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Vancouver(as queer)scape: Strategies for mapping public spaces constructed by sexual minorities

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Introduction:

Towards activist theories of placemaking by sexual minorities

It is a great pleasure for our group to present in this theoretical discussion -- thanks to the organizers of this conference for their long-term commitments to constructing such "space" of activist theory. We am going to use the personal pronoun through much of this presentation because while this material represents the research and theoretical work of three individuals, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, Cornelia Wyngaarden, and myself in an upcoming book, "Vancouver(as queer)scape: The construction of public space by sexual minorities in Pacific Canada," the framing of the questions that We pose and begin to answer in this presentation are my own.

"Vancouver(as queer)scape" represents a dialogue between a geographer -- Bouthillette, a public artist -- Wyngaarden, and myself -- an environmental planner. Much of this presentation, here at the Critical Geography Conference, is focused on the part of a more specific discourse that is most contentious and fertile in terms of theory and practice -- and one that is most compelling to me: the continuing gaps between studies of space, as in the field of geography, and decision-making involving physical space, what is often called "environmental design" or "environmental planning." Another of the underlying functions of this presentation, today, is to explore how environmental planners and designers may increasingly want to declare themselves one of the numerous stakeholder groups in critical geography. Perhaps more than most geography-related fields environment planning needs critical geography because today it too often is used to obscure social conflict and the experiences of marginalized social groups.

In my work -- often focused on planning networks of "open" space and protected areas involving social groups marginalized in various ways, the reality is that We am often involved in as much if not more with geographical studies than environmental decision-making. But these unresolved distinctions are not just about the work contexts of activist scholars. Rather, those invisible lines between geography and planning have great bearings both on how and why studies are conducted and how and why decisions are made. As many

¹ This paper was a collaborative effort of Ingram, Bouthillette and Wyngaarden but was presented by Ingram.

of us too painfully know, decisions about human communities and environments are often made before studies are ever initiated. To reduce much of the loss of clarity between study and intervention to the vagaries of power, as has been fashionable with some of the more reductive interpretations of Foucaultian *pouvoir*, is to forsake important opportunities to link knowledge of domination of space and people in new ways that can more authentically, to invoke that now discredited term, "empower," local communities and, in particular, marginalized social groups.

Few chasms between geographical studies and environmental decision-making are wider and more chaotic, in terms of both theory and instrumentality, as between sexuality and space. Mappings involving the dissonant identities, milieus, and stakeholders that make up the notion of sexual minorities, "queers," and specific alliances of lesbians, gay men, bisexual, and transgendered people are rarely linked with questions in environmental design whether they be for broader metropolitan and neighbourhood scales or those of sites including singular buildings, monuments, rooms, and closets. Most of the older arguments that practitioners of marginalized sexualities were too "deterritorialized" to have any specific impacts, as related to either their desires or the state hostility to them, have long be discredited. Yet there remains this huge gap between mapping and decision-making and perhaps more problematically between activism and instrumentality vis-à-vis environmental design. In this presentation, We cloak the first more rhetorical discussion, of the heavily constructed yet unstable division of the spoils between geography and environmental design and planning in one of better mapping the dynamic spaces and impacts of marginalized sexualities in Vancouver.

My underlying argument is that a "queerscape" -- larger than a community and smaller and more grounded with less pretentious than any sort of singular "Queer Nation" or planet -- necessarily reconstructs itself and in this way links cognitive maps, that are often at the core of studies in human geography, with activist design and planning through day-to-day mediation of both desire and homophobia. Not coincidentally, both cognitive mapping and sexual "aesthetics" have been marginalized in "scholarly" geography and the environmental design "professions" respectively. While the queerscape as a plane of mediation between desire and both repression and alienation is a relatively simple idea, and one that has been postulated in various ways for years, the opportunities for both critiques and reconsideration of "postmodern geographies," with its residual patterns of marginalization, still are largely unexplored.

Why bother trying to better connect cognitive mapping and to some kind of Debordian notion of environmental planning as dialogue? First of all, the ideal fraught with naïvety may be one of the most important rallying cries for defining new democratic vistas over the next decade. But rather than inherently liberatory, the uses of better connecting cognitive mapping to environmental design, as related to eroticism, are myriad as are the contexts. We base this discussion on our work in Vancouver and on its volatile and perennially contentious system of public places -- both outdoor and indoor. While some have argued, perhaps prematurely, that the nineteen nineties amalgam of "queer" politics indicates a decline in identity politics, in relatively affluent and liberal cities such as Vancouver, there has been a net increase in sexual minorities-identified stakeholders for particular "public" spaces. We explore this paradox, one suggesting the emergence of has been playfully called "queerscape architecture" , for central Vancouver. In some ways, homophobia as a social-environmental problem is on the decline in central Vancouver but this is just freeing up opportunities for the production

and diversification of queer space -- much of which is not always segregated in any fixed terms. In fact, the vaguely outlaw but decidedly commercial institutions that pushed open homoerotic space in Vancouver in the nineteen sixties and nineteen seventies have transformed themselves into generators of sexual disorientation that is less focused on servicing more stable erotic alien(n)ations. But in any periods of expanded opportunities, there is a race that can only be partially explained through early twentieth century totalities such as "socialism or barbarism." Today, there are even more unstable dichotomies such as between kitsch gay and lesbian capitalism and bland, bureaucratic service organizations and a would-be and only somewhat queer "shadow state" -- queer careerism with a vaguely human face. There are dichotomies between essentialized and perpetually destabilizing identifications. There are even resurgences of tensions between eros and family. And in cities like Vancouver, all of these contests involve decisions over where people live, work, and play.

In exploring new means to link cognitive mapping with environmental design, around a heightened acknowledgement and an interrogated "programming" for "democracy" in sexual expression -- an illusive ideal in this century, We make a series of arguments that roughly correspond to the progression of sections of this presentation.

1. divergent uses of cognitive maps - We break with the Jamesonian optimism around cognitive mapping as part of postmodernist efforts for new social democracy. Today, there are too numerous and divergent uses of cognitive maps. The assertion and "sharing" of cognitive maps, especially for a marginalized group, is never without a price -- and never without some level of social voyeurism. Today we are constantly pelted with information for the construction of competing cognitive maps with those more squarely in the service of "capital" often winning.
2. site and city specificities - We go on to argue that the particular marginalizations of (homo)sexualities, from which arose the "identity politics" that emerged in mid-century, is not only the product of capitalism, colonialism, and tensions with already established cultures, but remain largely site, neighbourhood, and community / city-specific. Even with all of the "delocalization" since gay liberation, sexuality and marginalized sexuality always has a geographical location.
3. Pornography as reduction / porn noir(e) as (re)investigation - The obscuring of the locations of homosexualities has been achieved through a sort of reduction of the social exchanges to pornography and then the censorship of the sex. Pornography, as an internally reproduced mediation of repression and resistance, is, in effect, a device for obscuring location. But the obfuscation of locale is never complete and there are always traces -- that can be reconstituted through a sort of (critically) sex-positive "anti-porn" that can be called, "porn *noir(e)*."
4. Landscapes embody competing pressures for homoerotic desire and repression - Landscapes and the dynamic public and private spaces which constitute them have been and continue to be battlegrounds for sexual propriety. Identifying the key matrices of the queerscapes become key to linking desire, resistance, and current and potential place-making.
5. Mapping is as temporal as it is spatial - Maps of any social group, activities, desires, and aesthetics involve time as well as space and contain references to points both past and future.

Given the great flux in patterns of erotic desires, acts, and identities, maps are never static and may often be more about the past or the future than the present. Mapping around sexual minorities can indicate trends, social contradictions, and the direction of grouped subjectivities that through politics and artifice can eventually become "plans."

6. Mapping always has a direct relationship to environmental decision-making - Like other forms of language, maps and the means with which they are constructed, have direct relationships to human impacts on those environments. Aspects of mapping relate to past, current, and subsequent territorializations and other social modifications. Yet even in radical or critical geography, it is not always easy to highlight the underlying power relationships that link environmental decision-making to cartographies and inventories. It remains difficult just to conceive of alternative cartographies that disrupt frameworks of environmental decision-making dominated by capital -- and to construct alternative rationalities of space, people, and resources.

7. Queer placemaking as historically rooted - The explosion in discussions of "queer space" and the efforts to modify public and private space to assert or better facilitate acts and identities of erotic alien(n)ations is part of social resistance stretching back to well-before the 1960 Stonewall Riots. Queerings of public space often are not trivial exercises in urban decorum and in many instances are rooted in long-term historical projects for which commercialization and gentrification are relatively negative tangents.

If We have succeeded in successfully arguing for the mounting pressures for more careful consideration of both the erotic and the "homosocial" in planning policy and urban design, We will have been very successful -- especially given the lingering gaps in theory and interest. If We have succeeded in identifying the curious absences in theory between contemporary cognitive mapping and environmental decision-making, then at least we can move into a renewed discussion of the politics of sharing such maps and how they lead or do not lead into more socially responsive and representative planning and design.

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Problem statement:

Continuing theoretical gaps between cognitive mapping & environmental decision-making

Our underlying "message" in this presentation is that Jameson's early nineteen eighties notion of associating "the postmodern condition" and the associated globalization of capital and culture with an emergent politics of cognitive mapping was more or less true. But in trying to understand how a more democratic oppositional politics would emerge, he was looking backwards, to older notions of the centrality of "class" for the institutionalization of social inequities, rather than forward to increasingly destabilized communities -- and obfuscated historical links. Civic politics increasingly become a contest for the dominance of certain cognitive maps over others -- for constructing the maps of the world and the local community that make the most sense and that "deliver" in terms of day-to-day survival. And a major "sector" of this contest is the link, or mystification, of community and cultural activism, and associated mappings, and actual decision-making over regions, neighbourhoods, and public and private sites. In this context, the link between geography, as collective reckonings of communities and environmental conflict, and planning, where a range of socially related decisions are implemented, can come to dominate local political life. In this context, the

constant re-invention of homoerotic spaces across cities over the last century is indicative of the recycling of older power disparities along with a few new opportunities for "democratic" "public" space.

In trying to understand how the space and cognitive maps of the homosocial and of homosexuality have been transformed with earlier experiences of desire, collectivity, repression, and space typically obfuscated, in ways that have direct relationships to the resolution or lack of resolution of urban policy and design issues, We want to first example how contemporary narratives of queer space have been transformed. We am going to start with one of my first "loves," issues around the queer uses of parks, less because We am an occasional participant of "public affection" (and occasional sex) and more because like many people, We am highly dependent on a range of open space experiences, some of which are erotic. The following are two already divergent narratives of gay male open space: from Manhattan in 1996 and from Vancouver's Stanley Park and West End in the 1988-1990 -- just before the Gay Games.

Interrogating the public cognitive maps of homoeroticized space

1. Central Park New York City 1996

In looking of the homophobia often embedded in the so-called public maps of public space, We begin by examining contemporary media associations around sexuality in parks and other public space. Douglas Martin's 1996 New York Times article on the Ramble area of Central Park, New York is one example. Early on the author states,

"gay men have made the Ramble one of their principal cruising grounds"

and soon after,

"Some straight people avoid the Ramble as unseemly. Some gay men feel endangered by bigots who might come to seek them out. After-dark police patrols are dispatched frequently to address both concerns. Karen Putnan, the new Central Park administrator says she hoped to meet with neighborhood groups to find a way to accommodate the wide range of park users and resolve the issue of sex in a public place, which constitute `disorderly behaviour' under municipal law."

Focusing on disorderly behaviour rather than violent crime or corruption has been the cornerstone of New York's Guliani mayoral administration. But most of the gay males engaging in erotic contact are increasingly resistant to being considered disorderly -- especially when they have taken great pains to conceal their contact. There is a bit of a political and class contradiction here. Soon after the flagging of the problematized queer presence and the conflict the author links it to

"the environmental torture the Ramble has suffered"

though as far as We know, gay public sex has no more negative ecological impacts than heterosexuality than other off-trail, recreational activities. And there is a historic precedent for a grudging detente because in the 1950s,

"Robert Moses decreed that the Ramble had become a gathering place for 'antisocial persons' and proposed tearing it down to make way for a recreation center for senior citizens."

Conservation of the relatively natural site became synonymous with tolerating cruising and a bit of sex. There is then a long passage extolling social diversity almost pleading with readers to not dislike the queer men just because of their sexuality.

"A woman stops to chat and says she feels comfortable enough in the Ramble, though she occasionally chances upon men exposing themselves, 'just the usual New York stuff'. She adds that she also sees faces she recognizes from the opera and ballet."

But the coupling of environmental degradation with public male (homo)sex persists shifting to the last weapon -- that of male privileging through furtive sex,

"As one of the Ramble's most faithful visitors, Mr. Fiore criticizes the many people who stray from the path, including birders. He also finds it distasteful to come upon men engaged in sex. 'If there were women behaving that way, there would be a huge outcry', he says."

The hostile narrative then shifts to that of "if women wouldn't get away with it, why should men?" But women should have the same rights of freedom of sexual expression, when not being aggressively exhibitionistic. There is an intriguing coupling, intriguing in its candour, of queering and feminization of landscapes with environmental problems and public disorder. In this "liberal" "balanced" narrative, there is a counter voice who, not coincidentally, is an off-duty gay police man,

"a man approaches, wheeling a bicycle. He says he comes to the Ramble often. He says he is a city police officer and will not give his name.

'I come because the guys are here and you meet them', he says. 'You say hello and you talk about whatever, and it's kind of nice. Whatever happens happens.' He insists gay men in the Ramble behave with decorum, often going to somebody's apartment for privacy. 'You make sure you're not doing anything around kids', he says. 'People don't come to the park to see people having sex'.

Thus we are told for the umpteenth time that nice boys fuck in their bedrooms. It is only after this moral narrative on public gay sex as an environmental problems, which takes up over a quarter of the whole article, that we are told that there are a host of other environmental problems, from invasive plants to flaws in the original design of the park. Only in passing do we find out that the area is also an established area for freer expression of heterosexual affections but that trampling, in a more general sense, is one of the major environmental problems. If those perverts would only stay on the trails! Thus homosexuality is no longer essentialized but the ecological impacts of public (homo)sex area.

This coupling of assertion of homosexuality in public space with social pathos and environmental problems has been played out in many parks for well over a century. In fact, the city park as the quintessentially public space is a major site for the production of these mythologies and, in particular, the tight association of male and female homoeroticism with urban decay.

Interrogating the maps of homoeroticized space

2. Stanley Park 1988 - 1990

The previous narrative is indicative of a fin-de-siècle liberalism. It was not so long ago, not even a decade, that elected politicians were talking about "the homosexual problem" in public space. While in recent years, after considerable resistance from the gay community -- particularly from the population in the West End, there was been a shift away from police harassment to discouragement of activities and increased visibility - a kind of homophobia by design rather than by police repression. For example, in 1988 the deputy Attorney General pressured the police to begin a crackdown around the Aquatic Centre in the West End and in the vacant lots between the Burrard Street and Granville Street Bridges. The police approached the Parks Board to "thin out the bushes in the area" .

"Cruising" in central Vancouver changing dramatically in the nineteen eighties and the hostility to public presence involving sex was not limited to forces external to gay male groups. For example, there was an amusing controversy about a 1987 article in *Angles* on public sex in Stanley Park blend questions of internalized sexual repression, objectification of the male body, safer sex, and good manners in the first years of the AIDS pandemic . In the initial article, there was a kind of essentializing, "boys will be boys" background on the history of public sex in Stanley Park. Then there was an interview with the pastor of the Metropolitan Community Church where he stated,

'I enjoy cruising in the park, frankly...Very few of the men that We see regularly there do We ever see in a bar...I talk to men who are up there all the time and invariably when someone will walk by it won't be, "There goes Bob or John," it will be, "There goes nine inches or ten inches or four inches or whatever," That's self-abuse and lowering the other person to the mechanical'.

Spencer Macdonnell notes,

'It's nice and comfortable in the park and it's free. When you're in the mood for anonymous sex, the steam bath is ten bucks. But if you have a couple of hours and you're feeling lucky, you go for a walk in the park'.

The author went on,

"Ivan Wayne, co-ordinator at the Vancouver Gay and Lesbian Centre, says Stanley Park is active 24 hours a day, with Lee's Trail busiest during the day and Cathedral Trail more frequented at night."

Soon after is the typical subtext of the times of erotic gay man as space invader with,

'For some, gays' near-monopoly of the trails near Lost Lagoon and Second Beach for purposes of casual sex represents an intrusion upon other people's enjoyment of the area. When we were having trouble with Lee's Trail' says Jim Trenholme, a gay member of the Police/Gay Liaison Committee, 'the police came into the office with a report and said, 'For God's sake, we try to be decent to you. At least tell them to take their dirty underwear and jars of Vaseline off the trees. There's kids walking through there'.

And following this sullyng of what is supposedly, for some mythologized majority, pristine heteronormative space is retribution through AIDS:

"Habitué's of the trails, known as 'park rats,' will continue to frequent the area no matter how much publicity is given to AIDS and queerbashing.

'There are some hard-core people who you're never going to stop from going down there', says Trenholme. 'That's where they live'.

'One of the changes the health situation has brought upon us is that it's quieter now than it was a few years ago', says Macdonnell...

Lacasse disagrees that there's been much of a decline in cruising in the park. 'Sometimes late at night I'll take a swing through Lagoon Drive and occasionally there's only three or four cars. Other times they're lined up all the way from one end to the other. It seems to go in cycles. The thing is that when it's raining there's more people'.

Macdonnell says that lately he's noticed condoms among the litter alongside the trails, but it's unlikely that many of the people having casual sex in the area are taking precautions against AIDS.

'Some of our people are indiscreet, particularly considering that our community is having trouble with a horrible, frightening disease,' says Trenholm, 'To go down to a place like that for anonymous sex is playing Russian roulette with yourself.'

Even as late as 1989, in a revealing linking of public sex with complacency in the rising tide of AIDS hysteria gaybashing, the Chairperson of the Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation stated publicly that,

"There is a small faction of Vancouver's gay community who think it is perfectly acceptable to perform lewd and indecent acts in public and on Park Board property, specifically areas of Stanley Park and in the men's washroom at the English Bay Bathhouse. This disgusting activity is also not condoned by the Park Board...Police patrols will be increased and arrests will be made so that the general public can continue to enjoy Vancouver's parks and beaches without witnessing these distasteful activities... If the majority of the gay community in Vancouver wants respect as a responsible and integral part of our society, then they should assist in 'cleaning up the act' of the minority of gays who are creating a significant problem with their flagrant activities in a public place. Perhaps then, others will not react with vigilantism."

But by 1989, with rising levels of violent crime, the Vancouver Police were less willing to be used on culturally, if not politically, motivated crackdowns. For example, city police response to heavy use of the "Fruit Loop" in the parking lot to the east of English Bay,

"The police have been aware that Sunset Beach has been a homosexual meeting place for several years, said Corporal. Rob Meanley. But he could not confirm that it was prostitution and said he didn't believe the situation was intensifying.

'It's not an area that presents a significant problem for the police', he said."

This discourse around the so-called 'homosexual problem' did begin to change in 1989 in response to the upcoming Gay Games. In special meetings of the Police / Gay Liaison Committee, there were discussions around the "debris" of 'homosexual activity' as a "health threat," some behaviour on the beaches of Stanley Park, and around the increase in the number of glory holes in the washrooms. The core of the conflicts were not really about sex, since few sexual acts were ever revealed, rather it was around the publicness of affection. The more democratic map expressed in this following passage was constantly obscured by both the state, heterosexual, and many gay men as well.

"the complaints had to do with gay men necking on the beach. 'What do you do when people complain about it and expect us to do something about it?' asked one of the parks staff.

'I would expect the lifeguard to tell that person that gay men and lesbians have the same right to neck on the beach as any heterosexual couple,' said [Fred] Gilbertson"
[of the Gay and Lesbian Centre]

The previous two narratives construct divergent maps for its readers in terms of ownerships, stakeholders, rights, and inequities around homosociability and homosexuality in public parks. They represent two different maps for "constructing interests" around the publicness of those sites. Such maps have direct impacts on how people define problems and social priorities. "Mapping" becomes important to make sense of the tremendous changes going on in both cultural and physical environments. For sexual minorities more careful recognition and use of such cognitive maps, and the range of respective subjectivities, may be increasingly key to survival and expression. For example, Eric Estuar Reyes explored the implications of cognitive maps for "queers of color" as part of a program to more effectively distribute safe sex information to different Asian and Pacific groups in Los Angeles and asked,

"Just as there is a physical structure of the spaces we inhabit, there is a cognitive structure that we use to locate ourselves in the landscape. For queers and for queers of color, what is this cognitive structure? Is it spatial? How is this important to being, becoming, or negating a queer individual and / or communal identity?"

Cognitive maps by their nature can use a wide array or ancillary practices and media. There are highly personal memoirs, such as those of Lesbian Herstory Archives co-founder Joan Nestle, that even include reconstructed cartographic sketches of public space. Story telling is a kind of mapping as in Sarah Schoolman's exploration of racism, alienation, garbage and pests in Manhattan's Lower East Side. Even photography can construct maps as in Bill Jacobson's recollections of the visions of space while coming of age. Cognitive mapping has provided various means to record and reflect on our own experiences and practices. In addition, a major function of contemporary culture is the construction of cognitive maps of various levels of accuracy and for a range of hegemonic and oppositional interests. Questions of eroticism, communality, and social space of varying publicness are often central to cultural statements.

Cognitive maps are not a panacea for the ongoing problem of recognition and representation of difference for queer communities. They simply expand the vocabulary and demolish the last of the constrictions of modernist "objectivity" and the emphasis on universality at the expense of particular collective experiences. Queer cognitive maps could be a fad and a new

phase in the development of "psychobabble" and postmodern vocabularies of "disempowerment." Scribbles and sketches that highlight angst and frustration do not constitute design nor political blueprints. Convenors and "professionals," initiating mapping sessions, have considerable power in indirectly shaping content.

Perhaps, the worst abuse of cognitive mapping could be in its use as entertainment for more privileged viewers. Maps taken out of context, can be used for voyeuristic to re-enforcement of stereotypes, and to support the more subtle machinations of cultural chauvinism and smugness. Let the queers, especially the non-Eurocentric queers, be oversexed, raunchy, exotic - and isolated. Cognitive maps are personal but the misdirecting of this information away from the control of the source individual could lessen the power of narratives as well as be a rip-off. Cognitive maps have secrets that should remain so unless it is in the conscious interests of the individual to make them public.

The maps compiled by Reyes help more people to begin to comprehend the broader queerscape. These representations need contribute to broader theories of queers in public space in order to be valuable. The process of greater assertion by individuals in creating particular maps, and in reflecting on their collective implications, should continue to be the main reasons for their creation. But the mapping process has a growing relevance to the direction of queer theory and activism around delineation of "public" and "private" spaces in this decade. And fin-de-siècle queer theory is very much about mapping broader frontiers, interior and marginal spaces, and the discovery and charting of new closets.

In this paper, we break with the Jamesonian optimism around cognitive mapping as part of postmodernist efforts for new social democracy. A central concept in early postmodernist theory was the "cognitive map," a means of charting environments with diversifying uses. In one of the most seminal piece of contemporary political and cultural theory, "Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism," Frederik Jameson posited in a section called "The need for maps,"

"the aesthetic of such new (and hypothetical) cultural forms as an aesthetic of cognitive mapping."

"Mapping" becomes important to make sense of the tremendous changing going on in both cultural and physical environments . Jameson then later clarified that his notion, or at least his vision of the function, of cognitive mapping was the better situating and ordinating of "class" . But class increasingly is not a discrete identity, and probably never was even in nineteenth century notions of the industrial working class, but today reflects a combination of positioning around gender, race, ethnicity, language, education, age, and physical ability as they effect access to a range of resources. But this myriad of experiences and inequities is often baffling and much of contemporary culture functions to parcel out representations and social responses is ways that allow absorption and cognition. Cognitive map, which are inherently "naïve" in their crudeness and individuality, can bridge subjective and collective experiences that,

"enable a situation representation on the part of the individual subject to that vaster and properly unrepresentable totality which is the ensemble of the city's structure as a whole."

Today, there are too numerous and divergent uses of cognitive maps. The assertion and "sharing" of cognitive maps, especially for a marginalized group, is never without a price -- and never without some level of social voyeurism. Today we are constantly pelted with information for the construction of competing cognitive maps with those more squarely in the service of "capital" often winning.

There is a curious confluence, and a few flaws, in the confluence of Jamesonian cognitive maps and open space. The link is through the liberalism of Kevin Lynch who was a major influence on Jameson. 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."

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 .

"Progressive" urbanists, such as Jane Jacobs, were still talking publicly about "pervert parks" only a few short years before the Stonewall Riots. Jacobs, a great urban reformer at the time who as gone on to write books on liberal ethics, also promulgated notions of "wholesome" public space and "wholesome surveillance" that were used to justify homophobic repression. Such an inherently hostile view of sexual minorities and the nonrecognition of rights of access to public meeting places that might lead to sex has left legacies of confusion in feminist and queer theory , as well as in the environmental design fields. While Jacobs was a "liberal," even leftist modernism has not been immune from a reductivism of erotic desire . And it did not take poststructuralism or deconstruction techniques to argue, as Lynch did in 1979, that,

"Freedom of action in public spaces is defined and redefined in each shift of power and custom."

And it is cognitive maps that can interrogate and destabilize the hegemony of this myriad of poorly explored relationships between individual and collective experiences, the constant negotiation with state and economic power around the openness of public space, and the reconstruction of sites. But how, especially for relatively insecure social groups such as many sexual minorities? We can revisit political economic analyses, marry them to new forms of more sexually explicit investigations, and begin to map them historically across the spaces and social networks of the city.

2

Locating marginalized sexualities and the marginalization of (homo)sexualities

"It is currently quite fashionable to speak about race, class and gender. We think we have to address empire first. You cannot situate race, you cannot situate class, you cannot situate gender, unless you begin with empire."

Cornel West 1994i

`There is an absolute and great disproportion between sexes in this country. There is a want of good steady industrious girls to furnish virtuous wives for our men and make them something else than the reckless restless mortals so numerous on the coast'.

Colonist (Victoria) August 14, 1863ii

The particular marginalizations of (homo)sexualities, from which arose the "identity politics" that emerged in mid-century, is not only the product of capitalism, colonialism, and tensions with already established cultures, but remain largely site, neighbourhood, and community / city-specific. Even with all of the "delocalization" since gay liberation, sexuality and marginalized sexuality always has a geographical location. More than any other century, the one in which Vancouver was conceived was about control of territory as well as of resources and labour. Like many other parts of the Empire and western North America, in general, this obsession with space became central to the design and governance of public areas in British Columbia. New concepts as means for obscuring inequities were needed. It was the nineteenth century from which emerged the "Indian Reserve," "Chinatown" and the more contemporary notions of "the ghetto."

Urban planning and state regulation of the spatial apportionment of social groups emerged as an "art" in the nineteenth century. Gender lines and those between appropriate and inappropriate sexual behaviour, were regulated by supposedly crisp notions of "public" and "private." Women and copulation were confined to private spaces. The core of the underlying social logic from which British Columbia was born was that coercive (hetero)sexuality was in fact not violation if conducted in a (male-owned) private space.

In the colonial landscapes of British Columbia, homosexuality and forms of deviant heterosexuality were not to be tolerated in public or private. Given the cramped housing conditions and temporary accommodations, opportunities for situational homosexuality in private space abounded but were only of a highly furtive and temporary nature. But the reality in the frontier towns of British Columbia well into the twentieth century, was that there were plenty of wild areas, that were supposedly public if only by the depopulated and legal constraints on First Nations communities, that could be used to support homosexuality on a regular basis. And while the visible architectures of the new colonial towns were officially heterosexual, the less-sanctioned squatter shacks, remnant "Indian Villages," and industrial chaos of the numerous Skid Rows bore plenty of space that could be queered for short and sometimes longer periods. In British Columbia, "behind the woodshed" applied to the vast majority of the territory that was to only partially make the transitions from colony and to province. While most of the lands on these margins of the empire were public, in the sense of allowing relatively unregulated movement of individuals, the reality was that the activities of women and people of non-British "stock," were largely pushed into heavily regulated private spaces. In nineteenth and early twentieth century British Columbia, "public"

became a code word for zones where white men could get away with interacting relatively freely, in both legal and illicit ways, but where women, non-native English speakers, and people of colour very "fair game" for denigration and even violence.

Paradoxically, the regulation of gender, race, and sexuality in Vancouver involved forms of spatial apportionment that were rarely talked about outside of offices and back rooms.

"Planning" for homophobia involved state interventions that were rarely spoken about openly. Early on, aspects of the construction of Vancouver to "control" homosexuality and other forms of "immorality" began taking up a state resources. In fact the supposed need to control such illegal behaviour, of an increasingly criminalized set of networks of "perverts" and the underworld, was even used to justify the existence of otherwise seemingly useless state apparatuses. Practically from its incorporation in 1886, Vancouver as a city was conceived as a space where the state could more carefully design and regulate the publicness of public space and to control the homosexuality of urban life. But through surviving in spite of criminalization and expanding police and other state apparatuses, the emerging queer networks of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth were forced to learn how to constantly use and subtly rework supposedly "morally healthy" and heteronormative public space. The new opportunities from queer communalities through urbanization and increased concentration, and the new state controls over the nature of public life in the city, effectively created a queer contradiction -- one that was to disorientate many individuals, groups, and locations in the bustling but tentative port towns of Pacific Canada.

The notion of the generic "homosexual" identityⁱⁱⁱ is probably not much more than 125 years old^{iv}. "The homosexual" as a spectre over the landscape of still-expanding colonialism and burgeoning capitalism, emerged in a time of global colonialism, early industrialization, intensified displacement of localized societies, and increased transportation links. But there have been many more localized networks of homoerotic desires, acts and identities stretching back to the origins of human culture and eroticism. But on many of the specifics of these nascent and stillborn homoeroticisms, there remains considerable divergence between "essentialism", which suggests that sexual orientation is largely predetermined and stable, and constructionism^v with a notion of sexuality that is in no small part a product of culture and political economies. Constructionism, is used in this chronicle and atlas of Vancouver's queer space, is inherently changing and provisional social conditions. Sexually assertive lesbians and gay men, since well before the Victorian period, have essentially been targets of the state. But the nature of this constant "reconstruction of the `legend' of the homosexual outlaw"^{vi}, and how it is played out in the socially constructed landscape^{vii} has varied with the nature of broader political economic tensions, opportunities and pressures for resistance, and the space available to reconstruct and reconstitute homoerotic relations. The boundaries and demarcations between public and private, throughout spheres of gay male and lesbian life, have been highly contested^{viii} and provisional in response to fashion, prosperity, and repression. Sexuality requires space and respective sites are modified by the nature and history of the contact and more cumulative communalities.

Since Vancouver's incorporation^{ix}, the vocabulary of social space has gone through its own evolution. In recent years, it has become possible, finally, to publicly debate issues around "public (homo)sex"^x in areas such as city parks. But so far, there has often only been vague mention of specific physical relationships between sex, social discourse, and site. While general descriptions may suffice in certain geography academics, they lack both the analytical framework and data to be used for advocating better management of such areas; landscapes that in most of the urban areas of the world are degrading from habitat

fragmentation, pollution, and trampling. In practical terms, much of these areas are becoming more hostile to sexual minorities, such as sexually active gay men, who have used them for years. This contradiction in the new queer geographies is highly problematic for activists and may spawn alternative perspectives grounded more in the discourses of social needs for public space as part of the built environment. Here, another paradox becomes evident in that most open space is only partially designed and "constructed" with the cusps of the artificial and wild often particularly attractive to sexual renegades of many sensibilities and persuasions.

The shape and social topographies of Vancouver's public landscapes were carved by real estate interests, and the colonial appropriations of land on which they were based, and then the more subtle machinations of government technocrats at the levels of the city, the regional district, the province, and the federal government. It is these agencies and the shifting dissonance between them that has formed much of what we know as the landscape and the queerscape of the metropolitan area. In this sense, the art of landscape architecture was temporarily cast off in favour of the artfulness of obscuring social designs and intensified disparities.

Most people who experience marginalization because of same-sex desire also contend with unequal access to social and environmental resources through at least one other condition such as their race, culture, language, class, disability, and age - not to mention their gender. Most of these conditions are regulated in terms of the overlapping vestiges, the societal artifacts, of colonialism, empire, and today's flows of globalizing capital. Confronting such combined and cumulative inequities, this 'difference,' has been the greatest weakness of gay liberation, lesbian feminism, and queer nationalism^{xi}. Lack of recognition and the subsequent inability to negotiate authentic alliances has remained the Achilles Heel in much activism to confront homophobia and to build queer communities. To distil and reduce such a multitude of inequities to generic "difference" or even to the problems of "decolonization" tends to obscure the full extent of what two decades ago might have been conceived, jumbled together, as "overlapping oppressions." Today, "postcolonial boundary crossings"^{xii} remain problematic because, in large part, many of the boundaries remain under-acknowledged by privileged groups and under-documented by the less privileged, combined majority. The most common element of queer experience is marginalization by same-sex desire, and this is compounded or overshadowed by other social obstacles to resources. Having a framework for these "other" alterities is crucial to understanding the historical development and current options for the queerscape.

Certainly, some queerscapes are more "colonial" or liberatory than others. Some queerscapes are little more than plantations and company towns and some are closer to country clubs. Some queer networks are heavily constrained by state interventions, even totalitarianism, and even a heavy emphasis on consumption. In every queerscape, no matter how egalitarian, there are environmental and political economic forces that enforce some inequities or others. The formation of networks and even more territorialized communities often parallels these hierarchies of oppression. In racist landscapes, there is ghettoization and partial containment^{xiii} racial identities that largely define those of the marginalized sexuality. For example, racial and erotic identifications were key to self-protection and access to cultural activities in the early, pre-white-tourism period, in the confluence of African American and homosexual space in the Harlem Renaissance^{xiv}. Being in a cultural or language minority often constrains options for public space where a person can make contact and find peer

support. These differences often overwhelm and further distort the de facto spatial apportionment that a queer individual experiences. These forces of inequity work to limit the amount of space, both private and public, that is effectively available to "minorities."

The places where sexual minority identities and can express themselves sexually and the spaces where acts can be transformed into identities are some of the more strategic and transformative queer spaces. Such zones of exploration date to well before the emergence of modern notions of gay men and lesbians as part of an "alternative modernist enterprise" xv associated with homosexual subcultures going back to the nineteen twenties particularly in Paris and New York City. Today, such places exist as much in fantasy xvi as in reality. In every queerscape, there is a current of imagination, of only partially recognized and territorialized desire, that is as much about an open space as its vegetation and its designed fixtures. Recognition of the queerscape provides the basis for better inventorying and monitoring transactions and inequities in enjoyment of landscape amenities and the distribution of costs across public and private environments. The other forms of containment and isolation, derived from social hierarchies other than homophobia, can be more precisely mapped. But it is easy to reduce the analyses to what was once referred to as "primary contradictions" especially those persisting in 'postcolonialism' such as related to race, culture, and class. It is more difficult, but as important, to consider the inequities that are in place as related to language, disability, and age; conditions that in the global labour market could become greater generators of inequities than signifiers of race, class, and gender are today.

3

Pornography as reduction / porn noir(e) as (re)investigation

The obscuring of the locations of homosexualities has been achieved through a sort of reduction of the social exchanges to pornography and then the censorship of the sex.

Pornography, as an internally reproduced mediation of repression and resistance, is, in effect, a device for obscuring location. But the obfuscation of locale is never complete and there are always traces -- that can be reconstituted through a sort of (critically) sex-positive "anti-porn" that can be called, "porn *noir(e)*."

Like the 1974 Roman Polanski film, *Chinatown*, on water politics and corruption in early Los Angeles, our examination of the queer public spaces of Vancouver often resembles a queasy detective thriller, a noir film where the activist as the detectives are trapped at different points xvii in a brawl involving sex, power, race, gender, and landscape. Film critic Foster Hirsch notes that,

"All noir stories share a number of features, and character types overlap from one kind of narrative to another -- victims and psychopaths occupy the same stage with hard-boiled private dicks..." xviii

It is this stage, this particular arena for sexual politics and this particular kind of spectacle, this gives a basis for an investigatory porn noir(e). But the original noir was conspicuous in its erasure of homosexuality. In building narratives of women and sexual minorities, Rosalyn Deutsche argues for a break from earlier investigations, that emphasized the experience and the position of the heterosexual male. Noir(e), as homoerotic fragment as woman as homosexual as non-anglo can be carefully examined. Then it may be possible to appropriate

some of what has been relegated to darkness and to illuminate it as a basis to reconstruct modes of social and erotic relations.

"While in noir the detective's stability returns with the women's downfall, in urban criticism it is gained by `discovering' an underlying economic foundation of spatial violence or other externalizations of political space."xix

page 16

But the reconstruction of this analysis as a new "master" narrative involves chronic problems of omission of large territories and groups and she asks,

"Will urban theory interrogate this space, or will it remain `just Chinatown'?"xx

The construction of both heteronormal and homosexual Vancouver has often obscured a range of erotic desires and nuances to the point of coalescence of a hardened enigma. Whereas queer communality in Vancouver has often been ephemeral, the equation of the construction of the city with heterosexuality has almost seemed concrete. Today, above-ground Vancouver rests on an archaeology of underlying erotic narratives that are both conflictual and difficult to detect, excavate and interpret.

Vancouver was built on homosexuality as "gross indecency" as reduced to little more than pornography. The sex wars of the nineteen eighties did little to unbind this reduction. We call this examination of obscured homoerotic narratives of the city, porn noir(e). Like the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties detective thrillers filmed on grainy black and white stock, we can delve underneath the superficial queasiness around homosexuality plumbing deeper levels of hostility, alienation, and cultural isolation. Vancouver's queer narratives are first of all a mystery narrative of (homo)sex and homophobic violence and secondarily of the century-long crises within male domination and empire(s). But while the spectacle of heteronormalcy may have "launched a thousand ships," and provided the pretext of many more hangings, beatings, and imprisonments, it rarely had sufficient power to build the cultural infrastructure and sexual underground of the city. We use the bracketed gendering in porn noir(e) to signal the ambiguously gendered nature of these discourses - of the anglophone male "pornography" and the feminine pornographie where the narrative can appear female while the power relations continue to function to exclude all but the experience of the heterosexual male. But it is only in confronting the exclusivity of male heteronormative fantasies, that a viable feminist porn noire, centred on the experiences of women, can ever be assembled.

A thread of porn noir(e) goes back to the myth of Isis who was so in love that confronted with the cut up pieces of her lover's body that in despair found the knowledge to reconstruct the body with its spirit. The "pornography," is in the negative notions of sexual representations and objectification, is the reduction of the sexual acts to inconsequential fragments -- today, the way huge clearcuts fragment the landscape of Pacific Canada. Porn noir(e) begins at this point of reduction, the fragmentation of homosexuality and place, where there only appears to be unwhole flesh and moves back to the complete story. In assembling all of the pieces of the body of the narrative, We can begin to excavate the full extent of the love, collectivity and eroticism, in context.

We can employ porn noir(e) to uncover the "dystopianization"xxi of the mythologies of the West Coast and the Pacific edge of the Canadian state. We confront, We "deconstruct" to use

an over-used term, the metaphor of the British Columbian "tough guy"xxii, and "gal," their culture and architectures. As outlined by Rosalyn Deutche We look at is as highly gendered pornography. In her critique of the rise of "noir" in urban studies, she noted that,

"While noir, notable for its images of women, routinely identifies the dangers of the city with the sexuality of its femme fatales, the new urban theory endowed with noir's mantle just as readily detaches spaces from sexuality and, for that matter, barely mentions women at all."xxiii

In the following chapters, there are maps of corruption, contradictory motives, double dealing; of murder scenes and escape routes; of bad sex and very good (homo)sex. In the crossdressing city, that is in a perpetual identity crisis, the dead man was a woman. And the women are often men.

Vancouver's first homoerotic narratives were recorded as part of, though often parallel to, the oral, "limerick" cultures of heterosexual European, Native, Hawaiianxxiv and other seafaring cultures of the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century, these oral-cum-written vernaculars were often perceived by Victorians, including residents of Victoria, as the essence of obscenity. The combination of candour, malice, humour, and the foreboding of violence were everything that the imperial British did not want to be seen to be. And along with the primacy of the male and British world at the heart the empire, the celebration of the routing of homosexuality by heterosexuality in the name of state, church, virtue, and where all else failed, "science," was a chronic theme that begged for constant reiteration. British Columbia's frontier narratives encoded emerging conflicts that invariably touched on gender and sexuality. And the limericks, as with the narratives, always had specific locations no matter how they were obscured or made into false universalizations. These fragments are, in their contradictory currents of homophobia and homoeroticism are part of queer "cultural heritage"xxv. By the early twentieth century, bathroom walls recorded the primacy of patriarchy, heterosexuality, and industrial control of resources and people. To look for the narratives and brooding subtexts, is to enter a bleak world punctuated by violence and malicious humour. Limericks encapsulated eros, power, and place; the unresolved contradictions in the vain quest for heteronormalcy.

Vancouver as porn noir(e) takes the reader on a joy ride to a past that still leaves marks on many bodies. Vancouver was built around a series of unresolved conflicts involving the intersections of sexuality, gender, and race. These social contradictions have been pointedly omitted from most histories of the city and most of its officially designed public places. The recounting of these early conflicts around eroticism and public space has often been collapsed into discussions of prostitution particularly since "sex work" was forced out of brothels and on to the street in the early part of the twentieth century. Vancouver, as the Tinseltown of 'Supernatural' British Columbiaxxvi, has been as much about the construction of artifice in the pursuit of wealth than any appreciation of and respect for the landscape on which it has been built. There are corollaries around respect for erotic desire, the body, the communalities of homosexualities.

In the last decade, Vancouver, sometimes called "Hollywood North"xxvii, has emerged as a centre for film and television production. The city that has been so adept at obscuring its own social history, of reinventing itself, has become the site of the generic "dark city" itself. The political economy of Vancouver is increasingly dependent on the export of postmodern

mythologies through such highly corporate productions such as Fox's X-files - with its baffling discourses of "alien" "colonization," The Outer Limits, Millennium^{xxviii} and Poltergeist. The imagery of the city's typical steel grey skies, few crisp shadows, rain, and mud has almost become synonymous with unresolved angst only partially about the implausible subject matter. In these brooding portrayals of the generic American city, Vancouver is the site for portraying the "schizophrenic temporality and spatial pastiche"^{xxix} such as Los Angeles was for the celebrated film, Blade Runner. But in Vancouver, there is more of a facelessness, of nightmarish social relations acted out in bland drag -- the world on the other side of the postmodern condition; as much entropic as postcolonial.

We can use porn *noir(e)* as a strategy for delving beyond the homophobic reduction of same-sex erotic relationships to simply "pornographic" sexual acts and violence -- to find the locations which are so often obfuscated through the state and media. Both homosexuality, even simple desire, and homophobia take up space that is owned and continually modified. These fragmentary acts and sites, no matter how reduced, fictitious, and censored, provide a key starting point for broader investigations of desire, power, and landscape. And in these fragments of larger narratives of homosexuality, there are opportunities to begin to seek erotic and social truths. But it is often by what is omitted and what is included as decoy that the true precariousness of the text of the supremacy of heterosexuality, in the neocolonial city, can be understood. It is through new mappings of "the scene of the crime" that we can better identify the mechanisms of domination and make the necessary "space" for beginning new forms of political economic, ecological, and erotic relations.

4

Contests in the landscape: Desire versus homophobia

Landscapes and the dynamic public and private spaces which constitute them have been and continue to be battlegrounds for sexual propriety. Identifying the key matrices of the queerscapes become key to linking desire, resistance, and current and potential placemaking.

acts / identities / locations

A queerscape embodies constellations of sites of various habitudes and utilities. There are invariably key relationships between commerce, power, and sex^{xxx}. Cindy Patton outlined three basic types of "uses" of queer space which could include strategies which she conceived as

"complex sets of practices that lead to alliances across space."^{xxxi}

These "layers" of functions intertwine themselves in unique ways to generate even great site-specificity.

1. There is a kind of basic queer connectivity of body spac^{xxxii} - the spaces between eroticized bodies. For Vancouver, emerging queer architect, Sylvain Bombardier has celebrated communal showers such as the one at The University of British Columbia Aquatic Center.

2. There is a second level of collectivity involving so many homoeroticized bodies as to make cumulative impacts in respective environments. With large numbers of people identified as queer, there is a "queering" of adjacent environments in terms of a limited safety in numbers as a means of countering repression and developing more diverse and dependable relationships. This kind of queer space emerged in the nineteenth century as a blurring of public and private into small, scattered "intermediate zones"xxxiii often occupied by disproportionately higher numbers of women and homosexuals.

3. There is a third level of queer space which undermines and disrupts heteronormative space and disorients as to,

"suspend, neutralize, or invert the set of relationships designed, reflected, or mirrored by themselves."xxxiv

In Vancouver since the destruction of the indigenous culture spaces in the late nineteenth century, there have been few of such transcendental cultural spaces.

5

Mapping Vancouver(as queer)scape

'A place on the map is also a place in history.' quoted by Chandra Talpade Mohantyxxxv

In stressing the need to connect historical maps to contemporary experiences to community-based environmental planning, We have to interrogate my own relationship to this city. While We have spent about half my life living away from this part of the world, in the San Francisco Bay Area and in Rome, much of my more unresolved and "gothic" inspirations come from living in central Vancouver -- a set of neighbourhoods, particularly Kitsilano, in which my twenty year old grandparents moved in 1890. Being part of a "pioneer" family -- even one with progressive pretensions, involves are variation on "the white man's burden." This is compounded by the fact that Vancouver, as a civic and cultural entity, has never admitted to being a colonial city and was supposedly the product of the "postcolonial" dominion. Instead, we have seen a gradual shift between the colonial and the neocolonial extending into the present - a situation that has functioned to obscure the often racist nature of land management institutions particularly as related to First Nations sovereignties and control of natural resources.

I was carefully inculcated by my family with a critical sense of the social history of Pacific Canada and its rapidly and erratically exploited environments, of the purposeful obfuscation of the extent and of the liabilities of the (neo)colonial experience -- extending well into the modern period of white, anglophile Canadian nationalism. In my upbringing, Vancouver as utopia (badly) missed. And today We confess to often being "pissed off" at the kind of shoddy historical work that has been conducted on this city. And as a gay man who has been politically active in this city since the mid-nineteen seventies, We am acutely aware of how relatively contemporary historical experiences, including of public space, are routinely revised and forgotten.

Maps of any social group, activities, desires, and aesthetics involve time as well as space and contain references to points both past and future. Given the great flux in patterns of erotic

desires, acts, and identities, maps are never static and may often be more about the past or the future than the present. Cognitive mapping by sexual minorities can indicate trends, social contradictions, and the direction of grouped subjectivities of "plans." Often mediating between maps and plans are various forms of queer archaeology^{xxxvi} of both the impacts of use of spaces and of ideas around reconstruction of environments and architectural design. As Cindy Patton put it,

"we have deployed our secret `queer knowledges,' in essence, have been the archaeologists (and architects) of our own marked desires."^{xxxvii}

By the term "archaeology," We refer to the impacts that specific relationships between individuals and within groups, of sexual minorities, have on their biophysical and cultural contexts, influences, no matter how subtle, that, in turn, cumulatively influence the fabric of broader interactions within cities and other communities. Sites and associated queer space provide fragmentary evidence of and opportunities for initiating local "institutions" for mutual support and satisfaction no matter how secreted and how elusive are the broader "communities."

I have chosen these four historical and spatial fragments for serious, though sometimes playful, porn noir(e) investigations because they represent a range of experiences of communalities and place. Public space is used in divergent ways depending on volatile factors related to political economy, demography, and cultures. In placing these investigations in a chronological sequence, We am not suggesting a vaguely positivist historical progression of more repression to less or even from little communal cohesion to community -- far from it. We am, however, examining these experiences in what is probably the least repressive period since Britain took control of this part of the Pacific coast. But this is also a period with some of the least local or neighbourhood cohesion in the city -- including for sexual minorities, in terms of intensifying displacements from the globalization of capital. Today's maps of queer public spaces are particularly cloudy though the ones that follow are far from simple stories.

Historical mapping 1:

Male homoeroticism, race, and criminality before World War I

Until well into the second half of the twentieth century, Vancouver was a "hard," port and terminal city where `vice', including male and female prostitution and homosexuality, was often partially tolerated when it was not flourishing. But the forces reaction were entrenched in the first years of the city. For example, as early as 1892 there was organizing against the spread of prostitution, at the time often based in brothels, near `respectable residences'^{xxxviii}. And it was in this same period, that questions of the `moral implications' of the design of public places, such as Stanley Park^{xxxix}, entered into the body politic.

The `struggle' for publicly owned street lights was an early victory for the safety of women and the openness of space was to permanently enter the public discourse^{xl}. `Playing space' in outdoor areas became a working-class issue though it was originally framed in violently heteronormative terms^{xli}.

In such a small city as Vancouver, there has been a remarkable amount of spatial segregation along lines of race, culture, and language especially in the lives of sexual minorities. Public sites for the mixing of races through homosexuality were considered particularly sordid, especially as the city grew in the first two decades of the twentieth century, and is the focus of this investigation. Such homosexuality was nearly always male as women were too intimidated and rightly concerned about male violence to venture into many of these places. But there were a few notable exceptions. It was in this period when the heart of the city was Gastown, Chinatown, and Yaletown; when much of the West End was still a forest suburb. In these years, the alleys, saloons, and largely all-male hotels of Chinatown, also referred to as "Celestialland"^{xlii}, comprised the major sites for homosexual contact and, where possible, for acts.

Given the efforts by the provincial and federal governments to deny Native communities on the British Columbia coast, an area that before the mid-Nineteenth Century had some of the highest aboriginal population densities in North America and some of the longest-occupied towns, it is no surprise that queer aboriginals found very little 'space', if any, in Vancouver. Well into the nineteen sixties, Native gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transvestites faced severe legal constraints and obstacles to voting, residency, cultural expression, political activism related to sovereignty and land and resource ownership, and last, but not always least, their sexual activities and social allegiances. Vancouver became a magnet and deadly alternative to tiny and crowded 'Indian Reserves' and, given the puritanism and culturally chauvinist prohibitions of many of the mission churches and hospitals, the only dependable option for sexual expression. New-comers were often forced into the shifting 'skid row', a term borrowed from the old area of neighbouring Seattle with similar conditions, near the confluence of Main Street, Chinatown, and the more seedy edges of the West End an area, even for the port cities of North America, that have had exceptionally high levels of alcohol and hard drug addiction continuing today.

As the trans-Canada railroad was being completed by Chinese workers, in 1885, an anti-Chinese "head tax" was enacted for the next 38 years; one followed by active exclusion until 1949. The first wave of anti-Chinese scapegoating were in attacks and riots in the Gastown district in 1887 and the spatial exclusions that lead to the formation of Chinatown nearby intensified in 1893^{xliii} -- effectively turning the internally defined enclave into an externally regulated ghetto. Soon after the city was established, the streets west of crowded, expanding, and repeatedly cordoned Chinatown with an original edge at Carrall Street that was pushed east and to the south Main Street^{xliv} became the boundary between 'whites' to the west and non-european communities to the east. In Vancouver, the drawing of racial lines across relatively fluid homosexual milieux and the drawing of homophobic lines across cultural and ethnic communities, has been dominated by waves of migrations, exclusions, and emigrations. Each wave provides new opportunities and points for conflict.

The community of Chinese males did prosper and various kinds of ghettoized communality, including some highly furtive homosexuality, expanded until fraternal organizations such as the Benevolent Association. In 1901 Vancouver's Chinese population was 3,559 and by 1921, it had nearly quadrupled^{xlv}. It was a primarily male culture. For example, in 1931 of the 27,139 Chinese in British Columbia, only 2,239 were women^{xlvi}. But in the subsequent decade, the realities of Chinatown's furtive queerscape were dominated more by the struggle against starvation^{xlvii} in the Depression and the intensifying racism of the times than by desire. People were emigrating back to a China in large numbers^{xlviii} -- in the grip of war to

a fracture country -- one far more homophobic than people had left decades before. Due to a new wave of xenophobia and racism, Chinese immigration was curtailed in the early twentieth century^{xlix}, prohibited in 1923 and not reopened in 1947. In this vacuum, Japanese immigrants doubled in the city to 4,246 by 1911^l. But twenty years after the first anti-Chinese riots in Vancouver, a similar wave hostile to Japanese began in 1907^{li}. After the turn of the century, south Asian enclaves began to take root and between 1904 and 1908 roughly five thousand Sikhs came to the city and many subsequently settled^{lii}.

By the turn of the century, police surveillance and entrapment of sexually active males was well established though the targets were selective -- particularly as related to racial minorities. For example Indiana Matters notes that of the 12 men charged early on with crimes of homosexuality, 9 were against 'Hindoos' -- recent arrivals from India, and all targets for careful police entrapment^{liii}. The subsequent trials were part of the wave of xenophobia and cultural chauvinism around the 1915 Komagata Maru incident^{liv} where a freighter with south Asian immigrants, primarily males, was kept from landing in Vancouver harbour^{lv}.

Public space, in either hotel lobbies and more often public parks, became the major sites for inter-racial homosexual contact. One example of the confluence of homophobia and the new preoccupation with race and its uses in the 'multicultural' milieu of early twentieth century Vancouver was the hysteria around homosexual Sikh's soon after the first waves of immigration from northern India.

Next and sometimes surpassing the number of convictions around homosexuality of men with European heritages, in the decade before World War I, was the preoccupation with the "East Indian" male as aggressive homosexuall^{vi}. For example, there was the 1909 case of Rex vs. Nar Singh^{vii}. In the months after the first large wave of Sikh immigration, Singh was accused of

"in private unlawfully attempted to procure the commission of an act of gross indecency"

involving a white male and later one of two undercover policemen, a Detective McDonald. But the map of the events on the edge of Chinatown in the tidal flats of False Creek of the events is sketchy. At 2 o'clock on the morning of December 12, 1908, Singh was waiting for sex, what today would be called cruising, at the southeast corner of East Pender Street and Columbia Street^{viii}. Singh had come out of the Great Northern Hotel. The detectives had clearly been instructed to entrap.

"We had seen him there tree or four nights previous to that. That is what drew our attention to him this night in particular^{lix}. We went over across the street to where he was...I asked him what he was doing and told me to come along with him...

Q COURT:- Does he speak English?- A. Yes.

I hesitated for a little while. He says come on and caught me by the sleeve of the coat. We followed him. We waded cross a vacant lot, a building that has been torn down. He went begin the Chinese Hospital down a stair way and into a little alley way between two buildings. He took me over to the back of the hospital and across the alley way between False Creek and Pender Street.

Q Where was this corner of Pender Street?- A Yes Your Worship. The Chinese Hospital is back of the Mainland Transfer Company's Stables...He took me in the stoop of the stables

where the Transfer Company keep their horses. He took me in behind a dray. Took off his coat and vest and put it on the back of the dray.

Q Dray-wagon?- A. Yes.

Then he started to open my clothes. We kind of stopped him a little from opening my clothes. He took down his braces and his pants and went down on his knees on the floor...

Q MR KENNEDY:- That would be the top of the fly?-

A Yes in fact he had two buttons open. We put my hand on his and then he motioned to his mouth. Then We pushed him away and made him get and put on his coat. He followed me out to this Chinese Hospital. He had a room there.

Q Court:- You way he has a room there?- A. Yes five or six of them had a room together...

Q Before going into where his room was you met Detective Scott?

A Yes. We left him with Detective Scott. We stayed on the corner."Ix

The subsequent defense questioning revolved around questions of intoxication and intent -- especially as related to Singh's command of English.

"Q...Did he say anything to lead you to think he wanted to commit and [sic] act of gross indecency?

A He said to me to come on with him and asked me what was the matter.

Q Did he say anything?- A. He started to open my pants up.

Q Did he say anything?- A. No

Q So that what he did in your estimation was the object that this act be committed? A. Well he got on his hands and knees and took off his coat."Ixi

Soon after, Singh was alleged to have taken the other detective to his crowded roomlxii, which he shared with at least five other Sikh men -- one where "the window was very dirty" and there was "a dim electric light coming in"lxiii. In the trial, Singh had "nothing to say," the sentence was unclear as was his subsequent tenure in British Columbia. Chances are Nar Singh was allowed to flee Canada and move on to another British colonial port city. What is most relevant for our understanding of public space and sexuality in Vancouver was how organized and intent were the city police as early as 1908 to regulate homosexuality, and to keep people from the province for it, and how the various kinds of movements for exclusions tightly entwined cultural chauvinism, exoticization, xenophobia, and homophobia.

Homosexual criminality became one prong of a movement to further formalize a more complex, ethnic-based social hierarchy with repressive apparatus against non-anglosaxon social elements through provincial prosecution of "oriental [legal] cases"lxiv. These cases were used as spectacle. And the pressures to criminalize homosexuality, especially through identification through a sort of negative exoticization of non-anglo males, were increasing as part of a whole process of cultural regulation of new immigrants. Conspicuous and culturally assertive immigrants were targeted.

One of the more transparent examples of the racism, difficulties, and absurdities of the early attempts to establish a well-funded police apparatus was a complex 1915 case where charges of "attempt[sic] buggery" were made against two Sikh maleslxv. This episode occurred in the months after the May to July 1914 crisis around the Japanese ship, the Komagata Maru and its thousands of Sikh passengers, who, because of racist hysteria, were not allowed to embark in Vancouver. On February 2, 1915, one of the defendants, wearing a white turban, tried to "pick up" a white, and most likely homosexual, chauffeur, Ralph Pearce, in the bar room of

the Panama Hotel and to take him to the defendant's room at the Sunset Rooms. There was an initial two minute conversation focused on the infamous Komogata Maru incident in Vancouver harbour, where Sikhs were not allowed ashore, and the first defendant's relationship to that event^{lxvi}. This was not exactly light cruising chitchat and may have explained Pearce's motivation in bringing in an undercover policeman. Pearce responded to the first defendant favourably,

"he asked me if We would like to fuck. That is just what he said to me, and We said `sure any old thing'.^{lxvii}

but may well of been planning on being trade or on outright blackmail. They made "an appoint" for later that afternoon. Because of potential police harassment at the Sunset, the appointment was changed to the Panama Hotel at 11 p.m. that evening and at one point the chauffeur informed on the defendant -- thus becoming immune to any police prosecution from the subsequent operation. The police appear to have been attempting to target a broader network of male homosexual Sikhs. There are few indications of why Pierce collaborated with the police though he was clearly pressured to do so. The first defendant brought a friend, a man identified as having a "blue turban" while Pierce brought the undercover policeman. After meeting at Cordova and Carroll in Gastown, the four proceeded along C.P.R. tracks a little on the other side of the "Georgia-Harris street viaduct." A plainclothes detective^{lxviii}, and the chauffeur pulled down their pants and were offered by the first defendant,

"that Hindoo with the white turban on,"

seventy-five cents^{lxix} for sex with the two of them and

"two dollars every Sunday and pay car-fare both ways to Central Park"^{lxx}.

The detective claimed that one defendant proposed a sort of regular "menage-à-trois" at Central Park with the detective and another defendant.

`I got a shack...he [second defendant] sleep with me, if he don't want to fuck, We will fuck you good.'^{lxxi}

A detective claimed that soon after he was nearly raped by the first defendant.

"He said `we will pay seventy-five cents for the two, but next Sunday we will give you two dollars each.' Se he said `you had better take you pants down.' So We unbuttoned my pants and removing my pants down my back, and [first defendant] came up with his penis stiff in my back and pushed. As soon as We saw that at my back We round and held the accused by the neck."^{lxxii}

The description of the mechanics of these activities is curious. From the vantage point of this fin-de-siècle, it is easy to wonder if the undercover detective was either rather short or overwhelmed by the first defendant's member. Soon another police officer who had been observing undetected came forward. While scuffling, the defendants were beaten, pistol whipped, and the first had his jaw broken. The details of this violence are oddly absent from the court proceedings.

It is in the shift from sex to violence in the 1915 Sikh entrapment case that the simple equation of racist and homophobic police harassment begins to unravel. More curiously was the ascertain that the major detective was known to the first defendant because the first defendant was active in defense of Sikhs being harassed by the police and had previously been threatened by the detective. There was an element of this case which was not just about the suppression of private homosexual contact. Delving into this case seven decades later, there may have also been elements of entrapment of Sikh political activists^{lxxiii} and attempts for discredit them and drive them out of the province, exoticization^{lxxiv} by and hostility from white homosexuals and "trade", and an extortion ring targeting workers with disposable income which involved the Vancouver police. Even in the "Wild West" in 1915, it seems implausible that the first defendant would have seriously offered a police officer who had once threatened him with a gun about his activism, 37 1/2 cents^{lxxv} to penetrate him while standing up on a railroad track. Absurdities aside, this court case was a highly public spectacle of supremacy of the English language and British cultural values in social control through the court process. It was also a relatively successful spectacle functioning to obscure underlying political dynamics through a branding of non-anglosaxon bodies as being aggressive and predatory - in this case through the defendants' curt expressions of their homosexual desires.

From the vantage point of today, the maps that emerge in these particularly tragic pre-World War We cases, many of which resulted in years of incarceration and lashings^{lxxvi}, are dominated by cultural chauvinism and racism and the attempts of the early state to legislate sexual behaviour. The sites of many of these acts were in or on the tidal margins of Chinatown, along False Creek, around streets such as Dupont, Shanghai, and Canton that were obliterated by the time of Expo `86. What comes to light is a far richer and spatialized set of sites of homoeroticism than many could have previously imagined for such a small frontier town. What is so poignant for me in reading the court transcripts are the constant reassertions of individual rights and freedom of expression, in the efforts to find spaces for sexual expression, and the willingness to confront both cultural chauvinism and racism. The divergences mapped are racial and cultural and are very much rooted in the hierarchies of immigrant groups so central to the late nineteenth central Pacific Canadian experience. There are some other intriguing contradictions: between notions of the interests of the state in regulating homosexuality along with divergence of interpretations of individual rights, between culturally related proprieties around private and public, between chaotic zone of development versus slum, and between largely unregulated frontier "Chinatowns" and increasingly ordered (and heteronormative) mercantile cities.

Historical mapping 2:

The Cold War political economy of homophobia and public sex

In this investigation, We move from before World War We to after World War II and to the use of scapegoating and the rounding up of male homosexuals in and around parks. Male cruising leading to spontaneous sex, in situ, as a set of eroticized practices in public space, became established in the remote parts of the 595 hectares Stanley Park in the late nineteenth century where,

It started originally when they used to anchor ships in the harbour. The boats would drop off the sailors for shore leave as English Bay pier.

The cruising area used to be in what is now called Ceperley Park, which was than a heavily treed area. Locals would be cruising for seamen, and seamen would be cruising for other seamen and the locals.

Since then the cruising area has moved towards the northwest as the park has been developed and settled...lxxvii

As police repression and surveillance intensified in the urban core of Vancouver in the early decades of the twentieth century, with a focus on hotels and haunts in Gastown and Chinatown, it was the city parks, particularly Stanley Park, Kitsilano Beach, and Central Park, that provided the least risky places for men to meet well -- until well into the nineteen sixties. Because of the relatively large amount of remaining open space, the level of competition over the public spaces of Vancouver, between heterosexuals and sexual minorities, was minimal and varied over the decades. Vancouver was remarkable for a North American city in that even after waves of police repression against homosexual males there were often large areas, away from roads, where gay cruising could continue unhampered. It was the less manicured parks that provided the social continuity that was crucial to articulation of more profound levels of communality - especially in the warmer nine months of the yearlxxviii.

Gay men were highly secretive even in downtown Vancouver and in Stanley Park well into the nineteen fiftieslxxix. There were a few bars, like the beer parlour in the basement of the Hotel Vancouver and unmarked but clearly known sections of the Castle and York Hotel. There were numerous cruising areas including the theatres of Granville Street and the balcony of the Colonial Theatre where is now the Vancouver Stock Exchangelxxx. But only Stanley Park provided a large and dependable communal for mutual recognition and sex partners. Three main cruising areas formed the nucleus for a gay male erotic communality.

With this amount of traffic around parks, "queer" men, no matter how numerous, provided a convenient scapegoat especially in times of high unemployment. In 1945, after an exceptional period of expanded industrialization in terms of production of military parts, building materials, and food, Vancouver was a city of 150,000 with a rapidly shrinking employment base. The role of race in dividing the working class had declined with dizzying speed in the nineteen forties beginning with the internment of Japanese Canadian in the warlxxxii. A coalition with some involvement from the left had precipitated a relative liberalization of British Columbian society that threatened to dismantle the years of racism, cultural chauvinism, and xenophobia. At the end of World War II, a new scapegoat was badly needed by conservative politicians.

"Queers" after World War II also represented a threat to the conservative ruling groups of Vancouver in the efforts to re-establish hegemony in a stagnating economy. Modernist notions of democracy were beginning to be applied public space - visions that were no doubt formed, in part, by emerging bohemianism with nascent visions of tolerance of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. There was a simultaneous expansion of the public space of the city and urban life, on one hand, and a "freeing up of space" through the simplifications and sleekness of modernism along with an "alternative modernist enterprise"lxxxiii, involving many members of sexual minorities, on the other hand. In Vancouver, there was a crucial urban formation of commercial and residential spaces that allowed the western end of the downtown core, away from longer-established Gastown, and the West End to become the

most tolerant public landscapes for homosexuality, a prototypic "democratic [public] space"lxxxiii, that Canada had ever seen until well into the nineteen seventies. In this context, there were substantial benefits to be enjoyed for the neocolonial institutions and social formations from scapegoating a homosexual menage.

Homophobia as a means to manage unemployment emerged in British Columbia in the nineteen forties. The problem was that it was difficult to identify homosexual men and women. Marking people through their presence in cruising areas of parks, and where possible through catching them in sexual acts, was one of the easiest ways to have a basis for firing an individual. The police came to force an alliance with various state institutions from the military, to the government bureaucracies, to the schools. There were at least five distinct political economic pressures for witch hunts that drove people from their jobs and from the West Coast. Probably the most serious problem in the late nineteen forties was the surplus military and industrial labour. The huge naval base at Esquimalt near Victoria and the smaller base at Jericho Beach at Point Grey were both centres of underground homoerotic networks and sites for their suppression. The forces there, be their Canadian or from other parts of the Empire / Commonwealth, and whether or not their were under the command of British or Allied commanders, continued the British naval apparatus against buggery going back two centurieslxxxiv and to a lesser extent the more recent proscriptions against lesbianism. In this previously small-scaled coastal economy, there was no way to absorb many of the young, sexually active adults with few ties to the region. There were few even-handed ways to lay off so many and the costs of providing full benefits to veterans looked staggering.

Homosexuals were convenient targets as the military was discomissioned and the Empire was transformed into the Commonwealth. A political economy based on largely unreported career attacks and swift dismissals and "lay offs" emerged. Most of the people targeted, whether they were really homosexual or not, did not and could not appeal and moved on to other parts of Canada, western U.S. cities notably Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and other parts of the declining British Empire -- in subsequent years, much poorer than they would have been. Harassment around homosexuality was a variation on the older script of forcing an individual to leave the area, to go into exile. There were at least four other factors that made the anti-homosexual purges particularly "natural" in British Columbia. There were efforts to rollback the new freedoms and civic responsibilities of women, which were necessary in the war effort, through promulgating, perhaps more than any other period in Western history, a mythic and increasingly contested modellxxxv of a nuclear family where women had a certain level of security through monogamy and a relatively isolated family structure. Second, the basic unit of the new consumer society was the large or nuclear family and relatively autonomous, single adults did not figure well in marketing strategies. A state-sanctioned fetish of heteronormativity, that had begun to be promulgated in Canada in the nineteen twentieslxxxvi, finally took hold after World War II. Thirdly, the push from the left for the Welfare Statelxxxvii, especially in western Canada where the ideological links were closest to agrarian socialism, often involved leftish kinds of idolization of the "nuclear" family -- that effectively contributed to the demonization of sexual radicals, "queers," and "perverts" as what legal historian Philip Girard term the "admonitory icon"lxxxviii. Fourthly, anti-homosexual witch hunts were a very convenient way to destroy work place cohesion, to "divide and conquer," as these workers became so ripe for unionization and the left, provincially, was posed to take power for the first time.

In the years immediately after World War II, homosexuality became a topic of growing concern for the Canadian state particularly as related to federal government "security" under

the growing influence of the United States governmentlxxxix. Gary Kinsman notes the key shift from "offenses against morality" to "sexual offenses"xc. Homosexuality was further marginalized through being medicalized and lumped in with violent pathologiesxci. But it was difficult to find homosexual -- with one of the easiest places being around certain city parks. Very much under the influence of McCarthyism that was ravaging the United States in the same period, the 1952 Canadian Immigration Act, treated homosexuals as "subversives"xcii and at the very least as "security risks'xciii. Even an admission of one act of "homosexuality" could be and was used to keep a visitor or potential immigrant out of Canadaxciv.

In Pacific Canada, there appear to have been two waves of post-war homophobic purges. Within a year after the end of World War II the numerous lesbians and gay men who dominated the communications units of the British Empire's North Pacific fleet, headquartered in Esquimalt west of Victoria, were court-martialed under the secrecy of the federal War Measures Act which was extended throughout the nineteen fortiesxcv. From the sketchy personal accounts that have made the rounds, the charges had some historical similarity to many of the anti-homosexual purges in the British navy in the nineteenth centuryxcvi. The virtual destruction of hundred of careers sent shock waves to more industrial production-oriented Vancouver. Large numbers of women, many of whom were lesbians, and rural gay men had been have their first experiences in the urban, industrial workforce.

The second purge, again centred in Victoria but having tremendous impacts in Vancouver where the population was growing rapidly, was in the 1958 - 1965 period and roughly coincided with the Progressive Conservative federal government, "the Diefenbaker years." On September 6, 1958, Leo Anthony Mantha, a former naval officer, murdered his former lover, Aaron "Bud" Hetherington, who was still serving at the Naval Base in Esquimalt near Victoria.

Mantha was one the last of the several people in Canada to be executed because Deifenbaker refused to commute the sentence was capital punishment was being discontinued. Québec-born, Mantha, spoke both English and French and had been discharged in 1956 for a homosexual incident while on duty in San Francisco in 1955xcvii. After he confessed to the murder, three times in fact, Mantha was demonized in the media, as something of a predatory masculine "Homo Sexual"xcviii with often more than slightly veiled references to his sexuality and ethnicityxcix.

The hanging of Leo Mantha was a watershed event in the political economy of homophobia in post-WW British Columbia. Mantha's homosexuality was given considerable attention by psychologists as was their promiscuity and "open" relationship, the victim's crossdressing, and Mantha's earlier pattern of physical abuse of Hetherington. In the subsequent trial, there was a highly constructed compression and equation of homosexual, promiscuity, and violence that fuelled a hysteria that in turn drove the jury to find him guilty of first degree murder, after reviewing extensive evidence of duress around the breakup of the relationship, and which, in turn, drove the judge to make the death sentence. In the social climate of the time, the Prime Minister's Cabinet which was commuting other death sentences left a few people to be executed including Mantha - in part as an examplec. What was particularly striking about the Diefenbaker Cabinet's unwillingness to commute the sentence was the extraordinary lobbying that had one on in the previous year by the Roman Catholic Church of

Québeci. Mantha was executed on April 27, 1959cii. The subsequent chill after the hysteria around the Mantha case was compounded by the U.S. military which had become more involved in the Canadian forces in the Cold War, extended well into the nineteen sixties and precipitated a witch hunt that resulted in military and police harassment, several suicides, and many firings of gay menci.iii.

In federal employment, a process was instituted to screen out prospective homosexuals was instituted in 1959 further pushing gay men into the small business and related service sectors and lesbians into the surplus labour margins of the extractive industries and worst paying jobs in the service sector. Leo Mantha, as a former Navy man, was "the poster boy." In the 1961-1962 period the RCMP investigated 850 civil servants in the military and security, as well as in a range of nonsecurity positions such as in the Central Mortgage and Housing, as proven and suspected homosexualsiv and a significant portion lived in Vancouver and Victoria. Another example of this escalation in state apparatus is from the fact that the total national number of RCMP reports on homosexuals went from 1,000 in 1960-1961 to 9,000 in 1967-1968cv. Association with a public cruising area or a gay bar, such as through being harassed by police there or being informed on, was the easiest basis for the RCMP to begin their investigationscvi.

The purges on the West Coast, after Manta's execution, may have gone on to as late as 1965 . However, in the central Canadian pantheon, British Columbia was largely treated as an insignificant backwater. It was the zeal of RCMP surveillance in cities such as Ottawa , which had more of an appearance of a witch hunt that had gone out of control, that prompted the federal Justice Minister, Pierre Trudeau, to begin to consider how to begin to dismantle this menacing bureaucracy. In Trudeau's rationale for decriminalization within the Liberal Party in the mid-nineteen sixties, fear of any more of the hysterias like those in British Columbia over the last two decades, with their indirect funding of conservative political forces, were probably on the minds of some political figures.

There is a rather ironic link between the Cold War political economy of homophobia in Vancouver, the contradictory role of parks to both concentrate homosexual for easy apprehension and for the consolidation of communalities, and the organizational base that emerged to advocate for decriminalization. What is remarkable about the situation of Canada and Vancouver in the nineteen sixties, one that made a particularly Canadian-oriented movement for decriminalization such an imperative, was that the human homophobic police apparatus went so out of control -- into a period of relative liberalization. Even when there was a relaxing of the Cold War homophobia generated by the United States, the early nineteen sixties, that "homegrown" apparatus continued to grow in Canadian cities like Vancouver. This contradiction provided fertile ground for homophile organizing especially as the homoeroticized park spaces had expanded in the interim.

Even when the absurdity of so much public resources going into homophobia became increasingly apparent, nothing short of decriminalization of homosexuality was to keep this machine from growing providing both a regionally based and a more national motive for both decriminalization and civil rights. The seamlessness of the two gay movements in Vancouver in the nineteen sixties, for decriminalization and for civil rights, emerged from the realities of cruising in "open" space. The trajectory of that homophobic machine was so steep that Prime Minister Trudeau helped it "crash and burn" in 1969. Significantly, the state preoccupation

with repressing homosexuality that did linger often involved a particular emphasis on the regulation of public space -- well into the nineteen eighties.

What does the divergence in these Cold War maps tell us? Certainly homoeroticism and homophobia both were practised within political economic dynamics that function at various scales from the site to the neighbourhood to the city to the nation state. But both the state and homophobia are constructed and are temporally and location-specific. In these mappings, relying on newspaper articles and court documents, the urban / open space frontier, homophobia, the state, and sexual minorities are all on the move: in this context territorialization is provisional but under tremendous pressures to stabilize. So some extent, this particular "shell game" prefigures the rapid cycles of displacement and placemaking we see today. Sexual minorities were essentially pushed out of the older Gastown-Chinatown city core of "vice," described in the first mapping, to around English Bay and Stanley Park because open space was the least risky in terms of the odds of successfully avoiding police. But as the police became increasingly under pressure to identify homosexuals, as part of their contribution to fighting the Cold War, these sites too were squeezed -- making the alternative to openly resist an increasingly discredited state an increasingly attractive option.

Historical mapping 3:

Lesbian bar culture and criminal underground

It took nearly a century of resistance to empire, male-domination, and (neo)colonialism for spaces of feminism and women's homoeroticism to intersect. Such a coalescence would take the criminalization of lesbianism. After extensive legal discussions in the 1947 to 1954 period, often focused on the threat of "girl problems" to the heterosexual family, the Criminal Code of Canada was altered to include penalties against lesbian sexuality in 1953 . This was at a time when the urban butch / femme subculture was becoming visible, along with construction of the legal notion of the "criminal sexual psychopath" . It was in this period, that the spectre of the manhaunting bull dyke was embellished and recycled in the efforts to shore-up the male-dominated family. "Classic" lesbian bar culture did not exist in Vancouver for much more than three decades -- not really emerging until after World War II. In this mapping, We explore the spaces of lesbian communalities that existed before that rendez-vous with feminism.

The Women Suffrage movement took hold soon after British Columbia entered Confederation. Early suffragist Susan B. Anthony gave an enthusiastically received lecture at Alhambra Hall in Victoria in 1871cvii. By 1873, women property-holders had the right to vote in municipal elections though it was to be decades before other forms of women's suffrage were established. The various organizations and committees that worked for women's suffrage, such as the Local Councils and Political Equality Leagues, provided crucial new public space for women, as well as alternative sites for contact to those of the Victorian household. Spacemaking by women, through a range of new organizations and institutions, expanded rapidly and became a more visible and permanent part of the Vancouver landscape in the 1905 to 1910 periodcviii. The first provincial Suffrage Convention was in 1911. By the time the movement was finally successful in 1916cix, the older feminist networks, some more conservative and some more radical, had diverged. It was the Liberal Party of British Columbia that had finally passed suffrage after many unsuccessful attempts from politicians of various parties, notably the Socialists. With the vote, conservative feminists became more involved in avowedly anti-sexual causes notably

fighting "white slavery," which often functioned to scapegoat female prostitutes and sexually assertive single women. And less than a decade later came the liberalizations of the nineteen twenties not coincidentally along with a new wave of glorifying middle-class, heterosexual, child-rearing domesticity.

The rise of the single working women and the "girl problem" in Canada was linked to increased female independence from family. The growing independence of women was thought to be leading lead to lesbianismcx. By the nineteen twenties, boarding houses for working women were key sites of lesbian networkscxi -- particularly in Vancouver's West End. There were a few dedicated spaces for women, such as the large Women's Building at the corner of Robson and Thurlow that existed until 1940, and while there was considerable homophobia and ignorance typical of the times, there undoutably some furtive liaisons. But by the end of World War II, the lesbian had become a spectre with suspected women repeatedly targeted for imprisonment when not having three articles of feminine clothingcxii. There were numerous cases of forced therapy to "cure" their homosexuality.

One informant recalled a court appearance where

"her `parole officer' in front of [her] parents, got up and said to the judge, `This person ought to be put away. She is a butch lesbian.'"

"Butch lesbians" were considered a particular threat by indirectly and directly calling into question gender-based inequities in access to jobs and to pay.

Lesbian bar culture emerged in North America as early as the nineteen twenties as more women were single and worked creating the need for social spaces, away from men. These `women adrift' created the cores of lesbian commercial spaces that slowly emerged after World War II. Lesbian bars in Vancouver were avowedly working-class environments. The great majority of the patrons were working-class from both white and non-white backgrounds. In addition, there were women originally from middle-class environments who were pushed into poverty and marginal employment in their desire to avoid heterosexual marriage and to be with women.

In Vancouver, at least two lesbian bars, as part of a working-class port subculture, emerged along Main Street south of Chinatown not far from the old queer male haunts that had been vacated decades before. In contrast, middle class lesbian culture was preoccupied with creation and maintenance of highly private space . In 1968, Bob Cummings of the Georgia Straight stated that,

"Of the four homosexual bars in Vancouver, only one caters predominately to lesbians, located on the outer fringe of skid road, it is a nondescript establishment that relies on its clientele for the atmosphere."cxiii

Cummings went on to describe "dyke brawls" and noted the use of washrooms for lesbian sexcxiv.

The Main Street milieu was some of the first lesbian placemaking of public / commercial space in Vancouver's history. But Main Street was not quite an enclave for lesbians in the sense that it shared territory with a more stable community of "blacks." Mapping the spatial

economies of race, class, and sexuality in the decade leading up to decriminalization, in neighbourhoods such as these, is probably more relevant to understanding the dynamics of territorialization in the "post-Stonewall" than studying those riots in that distant city.

Hogan's Alley is a half hour video about the first "black" neighbourhood in Vancouver. Hogan's Alley was a neighbourhood of over 800 people living in flimsy wooden frame shacks, barely large enough for extended families, built on a former salt marsh and subsequent garbage dump and adjacent and crammed between the railway terminal, the port, and Chinatown. Built at the head of False Creek as the city's first "minorities" enclave, the area's first wave of racially mixed residents moved to better housing to the east leaving a space for newly displaced African Canadians. A black neighbourhood identity intensified in the nineteen twenties and a strong numeric presence was established by the outbreak of World War II. Many of the houses were destroyed for an arterial overpass, the Georgia Viaduct, in the "redevelopment" of the nineteen sixties, at a time when expressway construction was used to fragment the fulcrum of many other black neighbourhoods in smaller North American cities. It would be simplistic but partially correct to argue that in the struggles around the nineteen sixties proposals for a freeway in the area, the more organized and economically powerful Chinatown and ethnic white Strathcona interests were able to keep the compromise viaduct out of their areas and to allow the city to push it on to the adjacent "mosaic" of black and bar spaces, including ones so crucial to lesbians. In the Great Depression, a group of black families were forced off their farms in the Canadian Prairies and resettled near the railway. Most of the males were soon unionized for the first time, in the Brotherhood of Railway Car Porters, while women developed a parallel economy around "joints" with southern cooking called "chicken houses".

By the time of the U.S. and Canadian civil rights movement, the next generation of Hogan's Alley residents was more involved in the arts and the working of imagery - much of which exoticized African (North) 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 black community shifted from one that was tight-knit and that functioned for survival, centred around church, businesses, and unions, to something 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 around 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 which was not always supportive of her lesbianism, and Vancouver's lesbian community of the nineteen sixties. Early on, she confronted racism in the Vancouver lesbian community.

"So We used to go back and forth from the New Fountain to the Vanport but We really didn't like the Vanport too much because it was mostly just white uppity people there. And We wasn't really accepted there because there was a lot of prejudiced women...Well We fixed that right quick...There was an older dyke there that was callin' me names. We said, well, 'You call me that name again and I'm 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...the bartender threw me outside...They called me a `nigger' and it only takes that one word."

Curtis then relayed how difficult was her life, as a teen, taking care of children in her extended family. She chose to trade that traditional role of unmarried women, are care-giver, for the surveillance, what in recent years has been termed the `panoptic gaze of heterosexism,'cxxx of her racially and ethnically defined community and then to essentially break with it for an only slightly "multi-cultural" lesbian network.

"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, then, and even people who weren't related to you, in a sense we were related were all one family, told you what to do...When they found out We was gay, the life We was leading, they would talk about it in their own houses but not with anybody else. We wasn't asked any questions at all but We knew that they knew. They made sure that We knew that they knew but it suited me fine and at least We was free to live my life, my own lifestyle...After when We decided that We 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, where 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, language, and class, to one often more narrowly conceived in terms of individual expression, erotic satisfaction, tolerance, and mutual support. And the multiple dilemmas confronted, in that few block walk from Hogan's Alley to The New Fountain, continue to resonate in the not-so-open spaces along the way.

The following is another narrative based on real life recollections and storiescxxx. They are intended the illustrate the extreme marginalization and targeting experienced by lesbians, particularly butch dykes, in the nineteen fifties and nineteen sixties, and the extent of the obstacles to lesbian community in Vancouver without violence and addiction in the days before decriminalization and lesbian feminism.

The Dead Man was a Woman

THE USED CAR LOT

Bill Haris looked out of the window taking in the typically rainy Vancouver afternoon. He had been nursing a bad cold and his small used car lot had not moved a single car for a week. He was worried about his ability to pay the rent on the space adjacent to his where he stored the cars least likely to sell. His part-time salesman Joe hoping to cheer him, told him that he at least had an inquiry about the red Ford Galaxy convertible parked in the far lot. What red Galaxy replied Bill, we don't have a red Galaxy and if we did it would not sit in the spare lot. Joe arched his eyebrows, shrugged his shoulders and pointed out of the window to the distinctive red tail fins.

THE CORONER'S OFFICE

On closer examination Bill discovered that the Galaxy convertible had been sitting in the rain with its top down for quite a few days and there was a distinctive odour that surrounded the car and even penetrated his cold. The police report later read that the car was registered to Chris and Judy O`Steele. On the body they found a wallet with some ID including a teamster

card registered to Chris O'Steele. The cause of death was from a single gunshot wound through the heart.

AT HOME

Judy picked up the phone and listened carefully to the voice on the other end asking her to identify a body in the morgue as the police suspected that it was her husband who had met foul play. She hesitated and then said she would be there shortly to view the body.

It had been just a few months ago when Chris had come home in dyke rage. She had flung off her medical assistant's uniform and announced that she had quit her stupid job. She was sick and tired of constantly having no money. She wanted the kind of job that would enable her to support Judy's way through university. The British Columbia labour laws had strict lifting restrictions for women so it had become virtually impossible for women to be hired for the better paying, unionized labouring jobs because of the restrictions. Even though Chris had a better than average education, it was not for her to sit behind a desk wearing skirts and nylons.

Chris announced to Judy boldly that she would dress like a man and that passing as a man she would be able to get the job which she needed. Judy had her doubts that this plan was workable. Chris had no such doubts and the next morning she started crossdressing. Chris bound her breasts in an elastic bandage, slipped on a pair of jockey shorts and jeans, and put on a t-shirt under a plaid shirt and some thick lumber socks that went into heavy work boots. When she cinched up her belt, she looked approvingly into the mirror and made a rather old fashioned "gay" remark on her appearance - "every inch a sailor."

To Judy's surprise, that every evening an ecstatic Chris came home waving her new Teamsters card in glee and announced that she had landed a job driving a lumber truck; that the pay check was going to give them big money. Chris' new level of butchness had meant a breakthrough to all their dreams.

MOMS'S KITCHEN

Chris felt like she had to explain something to her mother about her new appearance. However, her mother was a simple immigrant who had come from a small village in Holland. Chris' mother had been one of twelve children of dour Protestants who never spoke of sex and she would not have understood if Chris had told her the deeper reasons for the new look. Chris' mother did understand an honest day's labour so Chris chose to explain the crew cut, the man's clothes and the necessary name change in terms of wanting to hold down a hard working job with a healthy pay check at the end of the week. The name change and forged marriage certificate to Judy confused her. She had said to Chris that she would just accept what she had been told at face value but that back home girls did not even have to have jobs and usually got married to a man and took that man's name. Chris knew only to shrug her shoulders as her mother patted her crewcut and resigned herself to the fact that not understanding was best for her mother's mental health. Chris realized that the truth would devastate her mother's understanding of the world and cause a breakdown in what had become fragile under the brutal rule of thumb of her mother's father and then her husband. The death of Chris' father had forced her mother on to meagre pension where she needed to clean houses to get by. Chris had hoped to give her enough money so that she could stop the house cleaning which was wearing her out.

THE VANPORT BY NIGHT

The Friday of her first big pay check, Chris had called a few of her buddies for a big beer blowout. The Vanport was crowded when Chris arrived and the air was thick with expectation. Chris sat down at the familiar round table with the terry cloth cover and asked about the entertainment for the evening. It was, as usual, Grandma Moses, the oldest stripper in Vancouver at the time. Grandma was an older street walker who used to dance to the jukebox and strip down to her slip. It was as erotic as watching one's grandmother get ready for bed and it was a harmless way for her to earn rent money. The dykes were always generous to her feeling a bit embarrassed about either the exhibition itself or their egging her on.

The conversation between Chris and her butch buddies always turned sexual after a few beers. They compared experiences, shared secrets and stories, and fantasies. Often the conversations became confessions of exaggerated bravado and braggers were pushed to be as explicitly sexual as possible. Always their eyes were roving over the crowd and often their eyes were glued to the door waiting for the girl of their dreams to walk in and lock eyes with them instantly. This never happened but the slight possibility was necessary to keep these women coming back night after night.

Our of nowhere, a fight broke out in the corner of the bar. Fights were not unusual there and a women needed eyes in the back of her head. At any moment things could get dangerous. That night was not so serious. A chair flew through the air and landed on their table bouncing the beer sky high. But this was not before Chris and her buddies had already leaped way and taken cover. Sandy, the more hot headed of the bunch quickly grabbed the chair before anyone could stop her and hurled it back at the offenders yelling that all she wanted out of life was to be able to have a quiet beer with her friends. This drew cheers from the crowd but also a caution from Joey that they had better sit down before the trouble might move to them. It was too late. The resistance had made them stand out and people bought them so many rounds the table become crammed with full beer glasses. They had become a much-appreciated part of the night's entertainment.

Suddenly a hush fell over the crowd as a couple walked in who seemed out of place and overdressed for this particular working class bar. The butch was dressed in an expensive full suit of the latest mod fashion complete with well-fitted shirt and tasteful tie. Peeking slightly out of her collar was a fresh bandage barely held on by two plasters. The wound looked recent and tender. The woman beside her was in a strapless cocktail dress. She was stunningly elegant -- too femme to be real -- the dress was more fitting for a stage than a lesbian bar. Antoinette was the kind of femme most butches could only dream about. One could feel skin rippling through the crowd as she looked everyone over individually. She was a women cross dressed like a women, always daring someone to meet the challenge. This night, she was attached to the well dressed but circumspect butch. It was Jerry from Seattle. She was famous for their nightclub act but had the audacity to date the daughter of the owner of the nightclub even though he was a well-known mobster. It was clearly an impossible situation and as soon as daddy found out a contract was out on Jerry's head. Shortly after, goons found their way into Jerry's walk up flat, cut her throat, carved a "Q" on her chest and left her for dead. Jerry had played dead and then with her lat ounce of strength had hurtled through a window on to the street a floor below. It was lucky that there were people on the street who helped her to the hospital and she was narrowly saved. She and her girlfriend had fled Seattle and had come to Vancouver to hide out. They did not seem to be doing a good

job of it but show people are always hard to hide. Jerry that night sense that there was something in the air. Getting cut like that would make one sensitive to any tension. They hovered a little and then disappeared as quickly as they appeared.

Trouble came that night, but to Chris. Trouble was in the form of a burly truck driver who worked for the same company as Chris. Despite the beer and the room's smoky haze something finally clicked in the brute's mind. He staggered over to Chris' table and started to snicker at her. "Aren't you the new truck driver that Jake hired the other day? Har, har, har...wait `til he finds out he hired a woman har, har, har and dyke at that." All the time, he was pointing his finger at Chris' chest. Chris was hurt and mortified as it became clear that she could not go back to that job and that her brilliant plan for crossdressing had backfired. By associating with her dyke friends and drinking in a dyke bar, she had made it obvious that she was not a man but instead one of them instead.

She stumbled out on to the street and walked from one sleazy bar to another until a street flusher soaked her with a cold spray of water which woke her up out of the stupor and she decided to head for home.

THE VANPORT BY DAY

Chris was a walking ghost for those next few weeks and was overwhelmed by a sense of hopelessness. In the next several days, she spent a lot of time in the Vanport during the day time. The Vanport by day was nothing like the Vanport at night. At night at The Vanport, there were performances and celebrations of performances, a dance of desire, hoped for liberation, and escape. During the day, The Vanport was its opposite a trap for people without lives, a place for people with unsolvable problems who sat around waiting for the parade to start again so that the carnival could take their minds off their bad luck. During the day, the dykes were in a minority but it was still their bar. The rest of the customers were the usual assortment of characters from the skids.

Occasionally, Dody would be there. Little by little Chris got to know the shreds of information that composed Dody's life. Dody had a tough time in her life -- a victim of abuse, she had grown up half on the streets and half in jail. There she had met the love and became completely devoted to her. She had made the decision to stay clean and sober and had waited for her girlfriend to get out. Her girlfriend Lana had not done so well after her parole release. She had become depressed because neither of them could get decent jobs. She turned to hooking in order to pay the rent. The got her back in touch with the drug world and because she was a junkie was quickly using again. Then she started dealing to keep up her habit

One day, Dody was at the Vanport apparently waiting for Chris. She was nursing a beer instead of her usual water or tomato juice and seemed to be both anxious and hesitant. Lana was in big trouble and her parole was about to be revoked. Somehow, the authorities had become aware of Lana's dealing. Dody suspect that there was an informer at the Vanport but the bigger problem was that she had somehow become pregnant and was afraid of the ramifications. If the authorities found out that Lana was pregnant and using, it would be insured that they would keep her in jail even longer. This meant having the baby in jail with the kid taken away from her. Dody was desperate and begged and pleaded for Chris to perform an abortion for Lana. She said that Chris was the only one she trusted and with her medical background Lana would be in danger that with a \$500 back alley abortionist. Chris protested rather vehemently but seeing how desperate Dody had become finally decided to

take the risk. Dody offered her a rather large sum of money but Chris said that she ought to keep the money and that she was just helping out. Much to the three women's relief, the abortion was clean and went ahead without complications. Dody soon made a decision to move to the country and try to make a home. Lana only served a short sentence. Shortly after Dody left the city, Chris received a small package in the mail stuffed full of \$100 bills. A note from Dody explained that she wished that Chris would use the money because she wanted no part of it. Chris didn't know what to do with it but decided to hang on to it. She threw it in the back of her closet.

THE DRUG SCENE

Chris was getting more and more known as someone a person could take her troubles to at the Vanport. Even though things were often out of her grasp, she presented herself as a person who took charge of the events around her. People gravitated to her. It had not been long after her loss of the exalted position as truck driver and people would not forget. But she had a persona of someone who would take risks. One day not long after Chris' fall from social grace and shortly after her successful assistance to Dody and Lana, she was in her usual spot at the Vanport. Craig sat down beside her. She had seen Craig move around the crowds both day and night at the Vanport and was not at all comfortable with this direct attention. Something about him said to her that he was a snake in the grass, that she would have to handle him with kid gloves.

When Craig started to talk, Chris tried to seem interested but was careful. After a short period of small talk, he brought up Chris' relationship to Dody and Lana. Chris acknowledged their friendship as casually as she could while keeping Craig talking. He presented himself as a guy who could make things happen. It was not soon after some small talk that he presented her with the deal that he had in mind. He wanted her to find Lana's drug supplier and invest in a large quantity purchase. He offered to make himself the street dealer thereby taking most of the risk. Chris would only have to make the one buy and then Chris would sell the stuff on the street splitting the profit 50/50. He suggested that she could use some of that money that Dody had left her. He knew about the money.

Although Craig's was slightly cool and slightly threatening, the truth of the matter was that he was not very smart nor careful. Chris realized that this character knew way more than he should have had about Dody, Lana, and herself. This worried her. Aside from the cross dressing and her sexual preference, the abortion had been the only time that she had seriously strayed on the wrong side of the law. For the moment, she thought she would agree to go along with his scheme hoping to have some questions answered in the process. He suggested that she should carry a gun and gave her a .38 revolver - a Smith & Weston Special.

It was not long before Craig was deep in debt with Chris because instead of selling the drugs on the streets, he and his hustler boyfriend were using Chris as a free ride for their habits. Craig's boyfriend was a street-wise kid and yet had moments of panic. He did not trust Craig and was worried about his double crossing deals. His panic was getting so extreme that he constantly nagged Craig warning that those street dykes would be pretty scary. He reminded Craig that both their lives were in danger if any of those Vanport dykes found out that he was a snitch. Craig's habit was so out of control that he would have sold his grandmother. He knew that Craig was into Chris for at least \$2,000 and kept on screaming at him about where he thought he was going to get that kind of money and that he was tired of hustling to pay Craig's debts. Craig assured him that had a plan. Craig had learned through the grapevine that

beside the revolver he had given her, Chris had also secured a colt 45 automatic for herself. Craig said that he thought she was such a stupid dyke that she wouldn't know that he had found out and now this gave him the perfect opportunity to kill the bitch with her own gun. He reached for the phone to set up the final meeting with Chris.

AT HOME

Things were not going well on the home scene for Chris. Judy was getting more and more concerned about Chris' secretiveness and felt that it might be time for them to split up. She did not like the way that Chris was wound up tighter than a drum. They argued incessantly about how much time Chris was spending away from home without any explanation or apology. Judy became obsessed with house cleaning during when she fumed about the lack of communication with Chris. It was during straightening the drawers that Judy discovered the two guns side-by-side lying across Chris' jockey short. Judy started at the guns for a moment and then stormed out to the kitchen where Chris was sullenly staring at the phone. Judy was completely fed up and told Craig that this was more than she could deal with and told Chris that she would be leaving her immediately. Chris panicked and grabbed Judy pleading with her to stay. Chris said that she had things set up so that would be the night when things would come to an end.

Judy sternly demanded that Chris let go of her arm and the phone rang suddenly. The flight ended when Chris let go in order to answer the phone and made arrangements to meet Craig for the final pay off. Judy despairing, flung herself on the bed sobbing and then fell asleep.

THE LOOKOUT POINT

Chris' Ford Galaxy slowly crept up the mountain side. Typical for an August evening in Vancouver, there was a light sprinkling of rain. But Chris kept the top down on the convertible in her nervous need to be totally aware. When she arrived at the lookout, hardly any words had been exchanged between Craig and her as it seemed that both had locked each other in their sights. Craig growled "gimme your gun." We want to pull a couple of practice rounds." Chris handed Craig her automatic with the safety on and carefully observed his shaking hands as he fumbled clumsily with the gun mechanics. Craig opened the car door and stood on the runner as he tried to take aim at a trash barrel not more than five yards away. It took three shots before a ping filled the air announcing that he had found this mark. Suddenly, he leapt off the car spun around and aimed the gun at Chris but before his feet hit the gravel, a single shot rang out from the small .38 hat appeared from nowhere into her hand.

MIS/IDENTIFICATIONS

Poor Judy, even she had no idea what went through her head when the police phone her that they had found her husband's body apparently the victim of foul play. The terms "husband" and "body" were enough for her to suspect what had happened. By the time it came to identify her "husband's" body, she had come to the realize that she had to do it to protect Chris. Shortly after the charade of a funeral, she went back to the small town in Texas where she was born. Judy quietly lived the rest of her life protected as the family spinster with a dark but unexplained past.

Yes, Chris had killed Craig even though it was horrible and against everything that she believed in. Technically, it would have been considered self-defense, if she wasn't a dyke. The police would never have let her get away with it. They would have made sure that did a lot of prison time for manslaughter.

Chris was relieved that she had been so thorough and had taken the trouble of getting the male identity papers including a forged marriage certificate. She simply switched her wallet with Craig's and stuffed the body in the trunk of her car which was registered with the ID in that wallet. That took care of the coroner and the city police.

What Chris had found out about Craig is that he and his dependency on heroine was being used by the RCMP so spy on the lesbian and gay communities. It was still illegal to be a practising homosexual in 1965. The RCMP were heavily involved in prying into as many private lives as they could administratively handling during those times. They used Vancouver's large population of gays and lesbians as a pretext to expand their domestic surveillance operations. Their rational was that any prominent citizen or government employee that was `queer' was susceptible to communist blackmail. Bull dykes were a particularly easy spectre to invoke. Homosexuals were easy to scapegoat and provided the numbers that the police could never provide in their vain searches for communist spies. Chris also found out that Craig had run the same double cross game on Lana and was behind her more recent spate of troubles.

Dody had heard what had happened to Chris and drove into town to collect her from one of the more radical safe houses. They spent some time keeping each other company talking things out until Lana got out of jail. After that, neither of them ever uttered a word about those events. Chris visited Vancouver rarely and visited the Vanport only once or twice out of curiosity. All her old friends were still there, as they would be until time it was torn down, but to them she had become invisible, an enigma and she remained that way. Chris' fictitious death had turned her into a monster and she appeared as a ghost in one of the key public places that she used to think of as hers. But she had acted out a spectacle on a stage without an exit point. In the eyes of her old friends at the Vanport, the dead man was a woman. She was forfeited her community in order to survive. Unlike Jerry and Antoinette, she was to be there alone and cut out of her own community.

The butch dykes in those days took a lot of responsibility for their communities both sexually and politically. They often acted not in their own best interests but for the safety of others long before people had feminist and socioeconomic analyses. This dyke loyalty came with the turf. It had been shown to them as the only way to be butch. This loyalty is still written on the faces of older dykes and is easy to read if you know what you are looking for. Those women got their scars from battles that are hard to imagine now that no one has to.

In many ways, the strategies employed by lesbians in this bar culture diverged significantly from lesbian feminism that was soon to follow. The earlier movement was primarily working-class whereas lesbian feminism was strongly influenced by early middle-class notions of the need for lesbian acquisition of private space -- as almost a prerequisite for expanded communal and erotic expression. In the nineteen fifties and nineteen sixties, race (non-european) and marginal space were twinned more transparently. Through highlighting and confronting the disparities experienced by non-white non-heterosexual women, dyke bar culture set the stage for lesbian feminism especially in highlighting the difficulties of working with men in such highly pressurized zones of discard. Most importantly, these early mappings of expanding lesbian visibility and placemaking in Vancouver emphasize the need for assertion and resistance to misogyny -- even when disrupting the compromises necessary for the existence of such early women's space.

Historical mapping 4:

Narratives of (gendered) housing and (queer) neighbourhoods

Gender continues to play the central role in determining the nature of the lesbian and gay enclaves and neighbourhoods in the city. The second determinant in the dynamics of these neighbourhoods is class but economic disparities remain very much rooted in gender, race, ethnicity, language, and age. Access to services oriented to gay men and lesbians has almost an ancillary role in how neighbourhoods form and change. In looking at Vancouver's West End and Commercial Drive, we explore the role of the availability of affordable housing, services -- particularly for children, and entertainment in neighbourhood formation. In the following interviews on gender and sexuality in these two neighbourhoods, conducted in the mid-nineteen nineties, we attempt to move beyond the spatial dichotomies of poor women with children (Commercial Drive) and single affluent males focused on eroticized entertainment (West End) while recognizing that the respective social disparities are far from disappearing. In 1997, lesbians are increasingly moving back to the West End, often moving into the deteriorating apartments formerly the abodes of gay men, after thirty years of relative deterritorialization while gay men with children are moving on to "The Drive" reiterating patterns pioneered by women two decades ago. The following fragments of interviews, and articles where indicated otherwise, create a narrative of gendered and eroticized neighbourhoods -- of difference, indifference, conflict, and potential alliances around public sites.

i. the West End

"We're not as gay-active as a lot of our friends... We're really bad at that. We never go out, or we very rarely go out. It's like the running joke with our friends! If we go out twice in a row, it's amazing!... probably most of the things we do are in the West End. But not so strongly gay-related, though."

"I don't drink very much, I'm not sure if I'm terrified or intimidated by the bars and the clubs and all that [in the West End], so we don't go to them at all — I'm gonna be a lousy interview! [laughs] No experience!"

"There's a lot of men moving into this neighbourhood [The Drive], now, cause they're trying to get away from the West End image. If you're not one of these guys who goes out every night, and is just wanton with their sexuality and so forth, you know... Like we have a guy living downstairs, he's gay, and he's not like that at all: he's very home-body, he's not a blatant fag, and he wouldn't wanna live down there with all that hype."

"in the 70s, it was more of, well, you felt safe [in the West End], it was really a safety thing. And it was really, really tough to go live out in the suburbs and have this huge secret, and you were faced every day with people saying, "Why aren't you married? I've got this wonderful daughter for you to meet!", and blah, blah, blah. So there was a real big thing of that where you got away from it down here. So they moved here to get away and to escape and live in this little fantasy world that everybody tried to create. Whereas now, you know, nobody wants that fantasy world, they wanna be settled in suburbs and have more real things around them, so We think that's more the attraction."

"what's happening in the West End, is it's getting more and more expensive to live here. we think in the next 5 to 10 years it'll become a mini-Manhattan: only the very wealthy will be able to live here... we mean, we don't think it's an exaggeration, if you look at what's happening right now there's like super-luxurious condominiums infiltrating just sort of in the heart of that whole area of Beach [Avenue]."

"I actually don't really appreciate the fact that there's so many gay people around [in the West End]. That doesn't... it's not a really big deal, for me, I'd actually rather have a more mixed community. we just find it tiresome after a while. You know, it'll like, you walk down the street, and you feel like you're on... you've been commodified, let's say. Like everybody has to have a certain look, and everybody has to have a certain classification, and it gets tedious."

ii. Commercial Drive

"I [a lesbian] like that it's very diverse [with] a lot of diverse communities that tolerate each other pretty well. It is a pretty queer area, as well as mixed with some really odd conservative communities, and that seems to work in some weird way. But, you know, I've had people...I've walked down the Drive with my girlfriend, and had someone mock-shoot me from across the road, and, you know, it's definitely there. But we like that it feels pretty safe to be out. It feels pretty safe to walk around with kids."

"I just, we like this neighbourhood [The Drive] out here, it's just more relaxed, not so pretentious. More cultures, different cultures, culturally diverse."

"Seems like such a colourful area [The Drive], we mean, you know, you've got your Italian mammas walking down the street, you've got your real rubby-dub types, you've got your bull-dykes that you wouldn't wanna meet on a dark night. Then you've got your trendy young kids that you wouldn't know whether they're straight or gay, or who they are, then you've got two women walking down holding hands."

"it's not like we're segregated from the mainstream or anything [on The Drive]. We don't feel like outsiders or fringe-dwellers — we're just another minority, like so many others who live in this neighbourhood. No better and no worse" cxxxix.

"I think when a lot of women started living here [The Drive] it was because the rent was really affordable and nobody wanted to live in the east end and it was kind of whatever, you know it wasn't a really trendy spot to live and so rent was really affordable."

"My gut feeling is, women moved into this neighbourhood [The Drive] 'cause, let's be honest, women don't make as much as men, especially not ten or twenty years ago, and they can't afford rents downtown. Plus women have kids and they want their kids to be able to run around."

"It just so happens a lot of us just don't make much money so we congregate [near The Drive] where it's cheaper to live, and we live in two or three bedroom houses, we share accommodations. Basically that's why...the one bedrooms are a lot more affordable in this neighbourhood as well and there are children."

"I could always swing more money, but we didn't really want to. The rent is really reasonable out here, but it's also, it's Commercial [Drive]. We know a lot of people here, and because I'm on my bike it's hard for me to go all over the city to see my friends, if that was the case. But it just so happens we're all here."

"there's just hundreds of people that we know in this area [The Drive]. In fact, whenever you go to do anything that's lesbian-oriented, like the other day we was trying to find a gym — I've joined a new softball team this summer, and I've never met any of these women before, most of them we hadn't met, and we said we would go about finding a gym. we didn't have to find out where anybody lived, we just found a gym in this neighbourhood, because we know half the team is gonna live in this neighbourhood."

page 42

"I mean, Delaney's [gay-popular café in the West End], you know, that's sort of... we mean, and if you go there, the time to go there is Saturday morning, bright sunny summer's day, and everybody is there! [laughs] And everybody's having their five-dollar coffees, and everybody looks really great! we think it's just a total scene"

"[I do] most of my socialising up here [on The Drive]. We think everybody lives in the neighbourhood. There's one [friend] who lives in the West End who's moving to the East End. Generally speaking, in this area. The people we hang out with all live in this area... One thing best about my neighbourhood, would be all the dykes who hang out here, totally. You can walk up the street and you're pretty much guaranteed to run into somebody that you know."

"in 1980, We was a hippie and we lived in a Kits commune, 'cause that's where all the health food stores, hippie bookstores and all that were at that time. But we got tired of living out there, and we was involved in the feminist movement at the time so we was out here [on Commercial Drive] quite a bit. So we started looking for a women's commune around here, and eventually moved into one with a friend of mine."

"it wasn't until we guess the summer of '91 when we came into town [from Burnaby] to meet some people, a lesbian couple actually, to dog-sit for them, they were going away, another friend of mine knew them from before...so we came out and met them and they were fine, and that was cool. So we went and stayed there for about a month, a couple of weeks a month something like that. And just talking with them, they had me over for dinner, just talking with them and what-not, and we think they knew that we were dykes before we did, cause "gotta move you into the city, get your bags girl and RUN! There'll be no going BACK! We'll move you into the EAST END! And Blah, blah..' So, it's like, alright then. They were pretty instrumental in getting me into the [Commercial Drive part of] the city, for sure."

"it wasn't like there was any kind of even a community [in the West End in the nineteen seventies], no place for the gays to go... we would say that the biggest change in all of that, where guys would come out and meet each other and be openly gay in the West End really came about with the coffee places and gyms...more non-alcoholic places. we would say Little Sister's [gay book store] probably had a big thing to do with [it]."

"it's a very comfortable neighbourhood [The Drive] even though we have a lot of Italians and the machismo and all that, that you have to deal with as well. It's still very comfortable:

people can just be who they wanna be and they won't look twice at you for being who you are."

"The Italians are still here [on The Drive], which is wonderful, cause without them...They add...it's a real neighbourhood community with them here. They're really, like, 'this is my home', and they wouldn't let anything terrible happen... These guys [next door] are great. My roommate calls them professional Italians... They're always bringing over their Italian things. She teaches me how to make lasagna."

iii. neighbourhood divergences

"I was actually surprised when you were associating gay men with the West End, and dykes with the East End, cause we know a lot of fags in the East End, and a lot of dykes in the West End... we know of one [West End] building in particular where my partner lives which is managed by dykes and the whole building is full of dykes! And they're not the power-suited gay women, you know, they're like East End dykes, but they live in the West End."

"I think it's dangerous for gay men, they've got to learn to — and women — to move away from the community just a little bit [in both the West End and on The Drive]. Sometimes they get too involved and everything becomes, gay becomes the primary issue in their lives, and that doesn't make any sense to me: it's just part of life."

"I've been, pretty much for all my adult life, until very recently, I've been pretty much anti-community: I'm a person first, and my sexual preference doesn't make me different from other people in any sense, and that's just the way that we am, is a person first."

"I have a feeling though that there's a lot of women out there like Mandy and we just wanna live a nice normal life, and you wanna go somewhere where you're not hassled and all. You just wanna go to work and do your job, and maybe do your bit for society, like volunteer here, and do that, but you're not really interested in the more militant lifestyle where you're walking around with the big t-shirt with no bra and a big slogan! Like, it's just not me. And we also don't think that if we want society to accept us as just another part of society, then why do we have to act differently? We should just be melding in, and it's just a fact of life. Right now, it seems to me, in the papers and everything that doing anything with gay people it's all trendy. It's almost trendy to be gay. I'm just waiting for the trendiness to wear off, and all the people that got educated during the trendy phase are all just gonna think, "well, so what, the girls next door are gay?"

This more contemporary set of mappings illustrates divergence in social experience along lines of gender, sensibilities, consumerism and access to services in contrast to the earlier relationships to criminality. Differences that emerge here are as much between the experiences and directions of various queer networks as between the still relatively heteronormative state and sexual minorities. But the issues and discourses described so casually are nonetheless highly spatialized and historical and could lead to intensified contests over social resources.

Why bother constructing the beginnings of these heavily historicized maps? How to these "maps," when they are spatialized, have any relationships to the situations and imperatives for design and planning interventions of today? Certainly, there is a historic continuity of homophobia and opportunism around such bigotry, that must be confronted as a prerequisite

to civic interventions, a history that sometimes dwarves movements of sexual emancipation. There is also a spotty discontinuity of organized resistance to homophobia. Perhaps, most importantly, there is a continuity, though often this, of assertion of homoeroticism and homocommunalities. With these four mappings of urban space across historical moments, with their dissonant narratives, we can find the beginnings, the mappings of maps. These descriptions are of collectivities more substantial than just "cliques" and networks and other less unitary than over idealized and romanticized communities. And out of these relatively site-specific queer tensions and communalities can emerge more authentic coalitions with measured priorities -- some of which could involve placemaking.

6

From mapping to environmental planning

"A map of the world that does not include utopia is not even worth glancing at." Oscar Wilde

Maps and certainly not mappings of cognitive maps are not plans and certainly are not designs. But in the postmodern era, cognitive maps increasingly function to mediate between politicized social priorities and de facto design programs. In some ways, transmissions of cognitive maps, in their various forms from cartographic sketches, to written material, to photographs, and to video, are replacing more nakedly instrumental and technocratic forms of planning. Cognitive mapping is often associated with participatory and more democratic planning processes though the opposite can just as well be true. And the audience of a cognitive map can just as well be voyeuristic, especially with sexual minorities, than empathetic or respectful. While a range of cognitive maps can highlight difference and conflict, the management of cognitive mapping can effect more sophisticated forms of censorship -- particularly of the experiences of marginalized groups and the more marginalized of these groups.

What are the opportunities afforded by cognitive mapping for plans and designs around public space -- in the many areas where specific networks and alliances of sexual minorities are constructing environmental interests? The public spaces of sexual minorities have always been a battleground between reiteration and internalization of colonial and imperial patriarchy versus challenges to it and to new social experiences. Our stance is that even today's queer aftermath of "the gay community," and the institutionalization of lesbian feminism^{cxxxii} and gay liberation, is more conservative and either allied or complacent with internationalizing capital than most of us would like to think - at least in Vancouver. We note Rosalyn Deutsche's argument that,

"Conflict, division, and instability, then, do not ruin the democratic sphere; they are the conditions of its existence,"^{cxxxiii}

and see many of the functional exclusions involving various internalized lines of "masculinism" as forms of "social authority"^{cxxxiv}.

The communities that we see today are not often particularly free or egalitarian and the purporting that it is something profoundly different is more about marketing strategies than reality. We further argue that the construction of a "space" for political and social controversy, long an anathema to more conservative and affluent gay men, is the major

achievement of over a century of queer communalities in Vancouver. Deutsche has argued for a democratic culture where publicness is related to both freedom to assert experiences in public and to be contentious where,

"How we define public space is intimately connected with ideas about what it means to be human, the nature of society, and the kind of political community we want. Where there are sharp divisions over these ideas, on one point nearly everyone agrees: supporting things that are public promotes the survival and extension of democratic culture."cxxxv

For lesbians, gay men, the transgendered, and other sexual minorities, the extent and topography of this space has been severely constrained first by "the state" cxxxvi and secondly by patterns of capitalist expansion, thirdly by colonialism, and finally by not-so-subtle misogyny, racism, and cultural chauvinism that influenced the formation of and persists in the networks of white and anglocentric, gay men that often purport to the "the gay community."

Like other forms of language, maps and the means with which they are constructed, have direct relationships to human impacts on those environments. Aspects of mapping relate to past, current, and subsequent territorializations and other social modifications. Yet even in radical or critical geography, it is not always easy to highlight the underlying power relationships that link environmental decision-making to cartographies and inventories. It remains difficult just to conceive of alternative cartographies that disrupt frameworks of environmental decision-making dominated by capital -- and to construct alternative rationalities of space, people, and resources.

In identifying specific queer interests and stakeholders through divergences in maps, no matter how displaced and deterritorialized are respective groups, we can trace some trajectories that could take us from maps to plans to specific designs. But rather than essentialized notions of sexualities, communalities, marginalities or even theoretical unities, the previous mappings emphasize divergence and opportunities for alliances. But even notions of provisional alliances can still be imbued with persistent biases such as gender (male), colonial (white, anglophile) and cultural (eurocentric, North American) dominance. Cognitive mapping is no panacea for developing democratic and locally based civic politics in the postmodern era. But if we do not use cognitive maps to identify divergence, we lose a major opportunity, in an information and image-intensive economy, to more authentically respect and to creatively respond to social conflict. In the new century upon us, notions and functions of "community" and public space will increasingly shift away from bland resolutions, based on mute compromises, to means to recognize and more respectfully respond to indefinite social conflict at a range of scales from the closet to the building, to the landscape and neighbourhood, to metropolitan areas.

What follows are four examples of queerscape architecture involving different spatial and temporal scales and intended permanence. Such project involve different client and stakeholder groups which inevitably include heterosexual as well as homosexual, bisexual, and transgendered "functions" for women and men. And such interests and underlying identifications involve historically and location specific notions of essential versus constructed queer networks.

By presenting four historicized mappings and four historical projects, We purposely provide a jumble that only indirectly links collective experiences to design interventions. There can be no direct connections, pure and linear, between queer maps, plans, and designs. All of these "phases" in placemaking are mediated by politics and aesthetics. Given the range of experiences and political alliances, in a city so inherently diverse as Vancouver -- so profoundly dissonant, it may well that take many decades for queer experiences to be concretized by the time of which they too have metamorphosed synergistically in terms of difference and inevitable social conflict as derived from gender, class, and culture - to name but a few dynamics. All four of these examples will involve decisions around access, security, aesthetics, and transmissions of cultural and historical information but actual queer designs, if they are ever further articulated, are very much "up for grabs."

Plan 1

Locating the AIDS Memorial

If there were any doubts about whether there was still homophobic resistance to sexual minorities taking up more public space in Vancouver, the raucous debate in 1996 about the proposed location of the AIDS Memorial, in Ceperley Park at the southeastern edge of Stanley Park, confirmed the worst.

Considering ways to control homosexual contact were not far from the minds of the politicians and managers of public areas particularly parks, since the first decades after the Parks Board's inception in 1881. But planning as the conscious shaping of public environments by forces other than by capital and individual opportunity -- including those engaged in homophobic practices, that bodies of interventions today labelled landscape architecture and the city planning that emerged from it, was a long way off in Vancouver. The nascent city government was never ever able to effectively constrain homosexuality in its "open space" until the second half of the twentieth century -- either through planning and design or through police repression. For example, it was not until 1920 that the city had a legal framework, under the provincial Municipal Act for zoning . The first planning commissions for the city in 1925 were undoubtedly aware that their decisions were having implications for regulation of gender, racial, and erotic aspects of Vancouver life.

Organizing for an AIDS memorial for Vancouver began in 1995 with perhaps a somewhat naïve vision of how park planning and management had become in the city. Several lesbians and gay men had been even elected to the Parks Board since the mid-nineteen eighties. With the AIDS memorial, the emphasis had been on choosing a concept first and imposing it on a site second. And there would probably have been problems even if the most enlightened site planning and design process had been employed. A jury that included high modernist and gay architect Arthur Erickson selected a 60 foot long undulating metal fence for a quiet, forested area in Stanley Park near a historic but less current cruising area . The names of people whom had died of AIDS were to be perforated through the metal . The light from the sea would filter through trees and softly work through the holes in the metal.

Stanley Park, the most emblematic city park in Canada, became a focus of social conflicts in Vancouver, including those around sexualities, as early as the eighteen nineties. In the subsequent decades, the park was to take on an almost mythic role in both the landscape and erotic iconography of Canadian gay men and as a centre for homosexual outlaws. While the numbers of participants and the locations of these encounters has only been partly

reconstructed, the extensiveness of the public sex on Lees Trail was being discussed openly in the early nineteen seventies . It was not until the nineteen sixties that a problem began to be identified by the police. But after two decades of gay activism against police harassment and entrapment, the homoeroticization of parts of Stanley Park is still contentious both for the states and the "public" of the metropolitan region that stretches to relatively conservative suburbs.

Soon after the elected Parks Board approved the project with reservations , the location of the memorial became a major civic issue and The Friends of Stanley Park opposed the location of the memorial.

"it's not a question of homophobia...it's a question of keeping the park in as natural a state as possible."

Was homophobia was largely behind this latent interest in the ecological and representational "carrying capacity" of Stanley Park? Partially as there was little specific discussion of ecological impacts. Supporters of the monument were soon wondering why a small, thin memorial was being targeted in a park with so many roads and serious environmental degradation . What was particularly homophobic was the effective equation of AIDS with people associated with gay men, ignoring the trajectory of the pandemic with increasing numbers of heterosexual women, with a threat to the natural integrity of the park .

But the Ceperley Park site that was originally proposed by the designers, was not adequately reviewed by the AIDS Memorial Project (VAMP) and had some basic problems. None of the individuals on the winning team had much serious experience with site planning and especially in working in natural areas. The jury was not better prepared for blending a concept and a design with an already existing place -- especially in an area well-established for conflicts between sexual outlaws and homophobic officials. For example, aside from a small handful of exceptions, most notably the UBC Anthropology Museum, high modernist Erickson was better known for obliterating the naturalness and "sense of place" of sites rather than working with them. The site was adjacent to a parking lot and a major road that often saw successions of large tourist tour buses. This was not a terribly intimate space for grieving nor was it sufficiently large as to allow public mourning such as for the hundreds who come out for the annual candlelight vigil. The closest public transportation would have been four blocks. While the sixty foot screen could have been undulated around trees, it was unclear whether trees would have to be cut. The long memorial would have disrupted circulation, created an effective barrier in an area which is also highly vulnerable to bashing. But with all of these problems and even with the prospects of having to cut down a few young trees, the memorial would not have had any significant negative impact on natural habitat. The one major ecological change from the memorial would have been to bring in more people to the park - many of whom are gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered and whom are increasingly interested in asserting their presence in a park that is iconographic of the shift from underground to activist queer spaces.

After a telephone "poll" organized by a conservative television station -- a week before the November 1996 municipal election , the Parks Board, voted to withdraw support for the location of the memorial . In backing down from support for Stanley Park location for the memorial, the chairman of the Board noted that

'Stanley Park is a place with almost spiritual resonance to Vancouver' .

Caving in to a notion that a memorial to people who had died in STD-related pandemic, or perhaps the survivors, were less spiritual. Even the two members of the Parks Board from the leftish COPE bowed to pressures to change the location in favour of one day having public hearings . Both of these individuals were not re-elected. And none of the alternative sites initially discussed, such as Nelson Park and the square at the new public library, would have been intimate space for grieving . Within many networks of West End gay males, there emerged considerable antipathy towards Park Board members, especially the gay and lesbian members, who backed down . After the controversy died down, the Parks Board worked hard to look like it had not caved in to homophobia. In large part because of the criticism that the Parks Board might have been swayed by homophobia, it commissioned guidelines for proposing any new public art in Stanley Park . By mid-1997, VAMP was again proposing the Ceperley Park site, with its mottled light filtered through lovely and non-native woodland -- a site whose ecological integrity was compromised long before the proposal of an additional of thin sheet of metal. And consistent with the new guidelines, three other, far less dramatic though perhaps more contemplative sites, are also being considered .

Where will Vancouver's AIDS memorial be located? Hopefully the decision will be made in late 1997. The lack of a home, a logic for location, is probably the most important indication of the unresolved status of the city's response to this pandemic. The Ceperley Park location would provide an iconographic site with light shimmering off the sea and through the sea filtered through the sheets of metal -- but there would be scant intimacy and questionable access and security. Perhaps this is all the public space that can be requisitioned in the present era. But will the site be enough to provide a "space" to grieve, heal, and regroup? Many different groups and interests will inevitably answering this question, on their own terms, in the coming years and months.

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Plan 2

Acknowledging sex work in public space

More than most cities in North America, Vancouver was built on and around brothels and street prostitution, and regular waves of reaction against it. Vancouver is also exceptional in that it has a well-defined site of street prostitution for males with the "hustlers," of the rapidly gentrifying, Yaletown neighbourhood of downtown Vancouver increasingly squeezed. After being forcibly moved from a site a score of blocks to the west along Davie, a number of male prostitutes angrily spoke out in 1993 saying that they were not willing to be moved any further. While there is a problem around space for male prostitution, women remain vulnerable to violence from johns, with a disproportionate amount directed at Native women . Harassment by neighbourhood residents has intensified to the point where new proposals for the condoning and design of limited public space for "sex work" are being given more consideration. In the nineteen nineties, we have seen proposals from activists such as Jamie Lee Hamilton and the Mayor's Prostitution Task Force to license prostitutes as "street vendors" working in well-defined and well-lit streets and parks .

On the cusp of the small historic Yaletown district and Downtown Vancouver South , there is an extensive streetscape of male prostitution on and leading off from Homer Street. Two blocks away is a small, separate site for male transvestites who charge roughly twice as the "boys" on Homer. To the north, is the last major corner of female prostitution in the downtown core. Expanded urban design guidelines are need for housing and adjacent streets

and open space especially for gentrifying downtown neighbourhoods. Regardless of the contentious history and future of prostitution on the streets of Vancouver, new and renovated buildings need more care in planning and design decisions where there are persistent contests over the space around the entrances, side walks, and adjacent open space. From the standpoint of community diversity, there is also a problem with street prostitution dominating public space and thus discourages the presence of more vulnerable pedestrians. For most people, "prostitution parks" are repugnant but there are a growing number of proposals for Vancouver that are entertaining these possibilities.

Another model is based on the idea that there is "dead" or vacated space and that marginalized groups are simply being pushed into that vacuum. But this does not provide a clear basis for looking at responses to being "squeezed" into smaller and smaller areas and the edges between neighbourhoods. In this model, better design of such dysfunctional public and semi-public space would not necessarily preclude prostitution but would keep it from dominating open space and access to housing. This project will explore the planning and design strategies for controlling the negative impacts of male street prostitution on adjacent housing.

How can the problems of street presence of male prostitutes for local residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods be averted or corrected by more careful location and design of housing as related to such architectural elements as entrances, windows, car parks, security systems, plantings, and outdoor fixtures? How can problems created by male prostitutes for local residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods be averted or corrected by more careful design of streetscapes and public open space in terms of neighbourhood zoning, programming, layout, circulation, plantings, parking, and fixtures. How can the design review frameworks already developed and used by the Vancouver police, to minimize vulnerability to crime, be adapted and augmented to consider social comfort levels of local residents and for equal access to public open space?

Plan 3

(Re)designing Wreck Beach

Many people who read this description of Wreck will probably dismiss it for its exceptional qualities: one part other worldly and another of an earthy, homosexual 'theme' 'park' set in the "Lotus Land" of which eastern Canadians often envision Vancouver. But Wreck actually represents a cluster of poorly explored opportunities for communality and erotic expression, not to mention for enjoying and restoring critical habitat in an urban context, that are too important to be relegated to the anachronistic mythologies of sexual geography. To illustrate the uneasy balance of forces that have allowed nudity and queer communality, ones that have also perpetuated the lower status of women in the enjoyment of this landscape, We want to describe a narrative of archetypic encounters that maintains the underlying social 'matrix' of this "oasis."

Wreck Beach is contested territory in many different ways. The nature of how various conflicts interact and predominate over particular periods of time shape aspects of the landscape and can both constrain and expand the dialogues embodied in land management, new environmental planning, and subsequent design responses. Recently, the formal managers of the land, the GVRD, have established a "Partnership Project" that, so far, has involved very little input from the gay males who are the large majority of the users of the area. There are still many people who are thinking of ways to discourage nudity and public

sexual contact albeit even that which is relatively discreet. In this context, strong 'gay' input into decision-making on this land appears necessary but a long way off.

Park management and site plans, and other 'designs', involve but one set of tactics and techniques in queerscape architecture. Design processes, as interventions by specific groups, in landscapes as contested as those of Wreck are never neutral even when they purport to be "compromises." In natural environments, such as these, the extent of the social conflict is often more apparent in the processes around "public input," the designs, and the de facto priorities of every day land management than in the provincial and municipal rhetoric of equal access, conservation of biological diversity, and the recent shift to finally settle land claims first articulated in the nineteenth century.

The Musqueam Nation continues to claim some of the Wreck area as part of its ancestral territory. The Musqueam have never signed a treaty extinguishing their title. Whatever interventions that are made in this landscape either support or detract from the mounting pressures for final resolution about legal title. In the not-too-distant future, the Musqueam may well take back nominal control of the area that includes the more southerly beaches or at least will start making a presence to protect traditionally owned gathering areas and sacred sites - not that these aspects of the landscape are being damaged by directly by sex. A fuller Musqueam presence might include distribution of educational material and prohibitions on presence of recreation if cultural observances on those sites were re-established. And many of the emerging First Nations governments on the British Columbia coast increasingly charge user fees for access to beaches on traditional lands. Such a trend contributing to semi-privatization of 'public' recreational lands is fairly consistent with federal and provincial policies.

Another sort of political environmental problem, that designs will eventually be developed to address, is the lack of recognition of the south end as a crucial gay male 'public' space. The assumption by "liberals," including professionals associated with the Greater Vancouver Regional District and activists in the Wreck Beach Preservation Society, seems to be that naked men are all equal except when they have erections together.

In this weak logic, once they are aroused collectively, as opposed to strutting as heterosexuals around the main area, they become variations of "perverts" and deserve less rights to have "a say" in how these areas are managed. This pernicious form of homophobia has been indirectly supported by certain sex-negative positions in feminism, that erroneously tied male homoeroticism to exclusions of women, misogyny, and child abuse. While the political questions just described provide some kind a guide to beginning to address inequities in the distribution of resources, specific decisions about often rapidly degrading sites must be made week after week. The matrices already described for important gay male sites and routes can be expanded beyond vulnerabilities to human activities to identification of options, for management and redesign, which at the very least do not function to continue to re-enforce the inequities of colonialism, patriarchy, and homophobia.

In beginning to imagine how to reconstruct this queerscape, for equity and diversity, a few possibilities emerge. A concentrated lesbian presence in one of the gay male nodes would probably make the territory less of a men's club. Such a regular women's presence would require considerable organizing for lesbians formed expressly for such activities as nudity, sunbathing, nature appreciation, outdoor meditation, or even public sex. And such activities

at the south end of Wreck may never be a priority for many women especially if there are alternative beaches available that did not have numerous exposed phalluses. Given the persistence of violence against women in public parks, the undergrowth along the trails will remain problematic. Development of a fuller lesbian presence at Tower Beach, to the north, may be preferable for some women. This would create a queer counter point to the gay male-dominated south end of Wreck Beach - margins on either margin of the heterosexual central beach. This Tower Beach option might be more less costly, in terms of organizing, than a new Amazonia at the south end of Wreck Beach and probably would involve less confrontations with `dicks'.

In terms of management of landscape values, limits may be necessary for trampling and trail expansion and might involve signage and even some fencing with local materials. But any reduction or fossilization of this ever changing maze would have negative impacts on enjoyment including erotic expression. A yearly map outlining the various "scenes" along the beaches and trails might be amusing but within months would be out-of-date. There are already efforts under way to collect discarded sexual paraphernalia and other garbage and occasionally pieces of environmental art are temporarily sited.

The following is an outline of possible design and management responses which, when advocated or carried out by grassroots groups, might be considered "interventions." Historically, in landscape architecture, such "design responses" have tended to be reduced to technical and aesthetic questions. But in a less resolved and more contentious arena, such as Wreck, these issues are also indicators of larger, more indefinite social competitions over space and resources. In this sense, "'nature' in the city" refers to highly vulnerable landscape attributes, with variable importance throughout broader society, that could support specific habitat, visual resources, tranquillity, intimacy, communality, and options for erotic contact and expression. Contentions over such relatively subtle qualities in the environment often defy materialist and class analysis though neither can be divorced from the realities of globalizing patterns of capital and power. In the uncertainties of this postmodern condition, the mode of civic politics necessary, to resolve conflicts between competing stakeholders at Wreck, may well come to shape other types of urban public space in the near future.

The following are some of the emerging spatial and design issues, at Wreck, that might warrant some queer forms of research and intervention.

The locations and the conditions of the remaining older trees, that were not logged, along with other more mature vegetation, can be compiled and placed on maps. This information can be used to better inform site planning and management.

Particularly critical forest habitat, such as nesting and roosting sites in large trees, can also be identified and mapped.

The sensitive and relatively rare species in the shore areas can be similarly mapped as well as historical information on the conditions of the beach from before the time of the log booms and trampling from beach users. This can include information on traditional Musqueam plant and animal resources and the important sites for harvesting.

It may be necessary to close some heavily disturbed areas for a few years and to place restrictions on others especially in the case of re-establishing Musqueam gathering and harvesting in the face of increasing recreation.

Eventually, the log storage area, just off-shore, will be removed and the comparative benefits and disadvantages of the breakwater can be assessed. It may be worthwhile to remove or re-engineer this line of piled rock.

Trails 5, 6, and 7 are formally maintained. There are also steep, unmaintained trails between 6 and 7 and south of 7. These minor trails mainly support uses by gay men and, in turn, these activities generate considerable erosion. Formally closing these minor trails would frustrate some drive-by cruising near roads thus favouring people wanting to hike along with mountain bicyclists over automobile drivers. This would, for example, tend to discourage older and less fit gay men and push the balance towards younger, fit, "nature" types. Some trail closures, with possible compromises such as tolerance of car cruising in nearby roadside areas, as a sort of off-set, are worth exploring.

There are a range of contentious issues around trail maintenance. The condition of the trails is an ongoing concern to both users and the GVRD. Many people prefer minimal maintenance but there are major public safety issues and the reality that less maintenance tends to favour the younger and more able. There are also the realities of installation and maintenance costs for a regional authority that has never admitted that sexual politics have anything to do with management of parks.

Because of the steepness of the cliffs and trails, disabled access has never been seriously considered. There have been some proposals for roads and even an elevator but they have never been seriously considered because of the costs involved and the severe environmental damage that would result.

Use of Wreck is increasingly being constrained by the lack of parking places in the vicinity. Increased parking would make it easier for some more affluent groups to have access to the beach particularly people from outlying areas such as Seattle but any more land in asphalt would degrade the remaining "naturalness" of the area.

Public transportation is relatively frequent and safe in the area but there is a complicated, unmarked walk from the main bus depot, especially from the southern primarily gay male beach areas, in the centre of the UBC campus. A more regular service with stops adjacent to trails 5, 6, and 7 will increase access especially for the young, women, and the poor.

On hot summer days, there are often few secure posts and racks for locking bicycles and there is a high left rate. Additional and more secure bicycle racks would make it easier and less risky to take a bicycle favouring people with good bicycles but modest incomes, who are often the young, and people with more expensive bicycles that are often targeted for theft.

There are currently no regular police patrols and no way to contact them except through the odd cellular telephone that might be carried by a passerby. Historically, this lack of state surveillance has been one of the charms of Wreck particularly for gay men engaged in public sex in the day. However, as the number of visitors increases, there are greater risks of

accidents and assaults and more access to emergency services may be necessary. Call boxes might be worthwhile.

There are no street lights below the main road, Marine Drive, and only a few around each of the main trailheads. This lack of lighting has allowed for largely voluntary enforcement of night curfews though illicit parties and camping go on. Because of the steep terrain, the police effectively are not present at night. Increased lighting at the trail heads might increase the use of the area at night and, while cruising might be enhanced, any improvements in security would be negligible.

Given demographic patterns and the cultural awkwardness of concepts of nude beaches, signage languages should include Chinese character, Punjabi, and possibly French.

Signage, for clarifying rules, for environmental education, and for observing sites of cultural and historical significance, is worthwhile as may be options for some environmental art. But this landscape can only 'carry' a certain level of coding before the conflicts in history, use, and interpretation become overwhelming.

Plan 4

Finding space on the edge of the city:

Locating rural refuge

As Vancouver urbanizes, the pressures for rural and resort space, that is welcoming to and that services specific queer networks, will grow. This is consistent with the phenomenon of establishment of lesbian, gay, bisexual and queer resort zones, outside of major metropolitan areas in North America and Europe. But in beginning to locate a rural / resort enclave or enclaves around Vancouver, a number of policy, economic development, and planning questions emerge.

There was a small lesbian community established two decades ago around the bay at the southwestern end of Galiano Island two decades ago -- formed around a community with the celebrated writer, Jane Rule. In the nineteen eighties, the area was hyped for lesbian and gay tourism but today the association of the "scene" is with older lesbians. More recently, some gay men have moved to Salt Spring, Pender, and Denman Islands either for service sector, public assistant, subsistence / artisan, or self-employed "consultant" lifestyles as well as for early retirement. But today, many of the Gulf Islands have become relatively expensive, effectively become affluent suburbs linking Vancouver and Victoria. These once bohemian enclaves are becoming increasingly exclusive especially for people on the margins of the waged economy. The queer networks on the Gulf Islands and Vancouver Island will be barely holding their own against the real estate and housing pressures from other groups -- unless some lower-income-oriented "villages" were currently planned.

As the somewhat over-heated Pacific Canadian economy cools in the coming years, less not more members of sexual minorities will effectively be denied access to the Gulf Islands and the even more exorbitant ski / mountain scenes around Whistler -- especially for the young, women, and New Canadians. In terms of proximity to the Terminal City, emerging rural resort enclaves in adjacent Washington State such as on Orcas Island may be increasingly attractive to homocouverites. Outside of the Gulf Islands and southeastern Vancouver Island, the rest of the Canadian coast is too rainy to attract the numbers of members of specific networks to have sufficient communal and erotic "critical mass." Even as the ozone layer

disintegrates, rainy coolness with trees still involves an acquired aesthetic that has not been yet been found in queer culture. An alternative may be to the east on the other side of the Coast Range in the vacated mining and logging towns with heritage architecture, both sun and snow, and small, cheap lots . For example, the Similkameen area, west of but not far from the rapidly urbanizing Okanagan Valley, has several relatively vacated mining towns, notably Coalmont -- a town north of Princeton described as being all bachelors.

Some planning and design issues also emerge along with questions of location(s).

The kinds of spatial convergence and alliances between lesbians and gay men, as occurred on Fire Island^{xxxvii} north of New York City, may not necessarily be relevant to Vancouver in the coming decades. Different networks of sexual minorities may prefer to continue to discreetly gravitate to different areas. Charting these patterns of "gravitation" will be crucial.

As well as issues of economics and distance, interest in and resonance of aesthetic and heritage values, as derived from cultural landscapes and recent histories, if any, is an intriguing questions especially for different cultural groups.

Trends in the interests in and roles of active recreation and more passive forms of rest and contemplation, both outdoor and more urban, will be central to the formation of these enclaves.

The role of investment in these communities, and the sources of capital, is another unresolved question especially as the trend in Hong Kong-related capital goes into decline.

There are numerous landscape and architectural programming and design issues, especially around ecological factors, in terms of new gay enclaves. Some of these could be quite contentious given the typical high impact resort development that is being seen in British Columbia.

Strategies to define and implement strategies for a range of separatist and integrationist functions involving different queer and heterosexual groups will be necessary.

If these rural communities are not to be dominated by white middle-class gay men, a range of programming and design strategies to minimize the marginalization of a range of queer and less privilege heterosexual groups, particularly for women, families, and children, will be necessary.

7

Conclusions:

Queer place-making as historically rooted social projects

"places like itsy-bitsy pieces of parkland, backrooms in gay bars, and dark and abandoned alleys are not a lot to ask for" Garth Barrier^{xxxviii}

The explosion in discussions of "queer space" and the efforts to modify public and private space to assert or better facilitate acts and identities of erotic alien(n)ations is part of social resistance stretching back to well-before the 1969 Stonewall Riots. Queerings of public space

are not trivial exercises in urban decorum and in many instances are rooted in long-term historical projects for which commercialization and gentrification are relatively negative tangents. It would be essentialist and cultural chauvinist to try to develop a `queer pattern language'^{cxxxix}. Like all social space, that for sexual minorities is constructed. As Vancouver architect Sylvain Bombardier has noted,

"The architecture we have been transforming to adhere to the lifestyle and the culture of the queer community is a valid, alternative way to look at space and buildings. These attributes could translate in the conceptualization of a different environment for our eclectic society to live in."^{cxl}

In Vancouver in the coming decades, it will be necessary to reconstruct notions of planning, design, and management of such areas, to finally confront and remove discriminatory biases, to practice a kind of queerscape architecture which is anti-homophobic, feminist, and sex-positive. Such an activist approach to looking at the landscape could transform much of how public sites and natural areas are used, in effect creating new dialogues such as those envisioned in Debord's radical vision of environmental planning first articulated three decades ago. These heightened perceptions of risk and emergent opportunities involve physical landscapes and other kinds of designed or managed environments, and geographies and space has become a key way to track transactions and to envision a host of new relations. In this essay, We have attempted to outline some of the key social forces and associated environmental factors that currently support and constrain the development and enrichment of queer relations whether they be only between two people as well as networks and communities.

I argue throughout this essay, that cognitive maps, and, more specifically, the nature of competitions between divergent maps -- rooted in social conflict, will have an increasingly dominant role in environmental plans and designs involving sexual minorities -- particularly for strategic public spaces. How can activist geographers and planners use the "sharing" of cognitive maps to nurture the kinds of dialogues that contribute to egalitarian -- particularly in terms of gender, race, and culture, sex-positive, and "democratic" planning? Here are some idea(l)s and means for implementing them.

Some principles for linking queer cognitive maps with activist environmental design

1. The content of all cognitive maps involve contests around sexual and related social expression and often some recognition of and responses to certain outlawed sexualities and groups.
2. The content of all cognitive maps, authored by "queers" or otherwise, also reflect a range of "difference" factors and related inequities in access to and enjoyment of public space, related gender, race, culture, language, and physical ability -- all cumulatively contributing to experiences of class.
3. All cognitive maps reflect some kind of historical experience even if that "reality" largely reflects attempted erasure of collective memory of certain sequences of events.

4. The production and use of cognitive maps always involve anticipated interests and audiences that in turn influences the content of the disclosures.
5. All cognitive maps are fragmentary, incomplete, and represent past experiences as soon as they are produced. But cognitive maps can be added to and expanded producing ongoing narratives of place.
6. Cognitive maps can be produced in clinical contexts, through the production of culture, and as part of input into planning and design.
7. All cognitive maps embody some kind of tension between the producer and the professional user of the disclosed information even when the anticipated audience is unclear to the producer.
8. Production of cognitive maps involves some divergence and disparities in the motives and rewards between producers of the maps and subsequent users of the information.
9. The production of all cognitive maps involve gaps, censorship, and erasure -- with some contexts involving more in disclosure information than others.
10. The transmission, compilation, and analysis of cognitive maps is invariably influenced by the politicized and opportunistic agendas around the use of such information.
11. Media "stories" increasingly embody conflicts, even "wars," over the cognitive maps of "the public." This is especially the case where the ownership of and stakeholders in territory and resources are so unresolved as in British Columbia. Such contentiousness can easily extend to issues of gender equity and related issues of sexual expression as we have seen in the last year around the proposed AIDS memorial in Vancouver's Stanley Park.
12. Virtually any cognitive map can be used to substantiate supposedly democratic and "grassroots" interests, around public space, even if the opposite is more the case.
13. All cognitive maps indicate some divergence of social experiences and associated contests over space, with direct implications for the design and management of public space, even when the context of map production discourages the transmission of information alluding to such contentiousness. In other words, the conflict that is not mentioned in a cognitive map and how it is ignored is as important as what is described.
14. All environmental planning, including urban design and architecture, involves the use of cognitive maps filtered through various professional procedures that often function to enhance the objectivity, the *pouvoir*, of some interpretations of that diverse information.
15. Throughout urban planning and design processes, there are reinterpretations of cognitive maps, and contests over those interpretations, particularly in the negotiating around programming, design strategies and responses, plan detail, and construction. Typically, the more democratic inputs, and strategies for countering marginalization, that go into such an urban design process are neutralized and often removed from such processes.

16. Urban planning and design always uses cognitive maps and involves conflicts over cognitive maps with divergent interpretations typically favouring hegemonic versus oppositional projects around public space.

17. All aesthetic movements and systems embodied in particular designs of public space, including architecture that interacts with exterior environments, has relationships to historical experiences -- including legacies of past political economies and their relationships to the social and sexual expression that were / are marginalized at various points.

18. All planning and design around public space involve issues of sexual expression and those of equity in terms of erotic desires, identities, and acts along with contests around gender, race, class, culture, language, and disability.

19. Conflicts around freedom of sexual and other forms of consensual social expression in public space, and respective designs, can never be isolated -- are never "pure." In other words, along with contests around sex, there are also the ongoing social struggles around gender, race, culture, language, class, and disability.

20. It is never going to be viable, nor ethical in terms of issues of equity, to "privilege" freedom of sexual expression in designs of public space over other design-related issues involving gender, race, culture, language, class, and disability. Sexualities, no matter how marginalized, are deeply embedded in the total discourse around specific public spaces.

Notes

i. Cornel West. 1994. *Beyond eurocentrism and multiculturalism*. Public (Toronto) 10: 10 - 19.

ii. Quoted from endnote 12, Gillian Marie. 1980. *Writing women into British Columbia's history*. In *In Her Own Right: Selected essays on women's history in B.C.* Barbara Latham and Cathy Kees (eds.). Victoria: Camosun College. pp. 1 - 18. See p. 14.

iii. Bert Hansen. 1979. *The historical construction of homosexuality*. *The Radical History Review* 20: 66 - 73. In addition, Elizabeth Wilson (1995). *The invisible flâneur*. in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*. Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson (eds.). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell. pp. 59 - 79. See p. 65) relates the commodification of space, and the formation of transitional public / private zones in the nineteenth century as being key to the formation of "the homosexual identity."

iv. Much of our contemporary notions of the emergence of "the homosexual" are based on Michel Foucault, (1978) *History of Sexuality Volume 1: Introduction* (New York, Pantheon). For a survey of the political economic forces that partly shaped the social identity of "the homosexual," see "The rise of market economies" (pp. 347 - 396) and "The medicalization of homosexuality" (pp. 397 - 454) in David F. Greenberg's 1988. *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

v. For an overview of the essentialism / constructionism debates from the 1980s, and their impacts on "folk understandings of homosexuality," see Steven Epstein. 1987. *Gay politics, ethnic identity: The limits of social constructionism*. *Socialist Review* 93 / 94: 9 - 54. For a definition of constructionist methodologies for describing gay communities, see M. P. Levine. (1992) *The life and death of gay clones*, in: *Gay Culture in America: Essays from the field*, G. Herdt (Ed.) (Boston, Beacon Press) pp. 68 - 86. See pp. 68 - 69.

vi. Craig Owens. (1992) *Outlaws: Gay men in feminism*, in: *Beyond Recognition: Representation, power, and culture*. pp. 218 - 235. Page 218.

vii. "A landscape...is an object framed for, and therefore inseparable from, a viewer." Rosalyn Deutsche. 1996. *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 213.

viii. George Chauncey. 1996. *Privacy could only be had in public: Gay uses of the streets*. In *STUD: Architectures of Masculinity*. New York: Princeton University Press. pp. 224 - 267. See p. 225.

ix. The 1886 incorporation was of an area that included what is today Gastown, Yaletown, and a block of eastern Kitsilano to Main Street nearly as far south as the North Arm of the Fraser River. The original city did not include the West End, much of Downtown, Strathcona, Commercial Drive, or Point Grey. (Edward Mark Walter Gibson. 1971. *The impact of social belief on landscape change: A Geographical study of Vancouver*. University of British Columbia Department of Geography Ph.D. thesis. Map 1, p. 6 - 7.

x. David Bell. (1995) *Perverse dynamics, sexual citizenship and the transformation of intimacy*, in: *Mapping Desire: Geographies of sexualities* D. Bell & G. Valentine (Eds) (London, Routledge). pp. 304 - 317. See page 305.

xi. Within the framework of Benedict Anderson's 1983, 1991 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso) a "nation" (p. 7) is somewhere between a divinely ordained sovereign and a community based around comradeship. In this sense, much of so-called 'queer nationalism' is more of an expanding, networked form of queer municipalism particularly when so many different kinds of networks of sexual minorities are involved. And the kinds of "territorialization" (pp. 170 - 178) that have emerged, so far, are more consistent with operations within municipalities rather than discreet states.

xii. Pages 6 to 14 in Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh, 1995, *Shifting imaginaries: decolonization, internal decolonization, postcoloniality*, In *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge, and Power*, Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh (eds.), London, Zed Books, pp. 1 - 19.

xiii. For a discussion of spatial "containment" as based on race, see Julian Agyeman's 1990 "Black people in a white landscape," *Built Environment* 16(3): 232 - 236.

xiv. One of the better documented lesbian and gay subcultures, in North America, build around noneuropean, racial and cultural identities, was Harlem in the 1920s. See Eric Garber's 1989, "A spectacle in color: The lesbian and gay subculture in Jazz Age Harlem," In *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past*, edited by Martin B. Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, New York, New American Library, pp. 318 - 331.

xv. Joseph Boone. 1996. *Queer sites in modernism: Harlem / The Left Bank / Greenwich Village*. In *Geography of Identity*. Patricia Yaeger (ed.). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. pp. 243 - 272. See p. 244.

xvi. Nicole Brossard. 1995. "Green night of Labyrinth Park: La Nuit Verte du Parc Labyrinth" In *Sexy Bodies: The strange carnalities of feminism*. Elizabeth Grosz and Elizabeth Probyn (eds.). New York: Routledge. pp. 128 - 136.

xvii. See Rosalyn Deutsche's expansion of her *Assemblage* essay, "Chinatown, Part four? What Jake forgets about Downtown" in Deutsche's 1996, *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press - pp. 244 - 253 especially p. 251.

xviii. Foster Hirsch. 1981. *Film Noir: The dark side of the screen*. New York: Da Capo Press. See p. 167.

xix. Rosalyn Deutsche. 1996. *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 253.

xx. *ibid.*

xxi. Mike Davis. 1990. *City of Quartz: Excavating the future in Los Angeles*. New York: Verso. p. 21

xxii. Rosalyn Deutsche. 1996. *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 246.

xxiii. Rosalyn Deutsche. 1996. *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 246.

xxiv. The connection between Hawaiian aural culture and limerick seafaring culture in British Columbia is not an idle one. Hawaiian songs often went on for hours describing the intricacy of place and desire, including graphic depictions of sexuality and references to homoeroticism. The mid-nineteenth century sea-faring culture that was established along the British Columbia coast involved a network of "Sandwich Islanders" who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. The differences between the "songs" of different Native cultures and those of transplanted Hawaiians in the depiction of homoeroticism remains to be explored.

xxv. Thomas Waugh. 1996. *Hard to Imagine: Gay male eroticism in photography and film from their beginnings to Stonewall*. New York: Columbia University Press. See p. 1.

xxvi. The "Supernatural BC" tourist campaign was initiated in the mid-1980s at a time of provincial government cuts to social services and intensifying rates of clearcut logging. The painful irony was acknowledged by many people in Vancouver initiating a critical wave of discussion of landscape aesthetics.

xxvii. Stephen E. Miller. 1994. *The grid: Living in Hollywood North*. in *Vancouver: Representing the postmodern city*. Paul Delany (ed.). Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press. pp. 282 - 294.

xxviii. Queer space in the Vancouver landscape has not gone without exploitation in these globally available television series. For example, on an episode of *Millennium* produced by Chris Carter of Los Angeles and Vancouver, first aired on December 13, 1996, there is a drive-by cruising park with a murdering character that was a bad composite of the sexually ambivalent villains in the notoriously homophobic Hollywood films, *Cruising* and *The Silence of the Lambs*.

xxix. Giuliana Bruno. 1987. *Ramble City: Postmodernism and Blade Runner*. *October* 41: 61 - 74. See p. 62.

xxx. One example of these relationships is Paul Shimazaki's 1988 description of Tokyo's gay neighbourhood, Nichome, "Tokyo: Sexopolis" *Out / Look: National lesbian and gay quarterly* 1: 22 - 27.

xxxi. Panel discussion "Queer Space 1," *Storefront Art and Architecture / Cafe Architettura*, New York City, June 19, 1994.

xxxii. The term "body space" was used by Elizabeth Grosz in her 1992 "Bodies-cities," in: *Sexuality & Space* Beatriz Colomina (Ed.) (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton Architectural Press). See pp. 249 - 250.

xxxiii. Elizabeth Wilson. 1984 *Bodies in public and private*. in *Public Bodies - Private States: New views of on photography, representation and gender*. Jane Brette and Sally Rice (eds.). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. pp. 6 - 23. See p. 12.

xxxiv. Michel Foucault. 1986. Other spaces: The principles of heterotopia. *Lotus International* 48 - 49: 8 - 17. p. 11.

xxxv. Chandra Talpade Mohanty. 1992. Feminist encounters: Locating the politics of experience. In *Destabilising Theory*. Michelle Barrett and Anne Phillips (eds.). Oxford, UK: Polity Press. pp. 74 - 89. See p. 77.

xxxvi. We trace the notion of queer "archaeology" back to Michel Foucault. 1970. *The Order of Things: An archaeology of human sciences*. London: Tavistock.

xxxvii. Page 174 in Cindy Patton. 1993. "Tremble, hetero swine!" In *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer politics and social theory*. Michael Warner (ed.). Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press. pp. 143 - 177.

xxxviii. Robert A. J. McDonald. 1996. *Making Vancouver: Class, status and social boundaries 1863 - 1913*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. p. 73 - 74.

xxxix. Robert A. J. McDonald. 1996. *Making Vancouver: Class, status and social boundaries 1863 - 1913*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. pp. 169 - 173.

xl. Robert A. J. McDonald. 1996. *Making Vancouver: Class, status and social boundaries 1863 - 1913*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. pp. 77, 85.

xli. The same facilities, including washrooms, that were fought for in the early part of the twentieth century to make parks serve a fuller range of social groups, were often appropriated as sites of public sex as they become tawdry. The best example of this for washrooms in Vancouver is the celebrated washroom / bathhouse at English Bay. For a homophobic account, see *X-rated bathhouse 'a disgrace'*. *West Ender (Vancouver)* January 1985: 1, 34.

xlii. Kay S. Anderson. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial discourse in Canada 1875 - 1980*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's Universities Press. p. 88.

xliii. Robert A. J. McDonald. 1996. *Making Vancouver: Class, status and social boundaries 1863 - 1913*. pp. 58 - 60, 87, 91.

xliv. Main Street was formerly called Westminster Street.

xlv. Edward Mark Walter Gibson. 1971. *The impact of social belief on landscape change: A Geographical study of Vancouver*. University of British Columbia Department of Geography Ph.D. thesis. See p. 71.

xlvi. Kay S. Anderson. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial discourse in Canada 1875 - 1980*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's Universities Press. p. 141.

xlvii. Kay S. Anderson. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial discourse in Canada 1875 - 1980*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's Universities Press. p.143.

xlviii. Kay S. Anderson. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial discourse in Canada 1875 - 1980*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's Universities Press. pp. 146 - 147.

xlix. Kay S. Anderson. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial discourse in Canada 1875 - 1980*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's Universities Press. pp. 59 - 61.

i. Edward Mark Walter Gibson. 1971. *The impact of social belief on landscape change: A Geographical study of Vancouver*. University of British Columbia Department of Geography Ph.D. thesis. See p. 72 & Patricia E. Roy. 1989. *A White Man's Province: British Columbia politicians and Chinese and Japanese immigrants*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press - see pp. 120 - 150.

ii. Patricia E. Roy. 1989. *A White Man's Province: British Columbia politicians and Chinese and Japanese immigrants*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. See pp. 184 - 226.

iii. Edward Mark Walter Gibson. 1971. *The impact of social belief on landscape change: A Geographical study of Vancouver*. University of British Columbia Department of Geography Ph.D. thesis. See p. 91.

iiii. *Indiana Matters*. 1985. "Unfit for publication": Notes towards a lavender history of British Columbia. Presented at the Sex and the State Conference, Toronto, Ontario, July 3 - 6, 1985. on file, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, Accession 91 - 258, Box 2, Provenance: Miller, Alan. See p. 13.

liv. J. M. Johnston. 1979. *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh challenge to Canada's colour bar*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

lv. GR 419, file 50/1909, GR 419, file 31/1915 [Public Archives of BC]

Ivi. See Terry L. Chapman. 1986. Male homosexuality: Legal restraints and social attitudes in Western Canada, 1890 - 1920. Law and Justice in a New Land: Essays in Western Canadian legal history. Louis Knafla (ed.). Toronto: Carswell. pp. 277 - 292 where are large portion of the surnames of the men convicted of homosexuality between the turn of the century and World War We in Pacific Canada were Sikh or another south Asian group.

Ivii. The alleged incident occurred on December 12, 1908 and the guilty verdict appears to have been reached May 5, 1909. (Attorney General of British Columbia. 1909. Copy of Depositions - Rex vs. Nar Singh (Attempt Gross Indecency). Crown brief - compiled 5th May 1909. on file Provincial Archives of BC - BC Attorney General documents GR 419, V. 134, file 50 (1909)).

Iviii. *ibid.*, In the ramshackle buildings and alleys of the area, there was some question of whether Pender and Columbia Streets actually existed as the defense noted "MR. KENNEDY:- Columbia Ave. Your Worship will remember does not cross Pender Street." (interjection between 12 and 13, (MR. MCTAGGART:/ Preliminary Hearing Your Worship. DETECTIVE MCDONALD CALLED AND SWORN:- DIRECT-EXAMINATION BY MR. KENNEDY" p. 2).

lix. This comment suggests that there were other people the area and quite possibly other people cruising. In December 1908, a Sikh man loitering on a street corner at two o'clock in the morning would have been more than a bit conspicuous.

Ix. *ibid.*, excerpts of points 9 - 19.

Ixi. *ibid.*, excerpts from points 34 to 37.

Ixii. Singh's room was at the rear of 112 Pender Street East.

Ixiii. *ibid.* point 91

Ixiv. letter to A. H. McNeill, Crown Prosecutor, Vancouver, from E. M. N. Woods, Barrister, May 6th to May 20th, 1915 included in the dossier with the Crown Brief. Rex vs. - - & - -. Offence: Attempt Buggery. 1915. on file, BC Archives, BC Attorney General documents GR 419, V. 197, file 31 (1915). The names of the defendants, undoubtedly Sikh, have been deleted from publication until the early twenty-first century under a Freedom of Information Agreement with the BC Archives.

Ixv. Crown Brief. Rex vs. - - & - -. Offence: Attempt Buggery. 1915. on file, BC Archives, BC Attorney General documents GR 419, V. 197, file 31 (1915). The names of the defendants, undoubtedly Sikh, have been deleted from publication until the early twenty-first century under a Freedom of Information Agreement with the BC Archives.

Ixvi. Police document March 1, 1915 in Crown Brief. Rex vs. - - & - -. Offence: Attempt Buggery. 1915. BC Attorney General documents GR 419, V. 197, file 31 (1915). point 15.

Ixvii. Police document March 1, 1915 in Crown Brief. Rex vs. - - & - -. Offence: Attempt Buggery. 1915. BC Attorney General documents GR 419, V. 197, file 31 (1915). point 16.

Ixviii. One of the major detectives in this case had an Italian surname but cannot be mentioned because of a file access agreement with the BC Archives, under the BC Freedom of Information Act.

Ixix. There was a curious emphasis in the hearings on the receipt of the seventy-five cents as if the undercover detective and informer had to insist over and over that there was never an element of desire in the interaction but that they were pretending to be arranging the sex for money.

Ixx. Police Court document. March 1, 1915. Rex vs. -- & -- point 7 in Crown Brief. Rex vs. - - & - -. Offence: Attempt Buggery. 1915.

Ixxi. It seems particularly implausible that the defendant would have offered the defendant 37 1/2 cents (even in 1915) to get fucked standing up on a railroad track. point 116.

Ixxii. Police document March 1, 1915 in Crown Brief. Rex vs. - - & - -. Offence: Attempt Buggery. 1915. BC Attorney General documents GR 419, V. 197, file 31 (1915). point 83.

Ixxiii. Police document March 1, 1915 in Crown Brief. Rex vs. - - & - -. Offence: Attempt Buggery. 1915. BC Attorney General documents GR 419, V. 197, file 31 (1915). p. 86. There were accusations by the defense that the first defendant had known Detective Ricci around the Bela Singh murder trial and that Ricci had threatened him with a gun.

Ixxiv. To a large extent, the Sikh male replaced the African American man as the alternately disdained and fetishized "black dick" in Pacific Canada. The black dick complex of desires and fantasies has often derived from white men positing a correlation of body and penis size with social domination -- with African and some middle-eastern groups being viewed as

anomalous groups for corporeal / social competition. Early African Canada / American "colonists" to British Columbia were often relatively middle-class, articulate in English, and more importantly were effectively limited in immigration by the late nineteenth century. There were, therefore, less a threat than in the republic up and down the coast. In contrast, Sikh males who arrived in the early twentieth century came as workers in labour shortages and often had poor commands of English thus contributing to a kind of orientalised association with erotic enigma and "unearned" power. In the same period, the "cult" of the Sikh "stud" was reproduced throughout India and to most other points of the British Empire.

lxxv. It seems particularly implausible that the defendant would have offered the defendant 37 1/2 cents (even in 1915) to get fucked standing up on a railroad track. p. 130 - 131.

lxxvi. For some examples of the kinds of court cases and sentences served in the pre-World War We in Vancouver, see the following notations from charge books. All incarceration was in New Westminster except where noted in the Vancouver City jail. In this period, there were more men charged with homosexuality than for heterosexual rape - (Charge Book Provincial Gaols in Vancouver (Vancouver county extending up to a large part of the BC coast north of Vancouver) November 1908 to June 1914 (Gr 0602 (File Tech) V.3 (C1816) on file, BC Archives)

a. Nar Singh, charged Feb 13, 1909 for gross indecency (p. 4) to be tried by jury initially incarcerated; was tried for an "indecent act" and went up to jury May 4, 1909; (p. 8) (Judge Irving); sentenced for an "indecent act"; May 5 taken to New West for a nine month sentence (p. 9).

b. William Eaton, charged May 10, 1909, charged for an indecent act on April 30, 1909 given bail (Judge Irving) (p. 10); tried on p. 15 (July 23, 1909) for indecent assault given a suspected sentence allowed to go.

c. Lee Sing charged on 19 June, 1909 for "gross indecency" went up to Judge McInnis not given bail and sent to New Westminster (p. 12); later before a Judge McInnis trial for gross indecency, sentenced to 2 years, 7 lashes (p. 13).

d. James Downey charged on 2 August, 1909, held since July 28, 1909 in New Westminster for "buggery" (p. 18); case dismissed August 4, 1909 by Judge McInnis.

e. George Sheffield first went to court on March 17, 1910 for an act that supposedly took place on Feb. 20, 1910 with Sam McVeigh; was given bail by Judge McInnis (pp. 47, 49); March 24, 1910 - case dismissed by Judge McInnis and released; appears to be no trial of McVeigh.

f. "Hing (Chinaman) At Vancouver on 3rd June 1910 a male person in public did unlawfully attempt to commit an act of gross indecency with Roy Darrah, another male person" "speedy date not set" - he was incarcerated indefinitely (p. 59) June 17, 1910;

g. Iman Din (p. 81) September 16, 1910, charged with two counts of buggery, reserved to September 21, 1910 by Judge McInnis; (p. 82) released on bail September 17, September 21 incarcerated by Vancouver Police; p. 82 sentenced Sept 22: 10 years on first count, second count dismissed; p. 103; Jan 20, 1911; Iman Din Act of gross indecency, on bail pending appear proceedings and new trial - failed to appear when called - bench warrant issued.

h. Charles Devine, p. 82, indecent assault, originally committed to incarceration September 10, 1910, held in New West until trial, first appeared in Court in front of McInnis in on September 22, 1910, Judge McInnis, , p. 84, wasn't given bail until Oct. 1, 1910

i. Alix Gavillette, p. 82, indecent assault, date committed act: August 30, 1910, Judge McInnis, first appeared in court on Sept. 23, p. 83, tried September. 30, Judge McInnis, sentenced to one year.

j. Hara Singh, indecent assault, October 17, 1910, p. 87, incarcerated with Vancouver city police, Judge Murphy, p. 88, Sept. 18 found guilty of indecent assault and taken to city of Vancouver police.

k. Charles Baynes, p. 97, "At Vancouver 9th December 1910 a male person - in public -did unlawfully attempt to commit an act of gross indecency with John Evans another male person", act to have been committed on Dec. 15, 1910, p. 100, tried by Judge McInnis and sentenced to 35 days since arrest.

l. J. H. McLean, at Vancouver on 14th December 1910 a male person in public did unlawfully attempt to commit an act of gross indecency with Norman McDonald another male person", , p. 97- 100, decision reserved.

m. Frank Levamtivent, p. 120, June 1, 1911, "On the 28th day of May 1911 at the City of Vancouver did unlawfully assault and then and there wickedly and against the order of nature have a venereal affair with and carnally know Pierrie Paul and then and there wickedly and against the order of nature with the said Pierrie Paul did commit and perpetrate that detestable and abominable crime of buggery contrary to the form of the statute made and provided", date committed: May 29, 1911, committed to New Westminster by Judge McInnis, p. 121, Judge McInnis, June 15, 1911, dismissed - no witnesses.

n. Wing, p. 131, August 26, 1911, "For that he the said Wing at the City of Vancouver on the 18th day, (1) of August 1911 did unlawfully assault Sam Brewe and then and there did unlawfully attempt to wickedly and against the order of nature have a venereal affair with and to carnally know and commit and perpetrate with the aid Sam Brewe that detestable and abominable crime of buggery.

(2) for the he the said Wing at the time and in the place aforesaid in public or in private did attempt to procure the commission by Sam Brewe, a male person, of an act of gross indecency with himself another male", p. 132, August 29, 1911, sentenced to 12 months by Judge McInnes

(Minute Book Police Department, Vancouver, B.C., January 4, 1912 - June 26, 1914, GR 0602 V. 4)

a. Ed. Nightingale, 24 April 1912, p. 25, Judge McInnis, "at the said City of Vancouver on the 29th day of March 1912 did assault and then and there unlawfully, wickedly and against the order of nature with the said James Fulton did commit and perpetrate that detestable and abominable crime of buggery.", arrested by police on April 3.

b/c. B. Rhineberger, and Martin Raling (one of the few times when both people were arrested and tried), July 3, 1912, "at the said City of Vancouver on the 21st day of June, 1912, a male person in private did wilfully commit an act of gross indecency with Martin Raling another male person at the said City of Vancouver on the 21st day of June, 1912, a male person, in private, did wilfully commit an act of gross indecency with B. Rhineberger, another male person", p. 37, Raling sentenced to 3 months on June 4, Rhineberger Oct 3, 1912 back in court by Judge Clement in Victoria (!?!?!?) perhaps not, p. 49, October 8, p. 50, sentence still reserved prison, November 7, 1912, p. 56, finally sentenced 1 year and 7 lashes.

d. William Jones, November 1, 1912, "at the said City of Van. on the 28th Oct 1912 did unlawfully assault and then and there unlawfully, wickedly and against the order of nature have a venereal affair with and carnally know Harry Byers and then and there wickedly and against the order of nature with the said Harry Byers did commit and perpetrate that detestable and abominable crime of buggery", p. 55, found not guilty on Nov 12, 1912 p. 57.

e. Dahn. Sigh, October 2, 1913, supposedly committed on Sept 29, 1913, "At the said City of Vancouver AD 1913 did unlawfully assault and then and there wickedly and against the order of nature have a venereal affair with and carnally know Franca. Rain and then and there wickedly and against the order of nature with the said Franco Rain did commit and perpetrate that detestable and abominable crime of buggery", Judge McInnes, October 28, 1913 sentenced to 3 years for buggery by McInnes, p. 104, f. O. Histanoff, "Attempted buggery" November 8, 1913, bottom of page remanded to November 22, p. 113, trial on November 22, 1913, partner identified as F. Lockland, p. 114, sentenced by McInnes to 2 years.

f. Joseph Corves, arraigned December 29, 1913, p. 120, December 23, 1913, "at the said City of Vancouver during the month of November 1913 a male person in private, did unlawfully commit an act of gross indecency with Sydney French, another male person", Jan 7, 1914 remanded p. 120, Judge Grant.

g. John Slater, Gross indecency, with John Arnold, supposedly on Jan 2, 1914, committed Jan 12, initial court appearance Jan 21, 1914, p. 123, Judge McInnis, p. 125, found not guilty in Feb 3, 1914 trial.

h/i. , James Valse, Charma Singh, acts to have taken place on March 24, 1914, "At the said City of Vancouver on the 21st day of March, AD, 1914 did assault and then and there unlawfully, wickedly, and against the order of nature, have a venereal affair with and carnally know Charma Singh, and then and there wickedly and against the order of nature with the said Charma Singh, did commit and perpetrate that detestable crime of buggery.", first court appearance 4th of April, 1914, Charma Singh (charge as above), Judge McInnes, p. 139, This is one of the only ones where the two men are tried side by side and inter-racial, court May 22, 1914 found Singh guilty by Justice Gregory, p. 145 , court on May 26 found Valse guilty , p. 146, (unclear sentences - perhaps in subsequent book).

j., Thomas Papas, first court appearance "buggery", May 5, 1914, p. 134, Found guilty May 7, Judge McInnes, Buggery, Fraud, Holding Potlatch", (unclear of sentence - perhaps in subsequent book)

k. "America", buggery supposedly 29 May, 1914 no other male named, p. 149, June 20, found not guilty by Judge McInnes.

lxxvii. Spencer Macdonnell quoted by Harry Hill. 1987. Happy trails. Angles (March 1987): 7.

lxxviii. Thanks to Ron Dutton of the Vancouver Public Library for a discussion in January 16, 1997.

lxxix. Terence John Fairclough. 1985. The gay community of Vancouver's West End: The geography of a modern urban phenomenon. M.A. thesis. Department of Geography, University of British Columbia. on file, Special Collections Division LE3.B7 1985 A98 F348. See p. 39.

lxxx. Terence John Fairclough. 1985. The gay community of Vancouver's West End: The geography of a modern urban phenomenon. M.A. thesis. Department of Geography, University of British Columbia. on file, Special Collections Division LE3.B7 1985 A98 F348. See p. 39.

lxxxi. Patricia E. Roy. 1989. *A White Man's Province: British Columbia politicians and Chinese and Japanese immigrants*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. See pp. 266 - 267.

lxxxii. Joseph Boone. 1996. *Queer sites in modernism: Harlem / The Left Bank / Greenwich Village*. In *Geography of Identity*. Patricia Yaeger (ed.). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. pp. 243 - 272. See p. 244.

lxxxiii. John Grube. 1997. *No more shit': The struggle for democratic gay space in Toronto*. in *Queers in Space: Communities | Public Places | Sites of Resistance*. Ingram, G. B., A.-M. Bouthillette and Y. Retter (eds.). Seattle: Bay Press. pp. ???.

lxxxiv. Arthur N. Gilbert. 1976. *Buggery and the British Navy: 1700 - 1861*. *Journal of Social History* (Fall 1976) 10(1): 72 - 98. Buggery had been capital offense in the Imperial Navy until 1861. Gilbert discussed the notion of the 'total institution' where its participants had no private life as one reason for the Navy's particular obsession with routing out buggery (p. 87).

lxxxv. Gary Kinsman. 1996. *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*. Montréal: Black Rose Books. p. 157.

lxxxvi. Gary Kinsman. 1996. *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*. Montréal: Black Rose Books. p. 69.

lxxxvii. Gary Kinsman. 1996. *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*. Montréal: Black Rose Books. p. 134 - 135.

lxxxviii. Philip Girard. 1987. *From subversion to liberation: Homosexuals and the Immigration Act, 1952 - 1977*. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 2: 1 - 27. See p. 1.

lxxxix. David Kimmel and Daniel Robinson. 1994. *The queer career of homosexual security vetting in Cold-War Canada*. *Canadian Historical Review* 75(3): 319 - 345. See pp. 321 - 324.

xc. Gary Kinsman. 1996. *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*. Montréal: Black Rose Books. p. 169.

xc. Typical of the "liberal" logic of the time was Sidney Katz' 1947 essay "The truth about sex criminals." *Maclean's Magazine* (July 1, 1947): 12, 46 - 48 which jumbled homosexuality ("gross indecency"), rape, and exhibitionism in one discussion.

xcii. Philip Girard. 1987. *From subversion to liberation: Homosexuals and the Immigration Act, 1952 - 1977*. See p. 2. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 2: 1 - 27. Also see Gary Kinsman. 1996. *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*. Montréal: Black Rose Books. p. 170.

xciii. *ibid.* p. 3.

xciv. Philip Girard. 1987. *From subversion to liberation: Homosexuals and the Immigration Act, 1952 - 1977*. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 2: 1 - 27. See p. 11.

xcv. Ron Dutton, BC Gay and Lesbian Archives, 1997, pers. comm.

xcvi. Arthur N. Gilbert. 1976. *Buggery and the British Navy: 1700 - 1861*. *Journal of Social History* (Fall 1976) 10(1): **page numbers?!?!?!***** footnoted in chapter 2 under the political economy of homophobia

xcvii. Alan Hustak. 1987. *They Were Hanged*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co. pp. 48 - 60. See pp. 52 - 53.

xcviii. Alan Hustak. 1987. *They Were Hanged*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co. pp. 48 - 60. See p. 50.

xcix. The best indicators of the public hysteria around the case and the public complacency in what followed can be seen in the articles in the profoundly anglocentric and neocolonial, *Victoria Daily Colonist* and the *Victoria Daily Times*.
c. Alan Hustak. 1987. *They Were Hanged*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co. pp. 48 - 60. See p. 59; Also see: Neil Boyd. 1987. *All my love, Leo*. *Angles* July 1987: 9. Reprinted from *Monday Magazine* (Victoria) April 23 - 29, 1987. Neil Boyd is a prof in criminology at SFU.

ci. Alan Hustak. 1987. *They Were Hanged*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co. pp. 48 - 60. See p. 58.

cii. *Vancouver Sun*. 1959. 2 inch headline: "CLEMENCY BID REFUSED; SLAYER HANGS TONIGHT -- Execution scheduled." *The Sun* April 27, 1959: 1. Contrary to the suggestions that Mantha wanted to die for killing his ex-lover, the article quoted his lawyer as stating: 'He [Mantha] is being extremely brave. But he did not hold out much hope. He realized that there was a difference between the Chapman case and his.' [authors' emphasis]. Robert Chapman had murdered his brother and his case was commuted three days before by federal cabinet. The "difference" was that Mantha was homosexual.

ciii. John Grube, pers. com., Toronto and Vancouver, 1993 - 1996. Grube was living in Victoria in the late 1950s and knew Leo Manta and some of the men who were purged in the subsequent years.

civ. Gary Kinsman. 1995. 'Fruit Machines': Towards an analysis of the anti-homosexual security campaigns in the Canadian Civil Service. *Labour / Le Travail* 35 (Spring 1995): 133 - 161. See p. 141.

cv. Gary Kinsman. 1995. 'Fruit Machines': Towards an analysis of the anti-homosexual security campaigns in the Canadian Civil Service. *Labour / Le Travail* 35 (Spring 1995): 133 - 161. See p. 142.

cvi. Gary Kinsman. 1995. 'Fruit Machines': Towards an analysis of the anti-homosexual security campaigns in the Canadian Civil Service. *Labour / Le Travail* 35 (Spring 1995): 133 - 161. See p. 149.

cvii. Michael H. Cramer. 1980. Public and political: Documents of the woman's suffrage campaign in British Columbia, 1871 - 1917: The view from Victoria. In *In Her Own Right: Selected essays on women's history in B.C.* Barbara Latham and Cathy Kees (eds.). Victoria: Camosun College. pp. 79 - 100 & Michael H. Cramer. 1992. Public and political: Documents of the Women's Suffrage Campaign in British Columbia, 1871 - 1917. in *British Columbia Reconsidered: Essays on women.* Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag (eds.). Vancouver: Press Gang.

cviii. Michael H. Cramer. 1980. Public and political: Documents of the woman's suffrage campaign in British Columbia, 1871 - 1917: The view from Victoria. In *In Her Own Right: Selected essays on women's history in B.C.* Barbara Latham and Cathy Kees (eds.). Victoria: Camosun College. pp. 79 - 100. See p. 84.

cix. Michael H. Cramer. 1980. Public and political: Documents of the woman's suffrage campaign in British Columbia, 1871 - 1917: The view from Victoria. In *In Her Own Right: Selected essays on women's history in B.C.* Barbara Latham and Cathy Kees (eds.). Victoria: Camosun College. pp. 79 - 100. See pp. 91 - 93.

cx. For a highly relevant discussion from Toronto, see Carolyn Strange. 1995. *Toronto's Girl Problem, The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880 - 1930.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 10.

cxi. Carolyn Strange. 1995. *Toronto's Girl Problem, The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880 - 1930.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 183 - 184.

cxii. Maxine Wolfe. 1997. Invisible women in invisible places: The production of social space in lesbian bars. in *Queers in Space: Communities | Public Places | Sites of Resistance.* Ingram, G. B., A.-M. Bouthillette and Y. Retter (eds.). Seattle: Bay Press. pp. 301 - 324. See p. 313.

cxiii. Bob Cummings. 1968. The Lesbians. Part 1. *Georgia Straight* 13 - 19 September 1968: 9 - 10. See p. 10.

cxiv. Bob Cummings. 1968. The Lesbians. Part 1. *Georgia Straight* 13 - 19 September 1968: 9 - 10. See p. 10.

cxv. Andrea Fatona and Cornelia Wyngaarden, 1994, *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 Wyngaarden provided additional information from their research on the project in conversations in 1994 and 1995.

cxvi. For a discussion of video, see Carolyn Jerome. 1994. *Glimpses of history.* *Kinesis* (February 1994): 16.

cxvii. "'black' is essentially a politically and cultural constructed category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed trans-cultural or transcendental racial categories." Stuart Hall. 1988. *New ethnicities.* In *Black Film: British Cinema Kobena Mercer* (ed.). London: ICA Documents 7. p. 28.

cxviii. The African Methodist Church that was at the centre of the Hogan's Alley was on Jackson Street was founded around 1918 (not as Killian noted 1908) and existed into the mid-1950s (Nora Hendrix recollections in *Daphne Marlatt and Carol Itter* (compiled and edited). 1979. *Opening Doors: Vancouver's East End.* Victoria: Provincial Archives. p. 59 & Crawford Killian. 1978. *Go Do Some Great Thing: The Black Pioneers of British Columbia.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre. p. 159). Killian infers a link between that Vancouver community and the early wave of educated, pre-U.S. emancipation immigrants to Victoria and Saltspring Island (pp. 154 - 157).

cxix. Peter Hudson. 1996/97. *Disappearing histories of the black Pacific: Contemporary black art of Vancouver.* *MIX* 22(3): 48 - 56. See p. 49.

cxx. See "minorities" on Map 5, pp. 64 - 65 of Edward Mark Walter Gibson. 1971. *The impact of social belief on landscape change: A Geographical study of Vancouver.* University of British Columbia Department of Geography Ph.D. thesis.

cxxi. Kay S. Anderson. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial discourse in Canada 1875 - 1980.* Montréal: McGill-Queen's Universities Press. pp. 200 - 201.

cxxii. Hogan's Alley was never recognized as a legitimate community by the city of Vancouver. It was often considered under planning for adjacent Chinatown (Kay S. Anderson. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial discourse in Canada 1875 - 1980.* Montréal: McGill-Queen's Universities Press. p. 188).

cxxiii. "Since that time [of the destruction of Hogan's Alley], there has been no geographically coherent black neighbourhood in the city, no cultural locus to hold history over subsequent [black] immigrations and emigrations." (Peter

Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, & Cornelia Wyngaarden

Vancouver(as queer)scape: Strategies for mapping public spaces constructed by sexual minorities

Critical Geography Conference (Simon Fraser University & The University of British Columbia),

Session: Locating the politics of theory in critical human geography, August 10, 1997

Hudson. 1996/97. Disappearing histories of the black Pacific: Contemporary black art of Vancouver. *MIX* 22(3): 48 - 56. See p. 49).

cxxiv. Most of these families had links that went back to similar farming attempts on marginal agricultural lands in Oklahoma at the turn of the Twentieth Century.

cxxv. Down in the 200 and 300 block Prior and Union and Keefer is where most all these chicken places were. Mrs. Pryor had a eating place on Keefer [Chicken Inn] and then there was a Mrs. Alexander had one on Union Street [Mother's Tamale and Chili Parlour]...back in the Twenties and Thirties" (Nora Henrix recollections in Daphne Marlatt and Carol Itter (compiled and edited). 1979. *Opening Doors: Vancouver's East End*. Victoria: Provincial Archives. p. 61).

cxxvi. For one discussion of homophobia in black Canadian subcultures, though with an emphasis on Afro-Caribbean families rather than Curtis' African American experience, see Makeda Silvera. 1990. Man royals and Sodomites: Some thoughts on the invisibility of Afro-Caribbean lesbians. In *Lesbians in Canada*. Sharon Dale Stone (ed.). Toronto: Between the Lines. pp. 48 - 60.

cxxvii. The New Fountain, which a haven for some, had regular fights and stabbings (Vancouver ca 1950 (see p. 5 of Tides of Men Project - <http://www.LesBiGay.com/tides/Chapter1/Ch1Pg5.html>). Donald W. McLeod's 1996 *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A selected annotated chronology, 1964 - 1975* lists the "New Fountain Club" at 45 West Cordova Street and as existing sometime well before 1967 but only until 1969 (p. 278).

cxxviii. The Vanport Hotel and Pub was at 645 Main Street, that existed from the at least as early as the 1950s until 1976 (Donald W. McLeod. 1996. *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A selected annotated chronology, 1964 - 1975*. p. 278).

cxxix. Larry Knopp. 1992. Sexuality and the spatial dynamics of capitalism. *Environment and Planning D* 10: 651 - 669. See p. 665 where 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.

cxxx. These passages were written by and based on the knowledge of Corry Wyngaarden though the names and specific sequence of events are partially fictitious. Wyngaarden was one of the founding members of ASK, Vancouver's Association of Social Knowledge from the early nineteen sixties, Canada's first lesbian / gay rights organization. Today Wyngaarden teaches video and queer theory at Vancouver's Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design.

cxxxi. Michael Beaudry. 1988. Joe's. *Vancouver Magazine* November 1988: 102 - 125. See p. 123.

cxxxii. Here we recognize personal networks, political groups, service agencies, and critiques of and movements for "visual representation" (as in Rosalyn Deutsche. 1996. *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 294).

cxxxiii. Rosalyn Deutsche. 1996. *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 289.

cxxxiv. Rosalyn Deutsche. 1996. *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 312.

cxxxv. Rosalyn Deutsche. 1996. *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 269.

cxxxvi. We use a notion of the state and its relationship of (homo)sexual outlaws over the last century in Canada as based on Gary Kinsman's 1996. *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*. Montréal: Black Rose Books. p.37 - 40.

cxxxvii. Esther Newton, 1993, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty years in America's first gay and lesbian town*, Boston, Beacon Press.

cxxxviii. Garth Barriere. 1997. Defrost the fridge. *Xtra! West* 91 (February 6, 1997): 15.

cxxxix. Sylvain Bombardier. 1996. Fragment of queer archisexualities: A new queer center in Yaletown. Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Architecture. on file, Architecture Reading Room, Department of Architecture, University of British Columbia B.ARCH BombaS 1996. See p. 8.

cxl. Sylvain Bombardier. 1996. Fragment of queer archisexualities: A new queer center in Yaletown. Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Architecture. on file, Architecture Reading Room, Department of Architecture, University of British Columbia B.ARCH BombaS 1996. See p. 15.

cxli. G. B. Ingram. 1995. Landscapes of (un)lawful chaos: Conflicts around temperate rain forest and biological diversity in Pacific Canada. *RECIEL: Review of European Community & International Environmental Law* (London) 4(3): 242 - 249.