internalized in the gay male community have even lead to cooperation with police entrapment efforts. See pp. 18–22 in Tucker, Gender, fucking and utopia, 3–34.
36. Sociologist Peter Nardi reviewed the controversy around the book and its significance in The Breastplace of Righteousness, 1–10.
37. Humphreys, *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal sex in public places*, 14.
38. Ponte, Life in a parking lot, in *Deviance: Field studies and self-disclosure*, 3–29.
39. Valentine, Out and about, 105.
40. Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins*, 150–86.
41. Patton, Tremble, hetero swine! in *Fear of a Queer Planet*, 174.
42. I conceive a queerscape ecology related to "landscape ecology" as in Forman and Godron, *Landscape Ecology*. Recognitions of social factors and respective impacts in these landscapes that were recognized as being inherently "cultural" were central to the modern inception of this field, as in Dansereau's 1966 essay Ecological impact and human ecology, in *Future Environments of North America*, 425–64. Most contemporary inventories of local ecologies are based on natural ecosystems, through there are some examples of more "hard-surfaced" urban studies such as Appleyard's The ecology of the street, in *Livable Streets*, 29–40.
43. Imafuku, Glass made of water, in *Transculture La Biennale di Venezia 1995*, 56.
44. Forman and Godron, *Landscape Ecology*, 159–68.
45. Delany, *The Mad Man*.
46. In 1993 Chip Delany kindly engaged in three long conversations on public sex, while in Toronto and New York writing *The Mad Man*. Along with this information, he kindly loaned me a revised marked version of Delany, *The Motion of Light in Water*, which was to be reprinted with the changes.
47. Delany, *Mad Man*, 72–77, 190–96, 220–23, 435, and 499–501.
48. *Ibid.*, 190–92.
49. Grosz, *Space, Time, and Perversion*, 141–54.
50. Grace, *Love Bites*.
51. Stamps, Doing battles with censors, 70–73.
52. Adams, The three (dis)graces, 130–38.
53. I had extensive conversations with Della Grace in 1979 and 1980 in San Francisco, in 1993 in Toronto, and in 1994 in Rome.
54. Grace, Xenomorphosis, 124.
55. Pettinger, Why fetish?, 87 and 88.
56. This discussion on open space is focused on the following photographs in *Love Bites: Lesbardos*, pp. 38 and 39; the images in The Ceremony, particularly pp. 44–49; the images in Cold-store Romance, especially pp. 57–59 and p. 62.
57. Griggers, Lesbian bodies in the age of (post)mechanical reproduction, in *Fear of a Queer Planet*, 187.
58. Grosz, *Space, Time, and Perversion*, 151.

59. Immel, Gay urban open space in San Francisco, 31.
60. Rechy, *The Sexual Outlaw*.
61. *Ibid.*, 22.
62. *Ibid.*, 140.
63. The "script" of the hypermasculine man often responds to and replicates "his dangerous, adversarial world of scarce resources." See Mosher and Tomkins, Scripting the macho man, 60.
64. I am indebted to Leo Bersani's early essay *Is the rectum a grave?* in *AIDS: Cultural Analysis, Cultural Activism*, 197–222, especially 203–9, 220. It explored the relationship between portrayals of "machismo" and more profound forms of homophobia, particularly as related to AIDS discourses.
65. One of the first discussions about Tom of Finland in the mainstream gay press was in Reed, *Repression and exaggeration*, 16–21.
66. As a teenager, Tom of Finland began to have sex with men in public places. He has said that some of his partners were German troops occupying Finland under the Nazi regime.
67. Blake, Tom of Finland—An appreciation, in *Out in Culture*, 350–51.
68. *Ibid.*, 351. Tom of Finland removed from circulation his early Nazi fantasies.
69. *Ibid.*, 350.
70. Tom of Finland Inc. (P. O. Box 26716, Los Angeles, California 90026) distributes catalogues and materials. The archives of his work are at the Tom of Finland Foundation (P. O. Box 26658, Los Angeles, California 90026).
71. Tom of Finland, *Kake Pleasure Park*, 1.
72. Deleuze and Guattari developed the concept of the plateau, as based on Gregory Bateson's work on Balinese culture, as "a continuous, self-vibrating region of intensities whose development avoids orientation towards a culminating point or external end," in contrast to more ephemeral episodes such as parades, street fairs, and demonstrations. See Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 22.
73. Fatona and Wyngaaden, *Hogan's Alley* (colour, English language, 32:30 minutes, distributed by Video In, 1965 Main Street, Vancouver, Canada, fax: 1(604)876-1185). Both Fatona and Wyngaaden provided additional information from their research on the project in conversations in 1994 and 1995.
74. Knopp, Sexuality and the spatial dynamics of capitalism, 651–69. See p. 665, where Knopp attributes this phrase to Tim Davis and his 1991 paper "Success' and the gay community: Reconceptualizations of space and urban social movements" (presented at the First National Graduate Student Conference on Lesbian and Gay Studies, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 1991).
75. Thanks to Don Hann for the transcripts of his talk, *The lesbian and gay civil rights struggle in British Columbia, 1971–1980*, a talk given at Harry's Off-Commercial on October 14, 1995, as a benefit for Little Sisters Bookstore.
76. Boone, Queer sites in modernism, in *Geography of Identity*, 259.
77. Deleuze and Guattari, *Nomadology*, 4.
78. My relationship to this new city is that my paternal grandparents both moved to Vancouver from southern Ontario and a nearby area of upstate New York, in 1890 and married in 1891. My father was born in the Kitsilano neighbourhood in 1905, and I took many trips with him back to Vancouver in the years 1960–71, while growing up on southeastern Vancouver Island. My father's family was highly skeptical of what Vancouver had become and what was articulated by some as a betrayal of Arcadian promises. One of my father's brothers, less than a year older, died from a homophobic assault in Stanley Park in 1970.
79. Fung, *Dirty Laundry*, videotape (Toronto: Fungus Productions).
80. For a mid-1970s discussion of the emergence of lesbian feminism in the region, see Rand, Interview with lesbian feminist, 4–5, 11.
81. Kinsman, *Regulation of Desire*, 31–34, 66–67, 81–98.
82. McLaren, Sex radicals in the Canadian Pacific Northwest, 527–46.
83. For a discussion on British Columbia, see Ingram, Landscapes of (un)lawful chaos, 242–49. Perhaps the most heated discussions on contemporary interpretations of nature and its implications for perception and use of landscapes, have been the reactions to Donna Haraway's *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, such as the 1995 anthology *Reinventing Nature?* In Pacific Canada, there has been a more regional discussion of the aesthetics of decolonization that Watson (1994) alluded to.
84. Berelowitz, From factor 15 to feu d'artifice, 32–37.
85. Howard, The Library, the park, and the pervert, 166–87.
86. For one of the best documented urban chronicles of surveillance of gay men in public outdoor space, see Chauncey, Privacy could only be had in public, in *STUD*, 234–48.
87. Adam, Winning rights and freedoms in Canada, in *The Third Pink Book*, 25–37.
88. Even after partial decriminalization, legal statutes were used by the police to harass cruisers. For an overview of the legal instruments of the 1970s, see Tide, Laws used against us, *Gay Tide* 16: 6–7 and Cruise with care, *Gay Tide* 18: 10.
89. See the following articles from *Gay Tide*, the Vancouver paper that most carefully monitored police harassment of gays in the 1970s: Editorial, Police entrapment on upswing 2(4) (August 1, 1975); Anonymous, Gay victim speaks out 3(3) (August, 9, 1976); David Rand and Robert Cook, Community unites to voice anger 16 (1977): 1; No

- liaison with police 16 (1977): 2; Editorial, A breakthrough 16 (1977): 3; Don Hann and Rob Royce, City police record: Smash hit 16 (1977): 4; Police harassment: Three responses 17 (1977): 4; Stop police attacks 18 (1978): 1.
90. Hann and Royce, City police record, *Gay Tide*.
 91. There was some discussion on continuing RCMP surveillance as late as 1980. See Loos, Opening the mounties' closet, 9. However, earlier surveillance of a much more coordinated nature has been confirmed. For example, "By 1963, the RCMP started a project of attaching red dots to a map of Ottawa to identify homosexual hangouts. It became so awash with dots that a second, much larger map was purchased. It too became covered in a sea of dots, and attempts were made to locate an even larger map" (Hannan, 1994) with additional correspondence with Gary Kinsman in 1994. Also see Kinsman, *Regulation of Desire*, 120–23. The extent of the RCMP surveillance of lesbians and gay men in Vancouver is still unclear.
 92. McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, 278.
 93. "Ask supported law reform and sponsored public lectures and discussion groups, coffee parties (Gab'N'Java), social events and outings, a lending library, and, eventually, a drop-in and community centre." See McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, 7, 10. Also see Kinsman, *Regulation of Desire*, 147–58.
 94. *Ibid.*, 11, 12.
 95. *Ibid.* 3, 26, 29.
 96. Batten, The homosexual life in Canada, 28, 32.
 97. Ross, *The House That Jill Built*, 24.
 98. *Ibid.*, 61.
 99. Vancouver's public space still very much reflects the liberal, government interventionist urban vision of Ron Basford.
 100. The GLF shared a storefront office in Vancouver's Gastown district with the Yippies (Youth International Party). See McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, 54–55, 69. Few if any descriptions of Vancouver GLF and its relationship to the Yippies have been recorded. Martin Duberman provides a description of the strained relationships between the New York City GLF and the Yippies in his 1993 *Stonewall*, 129–37, 178–79.
 101. *Ibid.*, 102.
 102. *Ibid.*, 106, 109.
 103. *Ibid.*, 113.
 104. *Ibid.*, 127.
 105. *Ibid.*, 134, 135.
 106. *Ibid.*, 181–82.
 107. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there appears to have been a fairly coordinated movement by neo-Nazis in Canada and the United States to target gay men in public places. The most notorious case that has come to media attention so far involves a Winnipeg "skinhead" who was accused of killing a gay man in a cruising area there. The skinhead then fled and successfully joined a Canadian military regiment that was sent to the United Nations operations in Somalia, where four Somalis were tortured and murdered, involving the same individual. The scandal highlighted the neo-Nazi movement and the racist nature of the murders, and led to the greatest disgrace to the Canadian military in its history and the disbanding of the regiment. For one of the hundreds of articles on this scandal, see Roberts, Skinheads charged in slaying: Investigation of 1991 beating nets four suspects, one of whom served in Somalia, *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, March 2, 1996): A4.
 108. Samis, Homohate queried, 1.
 109. Delany, Vancouver as postmodern city, in *Vancouver*, 1–24.
 110. Boddy, Plastic lion's gate, in *Vancouver*, 25–49.
 111. Like most large cities on the west coast of North America, the population of those of British descent in Vancouver was rarely the majority. Soon after the turn of the twenty-first century, the total of non-European groups will be more than half of the population of the entire metropolitan area.
 112. Fatona and Ingram, Scattered at the margins, 30–31.
 113. It is always difficult to map use of open space, particularly by social groups that are not clearly visible and to whom privacy is a huge issue. The background information for the discussion of queer outdoor space in Vancouver is based on personal observations from 1970 to present, the 1973 Cook and Scythes map that included cruising areas, and information, discussions, and interviews. A 1995 map of strategic sites for Vancouver's "bisexual, gay, and lesbian communities" (*Angles* 13(11): 11) indicates many more indoor private sites and no longer maps important outdoor sites because there are now too many and their functions have diversified.
 114. Anonymous, Pacific gays and lesbians rally to combat rising street violence, 8, 15.
 115. Anonymous, Vancouver's pre-election surprise, 7.
 116. Sanders, Constructing lesbian and gay rights, 102.
 117. Homosexuality was somewhat decriminalized in Canada in 1968, and in the debate in Parliament, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stated, "The state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation."
 118. In a 1982 essay from Toronto, describing a similar Canadian context for "public" and "private" space, Ken Popert suggested that the public/private dichotomy itself was homophobic and proposed the notion of "collective space."
 119. Brown, Ironies of distance, 160.
 120. Significantly, the huge amount of female street prostitution in Vancouver is associated with heroin addiction, while the male and transsexual prostitution "scenes" are not dominated by pimps or drug use.

121. Brown, Sex, scale and the "new urban politics," in *Mapping Desire*, 245–63. See p. 255.
122. Stanley Park is one of the largest fragments of remaining forest in the Vancouver area, though it was selectively logged between 1860 and 1880. See Oke, North, and Slaymaker, Primordial to prim order, in *Vancouver and Its Region*, 166.
123. The Vanport Hotel was at 645 Main Street, Vancouver.
124. Box and Harrison, Natural spaces in urban places, 231–35.
125. Chauncey, Privacy could only be had in public, in *STUD*, 224.

"No More Shit," pages 127–45

1. The histories and destinies of gay male communities in Toronto have been and will continue to be extricably linked to those of lesbians, bisexuals, and other sexual minorities. While most of the public sites and respective demonstrations and business areas serve women and men—and other sexual minorities than gay men—this essay and its background research is limited to gay men and the public spaces strategic to them.
2. I am assisted in chronicling gay male communities by Miller, Lesbian and Gay Heritage of Toronto; Crawford, *Homosexuality in Canada*; and McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*.
3. Rocke, Sodomites in fifteenth-century Tuscany: The views of Bernardino of Siena, 7–31. The author states "In 1512 a group of youths demanded that the government release men recently jailed for sodomy" (31, note 70).
4. For a recent synopsis of those raids and the responses to them see Hawkes, 15 years after the raid, *XTRA West!* 66 (February 22, 1996): 13.
5. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 1–29.
6. Much of my analysis for the 1950s in Toronto is based on work about Montréal in Leznoff and Westley, The homosexual community, 257–63. The classic study of Toronto's later, above-ground gay community is in Murray, The institutional elaboration of a quasi-ethnic community, 165–77.
7. As part of an oral history project, I interviewed thirty-five gay men in the mid-1980s, men who could remember Toronto's pre-Stonewall gay community from the 1950s and 1960s. A more extensive discussion of these interviews is in Grube, Queens and flaming virgins, 14–17, and Grube, Natives and settlers, 119–35.
8. White native English-speakers born in Canada have comprised a declining portion of the gay male community in Toronto. With demographic trends this group may well become a minority in Toronto.
9. Kinsman, *Regulation of Desire*.
10. For an example of the first gay liberation agenda that emerged in Toronto soon after decriminalization, see Waite and De Novo, *We Demand*, 4–7.
11. Gibson, *More than an Island*; and Gibson, Portrait of the Toronto Island community, 24–28.
12. Turning drag into a public spectacle was not without resistance. See Salsbery, Witchcraft and faggotry, 8–9; and Anonymous, Near-riot at drag contest, 8.
13. The Body Politic, Gay Toronto, *The Body Politic* 14 (1974): 19.
14. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations are from personal interviews. This material is available to legitimate researchers for verification purposes as long as anonymity is guaranteed to the interviewees.
15. Mays, Green passages, A13.
16. Public sex was established in David Balfour Park well before partial decriminalization, though use probably increased in the 1970s. See Hannon and Lewis, I Know a Place . . . , 43; The Body Politic, Gang homophobic violence in Balfour Park, 12; Bearchell, Shoot-up in David Balfour Park; and Mays, Green passages.
17. Lesk, Aimless development threatens gay beach, 10–11; and Patterson and O'Connor, Beach bylaw bingo, 47.
18. Anonymous, What do you say to a guy after you've blown him in the park, 13–14.
19. Much of this section is taken from the 1993 article "No more shit," 21–28, which was based on a paper of the same name read to the 1992 International Gay Studies Conference, *La Ville en Rose*, in Montréal, November 15, 1992.
20. Hannon, Taking it to the streets, 9.
21. Hannon, Loss, Mahoney, Patterson, and Spalding, Who is next? Me?, 9–11.
22. The Body Politic, Toronto cops raid gay bath, charge 28 men, 12–13.
23. Brittan, Getting off, 27–30.
24. At the time, the Progressive Conservative Party had controlled the government of Ontario for three decades but lost power in the next election.
25. For one discussion of the problem in discerning "public" and "private" space that emerged out of an experience of resisting the bathhouse raids, see Popert's 1982 essay Public sexuality and social space, 29–31. Popert argued that the simple dichotomy was no longer viable. He proposed a grey zone called "collective space."
26. Bearchell, Putting on the pressure, 8–10.
27. The Body Politic, Police stepping up park and bathroom busts, 13.
28. Bearchell, Lesbian Pride March is a first for Canada, 10.
29. Bearchell, Another park, another politician, 9.
30. In 1984 there was still a concentrated gay neighbourhood on Church Street and there were still more gay sites scattered along Yonge Street as based on the map, The Body Politic's Summer '84 Key to Toronto, *The Body Politic* 105: 29.
31. Some of these statements are expansions on a paper. Are you now or have you ever been an essentialist? given at the International Gay Studies Conference in

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Surveying Territories and Landscapes, pages 91–94

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"Open" Space as Strategic Queer Sites, pages 95–125

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"No More Shit," pages 127–45

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