

CHAPTER 9

Fragments, Edges, and Matrices: Retheorizing the Formation of a So-called Gay Ghetto through Queering Landscape Ecology

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Can interdisciplinary sciences such as landscape ecology, fields of inquiry that fully engage natural and social sciences, be adapted for better understanding the dynamics of networks of sexual minorities, and more broadly the patterns across space and time of participants of various kinds of sex that do not specifically lead to reproduction? If most scientific inquiry in recent centuries in the West has had a “heteronormative” (Warner 1991) bias, of what could queered forms of landscape ecology studies consist? In this chapter, I revisit some early discussions on neighborhoods of visible sexual minorities sometimes labeled “ghettos,” along with literature from past decades on the formation of landscape ecology, in order to shed light on these questions. This chapter re-examines the environmental context of the formation of one so-called gay ghetto, Vancouver’s West End, and explores more nuanced, spatial, and materialist means of describing social processes involving sexual minorities across metropolitan areas. Through revisiting primarily materialist frameworks, such as landscape ecology’s notions of fragments, edges and matrices, I hope to build a theoretical bridge to better blend biophysical and empirical descriptors in investigations of social networks and physical sites of sexual minorities with critical forms of cultural theory.

The afterlife of the queer theory of the 1990s is shifting to fuller recognition of and engagement with material conditions (Shapiro 2004) that

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can be termed “queer ecologies.” Broadening the theories and practices that underlie how marginalized groups come to perceive, assess, and claim sites, neighborhoods, and social resources has become a project in contemporary sexual cultures and politics (Ingram 1997a). But what do we need to know about our communities and associated physical environments to better defend and expand newfound gains? This chapter explores some opportunities provided by and limits to adapting the field of landscape ecology for providing and organizing information on neighborhoods that in turn can be used in local activism. My focus is on gay male community formation processes that took place in Vancouver’s West End until the onslaught of AIDS in the 1980s, when the neighborhood’s white gay male demographic began to peak. The West End has been a strategic and mythic locale in Canada’s homosexual male, gay, lesbian, and queer cultures and politics but was particularly important to the formation of notions of gay rights in the 1960s and 1970s. The historical moments that saw the urban changes that created a self-defined gay ghetto (even as long-term resident lesbians were moving away) comprise the focus of this chapter.

Until recently, most of the earth’s ecosystems have been transformed by human cultures that have coupled heterosexuality with reproduction, socialization, and survival. While exceptions have existed, notions and spaces of sex for pleasure outside of heterosexual reproductive units often remained decidedly marginalized. Well into the twentieth century, studies of biological exuberance (Bagemihl 1999), of pleasure in general, were often considered “unscientific,” especially any explorations of the implications of certain human cultures and pursuits of erotic pleasure on ecosystems. Over the last forty years, the combined movements for women’s reproductive freedom, gay liberation, lesbian feminism, transgender activism, and queer theory have transformed the formerly heteronormative notions of the biosphere. In the more affluent parts of the world, urban life is being restructured by pursuits for satisfaction, diversifying practices of biological reproduction and modes of families and socialization. The implications of these queer human ecologies on an urbanizing world already degraded by globalization, consumerism, contamination, destruction of habitat, loss of species, and climate change have barely been explored.

In these uncertain times, any utopian anticipation of a planetary *lustgarten* would be premature and naive. Instead, we are in an era where *any* space (and associated ecosystems and landscapes) capable of supporting consensual intimacy is increasingly vulnerable to violence or privatization or both, and thus becomes a site for contestation. So while there may be a queering of ecological investigations, through at least a tolerance of no-

tions of biological exuberance that include sexual intimacy between two or more members of the same gender and/or sex, the totality of the habitat (indeed the biosphere) of human sexual expression remains conflicted and “uncomfortable” within the broader contexts of the now lurching globalization of capital and environmental deterioration.

In this chapter of *Queer Ecologies*, therefore, I explore an expanded paradigm for understanding the biophysical and cultural environments of networks of public and private sites. In so doing, I hope to contribute to erotic expression, there and elsewhere, that is defined by erotic desire rather than procreation, and that is “queer” at least in the sense of the dismantling of the poisonous blend of racism and heteronormativity that was consolidated in the late Victorian period. In particular, I want to queer the vocabulary of landscape ecology in order to better describe and understand the shifting relationships between those physical spaces, increasingly influenced by urban design, ecosystem management, and aspects of sites marked in some ways by the rich combination of homoerotic social networks, forms of private and perhaps public erotic expression, and resistances to homophobia.

The central argument of this chapter is that landscape ecology holds some theoretical and methodological tools that can be adapted to understanding material aspects of processes of queer urbanization, but that in order to achieve that understanding it will be necessary to rethink ways to combine the natural and social sciences with a kind of eroticized cultural studies. In particular, it will be necessary to build theoretical bridges linking research methods on cognitive maps to better the defining of erotic subcultures, on one side, and to inventorying uses of particular sites and landscapes by specific groups along with notions of agency, on the other side. Landscape ecology as a field of inquiry consists of interdisciplinary approaches for studying the interplay of biophysical ecosystems and human communities—including culture. Some European schools of landscape ecology have focused on cultural transformations of ecosystems and physical space. Some associated research methods, which map shifting culture landscapes at various scales over time, can be applied for more nuanced understandings of sexual subcultures (which of course have a material basis), and also for the queering of neighborhoods and even for identifying contemporary policy and design agendas. But queering landscape ecology, as contesting the cultural biases in any science, will not be easy.

A second argument emerges from applying landscape ecology to understanding community formation for sexual minorities in Vancouver’s

West End: in describing material aspects of queer social relationships, there is a basis for identifying important dynamics between the physical environment and economic relations, on one hand, and culture and popular political ideas, on the other. Some of these relationships can be dialectical, yet they are only partially mediated by political economy. In other words, environmental contexts and city forms have impacts on sexual cultures, while sensibilities and ideas directly influence urban policy, design processes, neighborhood landscapes, and metropolitan ecosystems. These dynamics between and among physical contexts, political economy, and culture—including erotic cultures—are not symmetrical across space or time. Ideas, including ones that are key ingredients for sexual cultures, lead to the transformation of urban spaces just as biophysical environments can foster certain experiences and ideologies. A kind of queered landscape ecology, as a mode of investigation, could be a pillar of a renewed and more empirically based body of activist theory and associated research methods, especially useful for better understanding persistent social inequities that extend to sexual expression.

Beyond Ghettos: Revisiting Shifting Relationships across Networks and Communities of Sexual Minorities

We have fled here from every part of the nation, and like refugees elsewhere, we came not because it was so great here, but because it was so bad there. By the tens of thousands, we fled small towns where to be ourselves would be to endanger our jobs and any hope of decent life. . . . And we have formed a ghetto out of self-protection. It is a ghetto rather than a free territory because it is still theirs. (Wittman [1969] 1972, 330)¹

In relatively new Canadian cities such as Vancouver, open space contains a mixture of landscape elements of both the city and the frontier. Central Vancouver is exceptional in that a large area of forest and beaches, Stanley Park, dominates its central peninsula and has provided an alternative space to the adjacent areas of intensive urbanization (figure 9.1). Over the last century, this frontier, softened to a cusp of forested parkland and residential streetscapes, has functioned as a refuge for a range of marginalized social groups. Here, divergent processes of community formation, repression, resistance to patriarchy and homophobia, and institutionalization of human rights protections, to mention only a few social processes, have been played out, “naturalized,” and normalized.

Vancouver's West End was mythologized in the pantheon of places in Canada as one in which newly politicized gay men could be fully "out" in the 1970s and 1980s. But the West End did not often function as a real ghetto (or refuge) for gay men, and was never so for lesbians. In terms of the initial usages of the term *ghetto* or *geto* (Foa 2000, 139), the West End was quite different from the much larger gay ghettos that emerged in the years before and decades after the rise of the Gay Liberation movement in larger North American cities such as San Francisco, Toronto, and New York. As a regional center of gay and lesbian activism, the West End had far more modest demographic forces. But there was repression and resistance similar to that in other North American cities such as Toronto. The one set of processes that gave the West End some semblance of a ghetto was the remarkable network of public spaces, often in or near relatively secluded forested parklands, that allowed a range of sexual networks and politicized subcultures to express themselves erotically and to coalesce into the beginnings of self-defined networks and communities. My underlying argument in this chapter is that over and above political economic forces, these neighborhood spaces were successfully claimed and eventually queered because of material conditions associated with the urban landscape ecology. The West End has supported an exceptional amount of open space, which, because of the vegetation and relatively high population, has for well over a century been particularly difficult to police. This notion of the West End's public space as an anchor or organizer of a location of resistance contrasts markedly with experiences of other gay enclaves in North America in the mid twentieth century.

By the mid to late 1970s, the use of the term "gay ghetto" in Vancouver had become self-fulfilling. Gay men were attracted to the West End as one of the easiest places in Canada to be open about their sexuality. Four decades ago, Don Hann left Newfoundland and moved to the West End, as part of a network of gay male activists from his island. In a recent conversation, he stated that the West End "was a ghetto in the 1970s" where there was "more dick" and where the neighborhood was "relatively safe" (Hann 2009). In the same period of gay male ghettoization, lesbians, who had been a significant demographic group in the wooden boarding houses that were prevalent from before World War II until they were demolished in the 1960s and 1970s, were pushed out and moved east. By the mid 1970s, a demographic shift had been established, with gay men becoming a significant population and voting block in central Vancouver, though never anywhere near a majority. Thus, the use of "the gay ghetto" was part of a process of myth making and empowerment (for gay men) under the



FIGURE 9.1. Aerial view, West End, Vancouver, BC, showing Stanley Park (upper left).

rubric of identity politics, but also was part of claiming particular spaces, territories, and resources (Ingram 1997a).

While the West End barely had ghetto-like traits in terms of general forms of marginalization, stigmatization, cordoning, and related forms of persecution, the term obfuscated more nuanced and localized processes of community formation and transformation of public space that hold more resonance to queer movements and initiatives of today. However, it was clear that the ghetto metaphor held exceptional currency in building one of the first of the more diverse and gay- and lesbian-“friendly” neighborhoods in Canada, one that for a time had some of the largest concentrations of active and self-identified homosexual males in North America. At the same time, the use of the term “ghetto” in the 1970s and 1980s paralleled and often obscured a male gendering of the area. To put it simply, the West End “worked” for nearly three decades as a ghetto as defined by early gay rights and gay liberation but was almost an anathema for lesbian feminism. Revisiting the idea of the ghetto allows us to re-examine queer demographics and use of public space as forms of physical as well as cultural relationships (only partially defined

through successive social movements). But how can we revisit the social processes that established the West End as a site of national and international importance for discourses in justice for sexual minorities along with the persisting disparities that women experienced in public space in the neighborhood? What historical, empirical, and cultural research methods can help us reconceive of this so-called ghetto across time and space?

Some methods used in environmental research and related history can be adapted to highlight a shift in intellectual production from positing queer *theory* to describing queer *ecologies*. Queer theory was part of an agenda to build solidarity between and among genders, sexualities, and cultures. Queer ecology, by contrast, could function as a mode of investigation that better recognizes more nuanced differences as part of broader initiatives for environmental justice. Today's emphasis on culture in studies of sexual minorities is in large part a response to the deficiencies in earlier forms of materialist social science that obscured or under-acknowledged the diversity of subjectivities. Many of the activist social sciences of the early- and mid-twentieth century were grounded in forms of historical materialism and respective "scientific" approaches that provided only partial bases, if any at all, for the articulation of both erotic expression and marginality. The shift from the primacy of Marxist theory to struggles for social justice contributed directly to today's preoccupation with "sexual stories" for better understanding sexual cultures.² But "stories" are only stories and are only part of the picture of the landscape. The form of engagement in political economy and environmental contexts that is provided by a queered landscape ecology will posit the existence of landscape ecologies that subvert the heteronormative with a myriad of relationships barely fathomed in the bygone notions of gay ghettos that formed a half century ago.

One attempt to adapt some of the lineages of Hegelian historical materialism to more critical cultural analyses was Stanley Aronowitz's 1981 *The Crisis of Historical Materialism*:

Beyond the demand for equal rights . . . each of [these] struggles challenges the social, economic, or ideological reproduction of society, either because it makes problematic capital accumulation processes or erodes the legitimacy of those institutions that embody normative structures necessary for social and cultural domination. At the core of these challenges are again questions of nature and human nature. (106)

Nearly three decades later, both nature and culture have been contorted in very new ways under globalization and now the international financial crisis. Now we see advanced capitalism in disarray while homophobia is often being de-institutionalized. The Hegelian historical materialism that was defined in the nineteenth century was not able to provide a sufficient means for addressing issues of inequities for marginalized sexual cultures and the extent of the democracy of urban space at the scale of neighborhoods and metropolitan areas. The subsequent avoidance of material or environmental indicators was only partially reversed by Fredric Jameson's interest in cognitive maps (Jameson 1984).

In exploring the theoretical and descriptive potentials of landscape ecology for describing *mélanges* of sites, landscapes, individual acts, collective events, and processes of institutional formation, a broader framework is necessary that links material indicators to culture in the context of analyses of local and global political economy. I term this paradigm for a broader understanding of both the culture and the physical aspects of our communities "New Materialism"; with human ecology and landscape ecology, it is grounded in biophysical and spatial contexts having central positions. In turn, this new form of engagement in political economy and environmental contexts posits the existence of queer ecologies with a myriad of relationships barely fathomed in the bygone notions of gay ghettos that formed a half century ago.

Landscape Ecology as a Queer Spatial Vocabulary

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

—Kevin Lynch

Landscape ecology is the science of investigating inherently interconnected biophysical and cultural processes across space and time. Landscape ecology methods provide one of a number of more materialist or, more correctly, "ecological" methods that can help us understand the dynamics that link and play out across networks of homoerotic subjectivities.³ Landscape ecology holds particular promise as an expanded spatial framework that links the biophysical to human erotic subjectivities over time, as Zev Naveh argued that

as a holistic order seeking science of nature and man [*sic*] in their totality, landscape ecology can serve as bridge between bio-ecology and human ecology. But for this purpose it has not only to transcend

natural sciences but also go beyond paradigms of prevailing, mostly mechanistic, positivistic and reductionistic conceptions of scientific knowledge in general. (1990, 54–55)

By the 1980s, landscape ecology began to codify a spatial vocabulary with some relevance for understanding subcultures and sexualities across neighborhoods (Naveh and Lieberman 1984, 3–25; Schreiber 1990, 21–33). But well over three decades into landscape ecology as a field of inquiry of human and environmental dynamics, I know of no study that squarely considers gender and sexuality. Why such an enigmatic gap in a field that considers human beings within the context of nature and nature within the context of often human-induced environmental change? There are numerous reasons, the most important of which has been the preoccupation with using landscape ecology to understand community-wide, macro-level ecological deterioration even though the core of this science is spatial and temporal inquiry at a range of scales, including the finer site levels. Sexual interaction, even when partially disembodied through digital artifice, is site-based. Aside from aversions to site-specificity, landscape ecology in the last several decades has been more preoccupied with the biophysical impacts of macro-level cultural change such as between indigenous and other tribal cultures under assault and various kinds of settlement demographics, economic globalization, and neoliberalism. The two discourses of sex-as-site-specificity that *could* be linked to landscape ecology studies have been around epidemiology, especially as related to strategies to obstruct the spread of HIV, and violence against women and sexual minorities.

In exploring how to construct a queer environmental history and time-series map of Vancouver's West End, I turn to Forman and Godron (1986), the most widely influential text of the field, in order to begin to adapt and to queer four of landscape ecology's most basic concepts and descriptors.

1. A *patch* (83–95) represents a contiguous area with some common landscape characteristics, and a *fragment* is a portion of a formerly larger spatial unit that has broken down through marked disturbance such as logging or climate change-related storms or more subtle forms of environmental change such as gradual shifts in annual temperatures. Much of the conceptualization of the concept of patches has been derived from the anthropogenic fragmentation of forest, but a patch could be a grassland being invaded by woodland or a bare understory trampled through certain kinds of public sex.

2. An *edge* or *ecotone* (108–109, 60–61) comprises the exterior territory of a patch or corridor that touches on another kind of fragment of a landscape. Edge in landscape ecology comprises the zone where two landscape patterns or habitats overlap. Edge comprises the transition zone between one set of biophysical and cultural elements, relationships, and processes and another. There are high-contrast *ecotones*, such as beaches and the zones between ancient forest and grassland or woodland and pavement. And there are lower-contrast edges, such as between relatively recent woodland and ancient coniferous forest, between beaches and adjacent terrestrial vegetation that is influenced by salty air, and between edges and centers of playing fields with their highly social dimensions.
3. *Connectivity* (127) represents various flows of nutrients, disturbances, organisms, and even language, concepts, and cultural practices, that shift across the landscape at various scales. A stream represents a high level of connectivity through the flows of water and nutrients. A busy, well-lit street represents relatively high levels of connectivity for automobile-driving people but something of an obstacle for pedestrians. And a relatively safe and well-used pathway has higher degrees of connectivity, in terms of supporting social contact, for groups vulnerable to harassment and violence.
4. A *matrix* (155–77) is the most connective set of elements, habitat, and social practices (or lack of practices) that span and touch on territories and aspects of particular landscapes and neighborhoods. In highly urbanized areas, the matrix of the landscape has typically shifted to streets and asphalt. But for some “well-treed” neighborhoods, such as much of the West End, the matrix is still open, public space and streets with relatively high levels of native and planted vegetation. Over the twentieth century, most higher-density North American neighborhoods lost this green matrix, making the West End particularly attractive to men and women who enjoyed social contact out-of-doors.

Even Fuzzy Ideas Can Be Part of Landscape Ecology Processes

The landscape phenomenon outlined above might appear, in terms of the twentieth-century vocabularies of both the natural sciences and cultural studies, to be relatively inert and without links to thought, culture, or even desire. But landscape ecology has been the first science to confirm that all ecosystems and places have cultural dimensions. Therefore, there

must be a place, a possibility perhaps, for a vernacular, for describing the implications of ideas, modes of communication, alliances, and sex—across space and time at various scales. While there is insufficient space in this chapter to describe a nuanced framework for assessing sex and culture in landscape ecologies, it is necessary, in order to understand the transformations in the West End, to appreciate the power of ideas and their implications for the partially shared, cognitive maps that allow individuals and groups to use and transform public space. The point of inquiry in this chapter, of the West End as a so-called gay ghetto that really was not a ghetto but was sufficiently ghetto-like to be a major subject for de-ghettoization within the sexual politics of Canada, is valuable for appreciating how even fuzzy ideas can become part of powerful processes within the landscape.

The West End has supported an exceptional amount of open space and, because of the vegetation and relatively high human population, has been particularly difficult to police. This notion of the West End's public open space, as an anchor or organizer of a location of resistance, contrasts markedly with experiences of other gay enclaves in North America in the mid twentieth century. The West End represented a rich set of spaces in which to hide and find intimacy rather than, for example, a locale for the corralling and controlling of Jews. But the notion of a ghetto and various forms of both complacency with and resistance to social constraints that have similarities with ghettoization came to shape the sexual subcultures and their associated environments in the West End for three decades.

The notion of the gay ghetto was a central concept for gay liberation and gay rights activism that traveled by word of mouth, newsletters, and a small number of books. The gay ghetto concept had far less currency in lesbian feminism. Carl Wittman's 1969 essay on San Francisco, "A Gay Manifesto" ([1969]) 1972, is the best example of the adapting of the modern notions of the ghetto, recast since the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, for homosexual males. Even though Wittman did not spend much time in Vancouver, he had a knowledge of and interest in the West End (Wittman 1974), and his essay was the most widely read piece of theory of gay community activism in the years directly after the Stonewall Riots. But how Wittman's ideas were then stretched to be applicable to activism in a relatively high density but comfortable community, with spectacular open space, low levels of crime, and moderate levels of income, remains enigmatic. One explanation is that the ghetto metaphor was the nearest term in an impoverished vocabulary to explain the persistent homophobia and hostility that many gay men still experienced—both inside and outside

of the West End. So the idea of identifying a fuzzy, only partially relevant idea as an additional descriptor for the processes in a (cultural) landscape fills a major theoretical gap. An underlying function of the following chronology of the West End is in sketching the environmental linkages between desire and ideas, ideas and culture, culture and landscapes, and the feedback loops of biophysical change that transform culture. In other words, at the core of exploring the utility of landscape ecology for (eroticized) cultural studies and similarly the potential uses of cultural studies in landscape ecology processes is identification of a rather queer set of relationships between desire, ideas, and the natural world.

In Wittman's North American gay ghetto, so-called refugees were forced into relatively pleasant neighborhoods (such as the West End):

We have fled here from every part of the nation, and like refugees elsewhere, we came not because it was so great here, but because it was so bad there. By the tens of thousands, we fled small towns where to be ourselves would be to endanger our jobs and any hope of decent life. . . . And we have formed a ghetto out of self-protection. It is a ghetto rather than a free territory because it is still theirs. . . . So we came to the ghetto—and as other ghettos it has negative and positive aspects. Refugee camps are better than what preceded them or people never would have come. (Wittman 1972, 330, 339)

By the mid to late 1970s, the use of "the Gay Ghetto" in the West End was widespread and had become, in part, self-fulfilling. But instead of a minority being forced by a hostile state into a ghetto, gay men were attracted to the West End as one of the easiest places in Canada to be open about their sexuality. Rather than a fact or a particularly clear concept, the use of "the Gay Ghetto" in the West End was part of a vocabulary and set of practices for resistance and reconstructed entitlement. Here the idea, metaphor, practices, strategies, and biophysical impacts associated with Wittman's notion of the ghetto blurred into a process of myth making and empowerment (for gay men) under the rubric of identity politics as part of claiming of particular spaces, neighborhoods, and socially apportioned resources (Ingram 1997a). By contrast, landscape ecology provides an alternative narrative to explain the choice and impacts of de-ghettoization practices for an urbanized peninsula that was barely ever a ghetto and of a more a privileged enclave for white male "boomers." And while some of the common terms of landscape ecology that are discussed here might appear deceptively biophysical and without a relationship to culture, words such as "fragment," "edge," "flow," and "matrix" can take on

cultural resonances that have yet to be fully explored. In the second half of this chapter, I sketch the environmental, social, and cultural changes, across this metropolitan area, that, for a few decades, gave the fuzzy set of ideas about the ghetto particular currency for restructuring the social and erotic dimensions of the West End—in which a more nuanced set of processes that can be expressed in terms of the vocabulary of landscape ecology were also interacting and transforming urban space, sexual practices, social relationships, and culture.

A Modern History and Landscape Ecology of Homosexual Social Spaces in the West End

The history of the place

(like) a whip across the face

—Stan Persky⁴

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The villages that came to comprise central Vancouver were incorporated as a city in 1886, just a few months after the Victorian codification of Britain's anti-sodomy laws. "The Terminal City"⁵ was a highly divided, working-class city with northwestern Europeans in largely white enclaves on the two peninsulas (which included the West End) on the west side of the city and the more multicultural Eastside supporting an often transient working-class culture (McDonald 1996, 57) that, until well into the twentieth century, was overwhelmingly male. Soon after Vancouver's incorporation, recurring race riots established an initial racial line running north to south, with northwestern Europeans on the west side of Carroll Street. Construction of the West End began adjacent to recently protected Stanley Park. Relatively far from Chinatown, the West End was to be the middle-class enclave on what many envisioned as a white peninsula. However, Stanley Park still had one Native village, whose residents had no intention of moving. The efforts to depopulate Stanley Park would provide opportunities for the formation of a culture of public sex that could not be practically controlled by the often underfunded city police. And as Vancouver further industrialized in subsequent decades, the West End also became an attractive area in which to relax because it had the least polluted air and beaches in the city.

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The aboriginal landscape ecology of the West End was marked by the high-contrast ends of land and sea, with fragments of more mature and denser forest set in a matrix of beach and culturally modified vegetation. The hand and horse logging that took place in the mid-nineteenth century

widened and transformed that aboriginal matrix. The modern homosexual male genesis in the West End in the early decades of the twentieth century was along a frontier, a high-contrast ecotone, of forest and houses that secondarily exploited the edges between the denser vegetation, which was often used for sex, and the more open areas in which there were trails that were used for cruising and other socializing. But the West End was not entirely immune to the growing movement to police homosexuality. "The definition of a sex crime in the late Victoria and Edwardian era in Canada knew no boundaries" (Chapman 1986, 277). It was during the construction of the fine houses that were to dominate the first seventy years of the West End that the notion of a male homosexual identity as a specter and even a threat to imperial society was imported from London after public opinion was solidified by news of the Oscar Wilde trials. This early notion of homosexual orientation in British Columbia was associated with the middle and upper classes well into the twentieth century (Waugh 1996, 290), with violence and perversion associated culturally with the male working class. So as a middle-class, seaside enclave, the West End was a relatively easy landscape for visual contact between homosexual males and for camouflage of minority orientations and public sexual acts.

Well into the second quarter of the twentieth century, most of the arrests for consensual homosexuality between adults were of working-class males, often men of color, and took place in the downtown area near lines of racial segregation such as Carroll Street. Adele Perry (1997) argued that "mixed-race relationships remained a constant if contested aspect of British Columbian society throughout the nineteenth century" (515), and anxieties blended with the rising phobia against intimacies between consensual adult males. Many of the early-twentieth-century arrests for consensual homosexuality as "gross indecency" involved South Asian men who were targeted and entrapped by the city police in the historic downtown of Vancouver, which was within blocks of Chinatown (Ingram 2003). In contrast, the West End, as a nearly totally white enclave well into the twentieth century, saw few arrests for consensual homosexuality between adults that led to trial. The Edwardian fusing of phobias of sexual deviance and miscegenation left the West End out of the limelight of homophobic repression.

For white, middle-class homosexual males at the turn of the twentieth century, the West End appears to have been an exceptional refuge. The only other Canadian urban area west of Winnipeg where homosexual males could have had an opportunity to meet in such numbers (and to

engage in regular public sex all year round), was the still larger city across the Strait, Victoria. But with fewer single and transient males, and with open space consisting of open meadows providing far less visual cover to avoid detection, prospects for homosexuality in the City of Victoria were modest.

Since the first decades after the Parks Board's inception in September 1888, discussion about controlling cruising and public sex has not been far from the minds of the politicians and managers of Stanley Park and Vancouver's entire network of parks in general. Well into the 1970s, police on trails, often on horseback, have harassed individuals whom they suspected of engaging in public sex. But while increasingly diminished and fragmented, patches of dense forest have remained refuges for men to engage in intimate acts while avoiding detection. But the only partially successful protection of the park's forests was not as a refuge for public sex. As early as the late nineteenth century, a stalemate became evident over management of Stanley Park between advocates of facilities such as sports fields and building infrastructure and those who did not want to levy municipal tax dollars. This stalemate effectively contributed to relatively large areas of mostly vacant forest (only decades before it was still being modified by resident aboriginal communities and through selective logging). And the facilities that were funded created a range of soft edges among forest, field, and building that further confounded the policing of social behavior. Rather than broach the topic of the growing indications of homosexuality in the park, early discussions on the management of Stanley Park and adjacent beach area focused on the extent to which the park was to be left "in a state of nature." This commitment to supposed naturalness was a useful cover for park commissioners who were busy leasing out concessions on the cusp of the park and the residential areas of the West End (McDonald 1984, 138–39).

As the remaining Native residents were pushed out, a process that took decades, Stanley Park was effectively depopulated. With so few people entering the more remote parts of the park, the odds of public sex being observed continued to diminish well into the twentieth century. In this social vacuum, an early culture of public sex emerged around Stanley Park on a scale that was sometimes conceived, by mid-twentieth-century homosexual males in Canada, in almost mythic proportions. In the decades before and after World War I, the first wave of city of Vancouver police crackdowns against homosexuality, it became much easier for men residing in the Eastside, where the arrests were nearly all occurring, to travel to Stanley Park. New streetcar lines to Stanley Park were opened

at a time when the still-segregated West End increasingly saw its use by laborers from Asia and Southern Europe. The streetcar line along Robson Street repopulated the West End with men on furtive quests for sex with each other.

The West End and Stanley Park were increasingly reduced to dense patches of public space connected by a matrix of muddy walkways and trails. A pedestrian culture was re-inscribed at a time when much of the rest of the city was being reconstructed for the automobile. As facilities and business establishment were constructed on the cusp of Stanley Park and the residential areas, the edge, as a kind of frontier, was softened and its contrast lessened. But Stanley Park remained a location, well into the twentieth century, that did not serve well the needs and interests of women and children, and thus the space continued to be one for mostly single males.

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Initially a white and largely segregated, middle-class neighborhood, the West End became a major center for women's suffrage, which was obtained for white women in 1916. The West End's effective residential segregation was an important factor as Asian and aboriginal women continued to be denied voting rights until after World War I. The first half of the twentieth century saw the largest wave of immigration, in terms of the city's overall demographics, in Vancouver's history. The Women's Building at Thurlow and Robson, on the eastern, downtown side of the West End, was established in 1913 (*Vancouver Sun* 1913, 1) and operated until around the outbreak of World War II. Political and cultural organizing fostered crucial spaces to discuss women's reproductive and sexual rights, often in times of marginalization and isolation of "spinsters" and women of color. And the West End had most of the rooming houses in the city where unmarried adult women could find their own housing.

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Stanley Park also played an important role in the formation of some proto-lesbian social space. In the decade before World War I, there was a hysteria against women going into Stanley Park alone. Until after World War I, the city's leaders refused to allocate public funds for toilets and washrooms in the park, in a thinly veiled effort to keep women out. But one group of women did take outdoor space for themselves in the West End: the region's pioneering women athletes, who struggled hard in the early days of enfranchisement to have access to the higher-quality sports fields that were in or near the edge of Stanley Park (McKee 1976, 14–15).⁶ These female-tolerant enclaves made up less than one percent of the total area of the park. The more confined spaces of women functioning in self-identified groups thrived on the soft edge between Stanley Park and

the adjacent beach, residential, and business areas. While some women began to walk alone in Stanley Park, no records have been so far found of a culture of female public sex or related arrests at the time.

The new urban subculture of men and women enjoying nature in the West End flourished with little public acknowledgment for over half a century—with a male subculture focused on anonymous sex and a female sports subculture built around social solidarity and furtive romances. Arrests, imprisonment, and state harassment intensified against homosexual men and women from World War II through to the mid 1960s, with the War Measures Act effectively legalizing the dismissal of homosexuals from their jobs without cause until 1950. Only after that was lesbianism formally criminalized.⁷ In this climate of intensifying repression, Stanley Park became increasingly used for male public sex, while the old houses of the West End were converted to rooming houses for single women and men. By the end of World War II, unmarried women in particular had few housing options in Vancouver outside the West End. Parallel cultures of single men and women, defined by drinking establishments, fostered an additional set of homoerotic networks for the West End. On the other side of the West End, two nascent entertainment enclaves emerged. Males began to frequent a rundown part of downtown along Robson and Seymour Streets, while lesbian corners emerged in some of the city's toughest and filthiest bars along Main Street. In Vancouver's boom-and-bust economy that was quite depressed after World War II, these new indoor spaces were funded through heavy alcohol consumption. Members of sexual minorities were effectively welcome in these otherwise marginally profitable businesses when they spent a great deal. An exception to these sites of abjection was the upper-class male subculture that coalesced in the plush basement of the Hotel Vancouver, and in the lounges of other fine hotels nearby—all a pleasant walk from Stanley Park.

Much of the male homoerotic public space of the West End was expanded during the Cold War where a landscape narrative was formed, as part of a nascent subculture of public sex between males, with the bars as sites for socializing and verbal contact at the downtown end of the West End, and the depth of Stanley Park, on the other side of the neighborhood, often a site of anonymous sex and little talk. Whereas homophobic repression under McCarthyism began to subside in the United States by the late 1950s, the Canadian government's security interests in homosexuality often led to arrests, questioning, and harassment; these practices were not curtailed until the mid 1960s (Kimmel and Robinson 1994, 345). Thus the proliferating sites of male cruising and sex in Stanley Park did not

see coordinated repression until the late 1950s, and police presence was largely on blocks adjacent to and very near the boundaries of the green space. Hundreds and probably thousands of men who walked by Stanley Park, only some of whom actually engaged in homosexual behavior, were harassed, arrested, and subsequently hounded by security authorities. The landscape ecology of thick forest patches combined with a diversity of ecological and visual edges, which had drawn so many men, came to support an additional social niche of police predation for over three decades. And this tension contributed to re-inscription of this refuge also as a ghetto.

While the pressures of the Cold War primed the West End for the activism of the 1970s, it remains problematic to have labeled the West End a (pre-Stonewall Riots) ghetto (and only for males) except in terms of the sustained interest of the municipal and federal (RCMP) police, in which men suspected of engaging in public sex in the West End and Stanley Park were harassed and then listed as potential security risks, with many subsequently losing their jobs. There was, however, a small “ghetto” in Vancouver at the time in the sense of more similarities with the term’s initial usage in the formation of the original Venetian *ghetto* in the late fifteenth century. Lesbianism in Canada was not formally criminalized in the early 1950s, and in this same period, butch women began to be forced out of West End boarding houses. Most women moved east, such as to the gritty, port-side section of Main Street. Those few blocks that tolerated self-described “bad girls” coalesced along Main Street, in bars so low-lying that their washroom plumbing often did not work. These few blocks functioned more like one of the original Jewish ghettos of Italy, as shaped through several papal edicts in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, in a number of ways. The grittier blocks of Main Street, between False Creek and Vancouver Harbour, constituted one of the few areas where openly butch women could find housing—in rooms that often were crowded, lacking in basic sanitation, unhealthy, and dangerous. Secondly, butch lesbians could interact in this small area along Main Street at night without much police harassment, whereas “out” butch behavior in the day, or presence in other parts of the city, would risk arrest. This lesbian enclave of butch (and femme) lesbians was adjacent to an African Canadian enclave called Hogan’s Alley (Fatona and Wyngaarden 1994),⁸ which had private homes serving food and musicians playing jazz; these “Chicken Houses” (because they often served fried chicken) were run by women. Both of these enclaves were destroyed by the City of Vancouver in 1967 with funds from the Government of Canada, ostensibly for construction of the Georgia Viaduct expressway. The West End then became the

faux ghetto oriented to gay white male Canadian discourses about sexual liberation, while lesbians were pushed into lower-rent neighborhoods such as Commercial Drive, in which a lesbian subculture coalesced in the last 1970s and which became a major space for female and male queer activism in the early 1990s.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as the women's spaces near Stanley Park were constrained and curtailed through underfunding and were being bulldozed along Main Street, some of the public sites in the West End of strategic importance to males saw the beginnings of some of the self-identified "queering" (a word not used in this sense before the 1990s) processes that were to shape it for decades. The first homophile organization in Canada, the Association for Social Knowledge, was formed in Vancouver in April 1964 (Kinsman 1996, 230–35) after a year of continued police harassment in the city's gay male bars (most being on the downtown edge of the West End). The now decaying wooden houses of the West End were being torn down for towers envisioned to be for so-called swinging singles. But few single women had the means to qualify to live in the new high-rises, and many butch lesbians, already suffering economically for being "out," were forced out of the dwindling number of rooming houses and then out of the neighborhood altogether. The economic dynamic that pushed often poor lesbians to the eastern part of the city was well underway before the rise of any popular understanding of lesbian feminism and gay liberation. In contrast, gay males, especially those who were financially successful, and often closeted, were aggressively welcomed into the West End by the landlords of the new towers. The year 1967 was a defining time for the emerging gay rights movements. That year, Justice Minister Pierre Trudeau, who a year later became leader of the federal Liberal Party and Canada's prime minister, announced plans to decriminalize homosexuality (Bill C-150) with the celebrated statement that the state had no place in the bedrooms of Canada. A number of levels of the state from the municipal police to the Government of Canada, however, remained very interested in intimacies in the parks and on the streets.

The Coalescence of a Matrix of Resistance to Homophobia

At first, gay institutions and cruising places spring up in urban districts known to accept variant behavior. A concentration of such places in specific sections of the city . . . results. This concentration attracts large numbers of homosexual men, causing a centralization

of gay culture traits. Tolerance, coupled with institutional concentration, makes the areas desirable residential districts for gay men. (Levine 1979, 375)

As homosexuality between two consenting adults in one of their bedrooms was formally decriminalized in 1969, the battle lines were drawn for the activism of the 1970s that focused on visibility in public space: confronting police entrapment and harassment along with fighting for human rights protections.⁹ The battleground was more often than not the public outdoor space of the West End. In this shift, sexually active gay men literally came out of the shadows of the patches of remaining denser forest to engage more openly in the matrix of highly visible public space. In contrast, lesbians tended to move out of the West End and took their institutions with them to indoor sites that were far less conflicted. In other words, men chose to fight in the West End, while women, with markedly fewer economic resources, were forced to take flight, with many moving east into less desirable housing.

So the West End as a ghetto was actually more of a juncture in two different and gendered migrations across Vancouver. To use the vocabulary of landscape ecology, in the West End males found greater connectivity and lesbians encountered harsher edges. The matrix of the West End, the open space, became more combative, and there were sufficient gay male numbers for a sense of security or at least solidarity; in contrast, lesbians, who were also likely to experience greater violence by the simple fact of being women, were overwhelmed, as well as more attracted to reconstructing the family-oriented Commercial Drive neighborhood a few miles to the east (Bouthillette 1997, Ingram 1998).

By the time of decriminalization, the most important of the male outdoor cruising sites in the West End had been established, most notably the "Fruit Loop" parking lot, the English Bay men's washroom, and Lee's Trail in Stanley Park. As late as 1977, openly gay men were harassed and assaulted by city police, sometimes to the point of requiring hospitalization (Hann and Joyce 1977). In that year, an anti-entrapment committee appealed for caution, noting in its newsletter: "Imagine the satisfaction of a young police officer in plain clothes LEANING INVITINGLY against a tree on English Bay at midnight. Waiting to lure the safe quarry, savouring the thrilling culmination of another arrest on this record and the moral satisfaction of catching a 'pervert'" (SEARCH 1977).

One of the earliest episodes of gay male activism focused on the neighborhood space of the West End was in a public meeting on April

6, 1977. Organized to discuss “the problems of Davie Street” (Volkart 1977), this meeting was initiated by City Hall to quietly discuss ways to move homosexuals out of public space (and out of the neighborhood). What was to have been a small meeting organized by the police became a raucous confrontation with four hundred people. A reporter from the *Vancouver Sun* stated, “Most visible—and vocal—were the homosexuals, who charged that police had called the meeting to manipulate public sentiment in support of an intensified campaign against gay people” (Volkart 1977). The same meeting saw some of Vancouver’s first public resistance to the police by prostitutes.

As in most North American cities, the 1970s saw the first articulation and constructed visibility of specific lesbian and gay networks. In Vancouver, the more overtly gay West End Slo-Pitch Association (WESA) was first organized in 1978 (Hirtle 1998). The first recorded public Jewish involvement in decriminalized gay Vancouver was around the High Holidays in 1973. In subsequent years, Chinese, Italian, and Asian gay networks emerged, with many of their events taking place in the West End, though often out of the public eye. The bar-financed Dogwood Monarchist Society became the prototype for the charities that were to become prominent in the first two decades of the AIDS pandemic. In the 1970s, the leather and S/M scenes became visible and expanded rapidly. A prototype for partying-oriented organizations came with the formation of the gay motorcycle club the Border Riders in 1971. Openly gay and lesbian clubs emerged in the aftermath of the June 30, 1973, police raids of the Hampton Court Pub on Seymour Street. Discrimination in the licensing of gay clubs began to ease in the mid 1970s. By 1973, Vancouver had seven gay and lesbian clubs that served alcohol and five bathhouses, nearly all of which were in the West End or nearby in the downtown. Throughout the 1970s, demonstrations and public events organized by lesbians and gay men in Vancouver were virtually always held in the West End. Local observances of the 1969 Stonewall Riots began in 1971 and after intermittent events throughout the 1970s were reorganized as “Gay Pride,”¹⁰ with an annual celebration in the first week in August. In comparison to larger cities such as San Francisco and Toronto, events in the West End were subdued and small and remained so for two decades. Celebrations nearly always took place in shore parkland in the West End.

By the late 1970s, another set of social forces in the West End collided with those that concentrated gay men and pushed lesbians to around Commercial Drive. Davie Street in the West End became the “high end”

area for female (heterosexual) street prostitution in Vancouver; by the end of the decade it was joined by a low-end area for male-to-female (MTF) transvestite and early transsexual prostitution. The West End's gay male identity was formed through a social contest that came to pit gay bars against female street prostitution. Streetwalker space and gay bar space,¹¹ like tectonic plates, came to collide along Davie Street. Ironically, it was the sexual freedom exuded by "hookers" and "drag queens" that provided the bridge to move the early 1970s gay scene along Seymour and Richards Streets, with its historic links to Gastown and Robson Street, onto Davie Street. By the early 1980s, the gay-male-friendly space along Davie expanded and moved west (Anonymous 1982), as Seymour Street, an increasingly exhausted scene, moved south to intersect it. This intersection formed the core of the city's gay male commercial enclave in the 1980s and 1990s. Even as late as 1982, gay male spaces in the core of the city were as much along Robson, Seymour, and Richards Streets as along Davie Street. As gay male space shifted southwest, female, male, and transgender street-based prostitution was pushed east by city policies, and the police to fill the vacuum.

In the early 1980s, both the left and the right in the West End were allied in the fight against prostitution, including such events as the 1981–82 construction of street dividers to slow down the increasingly noisy automobile traffic associated with heterosexual males procuring female prostitutes (City Clerk 1981). The dividers made the streets far more pedestrian-friendly and conducive to chatting and cruising at the same time as they obstructed sex work that catered to car drivers. In the early 1980s, more centrist gay males formed an alliance with anti-street prostitution groups and engaged in such events as the 1984–85 "Shame the Johns" actions in the West End. But the shame campaigns made many women uncomfortable, leading to even more females moving out of the West End, effectively keeping rents lower for gay men and contributing to the appearance of a ghetto.

Increased gay male visibility and creation of visible homoerotic space occurred at a dizzying pace in the West End throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. As one *Vancouver Sun* reporter described life in the West End, "at one time, gays were a novelty, a visible aberration. Now, it's a mature, stable community" (Andrews 1983). But that sense of singularity, with its emphasis on white, middle-class gay men, was soon shattered by the pressures for broader coalitions to educate against the spread of AIDS, to care for the sick, and to confront the local conservative agenda

with its formidable homophobic backlash. By the early 1980s, the bar economy of Davie and Richards Streets began to change, shifting from a focus on alcohol consumption and meeting for sex to a diversification of establishments providing a range of services. The emergence of western Canada's early gay and lesbian bookstore, Little Sister's, and this effective culture center's weathering of several violent attacks,¹² symbolized this hard-fought diversification from a bar culture catering to white gay men. But few of even these more diverse establishments provided much space for women, queer families with children, and groups of males other than young and middle-aged ones.

Most of the early conversations on more aggressively confronting racism and cultural chauvinism in communities of sexual minorities in the 1980s, in this exceptionally multicultural city, were initiated by lesbians (Silvera, Gupta, and Anonymous 1982) who often felt pointedly excluded from the West End. Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, the queer politics of the West End was dominated by AIDS organizations along with some modest interventions by campaigns against homophobic violence and small queer projects. Efforts to gain more local human rights and initial marriage protections were remarkably successful. Immigrants, some of whom were asylum seekers, were attracted to the West End. And by the turn of the century, globalization had so penetrated Vancouver's land market that the lower-income gay men, now middle-aged or near retirement age, were increasingly forced out of the West End. As the economic gap between women and men lessened, single lesbians began to move back into the West End. Thus, a cycle of forces that created a ghetto for one sexual minority, and displaced others, was played out in half a century.

As the gay ghetto demographic peaked in the mid 1980s, roughly parallel to that of the post-World War II "baby boom," the public space matrix of the West End became more tolerant, thus making room for other social groups as homosexual men either died from sexually transmitted diseases or moved elsewhere for better housing. The deep forest patches, so crucial to the invisibility needed for community formation during repressive times, became less important; they also declined through the ecological deterioration associated with urban areas. And as the matrix of public open space became more tolerant, in part because of the male-oriented conflicts of the previous decades, new niches became available to more vulnerable networks, including some dominated by homoerotic women. The processes of decolonization broke down the monolithic notions of a (primarily white) gay male community into far more complex networks not marked as white or male. The forging of more tolerant and democratic

experiences of the matrix of public space has had a rough parallel in landscape ecology to the removal of more severe predation pressures.

Conclusions: Toward a Landscape Ecology of Urban Activism

That is the ghetto trip. At one time there was no alternative, no way out.

Now there is. It's called liberation to those who can dig it.

—The Body Politic

This chapter has been focused on “environmental factors,” effectively ecological threats and opportunities across a dynamic cultural landscape, and how they mesh with erotic acts and ideas, along with other aspects of culture, to transform a neighborhood. As for understanding the participation of networks of sexual minorities, the once-salient notion of a gay ghetto was challenged and partially replaced by descriptors of more nuanced, human-environmental relationships and processes. The landscape ecology terms of “patch,” “edge,” “flow and connectivity,” and “matrix” were recast as shifting spaces for human intimacies and sites of resistance to avoid police harassment. Queer activists and scholars of the last two decades have too often learned more about the rhetoric and metaphors of social change and less about the human-environmental aspects of what Madonna Ciccone alluded to her 1985 anthem as “the material world.” In this chapter I have explored some uses for landscape ecology terms for revisiting spatial aspects of community formation interactions across one celebrated neighborhood, one in which modern Canadian notions of democratic society and public space were first imagined and tested. While my adaptations of landscape ecology concepts are still rudimentary, this spatial vocabulary can be mapped and chronicled far more precisely than the vocabulary and measures provided by gay liberation’s ghetto and queer theory’s sites and closets. My adaptations of terms such as “fragment,” “edge,” “flow and connectivity,” and “matrix” to the contexts of subcultures of sexual minorities remain crude—as is contemporary theory on the relationship of sex to culture and place. Just as today’s increasing discomfort with use of the term “ghetto” suggests a more nuanced vocabulary, in coming decades we might well discard some of these new labels to be reconceptualized, reworked, and reinserted into the increasingly fertile cusp of the fields of landscape ecology and cultural studies.

In contrast to all but a few other neighborhoods in Canada, the West End has supported a particularly rich public space matrix comprising vegetation, beach, open space, and pavement. This exceptional set of public

spaces effectively allowed one group of sexual minorities, homosexual males, to interact in a wide range of poorly policed settings and to act sufficiently freely as to build social networks and institutions. Due to a range of human-induced changes unrelated to public sex, the deep forest patches have been degraded and diminished over the last century and a half. But while the visual protection that the forest initially provided has declined, paradoxically the need for protection from the police has become less acute. In contrast to the experience of adult males, women have had far less access to this matrix of relatively democratic space because they were more often denied access to housing in the neighborhood, because of economic injustice, and because of continued worries about violence from males in areas of denser cover. As economic disparities and threats of violence have diminished, however, lesbians have repopulated the West End, further transforming its matrix of rich and relatively democratic public space.

In further constructing an environmental history of the sexual minorities of Vancouver's West End, what additional information on environmental factors, culture, and subjective experience is necessary? Certainly both maps and ecological information of the past could help us maneuver through the present and envision a preferred future. But how can more material indicators be inserted and combined with cultural studies and sexual stories? And how can we engage a new generation of activists in further community building as older forms of social infrastructure, including aspects of the matrices of public space, are jeopardized through the recent succession of economic crises? In a time of growing concern over human health, the environment, and sustainability, one of the bodies of knowledge that holds the most promise for understanding the trajectory of the "queerscapes" (Ingram 1997b, 29) of the West End for the coming century is landscape ecology. And queer ecology as a fusion of the science of biological exuberance with some cultural studies and urban planning could provide a basis to reconstruct landscape ecology to help us better see, enjoy, and, when necessary, defend all that we love in the communities in which we live.

NOTES

1. The original form, title, and sequence of reproductions of "A Gay Manifesto" (1972) is unclear to me though I do recall, from a personal conversations with Carl

Wittman in 1974 after he'd eschewed the urban ghettos for rural life, that he described the essay's circulation in pamphlet form.

2. Perhaps the discussions that best codified this shift from ethnographic and cultural studies, as being the currency of studies of communities of sexual minorities, are contained in Plummer 1995.

3. Sexual acts can be reviewed in a number of ways. Behavior can be abstracted to a kind of higher primate ethology—across urban space. For studies of the use of public spaces, there are participant-observer methods for seeing patterns of human use (including for sex). And the field of environmental history has increasingly supported work that links social groups over time to aspects of their associated ecosystems.

4. When Stan Persky wrote this poem he was heavily engaged in gay and left politics in Vancouver.

5. The label "the Terminal City" was the alternative moniker for Vancouver, going back to the city's incorporation and the conflicts around the new city's multicultural demographics, where individuals with northwestern European heritages were often "in the minority" (Roy 1976, 44).

6. For a sense of the economic interests evident in the beginnings of the Parks Board, see Board of Parks and Recreation, Vancouver (1991).

7. See Fernie and Weissman (1992).

8. In 1994 and 1995, both Fatona and Wyngaarden provided additional information on Hogan's Alley and early lesbian bar space in conversations with me.

9. For one of the more candid discussions of entrapment in Canada in the 1960s, see Batten (1969, 32).

10. As with most cities, the actual title of the "Pride" events has shifted over the years to include bisexual, transgender, and various other minority sexual subcultures. And then there have been various women-only events such as the Dyke Marches. The original pride-type, or proto-pride, event in Vancouver was a Gay Rights demonstration, focused on Pacific Canadian issues, with commemoration of Stonewall only coming years later. And there were long periods when events were labeled as "Gay" and others as "Gay and Lesbian" and others as "Queer." And in some periods "Pride" was specifically used with other events focused on terms such as "Stonewall." So I use "Gay Pride" here to refer to a host of unevenly allied institutions involving mass demonstrations and partying, typically with an element of procession, that in Vancouver, over the last three and half decades, have been scheduled twice a year, in both late June and early August. And the nature of these exceptionally bifurcated, neighborhood-based events, in comparison to other North American cities, has been very much shaped by the uneven experience of and responses to "ghettoization" and "de-ghettoization" (Duggan and Hunter 1995, 168), illustrated in this sketch of the landscape ecology of the sexual politics of the West End.

11. A map in the December 1983 issue of *Angles* (19), Vancouver's major lesbian and gay newspaper in the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, illustrated how small enclaves of gay-male-friendly (and sometimes lesbian-friendly) establishments were forming in Vancouver (and clearly had been coalescing for two decades). The Seymour and Richards Street "Theatre Row" area of gay establishments (that nearly all were in business because of alcohol sales) had begun to form a separate enclave rivaling that in Gastown and was almost merging with the more recent Davie Street spaces. Compared to information from the 1970s, the Robson Street gay businesses were on the decline. All of these early enclaves were within easy walking distance of most of the West End.

12. In the heart of the West End, Little Sister's Bookstore was bombed three

times: in December 1987, in February 1988, and in January 1992. There were injuries but no fatalities. Cleaning up after the attacks did cost the bookstore's owners a great deal of money and time—in the same period when they were mustering funds to make legal challenges to Canada Customs against the agency's policies against material depicting certain sexual practices.

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